

His Holiness the Dalai Lama said..

“Change is also coming to the Tibetan political system. It is unfortunate that it happens in exile, but this does not stop us learning the art of democracy. I have long looked forward to the time when we could devise a political system, suited both to our traditions and the demands of the modern world. Since we came into exile, we have tried to build up the Chithue, the elected assembly of representatives, as a key feature of our effort to develop such a system. We are now embarking on changes which will further democratise and strengthen our administration in exile. I hope that these changes will allow the people of Tibet to have a clear say in determining the future of our country. It is therefore a matter of great pride to me that last month the Tibetan exiles went to the polls for the eleventh time to elect a new assembly of representatives . . . Already since the special Congress held last May, the members of the Kashag, the executive head of our administration, are elected officials, no longer appointed by me.

This democratisation has reached out to Tibetans all over the world . . . I believe that future generations of Tibetans will consider these changes among the most important achievement of our experience in exile.”

House of Commons All-Party Parliamentary Group, London

March 21, 1991

“There is one big change. Immediately after coming into exile, we started the process of democratisation of Tibetan society. I deliberately reduced my own power. Since we adopted the Charter of Tibetans-in-exile to guarantee democracy while we remain in exile as a refugee community, I had a new experience. Before the adoption of this new Charter, whenever I had to take a decision because of my own nature, I consult other people, including sometimes my sweeper, but the final decision was taken by me. Now since the adoption of this new Charter, I have to always think what is the provision in the Charter and what is the Speaker’s view on this. This is a new experience. I think this is the sign of democracy and a sign of pluralism. Also, in our small community in India, there are all sorts of criticisms and we appreciate this range of views. I always think this is a sign of strength. The last three decades have brought lots of changes - all for democratisation.”

*2nd International Conference of Tibet Support Groups
Bonn, Germany
June 15, 1996*

“I am a staunch believer in democracy. Consequently, I have consistently encouraged Tibetans in exile to follow the democratic process. Today, the Tibetan refugee community may be among the few refugee communities that have established all three pillars of democracy: legislature, judiciary and executive. In 2001, we took another great stride in the process of democratization by having the chairman of the Kashag (cabinet) of the Tibetan Administration in exile elected by popular vote.”

*Address to the Plenary Session of the European Parliament
Brussels, December 4, 2008*

THE TIBETAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

Let the radiant light shine of Buddha's wish-fulfilling gem teachings,
the treasure mine of all hopes for happiness and benefit
in both worldly life and liberation.

O Protectors who hold the jewel of the teachings and all beings,
nourishing them greatly,
may the sum of your virtuous deeds grow full.

Firmly enduring in a diamond-hard state, guard all directions with
compassion and love.

Above our heads may divinely appointed rule abide
endowed with a hundred benefits and let the power increase
of four fold auspiciousness,

May a new golden age of happiness and bliss spread
throughout the three provinces of Tibet
and the glory expand of religious-secular rule.

By the spread of Buddha's teachings in the ten directions,
may everyone throughout the world
enjoy the glories of happiness and peace.

In the battle against dark negative forces
may the auspicious sunshine of the teachings and beings of
Tibet and the brilliance of a myriad radiant prosperities
be ever triumphant.

EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLISM OF THE NATIONAL FLAG OF TIBET



- In the centre stands a magnificent snow-clad mountain, which represents the great nation of Tibet, widely known as the Land Surrounded by Snow Mountains.
- The six red bands spread across the dark blue sky represent the original ancestors of the Tibetan people: the six tribes called Se, Mu, Dong, Tong, Dru and Ra which in turn gave the twelve descendants. The combination of six red bands, for the tribes, and six dark blue bands, for the sky, represent the unceasing enactment of the virtuous deeds of protection of the spiritual teachings and secular life by the black and red guardian-protector deities with which Tibet has been blessed since times immemorial.
- At the tip of the snowy mountain the sun, with its rays shining brilliantly in all directions, represents the equal enjoyment of freedom, spiritual and material happiness and prosperity by all beings in the land of Tibet.
- On the slopes of the mountain proudly stand a pair of snow lions, blazing with the manes of fearlessness, which represent the country's victorious accomplishment of a unified spiritual and secular life.
- The beautiful and radiant three-coloured jewel held aloft represents the ever-present reverence respectfully held by the Tibetan people towards the three supreme gems, the objects of refuge: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.
- The two coloured swirling jewel held between the lions represents the peoples' guarding and cherishing the self-discipline of correct ethical behaviour, principally represented by the practices of the ten exalted virtues and the sixteen humane codes of conduct.

Lastly, the adornment with a yellow border symbolises the teachings of the Buddha, which are like pure, refined gold and unbounded in space and time, that are flourishing and spreading.

PREFACE

At the young and vulnerable age of sixteen, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed the onerous spiritual and temporal responsibilities of leading the people of Tibet, which was at the height of political turmoil and upheaval due to the presence of the Chinese occupation forces. Before the Chinese occupation of whole of Tibet in 1959 that forced tens of thousands of Tibetans to flee their country, Tibet was a fully sovereign, independent nation, albeit with varying degrees of influence over the centuries from the Mongols, Manchus and Chinese.

But despite the foreign influences through its long and glorious history, Tibet retained its unique identity – its culture and religion, ethnicity, language and customs, and its own form of government and administration, as well as its own currency system. Tibet, historically, also served as a vital buffer zone between the world's two largest and most populous nations: India and China.

Tibet's ancient reputation was that of a nation of fierce warriors. However, with the advent of Buddhism, which came from India in the 7th century and took root in the following centuries, the people became deeply spiritual. The blending of the Buddha's teachings with Tibet's harsh and pristine environment brought about a unique way of life marked by complete harmony between humans and nature.

When the Chinese invasion came, the majority of Tibetans were nomads deeply immersed in religious pursuits. Even today, 80% of Tibet's people are nomads and semi-pastoralists. All over Tibet there existed thousands of centres of spiritual learning. Regrettably, over six thousand monasteries were plundered and destroyed, mostly completely, by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Besides, over 1.2 million Tibetans – almost 20% of the entire

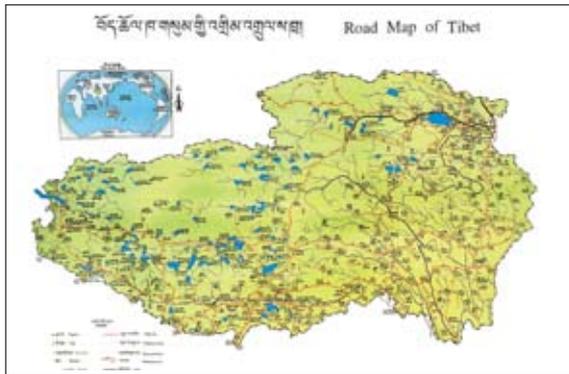
population – were killed as a direct result of China's occupation of Tibet.

Tibet occupies a critical geo-strategic position in Asia. Its area of 2.5 million square kilometres is 25% of the entire land-mass of the People's Republic of China. Its average altitude is 4000 meters, or 13,000 feet, above sea level, earning it the title of the Roof of the World. Tibet's borders are geographically well defined. In the south, it is delineated by the Himalayas, stretching from Jammu and Kashmir to Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar. To its east is China. In the north, it shares border with Mongolia, while in the west it borders East Turkestan. Tibet, thus, straddles a uniquely strategic position in Asia.

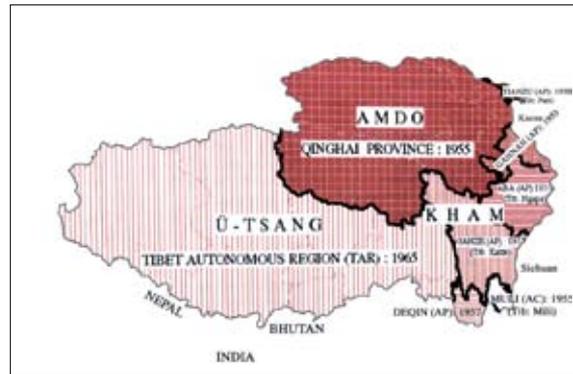
Tibet is also the source of many of the major rivers of south and east Asia. It is a vast land-mass with a fragile eco-system, and home to six million Tibetans.

Traditionally, Tibet was divided into three provinces: U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. However, in 1965 the People's Republic of China restructured Tibet, demarcating U-Tsang and part of Kham as the Tibet Autonomous Region; most of Amdo province with a portion of Kham as Qinghai Province, and merging other parts of Tibet into the neighbouring Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan and Gansu.

Today Tibetans do not enjoy any political freedom while their religion is severely curbed; their distinct culture is looked down upon as inferior while the Tibetans themselves are treated as barbarians in their own country. In the name of socio-economic development and modernization, over seven million Chinese have been settled in Tibet, resulting in the Tibetans becoming a minority in their own land. This process is being exacerbated by



Map of undivided Tibet displayed in the Assembly Hall



Map of Tibet divided by People's Republic of China

China's 'Western Development Plan', including with the opening of the high plateau region by railway links to the Chinese mainland. The result is further marginalization of ethnic Tibetans and the acceleration of Chinese immigration. The very identity and future of the Tibetan people now stands threatened as never before, bordering on the point of extinction.

It was the Tibetans' frustration with this life-threatening development which led almost the entire Tibetan Plateau to explode into a wave of uprising protests in March-April 2008. With the latest series of dialogue between envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese leadership for the resolution of the Tibet issue, begun in 2002, leading nowhere, due entirely to the latter's intransigence, the uprising was an act of desperation on the part of the Tibetan people who fully knew the Chinese government's capacity and willingness to hit back at them with bloodshed and further repression. And when the Chinese later that year totally rejected the Tibetan proposal for autonomy for Tibet under Chinese rule, further protests seemed inevitable. All these developments led to the holding in Dharamsala from 17 to 22 November 2008 of a Special General Meeting of Tibetans to discuss what further courses of actions might be adopted to keep the Tibet issue, and the move to resolve, it alive. The meeting of representatives of

Tibetan government officials, NGOs, Tibetan institutions, activists and others, called by the Dalai Lama and organized by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile under Article 59 of the Tibetan Charter-in-exile, reaffirmed continued faith in His Holiness's leadership, although a good majority felt that the middle way policy should give ways to goals like independence or self-determination should it fail to bring results "in the near future".

It is the hope and aspiration of the Tibetan people around the world to resolve their present predicament in a non-violent way, to attain genuine autonomy for Tibet through dialogue and negotiation, which will be mutually beneficial to both the People's Republic of China and Tibet. Declaring Tibet a "zone of peace and non-violence" under Chinese sovereignty, and its total denuclearisation and demilitarization, is the only viable solution for peace and stability in Asia.

This Fourth edition includes photographs of all the hitherto fourteen Parliaments-in-Exile, with additional information and updates since 2003. It is hoped that readers, particularly the Tibetan people and the supporters of Tibet, will benefit from this booklet on the democratization of Tibet's polity in exile.

Executive Director

TPPRC

BEGINNINGS

Fifty years have passed since the first group of Tibetans followed His Holiness the Dalai Lama into exile in India. Entire families fled their ancestral homes, taking with them whatever little they could carry over the treacherous, little-known passes in the high Himalayas, driven by the anxiety to escape oppression and killing under Chinese rule.

Soon the number of exiles rose to 80,000; it is now well over 140,000, and the exodus continues.

They are resettled in many countries all over the world, but mainly in India where the Government of India allocated plots of land per person for the resettlement of many of them and provided facilities like schools, hospitals and social welfare.

The Governments of Nepal and Bhutan also provided generous assistance for the resettlement of a number of Tibetans. In the initial period, many refugees earned their livelihood as labourers, mainly on projects to build roads in the border areas or at Tibetan handicraft centres, while a few made their way to Europe and North America.



The exiles found themselves in an environment very different from that of their homeland – the cold, largely barren, and thinly-populated Roof of the World. Most of them eventually settled in the plains of India, as had so many other immigrant groups before them throughout the long history of the Subcontinent.

However, unlike these groups, the Tibetan exiles did not assimilate with the Indian society. Rather, they harmoniously co-existed with the locals but held on proudly to their Tibetan identity. They continue to do so even today, although their children have been born in exile and have not seen their motherland.

The Tibetans' Buddhist faith had originated in India. However, over the centuries, the Tibetans had evolved a distinctive Buddhist culture, society and way of life suited to their remote surroundings and Mongolian stock. Their language and dress are also noticeably different.

The Tibetan exiles have survived as a cohesive community, committed to retaining the culture and traditions of their homeland, to which they ardently long to return in freedom. They have a living, evolving focus for their identity in the Dalai Lama to sustain their hope.

Though sections of the Tibetan youth appear to be westernized, with some holding well-paid jobs in the West, and there are others who question the Dalai Lama's policy of non-violence and demand for autonomy rather than independence, they all continue to venerate him.

From the time the Dalai Lama sought refuge in India in 1959, he has committed himself to the secular education of his people and to the establishment of representative, democratic institutions which would foster the pride and self-confidence that his people require for surviving in today's world without losing their heritage. This has meant making them less dependent on him: a unique



The First elected representative body

exercise in self-effacement, initiated soon after the Tibetans began their life in exile.

Less than a year after seeking refuge in India and when he was only 25 years old, the Dalai Lama outlined a programme designed to introduce the exiles to the practice of democratic self-rule without losing touch with their own traditions.

He announced his democratic plan in February 1960 at Bodh Gaya (Bihar), where Lord Buddha had attained enlightenment over 2,500 years ago, thus emphasising the historic, cultural and religious links between Tibet and India.

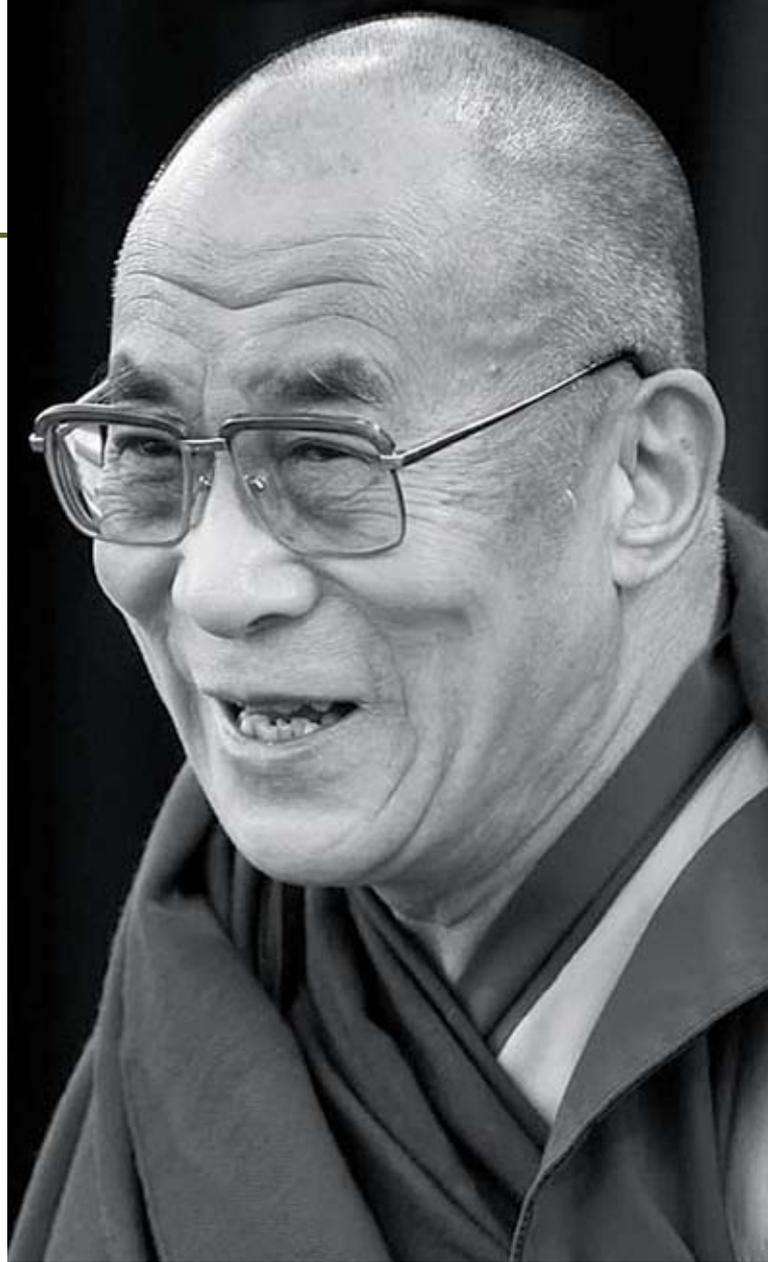
The process he began laid the foundation of democratic rule – a freely elected assembly, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile – that governs the community-in-exile and provides a model for their homeland.

CLEAR VISION

The Tibetan Parliament-in-exile (TPiE) is located in the hill-town of Dharamsala on the lap of the Dhauladhar range of the Himalayas in northern India. The Tibetan plateau is not far from there. But the towering Himalayas remind the community-in-exile of the formidable challenge they must face for their return to their homeland. The very name "Dharamsala," which in Hindi means resting place for travellers, is a poignant reminder that no matter how long we stay here, our home is elsewhere.

In 1959 the Government of India hosted His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie. However, in the following year, He and His entourage moved to Dharamsala where He has since lived in a bungalow which, though comfortable, is a far-cry from His magnificent Potala Palace in Lhasa.

It is from here that His Holiness has kept alive the hope of all Tibetans in exile of one day returning to a democratic Tibet. He has also encouraged his people to educate themselves and their children so that they would be of service to their country when they eventually do return, and to develop, while in exile, institutions of self-government which will serve as a model for their homeland.



The process of democratic governance was accelerated in 1990 when the Parliament-in-Exile was expanded and given independent authority. It was empowered to elect the Kashag (cabinet) consisting of seven (now eight) Kalons (ministers), who were made responsible to it. Until then the appointment of Kalons was the exclusive prerogative of the Dalai Lama, as desired by the Tibetan people.

This change of a fundamental nature gave substance to the proceedings of the Parliament-in-Exile where the Kalons are now required to defend and explain the

actions and functioning of the executive. The change has had other far reaching effects – Deputies now discuss and lay down policies on issues which formerly were the preserve of the Dalai Lama and his advisers. They keep a close watch on foreign relations and on the affairs of Tibetans inside Tibet and abroad. Further reforms were introduced in 2001, when, for example, the entire Tibetan diaspora was empowered to directly elect the Kalon Tripa (Chief of the Cabinet).

These fundamental changes, in a sense, revolutionised the practices of the past decades. What is even more remarkable is the fact that the process of democratisation was not the result of any pressure from the general public, as is usually the case elsewhere; rather, it has been a conscious and articulated wish of the Dalai Lama who went against the wishes of his people who opposed even the very thought of diluting his supreme powers.

For the Dalai Lama, however, the process of empowering the people to rule for themselves and take decisions to determine their own destiny was an imperative that had far reaching implications for the future. In fact, the Dalai Lama has made it clear that when the exiles are able to return to their homeland, he would renounce all his temporal authority. He felt that an elected President should assume those powers.

However, since the vast majority of the six million Tibetans continue to live in Tibet, the Dalai Lama does not wish to create the impression that any particular form of government will be imposed in

Tibet after the exiles' return. Rather, he has made it clear that the Government-in-exile would be dissolved and no special positions would be reserved for its officials. A transitional government will supervise the setting-up of a freely elected Constituent Assembly which will determine the future form of the Tibetan government.

While the experience of those who have worked for the Government-in-exile will be available to the new government, no special privileges will be given to them. Further, those Tibetans working in various departments presently under Chinese supervision have been assured that their services would continue.



*His Holiness with Indian Prime Minister
Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi*

Through the long years of exile, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision and direction has been clear and unwavering; a commitment to democracy and non-violence. Despite frustrations, he has succeeded admirably in infusing a sense of confidence in his people that one day those in exile will return to Tibet. His has been a truly remarkable and unprecedented achievement.

DEMOCRACY DAY

The building where the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile holds its sessions was completed in early 1980s during the seventh Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, as the parliament-in-exile was then called.

It is a modest structure in the central part of a horseshoe-shaped cluster of buildings housing several of the departments of the Tibetan government in exile. There is nothing strikingly Tibetan about the architecture of the building.

The 43 to 46 Deputies (depending on whether the Dalai Lama nominates the up to three direct appointees he is entitled to) and the Kalons sit in two U-shaped rows in a square hall while the officials, journalists and observers are seated behind them. On a raised platform behind

the Chairman's desk is a desk reserved for the Dalai Lama when He addresses the parliament. An enlarged photograph of the Dalai Lama on the wall behind and an elaborate thangka painting are the only symbols of Tibet, together with the fact that the proceedings are conducted in Tibetan.

Although the parliament-in-exile functions like any other legislature, the plain, utilitarian structure of its session hall indicates its temporary, exile status. After all, the challenge before the community-in-exile is to survive and progress without laying down roots that may weaken the determination to return home.

The permanence of the link with Tibet is emphasized in the electoral system which

Exile (1959)

The First group of Tibetans followed the Dalai Lama into exile in India to escape oppression under Chinese rule.



Democracy (1960)

Only 25 years old, His Holiness the Dalai Lama outlined a programme designed to introduce the exile Tibetans to the practice of democratic self-rule. He made a formal announcement in February 1960.

First Parliament Members

The first body of elected representative, designated as the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies, met on September 2, 1960. The occasion is today observed as Tibetan Democracy Day.



The Parliament house in 1966



requires that the Deputies who represent the three Tibetan Chokhas (provincial regions) of U-Tsang, Dotoe and Domey be people belonging to their respective provinces, although they could, as a matter of practicality, be voted in only by Tibetans living in exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

Of the up to 46 Deputies, ten represent the five Tibetan religious traditions, including the pre-Buddhist Bon religion; they signify and represent the part that religion has played in Tibetan polity, though they no longer have their traditional influence. And finally, every Tibetan from the age of six to

fourteen pay a voluntary contribution of at least twelve rupees, while those who are older pay at least fifty eight rupees annually to demonstrate support to the Government-in-exile and to confirm his or her exile status.

The initial steps in educating the Tibetan exiles in democratic procedures were taken soon after the first wave of refugees arrived in India.

The Dalai Lama had, in fact, initiated the process of democratisation in Tibet itself. In his autobiography *My Land and My People* he recalls how he appointed a

Ultimate authority to the people. (1991)

"From now on, the people's decision will be final. I feel that the Dalai Lama should have no role here. The future assembly will be entrusted with the power of appointing the Kalons." -H. H. the Dalai Lama, May 1990



The Parliament house now



Democratically elected Prime Minister

For the first time, the Tibetan People directly elected the Kalon Tripa, the Chief of the Cabinet, in 2001.

Members of the 14th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile





The first Parliamentary Secretariat set-up on 3rd May, 1966

Reforms Committee of eminent citizens to redress the inequalities prevailing in Tibet at the time; but the reforms were obstructed by the Chinese occupation.

In his Foreword to the Constitution for Tibet drafted in 1963, the Dalai Lama stated:

“Even prior to my departure from Tibet in March 1959, I had come to the conclusion that in the changing circumstances of the modern world, the system of governance in Tibet must be modified and amended so as to allow the elected representatives of the people to play a more effective role in guiding and shaping the social and economic policies of the State. I also firmly believed that this could only be done through democratic institutions based on social and economic justice.”

Before the Chinese occupied Tibet, important decisions were taken by the Tsogdu, a National Assembly in which

monks and other societal groups were represented along with the Kalons and other officials. No direct elections were held; rather, members were selected as representatives of communities and trade groups. Thus, the Tsogdu was made up of the abbots of the three great monasteries and lay representatives of various classes and occupations, such as artisans, tradesmen, soldiers and boatmen.

Thus, the Tibetans had little or no experience of democratic governance when they came to India. However, one of the first pronouncements made by the Dalai Lama after arriving in India showed that he had already envisaged a process of democratisation that would maintain close links with the land from which the Tibetans had been forced to flee.

In February 1960, at Bodh Gaya (where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment), the Dalai Lama outlined a detailed

programme to the large group of Tibetans gathered there. He advised the Tibetans to set up an elected body with three exile representatives for each of the three chokhas and one each for the four Buddhist religious traditions. The link with Tibet was thus formalised.

Elections were duly held and the first body of elected representatives in Tibet's history – the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD) – took office

on September 2, 1960. The Tibetan community observes this historic date as their Democracy Day.

In 1965, the role of the Deputies was enhanced when the Commission was entrusted with the authority to abolish the traditional practice of appointing both monk and lay officials to each office, and to abolish the various hereditary titles and prerogatives.

The following table presents in detail the duration of the Assembly and the number of representatives in each of the Thirteen Assemblies.

		From	To	No. of Representatives
First	CTPD	02.09.1960	19.02.1964	13
Second	"	20.02.1964	01.09.1966	17
Third	"	02.09.1966	24.11.1969	17
Fourth	"	25.11.1969	24.12.1972	16
Fifth	"	25.12.1972	04.05.1976	16
Sixth	"	05.05.1976	01.09.1979	17
Seventh	ATPD	02.09.1979	01.09.1982	17
Eighth	"	02.09.1982	01.09.1987	12
Ninth	"	02.09.1987	01.09.1988	12
Tenth	"	02.09.1988	11.05.1990	12
Eleventh	"	29.05.1991	28.05.1996	46
Twelfth	"	29.05.1996	30.05.2001	46
Thirteenth	"	31.05.2001	30.05.2006	46
Fourteenth	TPiE	31.05.2006	30.05.2011	43

By the end of the Third CTPD's term in 1969, the Deputies had been authorised to oversee the working of the departments of the Government-in-exile. However, with the Kalons being not responsible to them, the authority of the Deputies was limited.

From the First parliament-in-exile set up in 1960 to the Tenth in 1988, the membership varied from 12 to 17. In 1991, the membership was increased to between 43 and 46, with the Dalai Lama being entitled to appoint up to three direct nominees. Until 1990, all the Deputies stayed in Dharamsala throughout the year.

The tenure of the CTPD was to be three years, however it actually varied because the election of the Deputies was dispersed over a wide area and the means of communication was poor. In 1985, the tenure of the CTPD was extended from three to five years. Also, the legislative body was renamed as the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) after the term of the Sixth CTPD ended.

There was an interregnum from May 12, 1990 to May 28, 1991 when major changes were introduced to give a more democratic character to the Eleventh ATPD. The process of strengthening the parliamentary system was slow during the early stages, but it developed steadily.

The Third CTPD introduced the system of calling an annual general meeting of the heads of the settlements and monastic institutions in order to review their activities.

In July 1972, the Fourth CTPD convened a People's Representative Convention on an appeal by a group of public spirited Tibetans from Sarnath, near Varanasi, who came to Dharamsala for the purpose. The Convention appealed to all democratic and peace-loving nations of the world to support the just cause of Tibet, and also submitted a petition to the Government of India, urging it to accord diplomatic recognition to the Tibetan Government-in-exile.

In order to strengthen their legitimising bond with the Government-in-exile, all Tibetans above the age of six were obliged to pay for it at least one rupee per month as a form of voluntary contribution. For this purpose, a Tibetan Freedom Movement sub-committee, known as Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul (BRDL), was set up in each Tibetan community across the free world. This formalised the commitment of the entire community-in-exile to the democratic functioning of the Government-in-exile, including their participation in, and responsibility for it.

First Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)

1960-1964



Front row – L to R: Tsering Gonpo, Atro Rinpoche Karma Shenphen Choekyi Dawa, Tongkor Trulku Lobsang Jangchup, Lobsang Namgyal, Dorjee Pelsang, Tsultrim

Back row – L to R: Lobsang Nyendak, Tsewang Tamdin, Tsering Wangdue, Rinchen Tsering, Kalsang Damdul, Wangdu Dorje

Nyingma: Karma Thubten

Sakya: Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin

Kagyue: Atro Rinpoche Karma Shenphen Choekyi Dawa

Gelug: Chiso Lobsang Namgyal

U. Tsang: Samkhar Tsering Wangdu, Tamshul Dhedong Wangdi Dorje, Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul

Dhotoe: Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Jangtsetsang Tsering Gonpo, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyendak

Dhomey: Alag Trigen Jamyang (resigned, replaced by Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub) Gungthang Tsultrim, Gyalrong Trichu Dorje Pelsang



The newly elected Deputies took their oath of office on 2 September 1960. The legislative body was named as the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD).

On 4 September, His Holiness explained to the elected members how important it was that there should be a fully functioning polity which was rooted in traditional values but adapted to the widely accepted modern democratic system of governance. With this end in view, His Holiness provided the agenda for the meeting.

For the first time ever, a weeklong joint meeting of the elected Deputies and the Cabinet members was held to discuss the positive aspects and the shortcomings of the existing Tibetan polity, the future course of action, the expansion of the existing departments of the government-in-exile and the appointment of civil servants.

The members proposed a list of 29 names to administer the Councils for Religion, Home, Foreign Relations, and Education; the Offices of Finance, information, and Security, as well as the Civil Service Commission.

However, the Commission at that time had no secretariat and the facilities for its functioning were limited, so that its existence was, more than anything else, a matter of formality. The Deputies were attached to various departments of the government-in-exile to enable them to gain experience while the supervision of the infant administration-in-exile was entrusted to the Dalai Lama and the Kalons. This practice was followed till the 4th CTPD.

The Deputies met twice each month to assess the situation and discuss important issues. The Deputies, members of the Kashag and the administrative heads of the departments met as the

During the 1st CTPD, the government in exile had four major Councils, namely, Religious Affairs (1959), Home (1959), Foreign Relations (1959) and Education (1960), each headed by a minister, and four minor offices, namely of Information, Security, Civil Services welfare, and Money and Salaries (Finance).

The Ministers functioned from their departments and met once each week, apart from emergency meetings. An Election Commission was appointed only as and when an election was to be held.

Settlements and educational and cultural institutions began to be established during this period.

The Offices of Tibet in New York and Geneva were established in 1960 and 1964, respectively, after the Bureau in New Delhi and Office of Representative in Kathmandu.

Educational institutions such as the Tibetan School, Mussoorie, and TCV, Dharamsala, were established in 1960.

National Working Committee once every six months to present reports and review activities. The Chairmanship was held by rotation among the members.

On March 10, 1961, the 2nd anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, His Holiness announced that a draft constitution of Tibet had been formulated; he sought views from the people, calling on them and their elected representatives to suggest improvements and amendments.

On October 10, 1961, a synoptic version of a draft constitution was circulated amongst the Tibetan diaspora. Representatives of the Tibetan people, the Deputies and the civil servants unanimously appreciated it and pledged to follow its provisions, which incorporated traditional Tibetan values within modern democratic norms. However, they expressed inability to accept the provisions which curtailed the powers of His Holiness.

Eventually, on 10 March 1963, His Holiness promulgated a constitution consisting of 10 chapters and 77 articles. He also made structural changes to the governmental institutions and the appointment of civil servants. Hereditary appointments to the civil service were abolished.

The term of the elected representatives was set at three years. It was also decided that there should be an elected Chair and a Vice Chair of the Commission.

Rules were also framed, since 8 February 1964, concerning the election and terms of office of a three-member Gharthue in the larger settlements. The members were to be a representative from each of the three provinces elected directly by the people to assist the settlement representative in overseeing developmental activities.

A Tibetan Troupe of Performing Arts was formed in 1959 in Kalimpong and moved to Dharamsala in 1961 and was renamed as the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts.

A Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute was established in 1961.

Tibetan resettlement projects were established at the Tibetan Refugee Self-Help Centre-Darjeeling and Tibetan Handicraft Centre, in 1959,

at Dalhousie, Bylakuppe-Lugsam, Bomdila, Jwalakhel and Solokhumbu in 1960,

at Darjeeling and Dhorpatan in 1961,

at Tezu, Pokhara Tashi Pelkyil and Walung in 1962,

at Mainpat, Orissa, Maio and Tibetan Handicraft Centre- Dharamsala in 1963, and

at Clement Town, Delhi, Druk Karchesa Kunphenling and Druk Padro Kungaling in 1964.

They were spread across the length and breadth of India, Nepal and Bhutan.

1964-1966

Second Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)



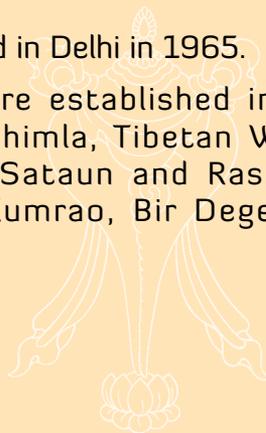
Front row sitting- L to R: Tsewang Tamdin- Chairman, Samkhar Tsering Wangdu-Vice Chairman

Middle row- L to R: Lobsang Khyenrab, Tongkhor Lobsang Jangchub, Ratoe Chuwar Rinpoche, Pelyul Jampel Lodoe, Jamyang Sonam, Jampa Choedak

Back row- L to R: Yabtsang Dechen Dolma, Lodoe Choeden, Kalsang Damdul, Namgyal Dorje, Rinchen Tsering, Lobsang Nyendak

Tibet House was established in Delhi in 1965.

Tibetan Settlements were established in Sonada, Pandoh, Tibetan Handicraft Centre—Shimla, Tibetan Women's Handicraft Centre—Rajpur, Tashi Jong, Sataun and Rasowa in 1965 and Mundgod, Solan, Chauntra, Kumrao, Bir Dege and Pokhara Tashi Ling in 1966.



Nominated:	Ratoe Chuwar Trulku	Dhotoe:	Jagoetsang Namgyal Dorje, Yabtsang Dechen Dolma, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyandak, Jangtsatsang Tsering Gonpo, (appointed minister, replaced by Drawu Pon Rinchen Tsering)
Nyingma:	Pelyul Zongna Trulku Jampel Lodoe		
Sakya:	Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin- Chairman		
Kagyue:	Lodoe Choedhen	Dhomey:	Kirti Jamyang Sonam, Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub, Taklha Tsering Dolma, Kongtsa Jampa Choedak
Gelug:	Loling Tsachag Lobsang Kyenrab		
U-Tsang:	Samkhar Tsering Wangdu- Vice Chairman, Ngawang Choesang, Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul, Tengring Rinchen Dolma		

For the 2nd and the 3rd CTPD, the total strength of the elected representatives was increased from 13 to 17 with one additional seat reserved for a woman from each of the three provinces while His Holiness began nominating an eminent Tibetan as per the new constitution.

In 1965 the Assembly, as envisaged by His Holiness, abolished the traditional practice of appointing monks and lay officials to each government office. The use of hereditary titles and prerogatives was withdrawn. The CTPD restructured

the rules of public service and framed new ranks and designations.

On 3rd May 1966, a separate Commission house and secretariat was set up. The elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Commission began enjoying the privileges equal to that of a Minister while the other Deputies were entitled to the privileges equal to that of a Vice-Minister. The practice of the Commission meeting twice a month and the bi-annual report presentation and review meeting of the National Working Committee in Dharamsala continued.



1966-1969

Third Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)



*Front row sitting- L to R: Tsewang Tamdin-**Chairman**, Kalsang Damdul-**Vice Chairman***

*Middle row- L to R: Dechen Dolma, Tsering Wangdu, Alag Jigmey Lhundub,
Tong Khor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub, Gawa Yangdron, Lobsang Nyendak*

*Back row- L to R: Tsewang Rinchen, Lodo Tharchin, Kirti Senge, Rinchen Tsering, Namgyal Dorjee,
Lobsang Khyenrab, Nyima Sangpo.*

The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies was established in 1967 as a special wing of Varanasi Sanskrit University (Sampuranand Sanskrit University). It became a "Deemed University" on 5 April 1988. On January 15, 2009, the Dalai Lama dedicated the centre's renaming as the Central University of Tibetan Studies.

The Finance Department was elevated to a full-fledged department and the US Office of Tibet was merged with Foreign Relations Office in 1969.

During this period Tibetan settlements were established at Bir-Tibetan society, Tibetan Welfare Office-Dharamsala and Poanta Sahib in 1967 and Bylakuppe-Dekyi Larsoe, Ladakh and Puruwala in 1969.

Nominated:	Sakya Dha Damo Cha'i Khenpo	U-Tsang:	Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul-Vice Chairman, Samkhar Tsering Wangdu, Ngawang Choesang, Tengring Rinchen Dolma, Tsaphu Tsewang Rinchen
Nyingma:	Kathog Oentrul Rinpoche (resigned, replaced by Taklung Nyima Sangpo)	Dhotoe:	Jagoetsang Namgyal Dorje, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyendak, Yabtsang Dechen Dolma, Drawu Rinchen Tsering
Sakya:	Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin-Chairman	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub, Kirti Senge, Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub, Taktser Gawa Yangdon
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin		
Gelug:	Loling Tsachag Lobsang Kyenrab		

In 1969, the third CTPD decided to call an Annual (National Level) General Meeting and discontinued the existing biannual meetings. The first exhibition to showcase the achievements of the Tibetan refugees in agriculture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and religious institutions was held.

The Deputies gained considerable experience in the workings of the administration while they were attached to the government departments. By the

end of the 3rd CTPD, they began to oversee the working of the departments, which was a turning point in the functioning of the legislative body.

The Deputies held their own Commission sessions, scrutinized the work reports of the government departments and held the Kashag responsible for lapses in redressing public grievances. The Commission, thus, acted as a bridge between the people and the government.



1969-1972

Fourth Commission of Tibetan
People's Deputies (CTPD)



Front row sitting- L to R: Nyima Sangpo- Chairman, Tsewang Trinley-Vice Chair

Back row- L to R: Lobsang Dhargye, Norbu Tsering, Phagpa Tsering, Tsewang Rinchen, Alag Jigmey Lhundrub, Lobsang Paljor, Gawa Yangdon, Gonpo Tashi, Jigmey Gyaltzen, Phuma Rinam, Chime Dolkar, Tamdin Choekyi

In 1970 the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives was established and Tibetan Delek Hospital was built in 1971.

A separate Information Office of the government-in-exile was set up in 1972.

During this period settlements were established at Druk Lhong-tso Yi in 1970; Hunsur and Lotserok, Druk Boe-gar-nang Namgyal Ling, and Druk Samtenling in 1971, and Bhandara, Tenzin Gang, Herbertpur-Yugyaling, Lingsang and Pokhara Paljorling in 1972.

Nyingma:	Taklung Nyima Sangpo- Chairman	Dhotoe:	Tsewang Trinley- Vice Chair, Phuma Rin-Nam, Adruktsang Tamdin Choekyi, Kachen Chagzoe Thubten Gelek
Sakya:	Ludhing Shabdrung Jigmey Gyaltsen	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub, Choney Phagpa Tsering, Taktser Gawa Yangdon, Gonpo Tashi
Kagyue:	Drugchen Thugsey Ngawang Dechen		
Gelug:	Lobsang Paljor		
U-Tsang:	Phunrabpa Lobsang Dhargye, Jetsun Chimey, Tsaphu Tsewang Rinchen, Norbu Tsering		

From the 4th CTPD, His Holiness did not appoint any direct nominee; hence, the number of Deputies came down to 16 for the 4th and 5th CTPD.

The First Annual General meeting (replacing the biannual meetings) was held in 1970 in conjunction with the anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day (10th March). People’s representatives, administrators at all levels and monastic representatives participated in this meeting. This practice was followed till 1981.

In 1972, a group of public-spirited Tibetans from Varanasi approached the administration with a ten-point memorandum and sought permission

to visit the settlements to rouse the Tibetan public’s support to their action plan for the cause of Tibet’s freedom. The permission was granted and in July 1972, the preliminary convention of the Tibetan Freedom Movement was held. Rules concerning the setting up and working of the movement was enacted.

Tibetan Freedom Movement sub-committees, known as Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul (BRDL), were set up at Tibetan settlements and colonies all over the free world. The election of the members of the Tibetan Freedom Movement sub-committees replaced the practice of electing the 3-member Gharthue at the local level.



1972-1976

Fifth Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)



*Front row- L to R: Dhedul Trulku, Ritrul Rigzin Choegyal
Juchen Thubten Namgyal-Chairman, Lobsang Choeden, Ngawang Sangpo*

*Back row- L to R: Tsering Choedon, Lobsang Tenzin, Lakha Trulku, Lobsang Dhargye,
Genyen Choedon*

In 1973, the Public Service Commission was set up as an independent office; it earlier functioned under the Department of Security. Likewise, in 1975, the Audit Office, which previously functioned under the Department of Finance, started functioning independently.

The South East Asia (Tokyo) office of the Representative of His Holiness was established in 1974.

During this period Tibetan settlements were established in Kollegal and Lo-Drigzok in 1974 and Gangtok and Pokhara Jampaling in 1975.

Nyingma:	Ritrul Rigzin Choegyral	Dhotoe:	Tsewang Trinley- (Chairman) for two years, Bha Lakha Trulku, Thubten Dorje, Juchen Thubten, Namgyal-Chairman after Tsewang Trinley's demise, Dhompa Tsering Choedon
Sakya:	Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo		
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin		
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden		
U-Tsang:	Rikha Lobsang Tenzin, Drikung Genyen Choedon, Phunrab pa Lobsang Dhargye, Gonpo Dorje	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub- Vice Chairman, Ladrang Jigmey Gyatso, Dhuedul Trulku Lobsang Thubten, Gyalrong Barkham Tashi Kyi



In 1973, the 2nd photo exhibition of the Tibetan diaspora was held in conjunction with the Fourth Annual General Meeting. In the same year, new rules for the recruitment, appointment and transfer of civil servants was framed and announced on 25 August.

Till the 5th parliament-in-exile, the Election Commission adopted many different ways and means to elect the Deputies of the CTPD. In 1974, the election system was reviewed on the basis of the factual Tibetan situation, and positive elements from the Indian electoral system incorporated. On 21 November 1974, a new set of electoral rules was put in place; it did away with reservation of seats for women and, till 1991, members were elected without gender bias.

Till 1975, the Kashag was fully responsible for the budget of the departments and there was no financial accountability to the CTPD. In 1975, new rules were framed regarding the control of the Government's budget. It was decided that the income and expenditure of all the departments of the Government-in-exile should be approved and sanctioned during the annual meeting of the National Working Committee chaired by the Chairman of CTPD.

In the same year, during the National Annual General Meeting, it was decided that the 2nd day of September should be commemorated annually as the founding day of Tibetan Democracy and declared a national holiday.



1976-1979

Sixth Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)



*Front row- L to R: Tsering Gyaltzen, Lobsang Choeden, Ayang Trulku, Alag Jigmey Lhundub-**Chairman**, Lobsang Dhargye-**Vice-Chair**, Ngawang Sangpo, Yungdrung Namgyal*

Back row- L to R: Rinchen Tsering, Dorje Damdul, Dekyi Dolkar, Kalden, Genyen Choedon, Kunsang Paljor, Tsering Choedon, Lobsang Tenzin

Ravangla Tibetan settlement was established in 1978.



Nyingma:	Tsering Gyaltzen	Dhotoe:	Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Thubten Jungney, Bha Lakha Trulku Thubten Dorje, Dhomba Tsering Choedon
Sakya:	Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub- Chairman, Hortsang Lobsang Tenzin, Dekyi Dolkar, Kalden
Kagyue:	Gha Ayang Trulku		
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden		
Bon:	Yungdrung Namgyal		
U-Tsang:	Phunrab pa Lobsang Dhargye- Vice Chair, Gonshar Dorje Damdul, Tanak Kunsang Peljor, Drikung Genyen Choedon		

The strength of the CTPD increased to 17 during the 6th and 7th CTPD with the addition of a Deputy for bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, on 5 October 1977. Thus, in addition to the four Buddhist traditions, followers of the bon religion also came to have a separate Deputy in the CTPD.

In 1977, during the 8th Annual General Meeting, the third photo exhibition of the Tibetan diaspora was held. In the same year, the budget session was brought

forward to 1 February from the usual 1 April every year.

In 1979, the term of the Cabinet Ministers was fixed at 5 years, calculated from the time of taking oath of Office. His Holiness was again entrusted to appoint, reappoint, or dismiss any of the Cabinet Ministers.

At the end of the 6th CTPD, the parliament-in-exile was renamed as the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD).



1979-1982

Seventh Assembly of Tibetan
People's Deputies (ATPD)



*Front row- L to R: Ngawang Sangpo, Tsering Gyaltzen, Tsewang Namgyal, Gyari Lodoe Gyaltzen-
Chairman, Gonshar Dorje Damdul-Vice Chair, Kalsang Yeshe, Yungdrung Wangyal*

*Back row- L to R: Ngawang, Rigzin, Nubpa Choedak Gyatso, Athar Norbu, Lobsang Jampel, Dekyi
Dolkar, Kalden, Chime Namgyal, Kunsang Paljor, Ngodup Tsering*

Since 1980, the Kalons decided to sit in the Cabinet to concentrate on the overall policy formulation and implementation, leaving the day-to-day administration of the departments to the Secretaries.

The Delyiling settlement in Dehradun and the Health Department were established in 1981 and 1982, respectively.

Nyingma:	Tsering Gyaltzen	Dhotoe:	Gyari Lodoe Gyaltzen- Chairman , Lithang Athar Norbu, Chatreng Ngawang, Ga Tridhu pon Chime Namgyal	
Sakya:	Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo			
Kagyue:	Jharsangling Tsewang Namgyal			
Gelug:	Samshung Kalsang Yeshe		Dhomey:	Cheypa Lobsang Jampel, Kalden, Nangra Rigzin, Dekyi Dolkar
Bon:	Yungdrung Namgyal			
U-Tsang:	Gonshar Dorje Damdul-Vice Chair, Tanak Kunsang Peljor, Nubpa Choedak Gyatso, Kyidrong Ngodub Tsering			

It was decided during the Annual General Meeting of 1981 that this meeting would now be held once every two years rather than annually.

The members of the ATPD were elected proportionately by the people of the respective provinces of Tibet, irrespective of the strength of the electorates in exile from these different groups. Since 1974, the Tibetan Youth Congress had been carrying out a persistent campaign, urging that the Deputies to the ATPD be elected by the combined electorate of the people

of all the three provinces. In 1981, the High-Level Standing Committee decided by a majority vote to hold the election to the 8th ATPD as petitioned by the Youth Congress and this was duly announced by the Election Commission. But the Dotoe public then protested that the exiting system was adequate. As a result, the High-Level Standing Committee reviewed its decision and decided that a one-time voting would be held for the 8th ATPD and His Holiness would then nominate the members from the primaries.



1982-1987

**Eighth Assembly of Tibetan People's
Deputies (ATPD)**



Front row sitting- L to R: Nyima Sangpo—Chairman, Lobsang Choeden—Vice-Chair

*Back row- L to R: Lobsang Tinley, Tsewang Namgyal, Gomang Tenpa, Lhagyari Trichen Namgyal
Gyatso, Lobsang Rabgye, Ngawang Tashi, Gyalsey Rinpoche, Dakpa Namgyal,
Jadur Sonam Sangpo, Jagoetsang Dhonyoe*

The Office of Tibet, London was established in 1983 and the Bangalore South Zone Representative Office was set-up in 1987.



Nominated:	Lha-gyari Trichen Namgyal Gyatso	Bon:	Jadur Sonam Sangpo
Nyingma:	Taklung Nyima Sangpo-Chairman	U-Tsang:	Kongpo Nyang-gya Lobsang Rabgye, Ngari Dakpa Namgyal
Sakya:	Tritu Gyalsey Trulku	Dhotoe:	Jaghoe-tsang Dhonyoe, Lungkhar Ngawang Tashi
Kagyue:	Choeying Gyaltzen (demise, replaced by Jarsang-ling Tsewang Namgyal)	Dhomey:	Bha Mangra Tenpa, Ldrang Lobsang Tinley
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden-Vice Chair		

His Holiness reduced the number of provincial Deputies by half – to two each – and also nominated an eminent Tibetan over and above the 5 Deputies from the religious traditions, which brought the total strength to 12. As entrusted, His Holiness selected all the members of the ATPD from the list determined by the primary election voting.

In 1984, the Election Commission announced the election schedule for the 9th ATPD. Again, due to the repeated demand of the Dotoe public for the continuance of the prevailing system, and, in view of it, on the advice of His Holiness, a meeting was held under the auspices of the ATPD. The meeting, attended by representatives of the Provinces, the Tibetan Youth Congress and new arrivals from Tibet, resolved that so long as a unanimous decision could not be reached, His Holiness should appoint the ATPD members. The meeting's suggestion that the term of the ATPD be increased to five

years was accepted and an announcement issued on 8 July 1985, extending the term of the 8th ATPD by two years to make it five.

On 2 September 1985, the 25th anniversary of the founding of the ATPD, His Holiness addressed the leadership and the Tibetan public. Since then 2 September was celebrated with a public function to commemorate Tibetan Democracy Day.

In order to further the process of democratisation and to prepare Tibetans for political responsibilities in the eventuality of the absence of His Holiness, the Kashag was, in 1986, authorised to discuss the possibilities of direct elections to the Kashag or a system of government by political parties. However, led by ATPD members, all civic leaders pleaded that His Holiness continue with his existing responsibilities.

1987-1988

**Ninth Assembly of Tibetan People's
Deputies (ATPD)**



Front row sitting- L to R: Lobsang Choeden-Chairman, Nubpa Choedak Gyatso-Vice Chair

*Back row- L to R: Lodoe Tharchin, Jadur Sonam Sangpo, Jamyang Soepa, Jagoetsang Dhonyoe,
Lhagyari Trichen Namgyal Gyatso (Nominated), Nyisang, Gomang Tenpa, Lobsang Rabgye,
Gonshar Tashi Wangdue, Soepa Gyatso*

Planning Commission was set-up in 1988.



Nominated:	Lhagyari Trichen Namgyal Gyatso	Bon:	Jadur Sonam Sangpo
Nyingma:	Nubpa Choedak Gyatso- Vice Chair	U-Tsang:	Kongpo Nyang-gya Lobsang Rabgye, Gonshar Tashi Wangdue
Sakya:	Jamyang Soepa	Dhotoe:	Dasur Nyisang, Jhagoe-tsang Dhonyoe
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin	Dhomey:	Gomang Tenpa, Ldrang Soepa Gyatso
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden-Chairman		

His Holiness nominated all the members of the 9th ATPD. This was an interim measure proposed during the National General Assembly and approved by the High Level Standing Committee to

be continued till such time as when a commonly acceptable solution is found. The 9th ATPD lasted for just one year, for after that the election for the 10th ATPD was notified.



1988-1990

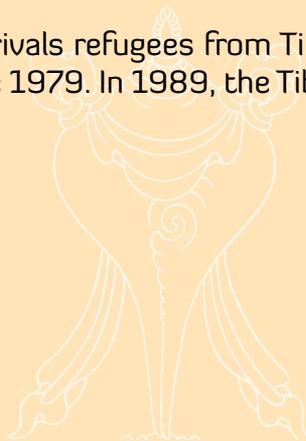
Tenth Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)



*Front row- L to R: Gomang Tenpa, Nubpa Choedak Gyatso-**Chairman**, Chime Namgyal-**Vice Chair**, Lha Gyari Trichen Namgyal Gyatso*

Back row- L to R: Jadur Sonam Sangpo, Lodoe Tharchin, Pema Jungney, Dhonyen Serga, Kalden, Soepa Gyatso, Ngawang Gelek, Tsering Dhondup

The welfare of the new arrivals refugees from Tibet was looked after by the Security Department since 1979. In 1989, the Tibetan Reception Centre was set up for this purpose.



Nominated:	Lha Gyari Trichen Namgyal Gyatso	Bon:	Jadur Sonam Sangpo
Nyingma:	Nubpa Choedak Gyatso- Chairman	U-Tsang:	Ngawang Gelek, Tsering Dhondub
Sakya:	Pema Jungney	Dhotoe:	Tridu pon Chime Namgyal- Vice Chair, Dhoe Nyen Serga
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin	Dhomey:	Kalden, Ladrang Soepa Gyatso
Gelug:	Gomang Tenpa		

On 3 September 1988, during His first audience to the 10th ATPD, His Holiness stressed that He shall not hold any state responsibility when a new government is set up in future Tibet. He added that Tibetans should be educated about democracy and be able to shoulder more responsibilities of the government. He also said the members of the ATPD should be elected by the people rather than being appointed by Him.

Likewise, the administrators of the Tibetan settlements were to be elected locally. The eligibility of the ministers to continue in the Kashag after completing their 5-year term should be thoroughly discussed and the decision emerging from it implemented accordingly. These and other guidelines were given to all Tibetans from time to time as preparations for establishing a truly democratic society.

However, due to lack of democratic education and the entrenched traditional mindset of the people, as well as owing to the international Tibetan political situation, both the draft constitution and the repeated advices of His Holiness

could not be implemented in totality. Nevertheless, efforts were made in organisational reforms and in educating the public about democratic ideology and practices in the last several decades. However, the Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet, remained unflinching in their ardent wish to only follow the direct leadership of His Holiness. They also doubted the suitability of the Western style democracy in the Tibetan situation. For all these reasons, democratic reforms took a rather long time to gain momentum in the Tibetan society.

Again, on 6 May 1989, during the General Assembly, His Holiness the Dalai Lama emphasized the need for more democratic reforms, including for the election of a head of government. He suggested that a constitution drafting committee be set up for this purpose.

The leadership and the people of Tibet felt that their inherent faith in His Holiness was more democratic than any alternative arrangement that might be set up. On this basis, they pledged to undertake democratic reforms but pleaded to

His Holiness not to withdraw from the leadership.

His Holiness once again advised the Kashag to continue discussions on possible reforms. In August 1989, the Kashag convened a conference of 230 participants comprised by members of the ATPD, government officials, NGOs and representatives of new arrivals from Tibet.

Following it, the Kashag circulated a five-point discussion paper and called for feedback on it from Tibetans both in exile and in Tibet. The five points were:

1. Whether to have a Prime Minister in the existing governmental set-up.
2. Whether the Ministers should be elected or appointed as before by His Holiness.
3. Whether a political party system should be introduced for government formation.
4. Whether any change should be made in the number of ATPD members and their responsibilities.
5. What other democratic changes could be made.

A total of 287 suggestions were received from Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and a summary was submitted to His Holiness. Then, on 11 May 1990, a Special People's Congress was called and it was decided that the ministers shall continue to be appointed by His Holiness; however, the elected ATPD members no longer required approval from His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Also, on that day, the Kashag and the ATPD were declared dissolved. His Holiness

directed participants in the Special Congress to elect an interim Kashag, to hold office until the proclamation of a new charter.

The Interregnum period: 12-05-1990 to 28-05-1991

His Holiness appointed a Constitution Review Committee with instructions to draft a democratic charter for the Tibetans in exile and also to review the existing draft constitution for future Tibet.

The draft charter for the Tibetans in exile was to incorporate well-defined provisions based on the realities of the situation in exile although His Holiness agreed to be the head of state and government owing to the prevailing circumstances. But he emphasized that once the Tibetan problem is solved in future, the country should be a truly democratic republic headed by a popularly elected leader. This meant that His Holiness would no longer hold any official responsibility or political designation.

The charter drafting committee consulted a number of Tibetan and non-Tibetan experts and scholars and came out with a documents which reflected the above directives.

In particular, the draft charter was based on the draft constitution of 1963, the Five Point Peace Plan of 1987, His Holiness's address to the European Parliament in 1988, and His addresses to the 10th ATPD in 1988, the 16th General Assembly in 1989, and the Special Congress in 1990.

DRAMATIC PROGRESS

In the years that followed, the community-in-exile showed extreme reluctance to accept the Dalai Lama's directives suggesting limits on his powers. However, in 1990, thirty years after initiating the democratic process, the Dalai Lama announced a dramatic change, empowering the parliament to conform to established norms of democracy.

His address on 11 May that year to the Deputies attending the 10th session of the ATPD, and other eminent Tibetans of Dharamsala, merits a place in the annals of democratic advancement, as does his address in the following year appreciating the final outcome. In his address in May 1990, His Holiness announced that he was renouncing the supreme authority vested in Him to approve the members of the Assembly and to supervise its functioning. "From now on," He declared, "the people's decision will be final. I feel that the Dalai Lama should have no role here. The future Assembly will be entrusted with the power of appointing the Kalons". He then declared the 10th ATPD dissolved.

That, however, was not all. The Dalai Lama went on to outline proposals for expanding the membership of the parliament in exile, for electing Kalons,

who are not members of the parliament in exile, for giving more representation to women, and on the advisability of setting-up two Houses of the legislature. He spoke on the need for a judicial tribunal to look into citizens' complaints and also on other requirements of a fully functioning democracy. The future administration-in-exile was thus projected as a fully democratic government capable of shouldering greater responsibilities.

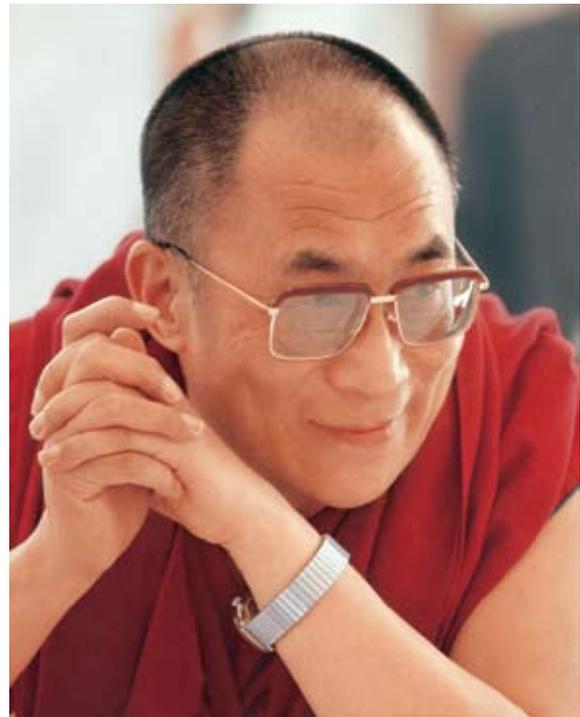
On 29 May 1991, the Dalai Lama addressed the 11th ATPD on the outcome of his epochal pronouncement of the previous year. The membership of the parliament in exile had risen from 12 to 46 and represented all sections of the society. The Dalai Lama's approach of making progress in advancing democracy with corresponding reduction in his own powers was apparent at once. He began his address with the statement, "last year we introduced important reforms in our administrative set-up by which we not only increased the number of the Assembly members but also did away with the system which required the members to receive my approval before they could be declared elected".

His Holiness then proceeded to provide valuable insights into his political thinking:

“When we first came into exile in 1959 we decided that the future Tibet would move with the times while retaining the virtues of our traditional value system. We decided that, although we would borrow the attributes of the modern world, we would retain our own traits, which are appreciated even by outsiders. With this in mind, we made efforts towards the democratization of our community through measures like the election of members of the Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies. We decided that the democratic reforms thus introduced should be documented in writing so that in future there would be clear-cut guidelines and a basis for further thinking and improvement. We started working on this in 1961 and promulgated a draft democratic Constitution in 1963. Of course, the ultimate decision on whether to adopt, amend or reject this Constitution is left in the hands of the Tibetan people when we are united in Tibet in future”.

The Dalai Lama also emphasized what democratic progress meant for Tibetans and its relevance for countering the false Chinese propaganda. “ Although the Chinese have dubbed our national struggle as one aimed at reviving the old society, the steps taken by us so far prove their accusations wrong to all those who are aware of our situation. Therefore our efforts at democratization have had a very strong impact on Tibet also”.

The Dalai Lama continued by reiterating his intention to withdraw even further from the responsibilities of government. He said: “I have made up my mind that I will not be the head of, or play any role



in, the government when Tibet becomes free. The future head of the Tibetan government must be someone popularly elected by the people. Such a step, as I have been saying repeatedly, has many advantages and will enable us to become a true and complete democracy.”



Eleventh Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)

1991-1996



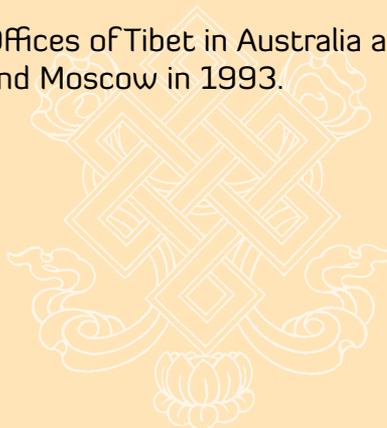
Front row- L to R: Lobsang Dhargye, Thubten Woesser, Kunga Tsering, Gomang Tenpa, Jadur Sonam Sangpo-**Vice Chair**, Samdhong Rinpoche Lobsang Tenzin-**Chairman**, Tsering Phuntsok, Ogyen Tobgyal, Khetsun Sangpo, Yonten Phuntsok, Lodoe Tharchin, Dolkar Lhamo

Back row 1- L to R: Tsering Dorje, Sonam Tobgyal, Nyima Dhondub, Chime Dorje, Gonpo Dhondub, Namgyal Wangdue, Norbu Dhargye, Pema Tsewang, Karma Gyatso, Tenzin Choedon, Dhugkar Tsering,

Back row 2- L to R: Karma Choephel, Pema Dechen, Tsering Paldon, Soepa Gyatso, Tashi Dondub, Thubten Nyima, Pema Jungney, Thubten Samdub, Tamdin Choekyi, Me-o Gonpo Tso

Back row 3- L to R: Pema Choejor, Namkha Tenzin, Nagkhung Dorje, Tashi Wangdue

During this period the Offices of Tibet in Australia and France were set-up in 1992, and in Hungary and Moscow in 1993.



Nominated:	Samdhong Trulku Lobsang Tenzin-Chairman, Khetsun Sangpo, Me-O Gonpo Tso
Nyingma:	Lingsang Tenkyab(resigned, replaced by Thubten Nyima), Tsering Phuntsok
Sakya:	Pema Jungney, Jamyang Soepa
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin, Kunga Tsering
Gelug:	Goshar Geshe Lobsang Wangyal, Ngag-ri Yonten Phuntsok
Bon:	Jadur Sonam Sangpo-Vice Chair, Dromo Geshe Namgyal Nyima
U-Tsang:	Sharling Pema Dechen, Gyaltse Namgyal Wangdue, Dhingri Rachu Tsering Lhamo(demise, replaced by Ghe-nyen Choedon), Karma Gyatso, Karma Choephel, Namkha Tenzin, Norbu Dhargye, Ngawang Gelek(demise, replaced by Gonshar Tashi Wangdue), Nyima Dhondub, Pema Tsewang
Dhotoe:	Adruk Tamdin Choekyi, Tridu Chime Namgyal(resigned, replaced by Ogyen Topgye), Nangchen Tsering Choedon (demise, replaced by Pema Choejor), Lingsang Pema Delek (resigned but by-election withdrawn), Karze Serga, Chime Dorje, Sonam Tobgyal, Nagkhung Dorje, Hotso Kunga Yonten, Gyari Dolma resigned but by-election withdrawn)
Dhomey:	Taktser Tenzin Choedon, Sharpa Tsering Dhondub (resigned, replaced by Tsering Peldron), Ngari Rinpoche Tenzin Choegyal, Kirti Dolkar Lhamo, DhugkarTsering, Gonpo Dhondub, Gomang Tenpa, Widoe Thubten Woesser, Soepa Gyatso, Kirti Tashi Dhondub
Europe:	Phuntsok Wangyal, Tsering Dorje
North America:	Thubten Samdub

The membership of the Assembly was increased to 46: 10 each from the 3 traditional provinces of Tibet, namely, U-Tsang, Dotoe and Domey; 2 each from the four Buddhist traditions and Bon; two from Europe, one from North America, and three nominated by His Holiness as the Head of State.

For the first time, the Assembly had legislative responsibility. It discussed each article of the draft Charter of the Tibetans in Exile before finally passing it. Many rules and regulations governing the functioning of the Assembly and the administration were enacted.

When the Charter was adopted on 14 June 1991, it provided that a candidate needed to win at least 70% of the parliament votes to be declared elected as a Kalon. When the parliament failed to elect the required seven Kalons, His Holiness was urged to nominate a list of not less than double the number of Kalons to be elected. The impractical provision was amended in 1993, so that seven candidates securing the highest number of votes would be declared elected as Kalons.

A Supreme Justice Commission was set up as the apex tribunal for arbitrating civil cases within the Tibetan diaspora and for interpreting the Tibetan laws. Thus, the three pillars of democracy were firmly established, ensuring a fully functioning democratic polity, with a system check-and balance and accountability system.

An independent Audit Commission was set-up to audit the accounts of all central and local offices. An independent Public Service Commission was set-up to oversee the recruitment and maintain the

records of all Tibetan public servants. To oversee the election of Kalons, members of the parliament in exile, settlement administrators, and local assemblies, an independent Election Commission was set up.

The Assembly approves and sanctions the budget of the Government-in-exile presented by the Finance Minister. Though members could propose cuts or seek to raises on the recurring budget expenses, the planned budget for social welfare activities are generally approved without much discussion. However, the Kalons remain accountable for the utilization of the funds.

The Assembly was empowered to impeach the Kashag, the Supreme Justice Commissioners, and the heads of the three independent bodies of Audit, Public Service and Election by two-thirds majority; and under special circumstances, even His Holiness could be impeached by a three-fourths majority vote of the Assembly.



His Holiness addressing the 12th Parliament

1996-2001

Twelfth Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)



Front row- L to R: Dolkar Lhamo, Tharlam Dolma, Me-o Gonpo Tso, Gyari Dolma, Tsering Dolma Nyinkhu, Tamdin Choekyi, Tsering Norzom, Chime Youdon, Ngawang Lhamo, Tinley Choedon, Tenzin Choedon

*Back row 1 sitting- L to R: Lodoe Tharchin, Tashi Gyaltzen, Thubten Woese, Yeshi Tseten (Nominated), Samdhong Rinpoche Lobsang Tenzin-**Chairman**, Thubten Lungrig- **Vice Chairman**, Tsering Phuntsok, Yonten Phuntsok, Guru Gyaltzen, Zatrul Ngawang Rigzin*

Back row 2- L to R: Nyisang, Pema Choejor, Tsultrim Tenzin, Sonam Tobgyal, Yonten Gyatso, Namgyal Wangdue, Karma Choephel, Pema Tsewang, Lingsang Tsedor, Lobsang Shastri, Ngawang Tenpa, Soepa Gyatso

Back row 3- L to R: Sherab Tharchin, Norbu Dhargye, Kalden, Jadur Sonam Sangpo, Tenzin Khedub, Hortsang Jigmey, Pema Jungney, Dawa Tsering, Gyari Bhutuk, Lobsang Nyendak, Amche Thogmey, Wangchuk Dorje, Penpa Tsering

The Office of Tibet in Taipei and South Africa were set-up in 1997 and Brussels in 2001.

The number of Kalons was increased to eight.



Nominated:	Thubten Lungrig-Vice Chairman, Yeshe Tseten, Changra Tharlam Dolma(resigned, replaced by Ngawang Jampa)
Nyingma:	Tsering Phuntsok, Gyari Bhutuk
Sakya:	Pema Jungney, Guru Gyaltsen
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin, Sherab Tharchin
Gelug:	Ngyag-ri Yonten Phuntsok, Ghajang Tashi Gyaltsen
Bon:	Jadur Sonam Sangpo, Kyung lung Thogmey
U-Tsang:	Ngawang Lhamo, Tsering Norzom, Namgyal Wangdu, Rachu Dawa Tsering(resigned, replaced by Lobsang Choephel) Ngawang Tenpa, Karma Choephel, Norbu Dhargye (resigned, replaced by Gonshar Tashi Wangdu), Pema Tsewang, Yonten Gyatso, Lobsang Shastri
Dhotoe:	Samdhong Trulku Lobsang Tenzin-Chairman, Sonam Topgyal, Tsultrim, Tenzin, Adruk Tamdin Choekyi, Gyari Dolma, Lobsang Nyendak, Gapa Nyisang, Karze Pema Choejor(elected to Kashag, replaced by True Lhamo) Chime Youdon, Lingsang Tsering Dorje
Dhomey:	Tenzin Choedon(resigned, replaced by Lobsang Tenzin), Soepa Gyatso (elected to Kashag, replaced by Dhugkar Tsering), Taktser Tenzin Khedub, Kirti Dolkar Lhamo, Penpa Tsering, Hortsang Jigmey, Thubten Wooser, Tsering Dolma Nyingkhu, Kalden (demise, replaced by Tenzin Gonpo), Me-O Gonpo Tso
Europe:	Zatul Ngawang Rigzin(resigned, replaced by Gangshontsang Ngawang Gyaltsen), Dewatsang Tinley Choedon
North America:	Wangchuk Dorje

On 16 September 1998, His Holiness proposed further reforms to the election of Kalons, citing dissatisfaction on his part in finding suitable candidates. He also said the existing process was inadequate and did not conform to the norms of real democracy. He suggested that a Chief Kalon be elected by the parliament in exile

from a list of three nominees. The elected Chief Kalon was then to nominate at least 14 candidates for the parliament to vote on to elect his ministerial colleagues. The other option proposed was for the Kalons to be elected by an electorate consisting of the parliament-in-exile members, all civil servants above the rank of Deputy

Secretary, members of the Local Assemblies, the Tibetan Freedom Movement Sub-Committee members and representatives of NGOs. The candidate with the maximum number of votes could be the Chief Kalon, or the elected Kalons could vote in a Chief Kalon from amongst themselves as before.

This proposal was thoroughly discussed in the parliament and ample time was provided to seek suggestions from the public. On 3 October 2000, His Holiness approved the amendment of the Charter regarding the election of the Kalon Tripa and the other Kalons. Under it, the parliament would elect the Kalon Tripa from a list of not less than two members provided by His Holiness and the Kalon Tripa would nominate his ministerial colleagues, subject to approval or rejection by the parliament by a simple majority vote. The Kalon Tripa could appoint a maximum of seven Kalon.

However, sensing that the latest amendment may need to be further amended sooner or later, His Holiness suggested

that the Kalon Tripa be directly elected by the people. In his landmark address to the last session of the 12th ATPD, on 15 March 2001, He referred to the latest amendment and said that the process had brought the system closer to the essence of democracy. However, He noted that if the Tibetans were to remain in exile for further four or five decades, this system would have to undergo a change. He, therefore, suggested, as a matter of prudence, that a major reform be undertaken to avoid frequent minor changes. He explained his inability to find suitable candidates even by holding consultations. Besides, he pointed out, critics would see the system of nomination of candidates by Him as having little difference from the practice in the communist system.

Accordingly, the Charter was amended to provide for direct election of the Kalon Tripa and for the Kalon Tripa to nominate candidates for the election of his ministerial colleagues. This was another significant milestone in the democratic reform of the Tibetan polity.



Prof. S. Rinpoche Chairing the 12th Assembly

Thirteenth Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)

2001-2006



Front row- L to R: Dolkar Lhamo, Acharya Choegyal Tenzin, Rongpo Lobsang Nyendak, Tsering Phuntsok, TT Karma Choephel, Pema Jungney - **Chairman**, Dolma Gyari - **Vice Chair**, Thupten Phelgye, Jamyang Trinley, Yungdrung Gyaltzen, Trulku Ogyen Tobgyal

Back row 1- L to R: Ngawang Tenpa, Ugyen Tenzin, Penpa Tsering, Dugkar Tsering, Lingtsang Tsering Dorjee, Gyalrong Dawa Tsering, Kunchok Norbu, Namgyal Wangdu, Sonam Topgyal, Thokme Thinley Dorjee, Juchen Konchok, Tsering Dolma, Gedun Jinpa, Lithang Wangyal

Back row 2- L to R: Khetsa Oga, Chime Dorjee, Hortsang Jigme, Tenzin Khedrub, Tenzin Choeden, Sonam Damdul, Sonam Tsering Frasi, Tsultrim Tenzin, Sangling Tsering Dorjee, Dawa Phunkeyi, Dawa Tsering, Kalsang Tsewang Gyari, Dolma Tsering, Thonsur Tsering Norzom, Phurbu Dolma, Doma Tsomo, Ngawang Lhamo, Drawu Tseten, Lobsang Shastri

Nominated: Rongpo Lobsang Nyendak, Lithang Wangyal, Dawa Tsering

Nyingma: Tsering Phuntsok, Gyari Bhutuk

Sakya: Pema Jungney-Chairman, Jamyang Tinley

Kagyue: Sonam Damdul, Choegyal Tenzin

Gelug: Tenzin Sherab, Pashoe Thubten Phelgye

Bon: Amche Kyunglung Thogmey, Jadur Sonam Sangpo(Posted to Supreme Justice Commissioner, replaced by Yungdrung Gyaltzen)

U-Tsang:	Thonsur Tsering Norzom, Ngawang Lhamo, Ngawang Tenpa, Dawa Phunkyi, Dagne Dolma Tsering, Karma Choephel (Chairman from Sept 2001 to March 2002), Ugyen Tenzin, Lobsang Shastri, Tsering Dolma, Namgyal Wangdu
Dotoe:	Dolma Gyari-Vice Chair, Sonam Topgyal, Trulku Ogyen Tobgye, Juchen Konchok, Tsultrim Tenzin, Lingsang Tsering Dorje, Chime Dorje, Drawu Tseten, Khetsa Oga, Konchok Norbu,
Domey:	Thubten Lungrig (Chairman June 2001 to Sept 2001, elected to Kashag, replaced by Phurbu Dolma) Tenzin Khedub, Hortsang Jigmey, Dhugkar Tsering, Kirti Dolkar Lhamo, Doma Tsomo, Penpa Tsering, Tsering Tsomo, Gyalrong Dawa Tsering, Gedun Jinpa,
Europe:	Sonam Tsering Frasi, Sangling Tsering Dorje
North America:	Tenzin Choeden

The 13th ATPD formally began with the opening of its first session on 31 May 2001. The direct election of the Kalon Tripa, the chief executive of the government-in-exile, in 2001 was the most significant democratic development during its term. The parliament-in-exile approved far-reaching policies of the Kashag on a negotiated solution to the Tibet issue, the new education policy, privatisation of businesses of the finance department, organic and natural farming policy in the settlements and better functioning of the Tibetan cooperatives, etc. The 12th Kashag brought in a new sense of accountability and transparency to the parliament in exile. The financial status of the government-in-exile was made public and the funds earmarked for social welfare were placed under complete control of the parliament-in-exile.

In September 2003, His Holiness pushed further reforms to give up the last

vestiges of his administrative power. He suggested that He no longer make direct nominations to the parliament, or directly appoint the heads of the three independent institutions of Audit, Public service and Election Commission, or nominate the Supreme Justice Commissioners. The Public Service Commission and Election Commission were placed under a common head in view of their limited workload under the current situation.

Regarding these, the parliament-in-exile amended the relevant articles of the Charter, leaving it open for His Holiness to decide whether to nominate up to three eminent Tibetans to the parliament. Selection committees were to be formed for the appointment of the Supreme Justice Commissioners and the heads of the three independent institutions.

FAR-FLUNG ELECTIONS

There are around 130 Tibetan settlements and communities located in different parts of India, Nepal and Bhutan, in addition to those in the West. Many Tibetans depend on farming an acre of dry land per head provided by the government of India for their livelihood. As the population in exile increased and Tibetans set out to seek means to supplement their meagre agricultural income or otherwise better means of livelihood, many took to setting up makeshift roadside seasonal, mainly winter, markets in towns and cities across India to retail hosiery and other clothing products. As a result, many scattered Tibetan communities came into being. Also, the resettlement projects in Canada, Switzerland and the USA spurred the movement of a fair number of Tibetans to Western countries where living conditions were much better. Today, among the over 140,000 Tibetans in exile, about 1,25,000 live in different parts of India, Nepal and Bhutan; the rest live in the West.

The largest concentration of Tibetans outside Tibet is in South India. A settlement officer usually appointed by the Government-in-exile, administers each settlement. Some of the settlements have elected administrators and efforts

are on to urge the public to elect their own administrators. Of the 47 large settlements, 37 have elected local assemblies. The local administration is accountable to the local assembly and the local assembly to the people. A settlement constitutes a cluster of camps or villages. Each village in the cluster elects a camp leader who keeps in touch with the Settlement Officers, thus forming a sort of democratic pyramid.

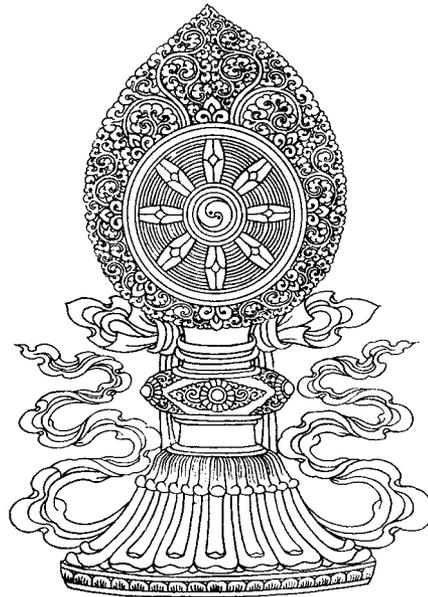
The bigger settlements have cooperative societies to assist them economically. The people elect their representatives to the cooperative society's Board of Directors, members of the local Tibetan Freedom Movement Sub-Committee, members of the Local Assembly and take part in the election of the members of the parliament-in-exile and the Kalon Tripa.

The elections to the parliament-in-exile, or of the Kalon Tripa, are held on a single day all over the world. The far flung locations of the settlements, with some of them lacking in basic communication facilities, make the election process a daunting task. During the parliament-in-exile and Kalon Tripa elections, two additional Election Commissioners are

appointed to assist the fulltime Chief Election Commissioner. Members of Local Election Committees are elected by the local people while the Returning officers and the election staff are appointed by the Chief Election Commissioner.

Since the community-in-exile has no political parties, candidates for the parliament-in-exile election, overseen by the Tibetan Election Commission,

are put forward by their respective constituencies in a manner similar to that in the US primaries. Lists of candidates determined thus, numbering not less than double the number of parliament-in-exile seats available for the concerned constituency, are drawn up in sequence of the number of votes obtained by each of the candidates in the primary voting. Subject to withdrawals, if any, these are the lists of candidates for the final poll.



THE TIBETAN ADMN.-IN-EXILE

It is the responsibility of the members of the Kashag to jointly take all executive decisions concerning the community-in-exile and the Tibet issue. The Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile stipulates that the Kashag should have up to eight members. The Chairman of the Kashag is directly elected by the people. The Kalons supervise the work of all the seven government departments. The ministers function from their concerned departments. However, they meet regularly for discussion and take collective decision on administrative matters.

The Department of Religion and Culture is entrusted to preserve and promote Tibetan cultural and religious institutions, given the fact that these have been severely endangered in Tibet. It also provides support services to around 208 monasteries (over 27451 monks) and 17 nunneries (over 1696 nuns) established in exile. In addition to the monasteries and nunneries, there are six cultural centres

for the study of both the spiritual and secular traditions of Tibet.

The Department of Home is responsible for the welfare and rehabilitation of Tibetans in exile. It looks after more than 58 agricultural settlements, agro-industries, handicraft societies and carpet-weaving cooperatives, and many other scattered communities in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

The Department of Finance formulates the annual budget which is then laid before the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile every March. The budget section of the department vets the budget proposals of all the departments before seeking the approval of the Kashag. It is responsible for raising funds to meet the expenses of running the Government and disbursing expenses to the departments. However all the small-scale business projects run by the departments have been either privatized or shut down under the



The Kashag (Cabinet) Building

government's policy not to run businesses any more.

The Department of Education has the responsibility of providing support for the educational and welfare needs of 77 schools with about 28,168 students. There are 28 schools run by Central Tibetan Schools Administration under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India; 13 schools under Sambhota, run by the Department of Education, Central Tibetan Administration; 18 schools run by the Tibetan Children's Village; 13 schools run by the Snow Lion Foundation in Nepal; 2 schools run by Tibetan Homes Foundation and 3 Autonomous schools.

The Department of Security's primary responsibility is to ensure the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It also runs a research unit which monitors developments in Tibet and China. Additionally, the Tibetan Reception Centre looks after the new refugees arriving from Tibet.

The Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) publicizes the Tibet issue and seeks to enhance awareness about the political, human rights and environmental conditions in Tibet. It

also liaises with the international media and the Tibet Support Groups throughout the world. Also, functioning under the DIIR are the twelve Representative Offices, which act as the government-in-exile's foreign missions.

The Department of Health ensures medical and healthcare needs in the settlements through its 53 primary health care centres and 7 hospitals under it. The autonomous Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute runs 53 centres, providing Tibetan medical treatment to both Tibetans and others.

In addition to these departments, three independent commissions reaffirm the democratic status of the Government-in-exile. These are: the **Election Commission**, responsible for conducting all elections to the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and of the Kalon Tripa, as well as all other elections to public offices; the **Public Service Commission** which oversees the recruitment, training, appointment and promotion of the administration-in-exile's around 463 civil servants; and the **Office of the Auditor General** which is responsible for auditing the accounts of all the departments as well as Tibetan public institutions.



CHARTER OF RIGHTS

The Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile is the supreme law governing the functioning of the Central Tibetan Administration. It was drafted by the Constitution Redrafting Committee set up by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1990. The initial draft of the Charter, containing 108 Articles, was widely circulated by the Committee in early 1991 to solicit feedback and suggestions.

The Committee then drafted the final draft Charter and submitted it to the 11th ATPD.

The 11th ATPD deliberated on the Charter and passed it unanimously on 14 June 1991. Approval from His Holiness the Dalai Lama was received on 28 June 1991.

The Charter enshrines the basic principles of democracy, with separation of powers among the three organs of the government: judiciary, legislature and executive. Before the Charter, the Central Tibetan Administration functioned roughly along the lines of the draft Democratic Constitution for Future Tibet promulgated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on March 10, 1963.

The salient features of the Charter incorporate non-violence, free democratic

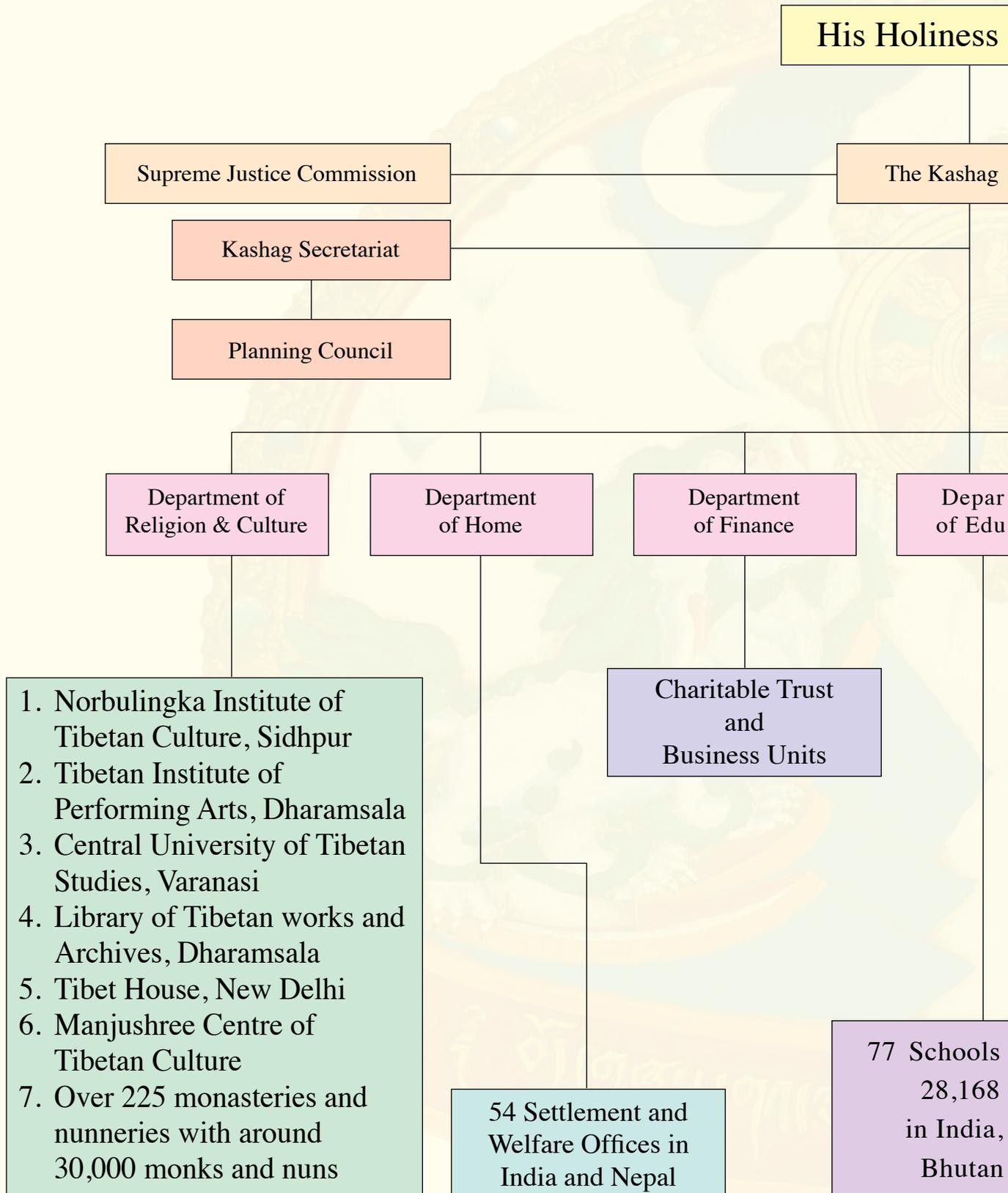
policy, respect for human rights, and the promotion of moral values while ensuring the material welfare of the Tibetan people. It also outlines the rights and responsibilities of the Tibetans in exile – including the ways to seek the resolution of the Tibet issue and how to bring happiness to the Tibetans inside Tibet. It provides for equal political rights and economic and social benefits in the exile community, including in the fields of education, culture, and health.

The Charter is a comprehensive working constitution. It is modelled on similar documents in liberal democracies while being rooted in Tibetan values. The care and precision with which the rights and duties of the community-in-exile and the functions of its government are laid down constitute the principles of a working democratic system, guaranteeing individual rights and suited to the genus of Tibet.

The Charter has so far been amended 22 times, with the last amendment being made on 17 October 2006.

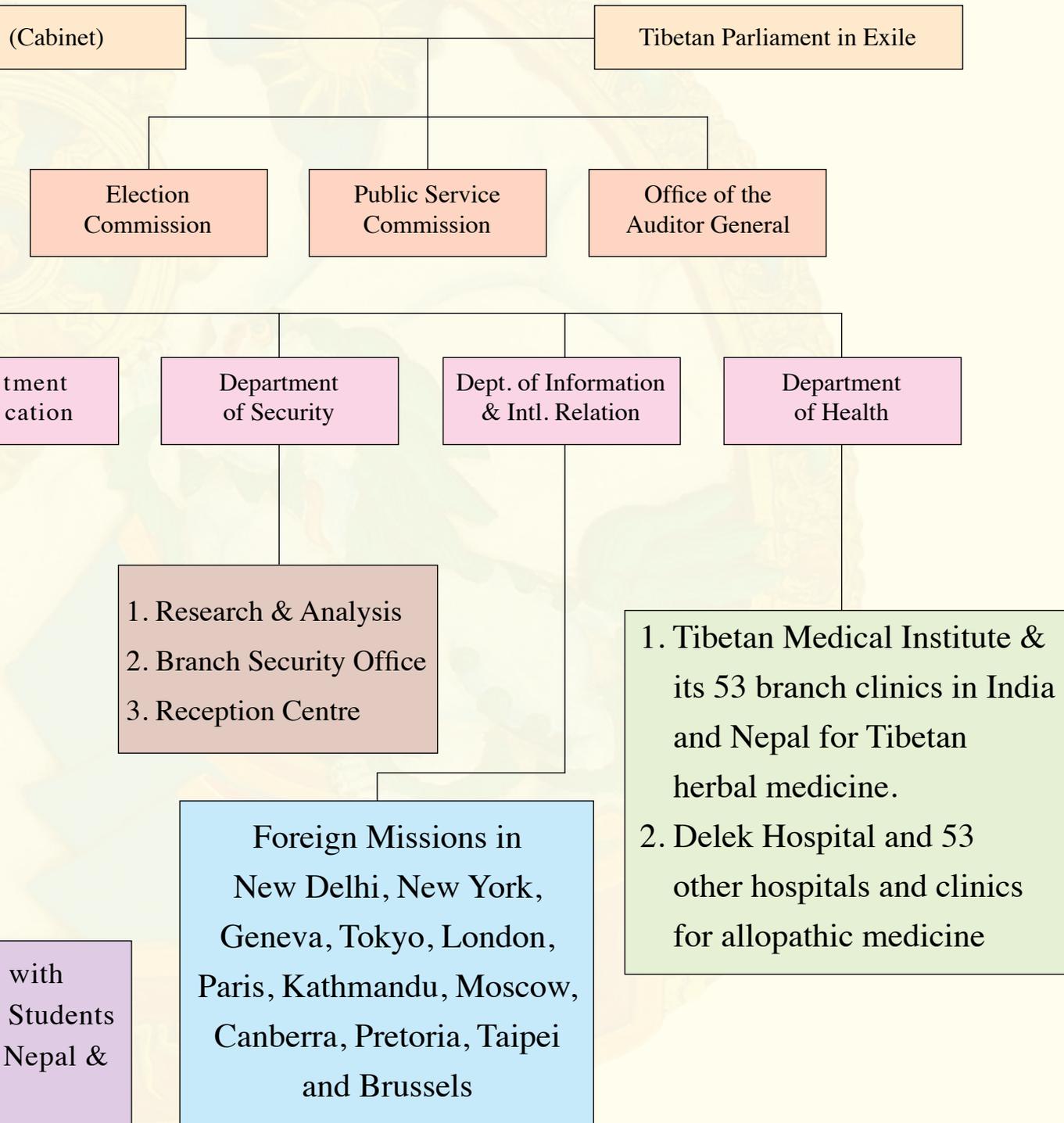
The only contentious aspect of the Charter proved to be the provisions limiting the powers of the Dalai Lama. According to the Charter, the executive power of

Central Tibetan Administration



ion: Organisational Structure

the Dalai Lama



the Tibetan administration continues to vest in him, but it has to be exercised “in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.” The Deputies objected to the provision for an elected three-man Council of Regency which would be authorised to take over the administration in certain circumstances. The relevant article stipulates: “When the Tibetan Parliament, by more than two-thirds of its total members in consultation with the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission, decides that, in the highest interest of the Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people, it is imperative that the executive functions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama shall be exercised by the Council of Regency.” In such a situation, the Council will be jointly elected by the Kashag and the parliament-in-exile.

At its summer session in 1992, the parliament-in-exile pressed for the withdrawal of this clause as well as of another authorising it to annul Ordinances promulgated by the Dalai Lama when the parliament was not in session. But the Dalai Lama turned down these proposals.

His response merits attention: “The two clauses exist not as decorative pieces for the Charter, but to drive home the difference between a system which pays lip service to democracy while holding on firmly to power and one which is serious about implementing democracy.”

The Charter lays down principles for every aspect of governance for the community-in-exile and serves as a model for free Tibet. It lays down Fundamental Principles, Rights and Duties, Directive

Principles of the Tibetan Administration policy, and defines the functions of the Executive, Judiciary, Legislature, administration of Tibetan settlements, the Tibetan Election Commission, Public Service Commission and Office of the Tibetan Auditor General.

Besides laying down procedures, the Charter is unique in defining the “Nature of Tibet’s Polity”. The Fundamental Principles states: “The future Tibetan polity shall uphold the principle of non-violence and shall endeavour to be a free Social Welfare State with its politics guided by the Dharma.” Dharma is clearly referred to as only an ethical code.

The Charter makes it clear that it does not promote any form of state religion. All religious denominations are expressly assured equality before the law, with the further assurance that there will be no discrimination on “grounds of birth, sex, race, religion, language, lay or ordained, social origin, rich or poor, elected position or other status.” A long list of other rights confirms the Charter’s liberal character.

The Charter does not ignore the Tibetan homeland. The administration-in-exile is directed to “maintain a just policy for the achievement of the common goal of Tibet.” It is also required to protect Tibetans in Tibet from hardships and danger. It is also directed to promote the well-being of the exiles in the settlements and to pay particular attention to education – already one of the major achievements of the Tibetan community.

AN ALERT PARLIAMENT

It is not unknown for a constitution to remain democratic only on paper. However, in our case, the MPs, after undergoing serious orientation in parliamentary procedures, have shown no hesitation in performing their duties. The parliament now meets twice each year – in March and September – for 10- to 15-day sessions. Almost every member is in his/her seat by 9.30 a.m. every morning. Although they appear to be more disciplined than legislators elsewhere, the MPs are far from deferential when it comes to keeping the Kalons on their toes.

The main powers and responsibilities of the TPiE are:

- to elect the members of the Kashag (Cabinet) and to impeach any individual Kalon (Minister) or the entire Kashag or even His Holiness;
- to examine the decisions of the Kashag and its administration in light of the policies and programmes adopted by the parliament-in-exile;
- to impeach the Supreme Justice Commissioners and the heads of the three autonomous bodies;
- to enact laws, frame rules and regulations and issue policy decisions;
- to control and oversee the finances, including the expenditure of the Government-in-exile;
- to liaise with governments, parliaments, NGOs and individuals throughout the world in order to garner support for the cause of Tibet;
- to streamline and strengthen the functioning of the local Tibetan Assemblies in all the major Tibetan settlements;
- to oversee the work of Tibetan Freedom Movement sub-committees;
- to debate issues of national and international importance as well as issues of local and individual significance;
- to hear public grievances and petitions of Tibetans-in-exile;
- to monitor the aspirations and problems of the Tibetan people both in and outside Tibet by maintaining contact with them;
- to play the roles of both the opposition and ruling parties under the present circumstances because maintaining effective control of the Government is not only a matter for the opposition,

it is also the responsibility of the parliament.

- The Business routine of the House is transacted in the following manners:
- Question Hour;
- Calling Attention Motion
- Statements of the Kalons or individual members;
- Passing of legislation;
- Voting on Grant-in-Aid and control of public finances;
- Processing of miscellaneous budget; and
- Debate on Motions or Statements.

For the purpose of preparing and facilitating the work of the parliament, the members are divided, on the basis of their area of specialization, into various committees to undertake detailed work on behalf of the House. Thus, a major part of the work done by the parliament is carried out by its Committees. These are:

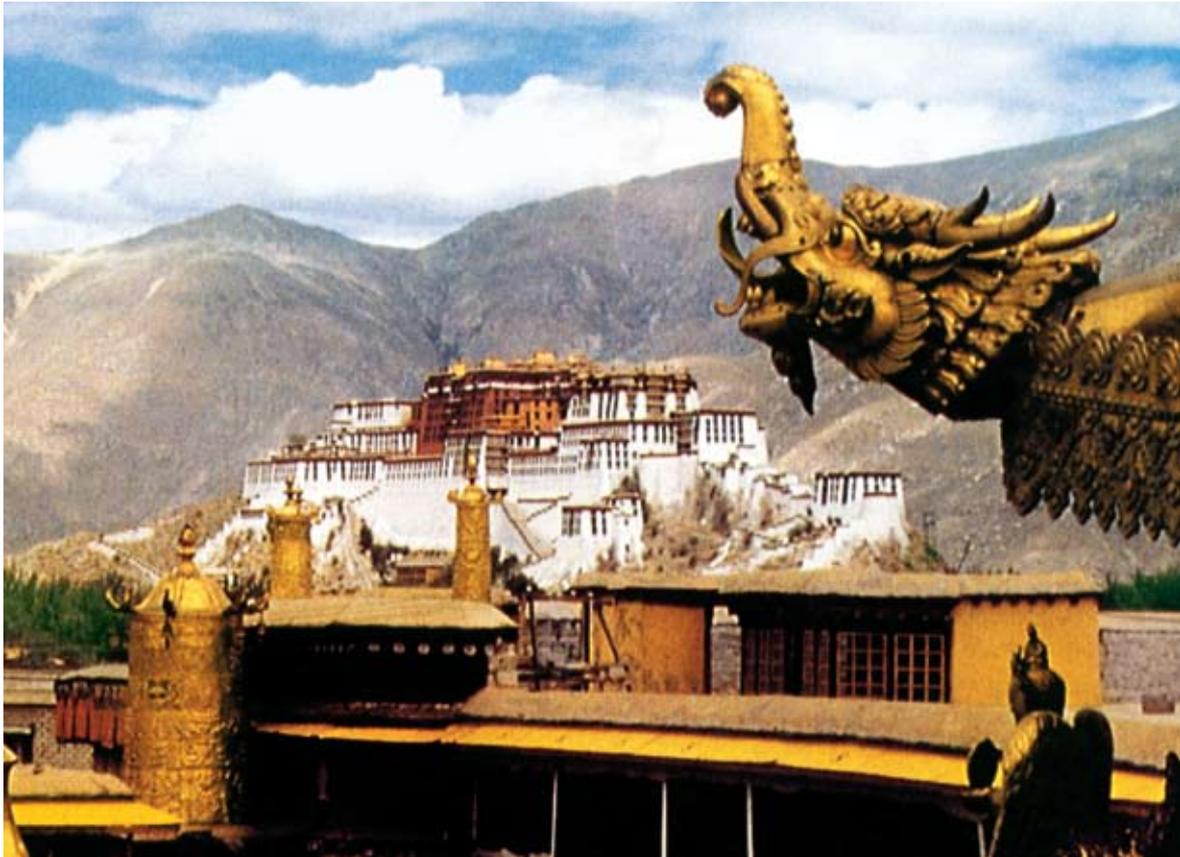
- Standing Committee
- Business Advisory Committee
- Committee on Education
- Committee on Health Care
- Committee on Human Rights and Environment
- Committee on Public Accounts
- Committee on Religious and Cultural Activities
- Committee on Social Welfare and Settlements; and
- Select Committee on Bills

Besides raising issues of national and local importance, the members also visit the Tibetan settlements and report the grievances of the people to the ministries concerned, thus acting as a bridge between the government and the general public. At the local level, the members take active part in looking after the welfare of the people and initiating programmes.



The 14th Parliament in session

FUTURE PLANS



The preceding pages have provided some glimpses into the working of the Tibetan Assembly and the governmental organisation it supervises. The Thirteenth Assembly since the Eleventh, has matured into a responsible representative body, jealously guarding the rights of the community-in-exile, directing the executive through open parliamentary procedures, and preparing for the future, particularly for the day when the exiles will be able to return to Tibet. As usual, the Dalai Lama has led his people in anticipating the need for clarity and realism

in planning for the return. On February 26, 1992, he set forth "Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of the Constitution." His vision and plans for the future are best conveyed in his own words:

"I believe that in future, Tibet should have a multi-party system of parliament, and that it should have three organs of government, namely legislature, executive and judiciary, with a clear separation of power between them, each independent of the other and vested with equal power

and authority. As I have often said, Tibet belongs to Tibetans and especially to those who are in Tibet. Therefore, Tibetans in Tibet shall bear the main responsibility in running the affairs of state. It is important that such Tibetan officials eschew all feelings of uncertainty and doubt. Instead, they should make efforts to strengthen their determination for the task of improving the quality of the future administration of Tibet and also rededicate themselves to the cause of Tibetan freedom.”

As for himself, the Dalai Lama reiterated: “Personally, I have made up my mind that I will not play any role in the future government of Tibet, let alone seek the Dalai Lama’s traditional political position in the government.” To reassure Tibetans, however, he stated: “I am determined to do whatever I can for the well-being of my people . . . I will most likely remain a public figure who may be called on to offer advice or resolve some particularly significant and difficult problems which could not be overcome by the existing government through political mechanisms. I think I will be in a better position to serve the people as an individual outside the government.”

The Dalai Lama then outlined his views regarding the nature of the interim government to be formed when the Chinese forces withdraw from Tibet, emphasising again the role of the Tibetan functionaries there. “Once Tibet regains its freedom and the repressive Chinese forces are withdrawn from Tibet, there will be a transitional period before the adoption of its Constitution. During this

period the existing administration in Tibet, with all its Tibetan functionaries, will be retained to look after such affairs of state, as health, economy, education, culture and transport and communications. This means the Tibetan officials presently working there under the Chinese should be ready to assume full responsibilities.”

“The interim government will be headed by a President who will assume all the political powers presently held by me. The present Tibetan Government-in-exile will be considered dissolved ipso facto”

“The principal responsibility of the transitional government will be to form a Constituent Assembly with representatives from all parts of Tibet. The Constituent Assembly, in turn, will prepare Tibet’s new Constitution on the basis of various drafts prepared in exile, which will be adopted only with the assent of the interim President. Then, in accordance with the Constitution, the interim President will appoint an Election Commission, which will conduct the election of the new government.”

The guidelines describe in considerable detail the procedures for electing the future President and other officials. The principal features of the proposed Constitution are similar to those contained in the Charter of the Tibetans-in-exile adopted by the Eleventh Assembly.

TRANSFORMATION

The community-in-exile has been transformed. The thousands of refugees who accompanied and followed the Dalai Lama into exile in India in 1959 travelled on foot over high mountain passes. They were utterly destitute, suffering from the trauma of leaving their sacred ancient homeland. And they found themselves in an environment totally different from their remote, sparsely populated land. Few were educated and they had no experience of democratic institutions. They were settled on land provided by the Indian government but had to earn their livelihood through hard labour.

Yet, as early as 1960, the Dalai Lama was able to instil in his people the seeds of self-reliance, combining democratic functioning with traditional Tibetan values. As a result, the exiles are now

self-confident, and eager to carry their democratic rights and privileges to their homeland.

Unlike many other groups in exile, Tibetans, as a community, continue to use international permits for ID and travel. They have not sought Indian or other citizenships, and certainly not Chinese citizenship. The Dalai Lama's emphasis on providing good schools has borne fruit, with the Tibetan exiles being now no longer dependent on hard labour for their livelihood. Some are, in fact, doing rather well. Nevertheless, all Tibetan exiles continue to be weighed down by the strain of statelessness, the price of holding on to their Tibetan identity while being still unable to return home as free people.



XIV PARLIAMENT IN EXILE

The 14th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile took oath of office on 31 May 2006. Its composition, as laid down in the Charter, is as follows:

a) Ten members from each Cholkha (province) with two seats for each Cholkha reserved for women	30
b) Two members from each of the five religious traditions	10
c) Two members from Europe	2
d) One member from North America	1
TOTAL	43

The tenure of the Assembly from the 11th ATPD onwards was fixed at five years from the date of its first meeting. The Assembly could, however, be dissolved by the Dalai Lama, as provided for in the Charter.

Since this large body could not remain in session for a long period, the Parliament-in-Exile constituted a Standing Committee consisting of:

a) Two members from each province	6
b) One member from each religious tradition	5
TOTAL	11



Standing Committee in session

The Standing Committee members are divided into three sections, namely, political, administrative, and Gyundrel. The political section analyses the political situation concerning Tibet. The administrative section scrutinizes the work and audit reports of the government departments, and the Gyundrel section is responsible for the collection of voluntary contributions and sanctioning budgets for the Tibetan Freedom Movement Sub-Committees. The Standing Committee meets every Monday and Friday to respond to communications received from the public and the administration.

The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Parliament are elected by the members, and are authorised to represent the Parliament-in-Exile in dealing with outside organisations and individuals. They preside over the meetings of the Standing Committee and other parliamentary committees and are responsible for the administration of the House.

The five-year term of the 13th ATPD ended on May 30, 2006 and the 14th was constituted on May 31, 2006 and will end on May 30, 2011.



Informal session of the Parliament.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIAT



The Chairman and the Vice-Chair with the Parliamentary staff

The Secretariat of the parliament-in-exile works under a Parliamentary Secretary, who functions under the guidance of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker. The Secretariat undertakes the responsibility of preparing parliamentary procedures and practices and makes arrangements for recording the formal proceedings of the House. The entire

proceedings of the session are published in the form of a News Bulletin (of about 250 pages), which is distributed to all the Settlement Officers, representatives of Local Assemblies, Tibetan Freedom Movement Sub-Committees, the Tibetan media, Offices of Tibet, NGOs and Tibetan Support Communities and organisations.



The Parliamentary Secretary



The Editor and Reporters compiling the TPiE Bulletin.

Fourteenth Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (TPiE)

2006-2011



Front row- L to R: Youdon Aukatsang, Tenzin Choeden, Dawa Tsering, Monkhar Sonam Phuntsok, Kirti Dolkar Lhamo, Tsering Youdon, Yeshe Dolma, Doma Tsomo

Back row sitting- L to R: Thupten Phelgye, Beri Jigmey Wangyal, Tsering Phuntsok (elected to Kalon and replace by Sonam Tenphel), Pema Jugney, T.T.Karma Choephel-**Speaker** from 2006 – 2008, Dolma Gyari - **Deputy Speaker**, Penpa Tsering - **Speaker** from 2008 – 2010, Gyalnor Tsewang, Chabdak Lhamo Kyab

Back row 1- L to R: Monlam Tharchin, Karma Sherab Tharchin, Sonam Topgyal, Dolma Tsering, Ngawang Lhamo, Tsering Dolma, Tsultrim Tenzin, Gyalrong Dawa Tsering, Choechung Wangchuk, Dawa Phunkyi, Juchen Kunchok

Back row 2- L to R: Tse-Ringpo, Yungdrung Gyaltsen, Serta Tsultrim Woser, Kelsang Gyaltsen, Serta Tsultrim, Karma Yeshe, Sonam Damdul, Dewatsang Dorjee Wangdue, Tenzin Khedup, Acharya Yeshe Phuntsok

Back row 3- L to R: Tulku Orgyen Topgyal, Tsetan Norbu, Sonam Tsering Frasi, Gyari Bhutuk, Tenzin Gonpo

Nominated: None

Nyingma: Tsering Phuntsok (elected to Kalon and replaced by Sonam Tenphel), Gyari Bhutuk

Sakya: Pema Jungney, Tse-Ringpo

Kagyue: Sonam Damdul, Karma Sherab Tharchin



Gelug:	Thubten Phelgye, Beri Jigme Wangyal
Bon:	Monlam Tharchin, Yungdrung Gyaltzen
U-Tsang:	Tsetan Norbu, Dolma Tsering, Ngawang Lhamo, Karma Yeshe, Dawa Tsering, Gyalnor Tsewang, Yeshe Phuntsok, Tsering Dolma, Dawa Phunkyi, TT Karma Chopel (Speaker for the first half of 14th TPIE)
Dotoe:	Gyari Dolma (Deputy Speaker), Juchen Kunchok, Serta Tsultrim, Tulku Ugyen Topgyal, Sonam Topgyal, Dewatsang Dorjee Wangdue, Youdon Aukatsang, Choekyong Wangchuk, Kelsang Gyaltzen, Tsultrim Tenzin
Domey:	Penpa Tsering (Speaker for the second half of 14th TPIE), Gyalrong Dawa Tsering, Chabdak Lhamo Kyab, Tenzin Khedup, Tenzin Gonpo, Kirti Dolkar Lhamo, Phegye Doma Tsomo, Tsering Youdon, Serta Tsultrim Wooser, Yeshe Dolma
Europe:	Sonam Tsering Frasi, Monkhar Sonam Phuntsok
North America:	Tenzin Choeden

The 14th exile Tibetan Parliament began with 18 new faces, including 16 first-time MPs, and no direct nominee from the Dalai Lama, so that its total strength became 43. Also, the Assembly formally changed its name from ATPD to Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (TPIE) and the Chairman's title to that of Speaker.

The 14th TPIE began with a constitutional crisis owing to its inability to elect a Speaker. Despite repeated repolling, Amdo Deputy Mr. Penpa Tsering and U-Tsang Deputy Mr. Karma Chopel kept getting identical number of votes. The impasse was finally resolved with a guidance from Chief Election Commissioner, despite the absence of a specific Charter provision, to divide the speakership between the two

candidates to one half each of the 14th TPIE's five-year term.

The 14th TPIE took an important decision to allocate area/zonal responsibilities to the MPs for the purpose of ensuring the well-being of the Tibetan people residing in them. These responsibilities include providing political education, promoting grassroots democracy, monitoring ongoing projects with the local Assemblies, helping to develop sustainable development plans for the settlements, discussing and developing means to improve the level of education at the local level, and identifying destitute families and individuals not receiving any help from anywhere.

To ensure that the MPs perform their tasks and that their recommendations

are duly taken into account, their reports for their respective zones are submitted to the administrative section of the TPIE's Standing Committee, which, after careful consideration, forward them to the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee, in turn, refers these to the Kashag for action through the concerned ministries and department secretaries.

In March 2008, when an uprising protest engulfed almost the entire Tibetan Plateau, the 14th TPIE brought its fifth session to an abrupt end and set up a Tibetan Solidarity Committee, with the Kashag, to lead a series of campaign actions to express support for, and garner solidarity with the people of Tibet. These actions took the form of peaceful protests, hunger strikes, prayer services, publicity works, and petitioning world leaders and the UN carried out throughout India as well as in Nepal and numerous other countries.

The uprising protests coupled with lack of any progress in the ongoing talks since 2002 between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government, which in October–November 2008 totally rejected a detailed proposal for autonomous rule for Tibet under Chinese sovereignty, created a major crisis in the Tibetan approach to the resolution of the Tibet issue. Therefore, as proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, The TPIE organized in Dharamsala from Nov 17 to 22 a Special General Meeting of Tibetans to discuss the issue.

The rare gathering of Tibetan government officials, MPs, NGO and institution representatives, individual activists, and others finally resolved to unanimously

entrust His Holiness the Dalai Lama to continue to lead the Tibetan people in accordance with his judgement of the situation from time to time. However, a good majority felt that goals like independence and self-determination should be considered should the middle way policy continue to fail to elicit a positive response from China within a reasonable time.

The TPIE played its part in commemorating across India the year 2009 as the Tibetans' 50th year of coming into exile with a series of thank-you-India events as well as programmes to highlight Tibetan achievements in exile. It is also to mark 50 years of Tibetan democracy in 2010 with a series of programmes designed both to highlight the achievements and to promote further democratic developments.

The TPIE has been actively engaging with lawmakers in free democratic countries across the world to garner coordinated support for the Tibet issue and one of the major events regarding this has the holding of a series of World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet (WPCT). The first of these was held in New Delhi in 1994 (18-20 March), followed by those that were held in Vilnius (26-28 March, 1995), Washington, DC (23-24 April, 1997), and Edinburgh (18-19 November 2005). The Fifth WPCT is to be held in Rome in November 2009.

The 14th TPIE thus took steps to make the MPs actively engaged in issues concerned with the interests and well being of the Tibetans in exile, as well as with efforts at furthering the issue of Tibet internationally.

THE 14TH TPIE MEMBER'S BIO-DATA



Speaker (31/05/2006 - 30/11/2008)

Mr. T.T. Karma Chophel was born in 1949 at Labrang Kosa in Tradun, Tibet and lives in Dharamsala. He has a B.A. (Hons.) from Delhi University and B. Ed. from Bangalore University. He served as a teacher at CST, Bylakuppe, from 1975 to 1980 and later as Rector at CSTs Simla and Mussoorie from 1981 to 1989. He served for two consecutive terms, from 1977 to 1983, and again from 1986 to 1989 in the Central Executive Committee of the Tibetan Youth Congress, mostly as Vice-President and became President for 1982-83. In 1994, he became the first President of the first Tibetan political party – the National Democratic Party of Tibet.

He was elected to the ATPD in 1991 and re-elected for four consecutive terms. He was elected as the Chairman of the 13th ATPD for the first time, from September 2001 to March 2002.

He got re-elected as the Speaker of the 14th TPIE on 31 May 2006, along with Mr Penpa Tsering, and served on the post for the first half of its term.



Speaker (16/12/2008 - 30/05/2011)

Mr. Penpa Tsering was born in 1967 at Bylakuppe, India. He studied at the Central School for Tibetans, Bylakuppe, and topped the merit list in Class XII. He graduated with Economics Major from Madras Christian College, Chennai. His work experience includes running a private export enterprise and a restaurant.

During his student days, he served as the General Secretary of both the Tibetan Freedom Movement and the Nigerian-Tibet Friendship Association. Later he served as the General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of Domey. Most recently he served as the Executive Director of the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, New Delhi from 2001 to 2008, before taking up the TPIE speakership.

He was earlier elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD. He got elected as the Speaker of the 14th TPIE, with Mr. Karma Chophel, on 31 May 2006.



Mrs. Dolma Gyari (Deputy Speaker)

Mrs. Dolma Gyari was born in 1964 at Kalimpong, India. She studied at the Central School for Tibetans, Darjeeling, and has a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Punjab University, Chandigarh. She also studied for three years at the Campus Law Centre, Delhi University. She served in various capacities in the regional Tibetan Youth Congress and for two terms in the Central Executive of the Tibetan Youth Congress. She organized a number of demonstrations, seminars and has been involved in social work.

She was earlier elected to the 11th, 12th and 13th ATPD and became the first woman to be elected as its Deputy Speaker. She has been elected the Deputy Speaker for two consecutive terms.



NYINGMA

Ven. Khenpo Sonam Tenphel was born at Rekhe in Kham in 1974. At the age of 13, he joined Nari Tashi Choeling monastery and received education in preliminary Buddhist teachings, meditations, rituals and others. In 1993, he came into exile and got an audience with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. After this, he joined Namdroling monastery in South India and received education in both Buddhist sutra and tantra teachings and earned a Lopon degree there. He also served as an assistant teacher and, later, as a teacher at the monastery. As appointed by Kyabje Drubwang Penor Rinpoche, he served with dedication as a disciplinarian at the monastery for three years.



Mr. Kalsang Tsewang Gyari was born in 1963 in Kham Nyarong, Tibet, and lives in Bangalore, India. He has a Master's degree in English from Punjab University, Chandigarh. His voluntary service has included teaching at the Bir School and serving at the Information Office in Dharamsala. Currently, he is the Program Director of Japan-India Goodwill Association.

He was earlier elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD.



SAKYA

Mr. Pema Jungney was born in 1959 at Ruthog Jangtod, Tibet. He now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He has Shastri, Acharya and B.Ed. degrees from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath. He has worked as a teacher at the Sakya Centre, Rajpur, and the New Tibetan School at Bir. He was earlier elected to the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th ATPD.

He was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the 13th ATPD.



Ven. Geshe Tse-Ringpo was born in the family of Bhong Rating Gazi Salu Tsang in Gonjo, Do-Kham, in 1973. At the age of 12 he became a monk at Pal Thang-Kya Monastery, where he earned a prize for his excellent performance in ritualistic course and memorization of religious texts. Subsequently, he got enrolled in Thupten Choekhor Ling Thang-Kya College for the study of various canonical texts of Buddhist philosophy. He continued his further study on Sutras and Mantras at the Zongsar Kham-Je College and obtained a degree with excellence. He received teachings and various initiations and empowerments such as Tantra and Lamdre "the path including its result" from eminent scholars and Rinpoches. He has written biographies, fables, articles and also composed a poem called "Du-kyi Tsaldung Sel-wai Dangchar". Besides, he has also been an administrator, disciplinary in-charge and representative of his monastery in Kham, Tibet. In 2003, he came into exile and studied "Nagrim" the Tantrik Path for two year at Zongsar College, Chauntra, near Dharamsala. He is presently a member of the Standing Committee of the 14th TPIE.



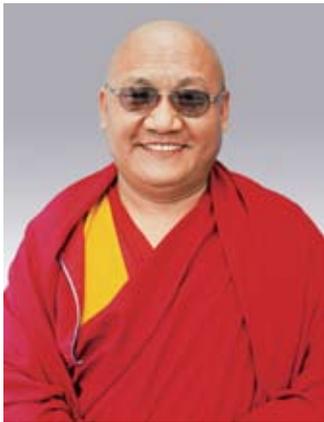
KAGYUE

Mr. Sonam Damdul was born in Bardha, Nagchu region of Tibet. He studied at Tsurphu Monastery from 1955 to 1959. He was a part of the entourage of His Holiness the 16th Gyalwa Karmapa in 1959 enroute to exile following the Chinese invasion and resumed his education at Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim until 1961. From 1963 through 1967 he studied English and Hindi at Young Lama Home's School in Dalhousie, India. He served as the health worker/translator in Dalhousie and Kullu-Manali and as a medical/health worker in charge of the Tibetan Settlements in Sirmur District till 1982 and at Kumrao settlements till 2002. Over the last two decades he served as the Vice President of the Tibetan Settlement at Kumrao and as the President of the Regional Freedom Committee. He served in the Standing Committee during the 13th ATPD for five years. Currently he is one of the 14th TPIE Standing Committee members.



Mr. Karma Sherab Tharchin was born in a nomadic family of north Uru in Central Tibet in 1954. He fled Tibet after its Chinese annexation in 1959 and later took admission in Rumtek monastery, Sikkim, the exile seat of the Karma Kagyud school. He held various monastic posts before joining the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi, and studied up to the Uttar Madhyama level. After that he served at Rumtek and Ralang Palchen Choling monastery. He is currently serving as a treasurer or Zod-pa of Tshur-Phu Gyal-tsab ladang.

He was earlier elected to the 12th ATPD.



GELUG

Ven. Geshe Thupten Phelgye was born in 1956. He became a monk at Sera Je Monastic University, south India, he launched a campaign to promote vegetarianism and in 1989 got his monastery to ban the serving of meat in the temple premises. He completed his Geshe degree in 1991 and joined Gyumeh Tantric Monastery the following year. From 1993 to December 1997, he went into retreat in the mountains of Dharamsala. In 1998 he founded the Universal Compassion Movement and launched a global campaign for vegetarianism. In 1999 he was elected the first President of International Gelug Society. In 2000 he brought up a petition to ban meat diet in all the monasteries and nunneries of all sects of Tibetan Buddhism at the National religious Conference in Dharamsala and a resolution was passed. After being elected to the ATPD in 2001, he, in 2003, brought up a bill in the TPIE to encourage Vegetarianism in the Tibetan community for compassionate living and for the long life of H.H. the Dalai Lama.



Ven. Geshe Beri Jigme Wangyal learnt Tibetan poetry, grammar, synonym, metric, astrology, medicine, history and religious history, annals and others from his father Lobsang Donyod. He did his intermediate education from a Chinese University in the field of Geography, Political Science, Mathematics and others. He received an early religious education from Luchin Geshe Rinpoche. He reached India in 1989 and joined Drepung monastery in South India. There he took up the editorship of the Loseling Printing Press. He became a teacher of Loseling School in 1995, served as a visiting Professor at Indiana University, USA, in 2003 and earned his Geshe degree in 2004. He became a Gelugpa Deputy of the 13th ATPD in 2004. From 2005, he worked as editor of the biography of H.H. the Dalai Lama at Norbulingka Institute, Dharamsala. He attended Tibetology seminars at Bonne University in 2006 and at Oxford University in 2007. Presently, he teaches B. Ed. students at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Varanasi, India.



BON

Venerable Geshe Yungdrung Gyaltzen was born in 1967 in Kyungpo, Tibet and now lives in Nepal. He became a monk at the age of 19. He fled Tibet in 1987 and joined Palden Tritten Norbu Tse Bon Monastery in Kathmandu. He studied Bon Sutra, Tantra and Dzogchen till 1996 and obtained a Geshe degree under the tutelage of Kyabje Minri Trizin Rinpoche, Kyabje Yongzin Rinpoche, Lobpon Tinley Nyima and many other teachers. From 1996 to 2000, he worked in various capacities at the Bon monastery of Palden Tritten Norbu Tse. From 2000 to 2002 he visited overseas to teach. In 2002 he was elected to the 13th ATPD and served in the Standing Committee for five year. Currently he serves as the President of the Dhokham Chushi Gangdruk.



Ven. Geshe Monlam Tharchin was born on 1 November 1968 in Khyungpo Karru, Eastern Tibet. After finishing his primary education, he studied and practiced Bon Sutra, Tantra, Tsalung yoga and Dzogchen at five Bon monasteries from 1984 to 1992. After coming into exile in 1992, he was inspired to serve in the Tibetan community after his audience with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He then received his Tibetan linguistics and grammar teaching in general and Bon Sutra, Tantra, Dzogchen teaching in particular. Later he was honoured and ordained with a Ph.D. at Menri Monastery in 2002. From 1995 he served as the Chant Master at the Menri Monastery for six years. He was a linguistic teacher at Bon Dialectic School and the Director of the Institute for the preservation of Zhang-Zhung and Tibet's Culture. He also served as the President of the Camping on Yungdrung Bon and the member of the regional Election Commission. He is presently a member of the Standing Committee.



U-TSANG

Mr. Tsetan Norbu graduated with Bachelor of Commerce from Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal, and earned a Diploma in Social Leadership from St. Xavier University, Philippines. He also underwent training in Export and Marketing from Sian Productivity Organization in Japan. From 1980 to 1989, he served at the Tibetan Research Office of Darjeeling. He edited an independent magazine titled 'Sambhota' published from Kathmandu. He served as the President of the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) chapter in Kathmandu and was a member of the Tibetan Freedom Movement and Tibetan Local Assembly in Nepal. From 1995 - 2001, he was the President of the Central TYC for two consecutive terms. During his tenure in the Centre, he toured many countries as spokesman of TYC. At present, he is a Vice-President of Lumbini Foundation.



Mrs. Dolma Tsering was born in 1956 at Dagne, Tibet, and currently lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. After completing her teacher training course, she taught at the Central School for Tibetans, Kollegal, for 17 years, during which period she had served as the cultural secretary of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress. From 1994 she taught at the Tibetan Children's Village school, Dharamsala. While teaching, she earned a bachelor's degree from IGNOU. She was felicitated by the Education Department of the TGiE and awarded a certificate for her 26 years of teaching service in the Tibetan community. She completed a one-year study in the United States on a Fulbright Scholarship. She served as the president of the 9th U-Tsang Central Executive Committee till 2007 and was re-elected, in 2008, as a president of 10th U-Tsang Central Executive Committee. She became a Deputy for the first time during the 13th ATPD. She is presently one of the Standing Committee members of the 14th TPIE.



Mrs. Ngawang Lhamo Kanag was born 1956 in Dhingri, Tibet and now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. She studied at the Central School for Tibetans, Shimla, and graduated from Punjab University, Chandigarh. She received her B.Ed. degree from Banares Hindu University and taught at the Tibetan Children's Village schools in Dharamsala and Ladakh. She had served as the President of the Regional Tibetan Women's Association (TWA) in Ladakh and as General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the TWA. Currently, she is the Director of Nyingtop Ling Tibetan Handicapped Children's Craft Home, Dharamsala.

She was earlier elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD.



Mr. Karma Yeshe was born in exile and did his schooling from CST Puruwala, Poanta Sahib and Dalhousie. After a few months' military training, he pursued higher studies and earned degrees in B.A. Hons. B.Ed. and Interpretership in language from Punjab University, Chandigarh. He taught at the CST Puruwala for four years from 1990, got elected as the Vice-President of Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) in 1995 and, again, in 1998. He edited the Tibetan language Rangzen magazine of TYC and took part in a 26-day fast-unto-death protest in front of the United Nations office in Geneva during the UN Human Rights Commission meeting there in 1999. He got imprisoned for taking part in Tibetan protest actions, led many workshops and leadership trainings for Tibetans, attended many national and international conferences representing TYC. He earlier got elected to the 13th ATPD in a July 2004 by-election. From March 2003 he has been the Editor-in-Chief of the Voice of Tibet radio news service.



Mr. Dawa Tsering was born 1954 at Rachhu in Dhingri, Tibet. He came into exile when he was 5 years old. He completed his school education from CST Dalhousie and Simla. After joining the Tibet Youth Congress, he served as an office help and then became its secretary in 1977. He was a member of the Mcleod Ganj Youth Group (1979 and 1982) and member of the Regional Youth Congress (1983-97). He is the founder of the Yongling Creche, the Tibetan Jewish Exchange program, Rog-kyor and Gyalshen Lhenzom. He was associated with Indian Tibet Support Groups and led the Tibetan Earthquake Relief Committee to Gujarat. He resigned from the 12th ATPD to be able to continue to serve as the Tibetan Welfare Officer, Dharamsala, an elective post he held for 3 continuous terms since 1992, and was nominated by His Holiness to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Gyalnor Tsewang (Nima Lama) was born on 28 April 1956. He has been running units manufacturing and exporting hand-knotted Tibetan woollen carpets in Kathmandu since the 1970s. He was elected to the 1st and the 4th Local Tibetan Assembly of Boudha-Jorpati, Kathmandu, Nepal. He served in the Central Executive Committee of U-Tsang Cholkha for a number of terms and is a serving member of its 10th Committee. He is a former vice-president of the Tibetan Chamber of Commerce. On 10 December 2005, he was presented with the Padmo Kyop Award by the Department of Education of CTA for his contribution to Tibetan education. The 8th General Body Meeting of the Tibetan Youth Congress presented to him a certificate of appreciation for his social work.



Acharya Yeshe Phuntsok was born in 1962 at Leh, Ladakh, India. He obtained his Acharya degree from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS), Varanasi in 1988. From 1983 to 1987, he served on various Student Committee posts at the CIHTS. In 1989 he helped to organize the first International Tibet Support Group Meeting. He served at the CIHTS from 1989 to 1991. From 1992 to 1994 he served at the TCV School Suja as its academic administrator and Tibetan language teacher. From 1994 to 2004 he was the Joint Secretary of the National Democratic Party of Tibet and later became its President. In 1999 he founded the Bharat Tibet Sahyog Manch (BTSM) and attended the UNCHR Sub-Committee Session at Geneva on 3 August 2000. From 1997 to 2004 he attended various National and International Conferences. Currently, he is the President of the Ngari Chithun Association and he works with the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre as its executive programmes officer.



Mrs. Tsering Dolma was born in 1957 at Zonga-Tsang, Tibet, and now lives in Rajpur, Uttaranchal, India. She served as the Secretary of the Regional Tibetan Women's Association (RTWA) there from 1991 to 1994 and was elected as its president from 1995 to 1998. She was later elected to the 6th Central Executive Committee of U-Tsang Cholkha. From 1997 to 2000, she was a member of the Regional Tibetan Freedom Movement. Until her election to the 13th ATPD, she served as the Public Relation Officer of the U-Tsang Central Committee.



Mr. Dawa Phunkeyi was born in 1963, in Dharamsala, India, where he is now the Chief Administrator of Tibetan Delek Hospital. He studied at the Tibetan Children's Village school, Dharamsala, and earned a Diploma in Health Management and a Post-graduate Diploma in Health Administration from CMC, Vellore, and St. John's Medical College, Bangalore, respectively. He was earlier a Project Officer in the Deptt. of Health, CTA, and had also served as the Secretary of Tibetan Delek Hospital. He had also served other NGOs in various capacities, including as the President of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress, the General Secretary of the National Democratic Party of Tibet, the Senior Vice-President of Indo-Tibetan Friendship Society, Director of Community Service Rotary Club, Dharamsala, and Vice President of the U-Tsang Cholkha Association. He has visited Australia, Italy, South Africa, and England in his official capacity and also USA and England privately. He became a Deputy for the first time during the 13th ATPD.

DOTOE



Mrs. Juchen Konchok was born in 1972 and lives in Dharamsala. She finished school from CST Mussoorie. She has been staying at home since then serving her parents. She was earlier elected to the 13th ATPD for the period from 2001-2006 during which she visited many places of Tibetan habitat to discharge the duties entrusted by TPIE.

She is currently one of the members of the 14th TPIE's Standing Committee.



Mr. Serta Tsultrim Toktsa-Tsang was born in 1974 at Serta, Eastern Tibet, and currently lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He did high-level education at Serta Centre for Higher Tibetan Buddhist Studies in the Kham region of Tibet. He reached India in 1998 and began working at the Religious Department of the CTA in 1999. From 2000 to early 2003, he was an editor and researcher in Tibetan culture and education at the Cultural and Literary Research Centre of the Norbulingka Institute, Dharamsala. He has been the executive director of Khawa Karpo Tibet Culture Centre since its inception in April 2003 and is the chief editor of the weekly Tibetan newspaper 'The Tibet Express' (bod-kyi-bang-chen). He was earlier elected to the 5th local Tibetan Assembly of Dharamsala in 2004. He is also the coordinator of the Association of Tibetan Journalists (ATJ).



Venerable Trulku Ogyen Topgyal was born in 1951 in Nangchen, Tibet, and currently lives at Bir, Himachal Pradesh, India. Since the age of 18, he has shouldered overall responsibility over the Pema Ae-wam Choegar Tenchok Gyurmey Ling Monastery at Bir. He has been preaching Buddhism in 23 countries and has renovated three monasteries in Tibet. He had served as the Vice-President of the Association of Ngagyur Gyalong Monlam Chenpo for a year. He had also served for two years as the president of the Bir Tibetan Local Assembly. He has acted in the much acclaimed movie "The Cup".

He was previously elected to the ATPD from 1994 to 1996 and to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Sonam Topgyal was born in 1948 in Kham Markham, Tibet, and now lives in Australia. He had educated himself specifically in Tibetan linguistics and grammar and worked at the Tibetan Reception Centre, Dharamsala, for a year after coming to India.

He was earlier elected to the 11th, 12th and 13th ATPD and was a standing committee member throughout.



Mr. Dorjee Wangdi Dewatsang went to Saint Augustine School in Kalimpong and did his Pre-Engineering at Government College for men in Chandigarh and thereafter got his B. Arch. degree from Chandigarh College of Architecture, Chandigarh. He later underwent training at the 'Alan Carre Design Etudes' Paris in France. He then moved back to India and started private practice in New Delhi. He has undertaken a number of architectural projects all over India and also worked in the rebuilding of the BAYAN PALACE in Kuwait. He has authored a book titled 'Flight at the Cockoo's Behest', a biography of his late father Kunga Samten Dewatshang. Beside his Architectural practice, he takes keen interest in Tibetan affairs and has worked closely with his sister Tinlay Choedon Dewatsang on a number of Social and Educational projects for the Tibetan Community in various settlements. He also chaired the Tibetan Chamber of Commerce. He is presently based at New Delhi and runs Dewatsang Sarangal; Mandala Construction (P) Ltd; Paljor Publications (P) Ltd; And Consultants (P) Ltd, and Kiri Exports (P) Ltd.



Mrs. Youdon Aukatsang is the Executive Director of Empowering the Vision Project (ENVISION), an NGO working to support, motivate and empower young Tibetans to take their place in the community with dynamism, specialised skills, good careers and entrepreneurship. She was earlier an Independent Consultant for Kredha International, an organization based in The Hague, The Netherlands. From 2000 to 2003, she was Senior Program Officer of the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD), Dharamsala. She continues to serve on the TCHRD's Board. She had earlier been elected as an Executive Member of the Tibetan Women's Association and had also served as its Research Associate from 1994 to 1996. She completed her Master's degree in International Law and Diplomacy from Tufts University, MA (USA) under a Fulbright scholarship. She also has an MA in International Politics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, and had completed her BA from Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University.



Mr. Choekyong Wangchuk was born in Kalimpong in 1971, and currently lives in New Delhi. He completed his class 12th from SFF School, Herbertpur and earned a B.A. degree from Punjab University, in 1993, and a PG Diploma in Marketing and Sales Management from Bhartiya Vidhya Bhavan in 1994. In 1991 and 1992 he was elected as the President of Overseas Student's Association of Govt. College for Men and the President of Regional Tibetan Youth Congress, Chandigarh. From 1995 to 2001, he was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC). He served as the Deputy Coordinator and, later, as the Coordinator of the New Delhi-based India Tibet Coordination Office (ITCO) of CTA from 2002 to 2006. He organized many Tibet awareness programs and also attended many national and international conferences. Presently, he is working as the Executive Director of the Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre based in New Delhi.



Kalsang Gyaltzen was born in Bathang, Tibet, in 1966 and studies both Tibetan and Chinese languages. He worked in the Political Consultative Committee in the Karze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, the United Front Work Department branch in the prefecture, and others for more than twelve years, accumulating unique experiences in those offices. He also undertook written and spoken translations in all the meetings held by the Political Consultative Committee and the Buddhist Affairs United Committee. He escaped into exile in June 1999 and on 1 September 1999 joined the Tibetan Research and Analysis Centre of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala. There he undertook research on Dotoe province, China and Taiwan. He has written or translated from Chinese to Tibetan – and, also, from Tibetan to Chinese – a number of significant articles and books related to the Tibet issue, Tibetan history, and other related subjects. He is a co-founder of the Khawa Karpo Tibetan Cultural Centre and is actively engaged in bringing out the Bod-kyi Bang-chen newspaper and other publications.



Mr. Tsultrim Tenzin was born in 1939 in Kham Karze, Tibet, and lives at Bir Dege Division, Tibetan Colony, Himachal Pradesh, India. He graduated in Tibetan studies in Tibet. After arriving in India in 1959, he studied English, Hindi and received basic modern education. He has served the Tibetan Government-in-Exile for 32-years in various capacities, including as School teacher, School Principal, Settlement Officer, Rehabilitation Officer, Field Auditor in-charge and Field Director of Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute.

He was earlier elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD.



DOMEY

Mr. Gyalrong Dawa Tsering was born in 1952 in Tsona, Tibet. He had served in the Special Frontier Force for 26 years (1969-1994) during which he rose from the rank of Clerk to Assistant Political Leader. As Company leader, he was Leader/Officer in charge of the Rehabilitation Centre. His community services include being a camp leader, executive committee member of Regional Ex-soldiers Welfare Association, President of Regional Domey Association, member of Kolkata Tibetan Sweater Sellers Association, and member of the Central Executive Committee of Domey. He had earlier served as the Chairman of the Mainpat Local Assembly for two consecutive terms until his election to the 13th ATPD in 2001.



Mr. Chabdrak Lhamo Kyab grew up in the Domey province of Tibet and was a teacher there from the age of 18. He escaped to India in 1989 and continued in this profession. Presently, he is the head of the department of creative writing at the College for higher Tibetan studies, Sarah, near Dharamsala. He has published seven books of Tibetan prose and poetry during his tenure at the CHTS, Sarah. He is the chief editor of the Tibetan magazine Tsampa, which began circulation in 1995, and is also the president of the Tibetan Writers Abroad, P.E.N. centre, which was founded in 1999.

He was earlier elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Tenzin Khedrub was born in 1952 in Tibet and currently lives in Darjeeling, West Bengal, India. He studied at St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, and earned an MBA degree from the University of San Francisco, USA. Since 1986 he has been the Director of the Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre in Darjeeling.

He had earlier been elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD.



Mr. Tenzin Gonpo was born in 1960 in Amdo Mangra Sha Shong, Tibet, and currently lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He studied at the Teacher Training School in Tsolho from 1973 to 1978 and at the Teacher Training College of Tsongo from 1982 to 1984. He had worked as a teacher at the Thangkarmas from 1978 to 1980 and in the Education Office at Mangra Tsaug from 1980 to 1985. He was the Editor of Mangtso Tibetan newspaper, Dharamsala, from 1990 to 1993 and was active in the Tibetan Freedom Movement from 1990 to 1995.

He was earlier elected to the 12th and 13th ATPD for the period from 1999 - 2001 and 2004 - 2006 respectively.



Mrs. Dolkar Lhamo Kirti was born in 1959 in Darjeeling, India, and currently lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. After completing school from CST Dalhousie, she did secretarial Training Course and taught at the West Point School, Darjeeling, from 1979 to 1982. She was actively involved in local community affairs in Darjeeling and had served as the President of the Tibetan Women's Association, Central Executive Committee, for 2000-2003 and again got elected to the post for the 2009-2012 term.

She was earlier elected to the 11th, 12th and 13th ATPD.



Mrs. Doma Tsomo was born in 1964 and currently lives in Nepal. She graduated in Science from North Eastern Hill University, Meghalaya, and went on to earn a Diploma in Business Administration from Bangalore and an Honours Diploma in Computer Software Development from NIIT, Delhi. During her student days she worked in the RTYC and RTWA and in 1992, worked at the Tibetan Computer Resource Centre. In 1995, she was elected as the Vice-President of Tibetan Women's Association, Central Executive Committee. She obtained a Master's degree from Boston University under a Fulbright Scholarship in 1999, majoring in Educational Media and Technology. She is presently the Executive Chairperson of "Shangrila Agro Trading Pvt. Ltd", which is the sole marketing division of Nepal Organic Tea grown by Kanchanjangha Tea Estate, owned by an underprivileged farmers' co-operative.

She was earlier elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mrs. Tsering Youdon was born in 1963 in Dehradun, India, and currently lives at Hunsur Rabgayling settlement. She earned a diploma in Secretarial Practice and computer from Bangalore. From 1983 to 1991 she worked at the Myrada Plan on various posts like sponsorship Secretary, Program Asstt. and system supervisor. In 1991 she worked as Project Officer at Rabgayling Tibetan Settlement office. From 2000 to 2005 she served as a member of the regional election committee. From 1997 to 2000 she was the President of Regional Tibetan Women's Association. In 2004 she was elected as the president of Parents' Association. From 30 August 2001 to 31 August 2004, she was the treasurer of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress and from 1 September 2004 to 31 May 2006 its Vice-President. Simultaneously, from 1 April 2004 to 31 August 2006, she was the elected President of TRL Co-op. Society Ltd.



Ven. Serta Tsultrim Woesser was born at Serta in Golog region of Amdo. After attending the local primary school, he became a monk after China began allowing a limited religious freedom. He studied in the monasteries of Serta Sera, Dataleg, Ladrang Tashikhyil, Achog Tsen-nyi, and others. In 1992, he arrived in exile and joined the school for new arrival at Suja before enrolling in Ganden Shartse monastery, south India. Having completed courses in Duedra (Collected Topics), Tsema (Valid Cognition), Pharchin (Perfection), Uma (Middle-view), and Ngoenpa (Phenomenology), he is now studying Dulwa (Monastic Discipline). At the same time he has served as a teacher at the monastery's school and as the monastery's secretary.



Mrs. Yeshi Dolma Andrugtsang was born 1971 at Dharamsala, India and resides there. She completed her high school from TCV Dharamsala and has served as an executive member of the Regional Tibetan Women's Association, Dharamsala, from 1998 till 2001. In 2003 she was elected as an executive member of the Central Tibetan Women's Association and visited eight Tibetan Settlements in northeastern parts of India to educate the people on the working of the Tibetan Women's Association. She was also elected as a regional executive member of Domey Cholkha. In March 2005 she led 170 women on a Peace March from Dehradun to Delhi in support of the Middle Way Policy put forth by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. In March 2006 she was re-elected as an executive member of the Tibetan Women's Association. Currently, she is the President of Central Executive Committee of Domey Cholkha.



UNITED STATE OF AMERICA

Mr. Tenzing Chonden was born in 1967 in Kathmandu, Nepal, and currently lives in Los Angeles, USA. He moved to the USA in 1983 and graduated from the Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles with a Bachelor of Science degree in Electrical Engineering. He worked for a manufacturing company in L.A. from 1990 as an Electrical Engineer and Supervisor in various departments for 13 years. He resigned from his professional employment from September 2002 in order to keep a personal commitment to attend all sessions of the Tibetan parliament-in-exile and to volunteer for an ATPD committee to reform Green Book rules and procedures. He has served on the Board of Directors of the Tibetan Association of Southern California (1995-97), Los Angeles Friends of Tibet (1996-2000), and as a Director and Co-founder of Orange County Friends of Tibet since 1997. He was earlier elected to the 13th ATPD.



EUROPE

Mr. Sonam Tsering Frasi, FCA, was born in 1954 at Rawang, Ngari, Tibet, and currently lives in London. After completing his degree in Commerce from St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling he earned a Post Graduation Certificate in Education from London University. He studied further and qualified as a Chartered Accountant from the Institute of Chartered Accounts in England and Wales. He has served the Tibetan Community in Britain for over 18 years as its honorary Treasurer and Chairman. In bringing the Tibetan issue on the international arena, he was involved in organizing some major conferences such as The International Lawyers Conference in 1993 and Sino-Tibetan dialogue for finding common grounds in 1997.

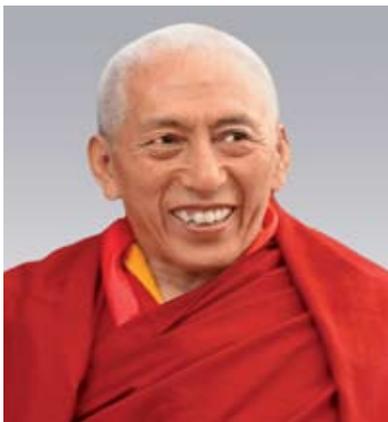
He was earlier elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Sonam Phuntsok Monkar was born in 1949 at Gyantse, Tibet, and came to India in 1959. After completing his studies at the Central School for Tibetans, Mussoorie, he joined Hans Raj College, Delhi University, for his BA (Hons.) and MA degrees. In 1973, the Tibetan Government assigned him to work at the Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama in New Delhi. He studied International Relations at "Institut 'Etudes Politiques de Paris'" and was a councillor of Tibetan Community of France. He had also served at office of Tibet in Zurich. From 1990 to May 2006 he taught Tibetan language to Tibetan Children in Zurich on voluntary basis. Since 1996 he has been a member of the editorial committee of the newsletter of the Tibetan Community in Switzerland.



KALONS



Kalon Tripa Samdhong Rinpoche
Chairman of Kashag
(Cabinet)

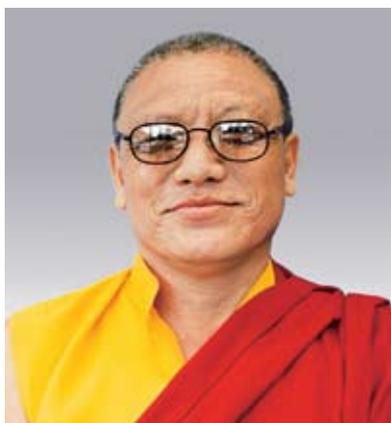
Venerable Prof. Samdhong Lobsang Tenzin, the 5th Samdhong Rinpoche was born on 5 November 1939 in Nagdug village, Jol in eastern Tibet. He started his study of Buddhist philosophy at Drepung Monastery, Lhasa at the age of 12, and continued his studies in exile while serving in Tibetan schools. He obtained the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Tantric Studies in 1968 and 1969, respectively.

As its Speaker from 1991 to 2001, he restructured the functioning of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and also formulated the rules and regulations governing the functioning of the departments and institutions of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. Also, in 1990, he was a member of the committee for drafting the Charter of Tibetans in Exile and the constitution of Future Tibet.

Professor Samdhong Rinpoche won re-election for a second consecutive term on 1 July 2006 with a landslide majority of 90.72 percent of the votes.

From 1961 to 2000 he served at Tibetan cultural and educational institutions, including as the Principal of CST Dalhousie, and as the Director (later Vice-Chancellor) of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Varanasi.

Rinpoche has received tremendous respect and honours in the Indian academic circle, including with the presidentship of the Association of Indian Universities for 1998. He is an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi.



Venerable Tsering Phuntsok
Kalon for Department of Religion and Culture

Venerable Tsering Phuntsok was born in 1948 in Kham Gonjo, Eastern Tibet. He joined Bagon monastery, a branch of Palyul monastery, at an early age. He arrived in India in 1961 after the Chinese annexation of Tibet.

He settled in the Lugsung Samdupling Tibetan settlement, Bylakuppe, in South India in 1963 and studied at the school there for a number of years. He later joined Thek-chok-namdrol-shedrup-dhargye-ling Monastery from where he was sent to study at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Varanasi, in 1968. He earned an Acharya degree there and worked for a PhD degree there for three years. He also earned a Sanskrit Diploma from the SS University Varanasi.

He was a founding member of the Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul (The Tibetan Freedom Movement). In 1991 he was elected as one of the two Nyingma Deputies to the 11th ATPD and continued to be re-elected to the 12th, 13th and 14th ATPD. As an ATPD (now renamed as TPiE) Deputy, he had served on the standing committee and held positions as pro-tem speaker and chairman of various committees.

On 5 October 2006, he was nominated as a candidate for Kalon and was confirmed by majority vote of the TPiE.



Mr. Tsering Dhundup Yangdhar
Kalon for Department of Finance

Mr. Tsering Dhundup Yangdhar was born in 1960 while his parents were escaping into exile in 1959. He completed his school from the Tibetan Homes Foundation and CST Mussoorie in 1981 and earned Bachelor of Commerce degree from Punjab University, Chandigarh, in 1983. While in college, he served as the President of the Regional Tibetan Freedom Movement.

In December 1984, he joined the Central Tibetan Administration as a senior clerk in the Office of the Auditor General and was promoted as Deputy Secretary in 1991. While in service, Mr. Dhundup completed a Master's degree in Commerce from Himachal University in 1993. He was promoted as Joint Secretary in June 1993 and pursued Business Management for one year at the University of Montana, United States, in fall 1993 on a Fulbright Scholarship. After returning in October 1994, he continued to serve in the Office of the Auditor General and was promoted as Additional Secretary in 1998.

He was appointed as the Secretary of the Department of Education in 2000. In 2002 he was made the Home Secretary and served on it till October 2007 when his nomination as a Kalon was approved by the 14th TPiE.



Mr. Thupten Lungrig
Kalon for Department of Education

Mr. Thupten Lungrig was born in Amdo, northeastern Tibet, in 1957 and completed his high school from CST Dalhousie. He joined the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Varanasi, in 1972 and earned his Acharya degree there in 1981.

He served at the Tibetan Children's Village school, Dharamsala, as a Tibetan Language Teacher (PGT) for 11 years from 1981 to 1992, and simultaneously underwent a Teacher Training Course (TTC) for one year. From 1993 to 1996, he served as the Principal and Director of the Tibetan Children's Village school, Suja.

In 1996, he was one of the three directly appointed Deputies to the 12th ATPD and was elected as its

Vice-Chairman. He was elected to the 13th ATPD and held the post of Chairmanship till Sept. 2008.

He was nominated as a Kalon in the 12th Kashag and took charges as Minister for Religion & Culture and Minister for Education on 20 September 2001. In March 2005 he was given additional charge of Health Department.

Mr. Lungrig came back in the 13th Kashag and has been serving as the Minister for Education since 5 October 2006.



Mr. Ngodup Dongchung
Kalon for Department of
Security

Mr. Ngodup Dongchung was born on 31 December 1956 at Surtso, a small village in Nyanang County, Tibet. After escaping into exile with his parents, he received his primary school education at the Namche day school of Delekling settlement, Solokhumbu, Nepal. He joined the Central School for Tibetans, Dalhousie, in April 1964. After finishing school in 1973 he joined Ramjas College, Delhi University, and earned his BA (Hons.) degree in Political Science in 1977.

He joined the government-in-exile service as an assistant Office Secretary at the Department of Security on 15 June 1977 and became a full fledged official on 1 September 1978. He was promoted to Deputy Secretary in March 1987. He was later promoted as Additional Secretary in July 1991 and took charge as the department's Acting Secretary in November that year. He was promoted as the department's Secretary in April 1993 and continued to serve in that capacity till 11 December 2001. After that he remained the Secretary for Security when a second Secretary post was introduced for the department as a policy decision.

On 4 October 2007, Mr. Ngodup Dongchung was nominated, and duly approved by the 14th TPiE, as a Kalon.



Mrs. Kesang Yangkyi Takla
Kalon for Department of
Information & International
Relations

Mrs. Kesang Yangkyi Takla was born on 15 September 1944. She completed school in Kalimpong in 1961 and underwent a special Intensive General Administrative Course at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, in 1965-66.

In February 1962 she took charge as Secretary and Interpreter at the Department of Home and Rehabilitation. After stints at TCV school, she served as the Administrative Secretary and Accountant at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, from 1970 to 1977. From January 1978 to November 1982 she was the Administrator of Delek Hospital, Dharamsala. From January 1983 to December 1988, she served as the Secretary at the Department of Health.

She was the Representative at the Office of Tibet, London, from March 1989 to August 1997, and again from January 2002 to April 2007. In the meanwhile, she served as the first Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Taiwan from September 1997 to September 1999, and as Secretary for International Relations at the Department of Information and International Relations from March 2000 to December 2001.

She became the Minister for Health on 25 May 2007 and was later made the Minister for Information and International Relations on 1 December 2007.



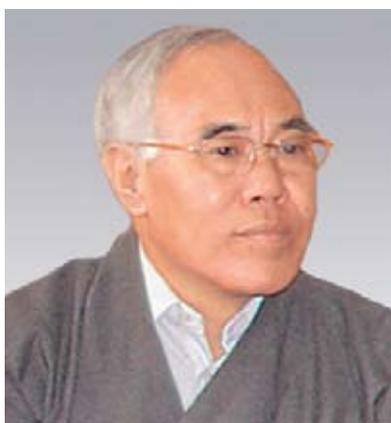
Mr. Paljor Tsering Choep
Kalon for Department of
Health

Mr. Paljor Tsering Choep was born in 1948 in Namru, Tibet. After graduation in 1968, he left for England to pursue a course in Cambridge English language and Teacher Training. He then served as teacher and headmaster of Tashiling Tibetan Primary School, Pokhara, Nepal, from mid-1970 to October 1973.

On 1 October 1973, he was appointed as the Tibetan settlement officer at Dhorpatan, Nepal. He also served at the Office of Tibet, Kathmandu, from 20 November 1977; as Deputy Secretary at the Education Department, CTA, from 26 April 1982, and as Education Officer in Nepal from 1 January 1985.

On 15 May 1986, he was made the Representative at the Office of Tibet, Kathmandu. On 19 September 1991, he was promoted and appointed as the Representative at the Office of Tibet, East Europe, based in Budapest, Hungary. On 28 April 1998 he was made the Representative at the Office of Tibet, Australia, followed by appointment as Representative for East Asia on 7 December 2002. He postponed his retirement, which was due on 1 July 2006, and continued to serve on the post until on 30 May 2007.

He took charge as the Kalon for Health on 29 November 2007.



Mr. Tempa Tsering
(Representative of His
Holiness the Dalai Lama,
New Delhi)

Kalon without Portfolio

Mr. Tempa Tsering was born on 15 May 1950 in Tibet. He completed his High School from Dr. Grahams Homes, Kalimpong, and B.Sc. from Madras Christian College. He joined the Tibetan civil service in 1973 and served as interpreter and office secretary at the Bylakuppe Tibetan Settlement from 1973 to 1974. From 1974 to 1980, he served at the Department of Information and International Relations and then at the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama till 1985.

He also worked as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Tibetan Youth Congress and later, as its advisor from 1977 - 1983.

From 1988 to 1990, he served as the Additional Secretary at the Department of Home with responsibility as chief coordinator at the Chief Representative's Office for the five settlements in the state of Karnataka. From 1991 to 1999, he served as the Secretary of the Department of Information and International Relations.

In 2000 he was nominated, with other candidates, by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and elected by the ATPD as a Kalon in the 11th Kashag and served as the Home Kalon till the end of its term in 2001. He is currently the Representative at the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, New Delhi.