



The Tibetan National Emblem

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

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.

○ 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 the Tibetan people, at the height of political turmoil and upheaval in Tibet. Prior to the brutal occupation of Tibet by Communist China, which forced thousands of Tibetans to flee their country into exile, Tibet had been a fully sovereign and independent nation, albeit coming into contact with the Mongols, Manchus and Han Chinese, each to some extent influencing the other.

However, in its long and glorious history Tibet retained its unique identity, its culture and religion, language and customs and its own form of government and administration with its own currency. Tibet, historically also served as a useful buffer between the world's two largest and most populous nations, India and China.

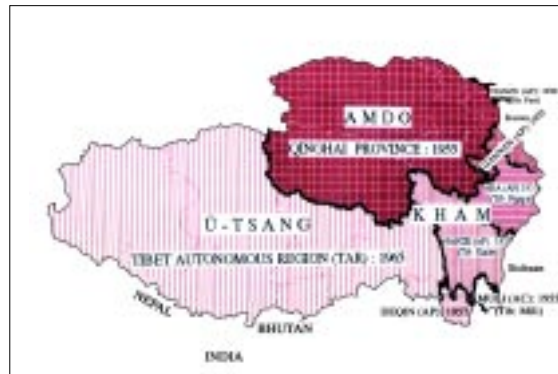
Notwithstanding Tibet's reputation as a nation of fierce warriors, the Tibetan people became deeply spiritual with the advent of Buddhism, from India, in the 7th century. The coming together of the Buddha's teachings with Tibet's unique environment brought about a special way of life which was in complete harmony with nature.

As in most high altitude habitats, the majority of Tibetans were nomads, deeply committed to religious pursuits. Even today 80% of the population consists of nomads and semi-nomads. All over Tibet there existed thousands of centers of learning. Regrettably over six thousands monasteries were wantonly destroyed by the People's Liberation Army. As a direct result of China's brutal occupation of Tibet, 1.2 million Tibetans were killed, almost 20% of the entire population.

Today Tibetans do not enjoy any political freedom while their religion is severely curbed; their distinct culture looked down upon by the Chinese who treat them as inferior and barbaric beings in their own country. In the name of social and economic development over seven million Han Chinese have been settled in Tibet, completely changing the demographic pattern and making the Tibetans a minority in their own country. This process will only be exacerbated by the 'Western China Development Plan' and the construction of the railway project which will link Tibet to the mainland China. Ethnic Tibetans will be further marginalized and the migration of Chinese into Tibet accelerated. The very identity and future of the Tibetan people will be threatened with extinction.



Map of undivided Tibet displayed in the Assembly Hall



Map of Tibet divided by People's Republic of China

Tibet occupies a critical geo-strategic position in Asia. Its area of 2.5 million square kilometers is 25% of the entire land-mass of China. The average altitude is 4000 meters or 13,000 feet above sea level and understandably Tibet is known as the Roof of the World. Tibet's borders are geographically well defined with its southern border along the Indian Himalayas, stretching from Jammu and Kashmir to Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar, and China to the east; in the north Tibet touches Mongolia and in the west, eastern Turkestan. Its location straddles a uniquely strategic position in Asia.

Tibet is also the source of many of the major rivers of South and eastern Asia. In this vast land-mass, with its fragile eco-system, lived six million Tibetans.

Traditionally Tibet was divided into three provinces, of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. However, in 1965 the People's Republic of China restructured Tibet calling U-Tsang and parts of Kham as the Tibet Autonomous Region; the Amdo province as Qinghai and merging other parts of Tibet into the neighbouring provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan and Gansu of China.

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 for both the People's Republic of China and Tibet. Declaring Tibet as a "zone of peace and non-violence" under Chinese sovereignty, totally denuclearised and demilitarized, is the only viable solution for peace and stability in Asia.

It is China's moral responsibility, as a world super-power and ancient civilization, to correct the wrongs of the past and to grant to the Tibetan people their just and rightful demand.

This third edition includes photographs of all the previous twelve parliaments, with additional information and up-dates since 1999. 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.

Penpa Tsering
Executive Director

BEGINNINGS

Forty-five years have passed since the first group of Tibetans followed His Holiness the Dalai Lama into exile in India. Entire families fled from Tibet taking with them only whatever they could carry over treacherous and little-known passes in the high Himalayas, anxious to escape from the oppression of Chinese rule.

Soon the number of exiles rose to 80,000; it is now 130,000 and the exodus continues.

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

The Governments of Nepal and Bhutan also provided generous assistance for the resettlement of numerous refugees. In the initial stages, many refugees earned their livelihood from manual labour such as road construction in the border areas and traditional handicrafts, 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, bare, thinly-populated Roof of the World. Most of them 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 themselves into Indian society. 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.

This was not because they encountered hostility in India. On the contrary, their Buddhist faith had, in fact, originated in India. But, over the centuries, the Tibetans had evolved a distinctive culture, society and a way of life suited to their remote

surroundings and Mongolian stock. Their language and dress were noticeably different, though the Buddhist roots were common.

The Tibetan exiles have survived as a cohesive community, committed to retaining the culture and traditions of their homeland, and above all committed to return to it in freedom, because they have a living, evolving focus for their identity in the Dalai Lama.

Even though sections of Tibetan youth appear to be westernised with some holding well-paid jobs in the West, and others questioning the Dalai Lama's commitment to non-violence, they continue to venerate him.

His role has gone far beyond that of projecting the traditional image of a spiritual leader not over-concerned about worldly matters.

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

Less than a year after seeking refuge in India and when the Dalai Lama was only 25 years



The First elected representative body

old, he outlined a programme designed to introduce the exiles to the practice of democratic self-rule but without losing touch with their own traditions.

He made the announcement in

February 1960 in Bodh Gaya (Bihar), where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, thus emphasising the historic, cultural and religious links between Tibet and India.

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

At Bodh Gaya, the Dalai Lama advised his people to elect their representatives on the following basis: three each from among those who had come from the three Tibetan *cholkas* (provincial regions) of Dhotoe, Dhomey and U-Tsang; and one each from the four Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions. Since the exiles from each *cholka* were widely dispersed, the electoral process would be complicated, but election would serve to remind them to retain their sense of identity and belonging.

Thus the first elected representative body in Tibet's history - designated the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD) took oath of office on September 2, 1960. Since then, this day has been observed as Democracy Day by the community-in-exile.

CLEAR VISION

The Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD, the Parliament-in-exile) is located in the hill town of Dharamsala, in the Dhauladhar range of the Himalayas in northern India. The Tibetan plateau is not far from there, but the towering Himalayas that lie between remind the community-in-exile of the formidable obstacles barring their return to their homeland. The very name, Dharamsala, which in Hindi means a resting place for travellers, is a poignant reminder that no matter how long they stay here, their home is elsewhere.

In 1959 the Government of India provided accommodation for His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie; however, in the following year the Dalai Lama and his entourage moved to Dharamsala where he has since lived in a spacious bungalow which, though comfortable, is a far-cry from the magnificence of his 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 can be of service to their country when they eventually do return, and to develop institutions of



parliamentary self-government for themselves which will serve as a model for their homeland.

The process of self-government was accelerated in 1990 when the Assembly was expanded and given independent authority. The Assembly 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 in accordance to the wishes of the Tibetan people.

This change of a fundamental nature has given substance to the proceedings of the Assembly

where Kalons are now required to defend and explain the activities and functioning of the executive to a critical Assembly. 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 activities 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 past practices as they had existed for decades. What is even more remarkable is the fact that the process of democratisation was not the result of the pressures from below, as often it has been the case elsewhere, but the conscious and articulated wishes of the Dalai Lama himself, much against the wishes of his people, unhappy at the thought of diluting his supreme powers.

For the Dalai Lama, however, the process of empowering his people to rule for themselves and take decisions to determine their destiny became an imperative that has far reaching consequences for the future. Infact the Dalai Lama has made it explicitly clear that when the exiles are able to return to their homeland he will renounce all his temporal authority which will be assumed by an elected president.

Since the vast majority of 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 once the exiles return.

He has made it clear that the Government-in-exile would then be dissolved and that 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 government of free Tibet.

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 attached to them. Further, those Tibetans working in various departments presently under Chinese supervision are assured that their services will continue.



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

Through the long years of exile the Dalai Lama's vision and direction has been clear and unwavering; his 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 exiled will return to Tibet. His has been a truly remarkable and unprecedented achievement.

DEMOCRACY DAY

The Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies' building was completed in the early 1980s during the seventh ATPD.

It is a modest structure at the centre of a horseshoe-shaped cluster of buildings housing the various departments of the Secretariat of the Government-in-exile. There is nothing strikingly Tibetan about the architecture of the Assembly building.

The 46 Deputies 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 Assembly. An enlarged photograph of the Dalai Lama on the wall behind and an elaborate thangka are the only symbols of

Tibet, together with the fact that the proceedings are conducted in Tibetan.

Although it functions like other legislatures, the plain, utilitarian structure of the Tibetan Assembly indicates its temporary, exile status. 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 emphasised in the electoral system which requires that the Deputies who represent the three Tibetan *Cholkas* (provincial regions) of U-Tsang, Dhotoe and Dhomey be people belonging to these regions, although in fact they are elected from the exile constituencies in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

Exile (1959)

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



Democracy (1960)

Only 25 years old, H. H. the Dalai Lama outlined a program designed to introduce the exiles to the practice of democratic self-rule. He made the formal announcement on February 1960.

First Parliament Members

The first elected representative body, designated as the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies - met on September 2, 1960. Since then, this day is observed as Democracy Day.



The Parliament house in 1966



Of the 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 the same influence. And finally, every Tibetan between the age of six to fourteen pays a voluntary contribution of at least one rupee per month and above the age of fourteen at least four rupees a month to demonstrate support to the Government-in-exile and to confirm his or her exile status.

The first 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 before being forced to flee to India. In his autobiography, *My Land and My People*, he recalls how he appointed a Reforms Committee of eminent citizens to redress the inequalities prevailing in Tibet, 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

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



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 present Parliament



The Parliament house now



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

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 various occupations were represented along with the Kalons and other officials. No direct elections were held, but the members of the *Tsogdu* were selected as representatives of community and trade groups. The *Tsogdu* consisted of the abbots of the three great monasteries and other lay-representatives of various classes and occupations, such as artisans, tradesmen, soldiers and boatmen.

The reforms introduced by the Dalai Lama could not be implemented prior to his leaving Tibet. Consequently, the community-in-exile

had limited experience of democratic governance when they came to India. Yet, one of the first pronouncements made by the Dalai Lama after settling in India showed that he had already envisaged a process of democratisation that would maintain close links with the land they had been forced to leave.

In February 1960, at Bodh Gaya (where Lord Buddha achieved enlightenment), he outlined a detailed programme to the large group of Tibetans gathered there. He advised them to set up an elected body with three exile representatives for each of the three *cholkas* and one each for the four Buddhist religious traditions. The link with Tibet was thus formalised.

Elections were duly held and the first elected representative body 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 Democracy Day and public functions are held in all the Tibetan settlements.

Initially the role of the Deputies was merely formal since the CTPD had no secretariat and facilities were limited. The deputies were attached to various departments to gain experience and the supervision of the infant

administration in exile was entrusted to the Dalai Lama and the Kalons.

In 1965, the importance of the Deputies was enhanced when the Assembly was entrusted with the authority to abolish the inherited traditional bipolar practice of appointing monks and lay officials to each office, and to abolish 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

By the end of the third CTPD in 1969, the Deputies were authorised to oversee the working of the departments of the Government-in-exile. But since the Kalons were not responsible to them, the authority of the Deputies was limited.

Between the First Assembly formed in 1960 and the Tenth in 1988, the membership of the Assembly varied between 12 to 17. In 1991, the membership was increased to 46. Until 1990, the Deputies stayed in Dharamsala throughout the year.

The tenure of the CTPD was to have been three years but it varied because the election of the Deputies were dispersed over a wide area and the means of communication were poor. In 1985, the tenure of the Assembly (CTPD) was extended from three to five years. This representative body was more appropriately renamed the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) after the term of the Sixth CTPD was over.

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 Assembly. The process of gradually strengthening the parliamentary system was slow during the early stages but it developed steadily.

During the second CTPD, the number of representatives was increased from 13 to 17 with one additional seat from each of the three regions being reserved for women and the Dalai Lama nominating an eminent person. As yet the CTPD still had no Secretariat and

the Deputies met only twice a month. However, from May 1966, Deputies were attached to various offices to supervise their working and a separate assembly house and secretariat were set up.

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.

A group of spirited Tibetans from Sarnath, near Varanasi, came to Dharamsala in July 1972, and persuaded the Fourth CTPD to convene a People's Representative Convention. This 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 to accord diplomatic recognition to the Tibetan Government-in-exile.

In order to legitimise their commitment to their Government-in-exile, it was decided that all Tibetans above the age of six would pay at least one rupee per month as a voluntary tax. Tibetan Freedom Movement sub-committees, known as Bhot Rangwang Denpai Legul (BRDL) were set up in Tibetan habitats all over the world thus formalising the commitment of the entire community-in-exile to democratic functioning and their participation in and responsibility to the Government-in-exile.

1960-1964

First Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD)



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	Dhotoe:	Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Jangtsetsang Tsering Gonpo, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyandak
Sakya:	Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin		
Kagyue:	Atro Rinpoche Karma Shenphen Choekyi Dawa	Dhomey:	Alag Trigen Jamyang (resigned, replaced by Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub)
Gelug:	Chiso Lobsang Namgyal		Gungthang Tsultrim, Gyalrong Trichu Dorje Pelsang
U. Tsang:	Samkhar Tsering Wangdu, Tamshul Dhedong Wangdi Dorje, Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul		

The newly elected members took oath of office on the 2nd of September 1960. This legislative body was named as Commission of Tibetan Peoples' Deputies (CTPD).

On the 4th of September, His Holiness apprised the elected members of the importance and the necessity of a fully functional, well planned democratic polity rooted in traditional values and in tune with the international popular form of governance. His Holiness provided the agenda for the meeting.

For the first time ever, a weeklong 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, expansion of the present departments and appointment of civil servants.

The members proposed a list of 29 names to

administer the Councils of Religion, Home, Foreign Relations, Education, and the offices of Finance, information, security and Civil Service Commission.

The CTPD had no separate secretariat since the facilities were limited those days, but all the deputies stayed at Dharamsala. Owing to the new political environment and inexperience, the elected deputies were attached to various departments to understand the workings of administration and to gain experience. This practice was followed till the 4th CTPD.

The Deputies meet twice monthly to assess the situation and discuss on important issues. The deputies, members of the Kashag and the administrative heads of the departments (National Working Committee) met once every six months to report and review activities. The Chairmanship was by rotation.

During the 1st CTPD, there were four larger Councils:

Religious Affairs (1959), Home (1959), Foreign Relations (1959) and Education (1960) headed by a minister; and four offices of Information, Security, Civil Services welfare and Money and Salaries (Finance).

The Ministers function from their departments and meet once every week apart from emergency meetings. The Election Commission was appointed as and when there was election.

Settlements, educational and cultural institutions started 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 Tibetan School, Mussoorie and TCV Dharamsala were established in 1960.

On March 10, 1961, the 2nd anniversary of the Tibetan People's National Uprising Day, His Holiness while announcing the formulation of a draft constitution sought views from the people and their elected representatives by exercising meaningful freedom of expression, to positively improve and amend the draft for the larger public interest.

On October 10, the same year, a summarised constitution conforming to the prevailing democratic polity was circulated amongst the Tibetan Diasporas. Representatives of the Tibetan people, the deputies and the civil servants unanimously appreciated and pledged to follow the new draft constitution, which embodies the traditional Tibetan values in conformity with modern democratic norms but expressed their inability to accept the articles relating to curtailing of the powers of His Holiness.

His Holiness promulgated an enlarged version of the constitution after due deliberations, on the 10th March 1963, consisting of 10 chapters and 77 articles. At the same time he made structural changes to the governmental institutions and appointments of civil servants. Hereditary appointment to civil service was abolished.

The term of the elected representatives were set at three years. It was also decided to elect a Chair and a Vice Chair for the Commission.

At the local level, since 8th Feb 1964, rules were framed concerning terms and election of three members Gharthue in the larger settlements, one from each province directly by the people to assist the settlement representative in overseeing developmental activities.

Tibetan Troupe of Performing Arts was formed in 1959 in Kalimpong and moved to Dharamsala in 1961 and was converted into Institute of Performing Arts.

Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute was established in 1961.

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

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

Darjeeling and Dhorpatan in 1961,

Tezu, Pokhara Tashi Pelkyil and Walung in 1962,

Mainpat, Orrisa, Maio and Tibetan Handicraft Centre- Dharamsala in 1963,

and Clement Town, Delhi, Druk Karchesa Kunphenling and Druk Padro Kungaling in 1964 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 women from each of the three provinces and His Holiness the Dalai Lama commenced nominating an eminent Tibetan as per the new constitution.

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

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

On 3rd May 1966, a separate assembly house and secretariat were set up. The elected Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Commission enjoyed the privilege equal to that of a Minister and the members of the Commission to that of Vice Ministers. The practice of CTPD members meeting twice a month and bi-annual reporting 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, Lodoe 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).

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 under the auspices of CTPD and discontinued the present biannual meetings. The first exhibition to showcase the achievements of the Tibetan refugees in agriculture, animal husbandry, cottage industries and religious institutions was held in the same year.

The members gained considerable experience in the workings of the

administration while they were attached with the departments. By the end of the 3rd CTPD, the members began to oversee the workings of the departments, which was a turning point in the functioning of the legislative body.

The members assembled separately and scrutinized the activities report of all the departments and held the Kashag responsible for lapses in redressing public grievances acting as the 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 established in 1971.

The Information Office was set up separately 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 Jigme 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 nominate any member as the head of the state hence the number of deputies came down to 16 for the 4th and 5th CTPD.

The first Annual General meeting was held in 1970 in conjunction with the anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day (10th March) and the biannual meetings were discontinued. People's representatives, administrators of all levels and monastic representatives participated in this meeting in order to report and review their activities. This practice was followed till 1981.

In 1972, permission was granted as requested by a group of spirited Tibetans from Varanasi who approached the administration with the

ten point memorandum and sought permission to visit the settlements to invoke the general public on their action plan for the cause of freedom of Tibet. In July 1972, the preliminary convention of the Tibetan Freedom Movement was held. The rules concerning the setting up and workings of the movement was enacted.

Tibetan Freedom Movement sub committees, known as Bhot Rangwang Denpai Legul (BRDL) were set up in Tibetan habitat all over the world thus formalising the commitment of the entire community in exile to democratic functioning and their participation in and responsibility to the Government in exile. The election of the members of Tibetan Freedom Movements replaced the practice of electing 3 members 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 Choeden, Lobsang Tenzin, Lakha Trulku, Lobsang Dhargye,
Genyen Choeden

In 1973 the Public Service Commission was set up as an independent office, which was earlier functioning under the Department of Security. Like wise in 1975 the Audit Office, which was functioning 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 Choegyal	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub- Vice Chairman , Ladrang Jigmey Gyatso, Dhuedul Trulku
Sakya:	Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo		Lobsang Thubten, Gyalrong Barkham Tashi Kyi
Kagyue:	Lodoe Tharchin		
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden		
U-Tsang:	Rikha Lobsang Tenzin, Drikung Genyen Choedon, Phunrab pa Lobsang Dhargye, Gonpo Dorje		
Dhotoe:	Tsewang Trinley- (Chairman) for two years, Bha Lakha Trulku Thubten Dorje, Juchen Thubten Namgyal- Chairman after Tsewang Trinley's demise, Dhompa Tsering Choedon		

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 rule on recruitment, appointment and transfer of civil service was framed and announced on 25th August.

Till the 5th ATPD, the Election Commission adopted many different ways and means to elect the members of CTPD. In 1974, the election system was reviewed based on the factual Tibetan situation and adapted from the finer points of the Indian electoral system. On the 21st of November 1974, a new electoral rule was put in place, which 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 CTPD. In 1975, new rules were framed regarding control of the Tibetan Government budget. It was decided that the income and expenditure of all the departments of Tibetan Government in exile would be approved and sanctioned during the meeting of the National Working Committee chaired by CTPD.

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

1976-1979

**Sixth Commission of Tibetan
People's Deputies (CTPD)**



Front row – L to R: Tsering Gyaltsen, 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, Dhompa Tsering Choedon
Sakya:	Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo		
Kagyue:	Gha Ayang Trulku		
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden	Dhomey:	Alag Jigme Lhundub- Chairman , Hortsang Lobsang Tenzin, Dekyi Dolkar, Kalden
Bon:	Yungdrung Namgyal		
U-Tsang:	Phunrab pa Lobsang Dhargye- Vice Chair , Gonshar Dorje Damdul, Tanak Kunsang, Peljor, Drikung Genyen Choedon		

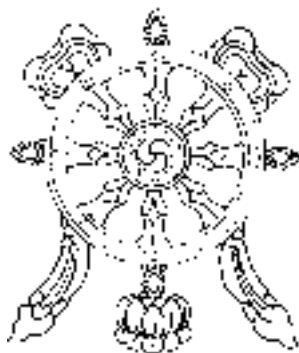
Over the existing strength of 16 members, on 5th October 1977, a representative of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet was added over the existing four Buddhist traditions, thus increasing the strength of members to 17 again for the 6th and 7th CTPD.

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

February 1st from the usual 1st April every year.

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

By the end of the 6th CTPD, the parliament was appropriately 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 Gyaltsen, Tsewang Namgyal, Gyari Lodoe Gyaltsen-
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, and leave the day to day administration of the department to the Secretaries.

Dehradun Dekyiling settlement and the Health Department were established in 1981 and 1982 respectively.

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

As resolved during the 1981 Annual General Meeting , it was decided to hold the Annual General Meeting once every two years replacing the present system of once every year.

The members of the ATPD were elected proportionately by the people of the respective provinces of Tibet, irrespective of the number of people from these groups in exile. Since 1974, the Tibetan Youth Congress had persistently campaigned and urged that the members should be elected by the combined

electorate of the people of all the three provinces. In 1981, the High Level Standing Committee took a majority decision to hold the election to the 8th ATPD as petitioned by the Youth Congress and was so announced by the Election Commission. But the Dhotoe public expressed the adequacy of the prevailing system. The High Level Standing Committee reviewed their decision and decided that a one time election would be held for the 8th ATPD and His Holiness would 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 Gyaltsen (demise, replaced by Jarsang-ling Tsewang Namgyal)	Dhomey:	Bha Mangra Tenpa, Ladrang 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 from the list of the primary election.

In 1984, the Election Commission announced the election of the deputies for the 9th ATPD. Again due to the repeated demand of the Dhotoe public to continue with the prevailing system, on the advice of His Holiness a meeting was held under the auspices of the ATPD, with the representatives of the Provinces, Youth Congress and new arrivals from Tibet. The meeting resolved that till such time a unanimous decision is reached, His Holiness would appoint ATPD members. The meeting also suggested 5 years as the term of ATPD.

On the 8th of July 1985, a formal announcement was made to extend the tenure of the 8th ATPD by two years thus formalising the tenure of the ATPD as 5 years.

On 2nd Sept 1985, the 25th year anniversary of the founding of ATPD, His Holiness addressed the leadership and the Tibetan public. Since then 2nd of September was celebrated as a public function to commemorate democracy day.

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

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, Ladrang Soepa Gyatso
Gelug:	Ghajang Lobsang Choeden- Chairman		

His Holiness nominated all the members of the 9th CTPD as an interim measure, as proposed during the National General Assembly and approved by the High Level Standing Committee, till such a time, a

commonly acceptable solution is not found in the election of ATPD members. After one year of office, the election of the 10th ATPD was announced.



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

Even though the welfare of the new arrivals from Tibet were looked after by the Security Department since 1979, the Reception Centre was separately set up in 1989.

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 3rd September 1988, during the first audience of 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. The members of ATPD have to be elected by the people and not appointed by the Dalai Lama.

The administrators of the Tibetan settlements should be elected locally. Similarly, eligibility of the continuity of ministers in the Kashag, after their 5 years tenure, should be thoroughly discussed and implemented accordingly. These and other guidelines were given to all Tibetans in and outside Tibet, time and again, to establish a truly democratic society.

Due to lack of democratic education and the people's mindset, and owing to the international Tibetan political situation, the promulgated draft constitution as well as the aspiration of His Holiness's repeated advice, could not be implemented in totality. But efforts were made in organisational reforms and in

educating the public about democratic ideology and practices in the last thirty years. However all Tibetans, in and outside Tibet, from the depth of their heart and mind have no other wish or way than to unflinchingly follow the direct leadership of His Holiness. They also doubt the suitability of copying western style democracy. Therefore it has taken quite a long time to gain momentum in Tibetan democratic reforms.

Again on 6th May 1989, during the General Assembly, His Holiness the Dalai Lama emphasized the need for more democratic reforms including electing a head of government and the suggested formation of a constitution drafting committee.

The leadership and the people of Tibet felt that their implicit faith in His Holiness is more democratic than any other and 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 discussion on possible reforms. In August 1989, the Kashag convened a

conference of 230 participants comprising of members of ATPD, government officials, NGOs and representatives of new arrivals from Tibet.

The Kashag circulated the five points that came out of the conference for discussion and feedback from Tibetans in exile and who could be reached inside Tibet. The five points were:

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

287 suggestions were received from Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and a summary was submitted to His Holiness. Then on May 11 1990, a Special People's Congress was called and it was decided that the ministers shall continue to be appointed by His Holiness but the elected ATPD members will not require the approval of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

From that day the existing Kashag and the ATPD were declared dissolved. His Holiness decisively directed that the interim Kashag, till the proclamation of the new Charter be elected by the participants of the Special Congress.

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

His Holiness appointed the Constitution Review Committee which was instructed to draft a democratic charter for the Tibetan community in exile and also to review the existing draft constitution for future Tibet.

Based on the ground realities in exile, there should be defined provisions in the charter although His Holiness agreed to be the head of state and government owing to the prevailing circumstances in exile. But he emphasised that in future, after the resolution of the Tibetan problem, Tibet should be a true democratic republic with a popularly elected leader.

His Holiness then would not hold any ex-officio responsibility or any political designation. The charter drafting committee drafted the charter in view of the expressed directives and also consulted a number of Tibetan and non-Tibetan experts and scholars in the field.

The draft constitution of 1963, the Five Point Peace Plan in 1987, His Holiness address to the European Parliament in 1988, address to the 10th ATPD in 1988, address to the 16th General Assembly in 1989 and the Special Congress in 1990 formed the basis of the draft Charter.

DRAMATIC PROGRESS

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

His address on the 11th May that year, to the assembled Deputies attending the tenth session of the Assembly, and other eminent Tibetans of Dharamsala, merits a place in the annals of democratic advancement as does his address of the following year appreciating the outcome. In his address of 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 peoples 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 Tenth Assembly dissolved.

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

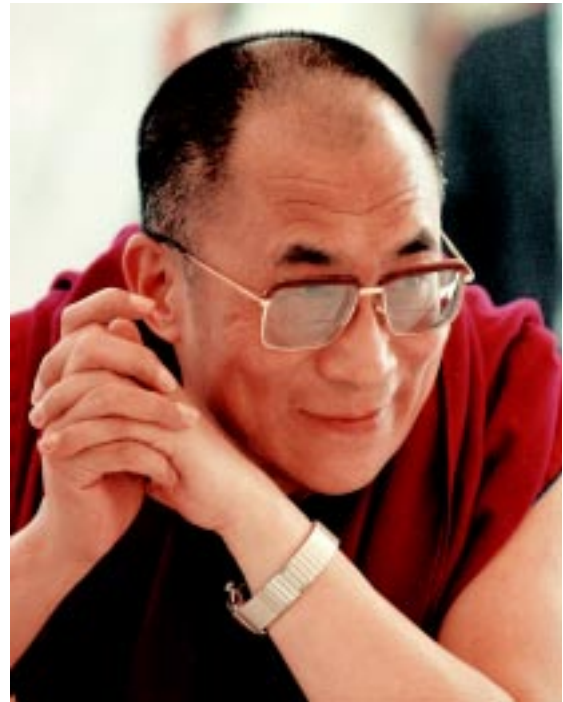
Kalons, who are not members of the Assembly, for giving more representation to women and on the advisability of setting-up two houses of the legislature. He spoke of the need for a judicial tribunal to look into citizens' complaints and also on other requirements of a fully democratic administration.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

On 29th May, 1991 the Dalai Lama addressed the eleventh Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies on the outcome of his epoch making pronouncement of the previous year. The membership of the Assembly had risen from 12 to 46 to represent all sections of the community. The Dalai Lama's self-denying approach of juxtaposing progress made in advancing democracy to a corresponding reduction of his own powers was apparent immediately. 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 stressed the relevance of what had been achieved for Tibetans and for countering 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 that "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."



1991-1996

Eleventh Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)



Front row – L to R: Lobsang Dhargye, Thubten Woese, 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 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, Gyalitse 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 U-Tsang, Dhotoe and Dhomey; 2 each from the four Buddhist traditions and Bon; two from Europe, one from North America while three members were nominated by His Holiness as the Head of State.

For the first time, the Assembly took the responsibility of legislating. Each and every article of the renamed constitution, Charter, was discussed in detail and passed by the Assembly. Many other rules and regulations governing the functions of the Assembly and the administration were enacted.

When the Charter was adopted on 14th June 1991, it provided that the Kalons should be declared elected if 70% of the members vote in their favour. The members failed to elect the seven Kalons and again requested His Holiness to provide nominations of not less than double the number of Kalons to be elected. The impracticality of the provision was amended in 1993, wherein the seven members with maximum votes would be declared elected.

A Supreme Justice Commission was set up, as a final arbiter of civil cases within the Tibetan Diaspora and interpreter of the laws. Thus the three pillars of democracy were firmly established for a fully functioning democratic polity, with proper checks and balances, and accountability.

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

Commission was set-up to oversee the recruitment and to maintain records of all public servants. To oversee the election of Kalons, members of the Assembly, settlement administrators and local assemblies, an independent Election Commission was set up.

The Assembly approves and sanctions the budget of the Tibetan Government presented by the Finance Minister. Though members can propose cut and increment motions on the recurring expenses of the budget, the planned budget for social welfare activities were merely approved without much discussion. But the Kalons are accountable for the utilisation of the funds.

The Assembly was empowered to impeach the Kashag, the Supreme Justice Commissioner, heads of the three independent bodies of audit, public service and election by two thirds majority, and even His Holiness under special circumstances by a three-fourths majority.



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 Woesser, Yeshe 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 Tseodor, 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.

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:	Ngag-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 Woesser, 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

The number of Kalon was increased to eight.

On 16th September 1998, His Holiness further proposed reforms on the election of Kalons, citing dissatisfaction on his part to find suitable candidates. He also expressed the inadequacy of the present process which did not conform

to popular norms of democracy. Therefore he suggested election of the Chief of Kalon by the Assembly from a nomination of 3 members. The Chief Kalon shall then nominate his colleagues of not less than 14 members to be elected by the Assembly. The other option proposed was the election of Kalons by an

electorate consisting of ATPD members, all civil servants above the rank of Deputy Secretary, Local Assemblies, Tibetan Freedom Movements and representatives of NGOs. The candidate with the maximum vote could be the Chief Kalon or the elected Kalons could elect amongst themselves a Chief Kalon as before.

This proposal was thoroughly discussed in the Parliament and ample time was provided to seek suggestions from the public. On 3rd Oct. 2000, His Holiness approved the amendment to the election of the Kalon Tripa and the other Kalons. The Assembly would elect the Kalon Tripa from a nomination of not less than two members by His Holiness and the Kalon Tripa would nominate his Cabinet ministers who would be approved or rejected by a simple majority in the Assembly. The Kalon Tripa could appoint a maximum of seven ministers.

His Holiness, sensing that the latest amendment may need to be amended sooner

or later, suggested election of the Kalon Tripa directly by the people. In his landmark address to the last session of the twelfth Assembly, on 15th March 2001, referring to the latest amendment, he said that the process has brought the system closer to the essence of democracy, but if we are forced to remain in exile for four or five decades, this system will have to undergo change. Therefore, he suggested it would be prudent to undertake major reform to avoid minor changes from time to time. His Holiness repeated his personal dilemma of not being able to find suitable candidates, despite consultations. Furthermore he said that critics would compare this to communist system where the electorate does not have the right to choose beyond nominations.

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



Prof. S. Rinpoche Chairing the 12th Assembly

FAR-FLUNG ELECTIONS

There are 130 settlements and communities located in different parts of India, Nepal and Bhutan, in addition to the groups in the West. The livelihood of many Tibetans are dependent on farming an acre of dry land provided by the government of India. With the increase in population and for want of better sustenance, many Tibetans engage in seasonal business moving to cities for a part of the year, as a result of which many scattered communities have sprouted. The resettlement projects in Canada, Switzerland and US, spurred movement of many Tibetans to Western countries seeking a better livelihood. Today among the hundred and forty odd thousand Tibetans, about 1,25,000 live across the length and breadth of India, Nepal and Bhutan, and the rest in the western world.

The largest concentration of Tibetans outside Tibet is in South India. A settlement officer usually appointed by the Government-in-exile, administers each of the settlements. Some of the settlements have elected administrators and efforts are on to urge the public to elect their own administrators. 37 out of the 47 larger settlements 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 the base of the democratic pyramid.

The bigger settlements have cooperative societies to assist them economically. The people elect their representatives to the cooperative society Board of Directors, members of Tibetan Freedom Movement, members of the Local Assembly and takes part in the election of the members of ATPD and Kalon Tripa.

The elections to ATPD or Kalon Tripa are held in one day all over the world. The far flung locations of the settlements, in some cases, without basic communication facilities, make the whole election process a daunting task to ensure maximum participation. In times of elections of ATPD members and Kalon Tripa, two Election Commissioners are appointed to assist the fulltime Chief Election Commissioner. Members of the Local Election Committee were elected by the people and the Returning officers and the election staffs are appointed by the Chief Election Commissioner.

The number of members of ATPD varied from 12 to 17 till the 11th Assembly. During those days, the Election Commission was formed for

that particular election and for that particular period. The tenure of ATPD also varied from one to five years, though the term was set for three years till it was extended to 5 years in 1985.

After the changes made in 1990, the number of members increased to 46 with 10 deputies each from each of the three Cholkas (traditional provinces of Tibet) of U-Tsang, Dhotoe and Dhomey; two each from each of the four principal Buddhist traditions and the old traditional Bon faith of Tibet, irrespective of the number of the electorates. Two deputies

were elected from Tibetan communities in Europe and one from North America. One to three eminent Tibetans were nominated by the Dalai Lama.

Since the community-in-exile has no political parties, candidates for the elections, overseen by the Tibetan Election Commission, are put forward by their constituencies somewhat along the lines of the American primaries. Candidates of not less than double the members to be elected in sequence of the number of votes obtained are eligible to enter the final contest for an Assembly seat.



THE TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION-IN-EXILE

It is the responsibility of the members of the Kashag to jointly take all policy decisions concerning the community-in-exile as well as to keep the question of Tibet alive. The Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile stipulates that the Kashag should have not more than eight members. The Chairman of the Kashag is directly elected by the people. The Kalons supervise the work of all the seven departments. The present Kashag has only four ministers. The ministers function from their departments. However, they meet regularly for discussion and take collective decision on administrative matters.

The Department of Religion and Culture seeks to preserve and promote Tibetan cultural and religious institutions that have been endangered in Tibet. It also gives back-up services to the over 207 monasteries (27451 monks) and 16 nunneries (1651 nuns) established in exile. In addition to the

monasteries and nunneries, there are five 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, looking after more than 60 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 laid before the Assembly every March. The budget section of the department vets the budget proposals of all the departments before seeking the approval of the Cabinet. It is solely responsible for raising funds to meet the expenses of running the Government and disbursing expenses to the departments. Most of the small-scale projects run by the departments have been either privatized or shut down.



The Kashag (Cabinet) Building

The Department of Education has the responsibility of providing support for the educational and welfare needs of 82 schools with over 27,000 students. There are 28 schools run by Central Tibetan Schools Administration under the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India; 16 schools under Sambhota under the Department of Education, Central Tibetan Administration; 18 schools run by the Tibetan Children's Village; 14 schools run by the Snow Lion Foundation in Nepal; 2 schools run by Tibetan Homes Foundation and 4 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 Reception Centre looks after the growing number of new refugees arriving from Tibet.

The Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) educates Tibetans and international public opinion makers 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, under the DIIR are the thirteen Representative Offices, which act as the foreign missions.

The Department of Health ensures medical and health care assistance to every settlement through the 53 primary health care centres and 8 hospitals under it. The autonomous Tibetan Medical and Astro Institute has 46 centres which treat Tibetans and locals in traditional Tibetan medicine.

In addition to these departments, three independent commissions reaffirm the democratic status of the Government-in-exile. These are: the **Election Commission** which supervises the expanded elections very efficiently; the **Public Service Commission** which oversees the recruitment, training, appointment and promotion of the 393 civil servants who serve the administration; and the **Audit Commission** which is responsible for auditing the accounts of all departments and Tibetan public institutions.



CHARTER OF RIGHTS

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

The Committee then drafted the final Charter which was submitted to the Eleventh Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies.

The Eleventh Assembly deliberated on the Charter and passed it unanimously on 4 June 1991. The approval of the Dalai Lama had been received on 28 June 1991. The Charter thus became a mandate, duly approved by the elected representatives of the Tibetans-in-exile as well as by their spiritual and temporal leader.

The Charter provides for the basic principle of democracy of a clear separation of power among the three organs of the government: judiciary, legislature and executive. Before the Charter came into being, the Central Tibetan Administration functioned roughly along the lines of the draft Democratic

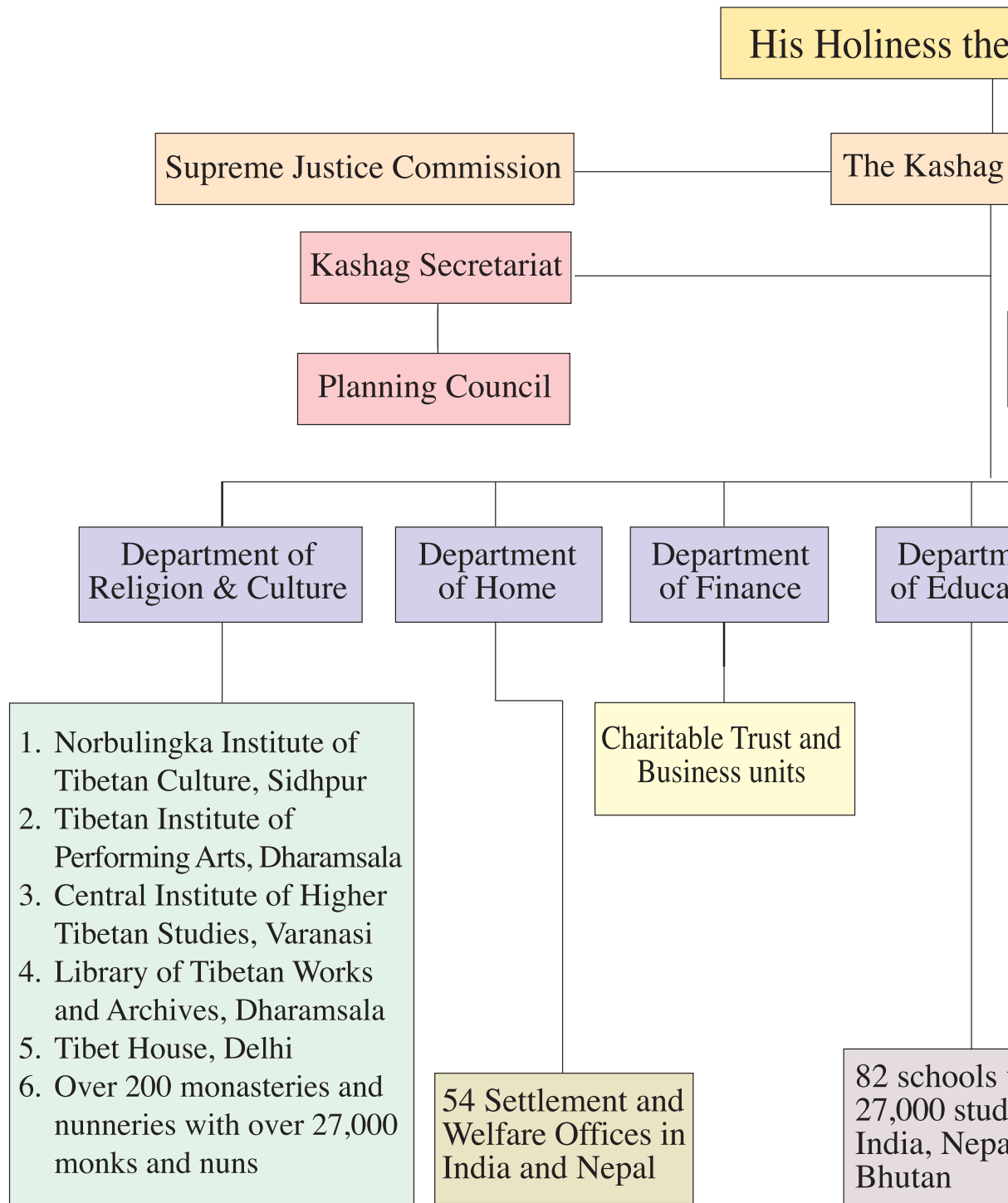
Constitution for Future Tibet, promulgated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on March 10, 1963.

Salient features of the Charter include non-violence, free democratic policy, respect to human rights, promotion of moral and material welfare of Tibetan people. It also outlined the rights and responsibilities for exiled community, how to resolve the cause of Tibet, how to bring happiness to the Tibetans inside Tibet, to provide equal political economic and social benefits in the exile community, which includes education, culture and health.

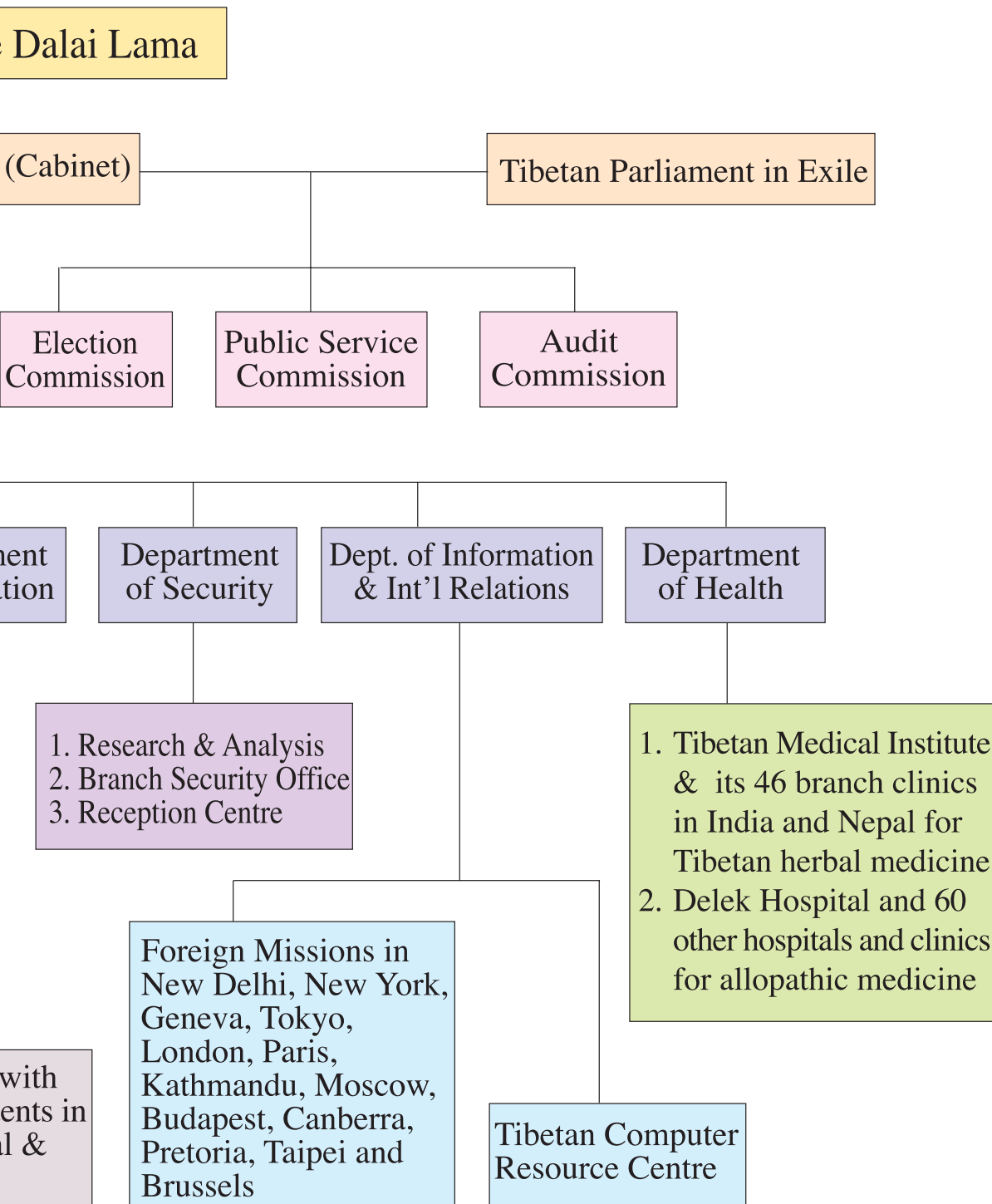
The Charter is a comprehensive working constitution. Modeled on similar documents in liberal democracies, it is nevertheless rooted in Tibetan values. The care and precision with which the rights and duties of the community-in-exile and the functions of its government are laid down constitute the principles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

Till the most recent session of the Thirteenth Assembly, seventeen Amendments have been made to the Charter, mostly on increasing the number and election of Kalons.

Central Tibetan Administration



on: Organisational Structure



The only contentious aspect of the Charter proved to be the provisions limiting the power of the Dalai Lama as desired by him. According to the Charter, the executive power of the Tibetan administration continues to vest in him, but it is to be exercised, *"in accordance with the provisions of the Charter."* The Deputies objected to the provisions for an elected three-man Council of Regency which would be authorised to take over the administration in certain circumstances. The article stipulated that: *"When the Tibetan Assembly, 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 Assembly.

At its summer session in 1992, the Assembly pressed for the withdrawal of this clause as well as of another authorising it to annul Ordinances promulgated by the Dalai Lama when the Assembly was not in session. But on this occasion, the Dalai Lama exercised his powers against himself and turned down the Assembly's 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, and defines the functions of the Executive, Judiciary, Legislature, administration of Tibetan settlements, the Tibetan Election Commission, Public Service Commission and Tibetan Audit Commission.

Besides laying down procedures, the Charter is unique in defining the *"Nature of Tibet's Polity"*. The Fundamental Principles state: *"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 only as 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 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 ASSEMBLY

It is not unknown for democratic constitutions to remain so only on paper because of lack of experience. But after their careful apprenticeship in parliamentary procedures, the Tibetan Deputies show no hesitation in performing their duties. The Assembly now meets twice a year, in March and September, for about ten to fifteen days. Almost every Deputy is in his/her seat by 9.30 a.m. every morning. Although they appear to be more disciplined than legislators elsewhere, the Deputies are far from deferential and keep the Kalons on their toes.

The main powers and responsibilities of the ATPD 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 the light of the policies and programmes adopted by the Assembly;
- to impeach the Supreme Justice Commissioners and the head 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 gain support for the cause of Tibet;
- to streamline and strengthen the functioning of the local Tibetan Assemblies in all major Tibetan settlements;
- to oversee the work of BRDL 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 role of 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 the responsibility of the Assembly as a whole.

The Business routine of the house is transacted in the following manner:

- Question Hour;
- calling attention motion
- statements of the Kalons or individual members;

- passing of legislation;
- voting of Grant-in-Aid and control of public finances;
- processing of miscellaneous budget; and
- debate on motions or statements.
- 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 Settlement; and
- Select Committee on Bills

In the interest of preparing and facilitating the work of the Assembly, 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 Assembly is carried out by Committees.

These are:

- Standing Committee
- Business Advisory Committee
- Committee on Education

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: 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 13th 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 virtually destitute and suffering from the trauma of leaving their homes and finding 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 manual labour.

Yet, as early as 1960, the Dalai Lama was able to instill the seeds of self-reliance,

combining democratic functioning with Tibetan values. The exiles are now self-confident, and eager to extend their rights and privileges to their homeland.

Unlike many other groups of exiles, the Tibetans continue to use international permits for identification and travel. They have not sought Indian or any other citizenship; nor will they accept Chinese. The Dalai Lama's emphasis on providing good schools has borne fruit, so the exiles no longer depend only on manual labour for their livelihood. Some of them are doing well but all of them suffer the strain of rootlessness, the price of holding on to their Tibetan identity without being able to return home.



XIII PARLIAMENT IN EXILE

The Thirteenth Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies took oath of office on May 31st 2001. Like the Eleventh and the Twelfth ATPD, its composition as laid down in the Charter is as follows:

a) Ten members from each <i>Cholka</i> (province) with two seats each reserved for women	30
b) Two members from each of the five religious traditions	10
c) Two members from Europe	2
d) One from North America	1
d) Three eminent Tibetans nominated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama	3
TOTAL	46

The tenure of the Assembly from the Eleventh Assembly 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 ATPD constituted a Standing Committee consisting of:

a) Two members from each province	6
b) One member from each religious tradition	5
c) One member from the nominees of His Holiness the Dalai Lama	1
TOTAL	12



Standing Committee in session

The Standing Committee members are divided into three sections namely the political, administrative and Gyundrel. The political section analyses the political situation concerning Tibet. The administrative section scrutinizes the activities report and audit reports of 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 the communications received from the public and the administration.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the ATPD are elected by the members, and are authorised to represent the Assembly vis-a-vis its dealings 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 Twelfth Parliament ended on May 30, 2001 and the Thirteenth Parliament was constituted on May 31, 2001 and will end on May 30, 2006.



Informal session of the Parliament.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIAT



The Chairman and the Vice-Chair with the Parliamentary staff

The Secretariat of the Assembly works under a Parliamentary Secretary, who functions under the guidance of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairperson. The Secretariat undertakes the responsibility of the preparation of 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 Committees, Tibetan press, Offices of Tibet, NGOs and Tibetan Support Communities and organisations.



The Parliamentary Secretary



The Editor and Reporters compiling the ATPD Bulletin.

2001-2006

Thirteenth Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD)



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

Back row 1 - L to R: Ngawang Tenpa, Ugyen Tenzin, Penpa Tsering, Dugkar Tsering, Lingsang Tsering Dorjee, Gyalrong Dawa Tsering, Kunchok Norbu, Namgyal Wangdu, Sonam Topgyal, Thokme Thinley Dorjee, Juchen Kunchok, 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 Phunki, 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
Dhotoe:	Dolma Gyari- Vice Chair , Sonam Topgyal, Trulku Ogyen Tobgye, Juchen Konchok, Tsultrim Tenzin, Lingsang Tsering Dorje, Chime Dorje, Drawu Tseten, Khetsa Oga, Konchok Norbu,
Dhomey:	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 Assembly assumed office on the 31st of May 2001. The election of the Kashag directly by the people was the next most significant development in the process of democratisation - the empowerment of the Kashag. The Assembly approved the far reaching and clear, broad policies of the Kashag on a negotiated solution of the Tibetan Issue, the new education policy, privatisation of businesses of the finance department, organic and natural agricultural policy and the better functioning of cooperatives, etc. The 12th Kashag brought in a renewed sense of political, economic and administrative accountability to the Assembly and transparency in administration. The financial status was made public and the fund for social welfare, funds earmarked for social welfare were also brought under the complete control of the Assembly.

His Holiness, in September 2003, pushed further reforms to remove the last vestiges of his power. He suggested to do away with his nominations to the Assembly, the direct appointment of the heads of the three independent institutions of Audit, Public service and Election, the nomination of the Supreme Justice Commissioners, Combining the Public Service Commission and Election Commission in view of the work load, among others.

The Assembly amended the relevant articles whereby it was left to the discretion of His Holiness to nominate eminent Tibetans to the Assembly, and selection committees would be formed for the appointment of the Supreme Justice Commissioners and the head of the three independent institutions.



CHAIRMAN

Mr. Pema Jungney (born 1959, Ruthog Jangtod, Tibet) 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 in the Sakya Centre, Rajpur and in the New Tibetan School in Bir.

He was elected to the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth ATPD, and is presently the Chairman of the Assembly.



VICE CHAIRPERSON

Mrs. Dolma Gyari Drawu (born 1964, Kalimpong, India) now lives in Dharamsala, India. She studied at the Central School for Tibetans, Darjeeling and has a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from Punjab University, Chandigarh. She has studied for three years at the Campus Law Centre, Delhi University. She served as the Chandigarh Tibetan Youth Congress Joint Secretary; Chairperson, Women's Cell and Information Secretary and Joint Secretary of the TYC Central Executive Committee. She organized a number of demonstrations, seminars and has been involved in social work. She currently serves as an interim co-chair of the International Movement of Parliamentarians for Democracy.

She was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD and is presently the Vice Chair Person of the Assembly.



NOMINATED

Rongpo Lobsang Nyendak (born 1970, Chen-tsa dzong, Lkhok in Tibet). He finished High School with distinction and at the age of 16 he was ordained as a monk in Rongpo Principal Monastery. He completed Buddhist studies and served as a teacher at various monasteries and schools in Dhomey province. He had wide ranging spiritual interactions with Chinese leaders and academicians between 1993 and 1995. He had contributed numerous articles in periodicals and authored six books on Tibet, cultural heritage and Buddhist tradition, etc. After coming into exile in 2000, he worked on several projects such as the compilation and editing of the Biographical Teachings of various Dalai Lamas and particularly the biography of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama. His biography on His Holiness was translated into Chinese. Currently he is undergoing advanced Buddhist studies at Sera Jhe Monastic University, Bylakuppe, south India.

He was nominated by His Holiness to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Lithang Wangyal (born 1933, Lithang, Tibet). He was ordained monk at the age of 7 and received his monastic education from Lithang Gonsar Dratsang. He joined Chushi Gangrug in 1958 and actively fought against the Chinese occupation forces. He continued to take part in the resistance movement after coming into exile in 1959. He took the responsibility of building the Lodrik Annapurna Hotel in Nepal and was its chief administrator till 1999. He was appointed as the president of the re-established Lodrik administration by the Kashag in 1983. In 1992 and 1998, he was popularly elected by the Lodrik people as their president and continues to serve as the president.

He was nominated by His Holiness to the 13th Assembly.



Mr. Dawa Tsering (born 1954, Rachhu Dingri, Tibet) He came into exile at the age of 5. Finished his high school education from CST Dalhousie and Simla. He became a member of Tibetan Youth Congress and served as peon and secretary (1977), Member of the McLeod Ganj Youth Group (1979 and 1982), member, Regional Youth Congress (1983-1986) and also served as cashier and accountant in the Tibetan Medical and Astro Institute, branch office (1983-1992). He was the first elected Tibetan Welfare Officer (3 terms 1992-2001). He was the general secretary and party whip of National Democratic Party (1994-97). He founded Yongling Creche, Tibetan Jewish Exchange program, Rog-kyor and Gyalshen Lhenzom. He was associated with the Indian Tibet Support Groups and was the leader of Tibetan Earthquake Relief Committee to Gujarat.

He resigned from the 12th ATPD in favour of serving as welfare officer and was nominated by His Holiness to the 13th ATPD. He is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



NYINGMA

Venerable Tsering Phuntsok (born 1948 Dege, Kham, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He received a formal monastic education from Namdroling Monastery, Bylakuppe, south India. He completed his Acharya degree and worked for his Ph.D from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, in Varanasi. He also has a Sanskrit Diploma from the SS University, Varanasi. He has a vast and varied work experience including service at the Namdroling Monastery office.

He was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD. He serves on the Standing Committee of ATPD for more than thirteen years.



Mr. Kalsang Tsewang Gyari (born 1963, from Kham Nyarong, Tibet) now lives in New Delhi, 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 the Information Office in Dharamsala. Currently, he is the Program Director, of Japan-India Goodwill Association.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



SAKYA

Ven. Jamyang Trinley (born 1963). He now lives in Nepal. He was ordained monk at the age of 9 and received his monastic education from Trarig Monastery. From 1980 to 1985, he oversaw different works of the monastery. From 1985 to 1990, he performed various duties in the overseas Buddhist Centres of the monastery in Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. From 1991 to 1998, he served as the personal attendant and interpreter to Kyabje Tra-rig Rinpoche. In 1998, on the demise of Kyabje Trarig Rinpoche, he served as the Secretary of the Administrative Committee of the Monastery. He was also a member of the Regional Election Committee of Nepal.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD.



KAGYUE

Ven. Acharya Choegyal Tenzin (born 1971, Darjeeling, India). He studied in Darjeeling and has an Acharya (M.A.) Degree on Buddhist Philosophy from CIHTS, Sarnath, Varanasi in 2000. During his student days, he served as the General Secretary of Mess Management Committee in 1997 and the Regional Election Commission from 1995 to 98. He was the President of Students' Union (SWFC) for more than a year in 1999. Also served as the Secretary of Druk-Gar Library and Assistant Secretary of Gampopa Clinic, Drukpa Kargyud Monastery, Darjeeling. He visits European countries from time to time to teach Buddhist Philosophy, Tibetan language, tradition and culture.

He was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Sonam Damdul (born in Bardha, Nagchu region in 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 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 was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



GELUG

Dr. Ven. Tenzin Sherab (born 1961, Mysore India) now lives in Bylakuppe, Mysore, India. He has a Masters in Arts from Sampurnanand University and Doctorate from Mysore University; B Ed from Annamalai University and CCS from Aptech Computer Education. He served as the Executive Secretary of the Sera Je University, headmaster and then principal/Director at the Sera Je Secondary School. He has more than 15 years of experience in the field of education, administration and social service. He was awarded the Special Achievement Award by the National Festival Celebrations Committee and the prestigious Bharat Jyoti Award from the Delhi based India International Friendship Society for the same. He is also the Executive Secretary of the Gelug University.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Rev. Geshe Thupten Phelgye (born 1956) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He had schooling in CST Changlang and SFF School in UP. In 1973, he joined the Sera Je Monastic University and completed his Geshe degree (Ph.D.) in 1991. He also did medical training and supervised the Monastery Health Center for 5 years. He served the monastery as a teacher in its school for 7 years. He has initiated many demonstrations and hunger strikes for Tibet cause. He is the founder of Universal Compassion Movement and campaigning for Vegetarianism with several international animal rights organisations. In 1999 he was elected as the first president of International Gelug Society. He is also the National Vice President of Bharat Tibet Seheyog Manch.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



BON

Ven. Yungdrung Gyaltsen (born 1967, Kyungpo, Tibet) now lives in Nepal. He Became a monk at the age of 19. He fled Tibet in 1987 and arrived at Kathmandu at the Palden Tritten Norbu Tse Bon monastery. He studied Bon Sutra, Tantra and Dzogchen till 1996 and obtained 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 in the Bon monastery of Paldhen Tritten Norbu Tse.

He was elected to the 13th Assembly and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



Dr. Thokme Thinley Dorjee (born 1955 in Kyunglung, Ngul-khar, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He has been practicing Tibetan Medicine in the Khangkar Clinic in Dharamsala for the past twenty-five years. He served as a member of the Dharamsala Local Assembly, Cholsum United Association, Centre for the preservation Ngari culture and literature, local election committee, president of Dharamsala Bonpo Association and Vice president of Ngari Chithun Tsogpa. He has been serving as the Traditional Tibetan doctor for the Lower Tibetan Children's school for more than 7 years now.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



U-TSANG

Mrs. Thonsur Tsering Norzom (born 1962 in Dalhousie, India) now lives in Mundgod, Karnataka, India. She has a Bachelor's degree in Arts from Mysore University and Diplomas in Systems Management and Lab. Technology. She was an Intern in International Studies and Human Rights in Geneva. She worked as a lab Technician in the DTR Hospital, Mundgod from 1980-90 and as a social worker at the CCF of Doeguling Settlement, Mundgod from 1991-92. She was the President of the Regional Tibetan Women's Association (TWA), Mundgod from 1988-90 and an Executive Member, Vice President and President of the Central Executive Committee of the TWA from 1991-95.

She was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



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

She was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Ngawang Tenpa (1941, Kongpo Lhotrey, Tibet). Now lives in Dekyiling Settlement, Dehradun, Uttarakhand. He was a social worker for three years in the early 1960's and thereafter served for thirty years in the SFF, including as Dapon, the highest post. After retirement, he served in the Department of Security as Joint Secretary and was responsible for the security of His Holiness' residence from 1993-97.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Dawa Phunkyi (born 1963 in Dharamsala, India) now lives in Dharamsala and is the Secretary of Tibetan Delek Hospital. He studied at the Tibetan Children's Village School. He has Diploma in Health Management and Post-graduate Diploma in Health Administration from CMC Vellore and St. John's Medical College, Bangalore, respectively. He has worked as Project Officer in the Dept. of Health, CTA and also served as the President of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress and General Secretary of the National Democratic Party of Tibet, Dharamsala. Currently serving other NGO's in various capacities such as the Senior Vice President of the Indo Tibetan Friendship Society, Director of Community Service Rotary Club, Dharamsala and Vice President of the U-Tsang Cholka Association.

He was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD.



Mrs. Dolma Tsering (born 1956, Dagne, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. She completed teachers training course and taught in Central School for Tibetans, Kollegal for 17 years. She 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 obtained bachelors degree from IGNOU. She was felicitated by the Education Department of TGIE and awarded a certificate for her 26 years of teaching service in the Tibetan community. She completed one year study in the United States on Fullbright Scholarship.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. T.T. Karma Chopel (born 1949, Labrang Kosa, Tradun, Tibet) 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. He was selected as Rector and served at CST's Simla and Mussoorie from 1981-89. While in the education service, served for two consecutive terms from 1977-83 and 1986-89 in the Central Executive Committee of the Tibetan Youth Congress mostly as Vice President and became the President in 1982-83. He was the founder-President of the first Tibetan political party – National Democratic Party of Tibet (NDPT) in 1994 and organized a Fast-Unto-Death protest in front of the UNO in New York in 1995 on the 50th anniversary of the world body. He was also elected as the Chairman (Speaker) of the 13th ATPD and served from September, 2001 to March, 2002.

He was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Ugyen Tenzin (born 1964, Sikkim India) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh India. He finished his schooling from CST Darjeeling. During his school days, he was a founder of Students' voluntary body for the welfare of the poor orphan students and served for two years as an accountant of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress. He has a bachelor's degree (1983-85) from Chandigarh Government College and a Post Graduate degree in Sociology from Mysore University (1992-93). During his college days he worked in Tibetan Freedom Movement (1984-85) and Tibetan Youth Congress (1991-93). From 1994 to 1997, he served as the Vice Chairman of the Mundgod Local Assembly, elected as Chairman from 1997 to 2000 and reelected as Chairman in 2001.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



Mr. Lobsang Shastri (born 1958 in Ngari Ruthok, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He completed his school education from the Central School for Tibetans in Darjeeling and holds a Shastri degree from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi. He works as a Librarian at the Library of the Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala. He has contributed several articles on Tibetan studies and has been recently elected as a member of the Advisory Board of International Association of Tibetan Studies.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mrs. Tsering Dolma (born 1957, Zonga-Tsang, Tibet) now lives in Rajpur, Uttaranchal India. She served as Secretary of Regional Tibetan Women's Association (RTWA) from 1991 to 1994. She was elected as the President of RTWA from 1995 to 1998. During the same period, she served as a member of the 6th Central Executive Committee of U-Tsang Cholka. From 1997 to 2000, she was a member of the Regional Tibetan Freedom Movement. Till she was elected to the 13th ATPD, she served as the Public Relation Officer of the U-Tsang Central Committee.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Namgyal Wangdu (born 1935 in Gyantse, Tibet), now lives in Dekyiling Settlement, Dehradun, Uttaranchal, India. He studied Tibetan language, history and culture and is the author of a book "Role of Tibetan Army in the Political History of Tibet" published in 1976. He also authored "Political and Military History of Tibet" in two volumes. He served as the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Information and International Relations in 1962 and as a leader of SFF from 1963-78. He was the Welfare Officer of the Dekyiling Settlement from 1978-85.

He was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPDs and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



DHOTOE

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

He was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD and was a member of the Standing Committee of the previous two terms and continues to be one.



Ven. Trulku Ogyen Tobgyal (born 1951, Nangchen, Tibet) now lives in Bir, Himachal Pradesh, India. Since the age of 18, he took the overall responsibility of Pema Ae-wam Choegar Tenchok Gyurmey Ling Monastery in Bir. He has been preaching Buddhism in 23 countries and renovated three monasteries in Tibet. For one year, he served as the Vice President of the Association of Ngagyur Gyalyong Monlam Chenpo. For two years he served as the president of the Bir Local Assembly. He has also acted in the much acclaimed movie 'The Cup'.

He served as a member of ATPD from 1994 to 1996 and was reelected to the 13th ATPD.



Mrs. Juchen Konchok (born 1972) now lives in Dharamsala. She finished school from CST Mussoorie. She has been staying at home since then serving the parents.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Tsultrim Tenzin (born 1939, in Kham Karze, Tibet) now lives in 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 had received basic modern education. He has served the Tibetan Government in-exile for 32 years in various capacities such as School teacher, School Principal, Settlement Officer, Rehabilitation Officer, Field Auditor In-charge and Field Director, Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Lingsang Tsering Dorjee (born 1952 in Kham Lingsang, Tibet) now lives in Lingsang Settlement, Dehradun, Uttaranchal, India. He graduated in Tibetan Literature and Philosophy and served as the President of the Lingsang Youth Association from 1983-85, as the General Secretary of Lingsang Society, the Chairman of Ling Gesar School from 1985-88 and as the Vice President of the Lingsang Society from 1991-93.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Chime Dorje (born 1938, Derge, Tibet), now lives in south India. He served as a member of the Regional Tibetan Freedom Movement, Shillong from 1976 to 1981. He helped start a school in Shillong under the department of education and was a member of the Teacher-Parent Association from 1980-87. He received a letter of appreciation from the Home department of TGIE for his social service on 30th January 1983. From 1983 to 1986 and again from 1989 to 1992, he served as the secretary of the Chu-gang Central Executive Committee.

He was elected to the 11th ATPD and was re-elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mrs. Drawu Tseten (born 1958, Gha Kyigu-dho, Tibet) now lives in Tibetan Taopon Gapa Welfare Society, Kamrao, Himachal Pradesh. She completed her schooling from Dehradun in 1976 and graduated in B.Com from Delhi University. She also did a course in Hotel Management from the Institute of Hotel Management and Catering, Pusa Institute New Delhi. Since 1980, She served in the Tibetan community at Kamrao settlement as the Incharge of Handicraft Centre and looked after the school affairs and the settlement boarding school aided by Save the Children Fund, UK. She served as the Chairperson of the Local Assembly and also is a member of the Tibetan Taopon Gapa Welfare Society, Kamrao since 1986.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Khetsa Oga (born 1943, Nangchen, Tibet) now lives in Nepal. He fled Tibet fighting the Chinese and arrived at Dolporong in 1961. He served for 12 years as the treasurer of Regional Tibetan Freedom Movement, Phagshing. He serves as the representative of parents to receive foreign aids for poor children. He served as a member of the 1st Phagshing Local Assembly and was re-elected as the Chairman of the 2nd Local Assembly. He was a member of the Local Dhotoe Association and in 2000, was elected its Chairman.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Konchok Norbu (born 1949, Dege, Tibet) now lives in Bylakuppe, Karnataka State, India. From 1957 to 1959, participated in popular revolt and fought against the Red Chinese and came into exile in 1959. From 1961 to 1969 took responsibility of the study while working education program for adults of 3rd and 4th Camp, Bylakuppe. He served as a camp group leader, regional people's representative for four years and was elected as the camp leader. He serves as a member of the Regional Dhotoe Association and Chairman of the Tibetan Dhokham Youth Association.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD.



DHOMEY

Mr. Tenzin Khedrub (born 1952 in Tibet) now lives in Darjeeling, West Bengal, India. He studied at St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling and then received 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 was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Hortsang Jigme (born 1966, Amdo Hortsang, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. From 1980-85, he studied Tibetan Buddhist Philosophy and Logic at Tashikhyl Monastery and then at Ganza Province Buddhist Studies University. He taught Tibetan language at the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute in 1993-94 and is the author of eight books and numerous articles. He was the chief editor of *Nor'de*, a monthly Tibetan cultural newspaper; *Nor-Oe*, quarterly magazine and *Norzod*, a bi-annual journal and is completing work on an encyclopedia of Tibet. He is currently working on the history of Dhomey. He is also the president of the Dhomey Central Executive Committee.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Dhugkar Tsering (born 1963, Amdo Rebkong, Tibet) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. He studied at the Tso-Nyon Nationality Institute from 1980-84. He worked as an Editor and Station Chief, Tso-Nyon Broadcasting Station from 1984-88. He has also worked as a journalist, editing Tibetan publications, translating from Chinese to Tibetan and as the Editor of *Nyenchen Thangla* newsletter in Kathmandu. He has also been the World Peace Press Director. He served as the president of the Central Executive Committee of Dhomey.

He was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



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

She was elected to the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



Mrs. Doma Tsomo (born 1964) now lives in Nepal. She graduated in Science from North Eastern Hill University, Meghalaya. She completed Diploma in Business Administration from Bangalore and completed an Honours Diploma course in Computer Software Development from NIIT, Delhi. During her student days she worked in the RTYC and RTWA. In 1992, she worked at the Tibetan Computer Resource Centre. In 1995, she was elected as the Vice President of the Tibetan Women's Association, Central Executive Committee. She obtained a Master's degree from Boston University under the 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 Kanchanjaigha Tea Estate owned by underprivileged farmers' co-operative.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Penpa Tsering (born 1967, Bylakuppe, India) now lives in New Delhi. He studied at the Central School for Tibetans, Bylakuppe and topped the merit list in Class XII. He graduated with Economics Major from the 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. He also served as the General Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of Dhomey. He is presently the Executive Director of the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, New Delhi.

He was elected to the Twelfth and Thirteenth ATPD.



Mrs. Tsering Tsomo (born 1964, Dalhousie, India) currently resides in Toronto, Canada. She graduated from Sacred Heart College, Dalhousie and completed her M.A. and M. Phil (Geography) from Punjab University, Chandigarh in 1987. She then went on to complete another Post Graduate degree in Geography from the University of Kentucky 1991. From 1993 to 1994, she worked in the Department of Information and International Relations. From 1995 to 1997, she was actively involved with the Tibetan Women's Association as its Vice President and President. She continues to be associated with the organisation as an advisor. She was the Executive Director of Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre from 1997 to 2001.

She was elected to the 13th ATPD.



Mr. Gyalrong Dawa Tsering (born 1952, Tsona, Tibet). He served in the SFF for 26 years (1969-1994). During his service, he rose from the rank of a clerk to Assistant Political Leader. As company leader he was appointed as the Officer In Charge of Rehabilitation Centre. His community service includes leader of the camp, executive committee member of Regional Ex-soldiers Welfare Association, President of Regional Dhomey Association, member of Kolkata Tibetan Sweater Sellers Association and member of the Central Executive Committee of Dhomey. He served as the Chairman of the Mainpat Local Assembly for two consecutive terms till his election to the ATPD (1996-2001).

He was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD and is presently a member of the ATPD Standing Committee.



Mr. Gedun Jinpa (born 1936, Amdo Dhovi, Tibet) now lives in Hunsur, Karnataka, India. He has a MA, M. Phil in Tibetan language and literature. He had attended Gaden Phelgyeling Monastic University, Drepung Gomang Monastic University and Buddhist Philosophy University, Buxxa. He taught Tibetan language, grammar, literature, history, dialectics and religious history at different CST schools all over India for over 30 years.. He has served in the Primary School Text Book Review Committee. He is now a retired Post Graduate teacher. He has written articles on varied topics and has authored two books on Tibetan grammar and one on poetry. He was also the first Vice president of the Bylakuppe Regional Tibetan Youth Congress. He continues to impart his knowledge on Tibetan language and literature to interested students.

He was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD.



Mrs. Phurbu Dolma (1956) now lives in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India. In 1962, she went to France for her studies. After finishing Higher Secondary School, she completed a secretarial course on administration, law and finance. In 1989, she returned back to India after staying in Switzerland for about 26 years. She served as the Vice president of the Dharamsala Regional Tibetan Women's Association (1991-94), as the President of the Regional Dhomay Association and also as a member of the local Election Commission (1994-97). She again served as the General Secretary of Tibetan Women's Association, Central Executive Committee (1997-2000) and Treasurer of the Dhomey Central Executive Committee (2000-2003).

She was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD.



NORTH AMERICA

Mr. Tenzin Choeden (born 1967, Kathmandu, Nepal) now lives in Los Angeles. He immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1983. He graduated from 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 Sept. 2002, in order to keep a personal commitment to attend all sessions of the Assembly and to volunteer for an ATPD committee to reform Green Book rules and procedures. He started learning how to read and write in Tibetan after being elected. 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 Friend of Tibet since 1997.

He was elected to the 13th ATPD.



EUROPE

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

He was elected to the Thirteenth ATPD.



Mr. Sangling Tsering Dorjee (born 1950) fled to India in 1959 when the Chinese invaded Tibet. After the completion of All India Higher Secondary School Examination from Central School for Tibetans, Mussoorie, he joined St. Stephen's College of Delhi University under the provision of Indian Government Scholarship. In 1972 he was summoned to serve the Tibetan Government in Exile and was posted to the Office of Tibet in Nepal, followed by other offices such as Department of Home and Security Affairs, Department of Education, Tibetan Homes Foundation and the Office of Tibet in Switzerland as the Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Europe. In 1980, he was sent to Tibet in the second "Fact Finding Mission" as the Deputy Head of the Delegation.

He was elected to the Eleventh and Thirteenth ATPD.



Members having discussion during break



Members during tea break

KALONS



KALON TRIPA SAMDHONG RINPOCHE

(Minister of Department of Security and Department of Information & International Relations)

Venerable Professor Samdhong Lobsang Tenzin, the 5th Samdhong Rinpoche, was born on 5th November, 1939 in Jol, Eastern Tibet. At the age of five, he was recognised as the reincarnation of 4th Samdhong Rinpoche and enthroned in Gaden Dechenling Dorjichang Kyabje Sangbhum Rinpoche. He received his primary teaching from scholar Ngawang Jinpa when he was nine. He started his religious training at Drepung Monastery in Lhasa and completed his (Uma Nyinpa)- middle school of the Madhyamika School of Buddhism at the age of 12. He came to exile in the year 1959 after the Chinese invasion of Tibet.

In the year 1960, he started his service in the Tibetan Community by beginning as a teacher to monks from the Sera, Drepung, and Gaden monasteries. From 1961, he served as the religious teacher of Tibetan School in Shimla, and later becoming the acting principal of Shimla Tibetan School in 1963. Then again he

worked as religious teacher of Darjeeling Tibetan school in 1964.

From 1965 to 1970 Samdhong Rinpoche was the Principal of Dalhousie School. He received his Lharampa Degree in the year 1968 and Ngagrimpa Degree in 1969. From 1971 to 1988 he was the Principal of Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS, Varanasi). From

1988 to 2001 he worked as the Director CIHTS. In 1990, he was a member of the Drafting Committee Constitution of the Future of Tibet and Law for the exiled Tibetans. From 1991 to 1995 he was appointed by His Holiness as one of the deputies of ATPD and later was unanimously elected as its Chairman. From 1996 to 2001 he was elected member of the Parliament from Kham province and also its Chairman.



KALON THUPTEN LUNGRIG

(Minister of Department of Religion and Culture and Department of Education)

Mr. Thupten Lungrig obtained his Acharya degree in 1981 from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Varanasi, India.

He subsequently underwent Teachers' Training Course (TTC) for one year and then taught at the Tibetan Children's Village School in Dharamsala. Later in 1993 Mr. Lungrig was promoted as the Director of the Tibetan Children's Village School in Suja. In 1996 he was one of three members appointed to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The ATPD, in turn, elected him as its Vice-chairperson.

In 2001 he was voted to the ATPD to represent the Amdo province. The ATPD, in turn, elected him as its Chairperson.



KALON LOBSANG NYIMA
(Minister of Department of Home)

Mr. Lobsang Nyima was born in 1939 in Dokhar, in the Central Tibetan district of Lhoka. In 1945 he joined Gaden Choepel-ling Monastery in his native village. Later, he joined the Loseling College of Drepung Monastery in Lhasa, and, later, became secretary to the Abbot of Gaden Choepel-ling for two years.

In 1959 he escaped to India, and subsequently joined the Shartse College of Gaden Monastery and Gyutoed Tantric College in India. In 1969 he joined the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Varanasi.

In 1971, he became a member of the Tibetan Freedom Movement, and visited Tibetan communities in Dharamsala, Dalhousie, Kullu, Shimla, etc. to publicise the aims and objectives of this newly-formed organization.

From 1972 till his retirement in 1997, he served the Tibetan community in various capacities: Welfare Officer in Dalhousie, Settlement Officer in Bhandara and Orissa, Manager of Tibetan Handicrafts Centre in Jawalakhel, Nepal, and Secretary of the Tibetan Public Service Commission in Dharamsala.



KALON LOBSANG NYANDAK
(Minister of Department of Finance and Department of Health)

Mr. Lobsang Nyandak was born in Kalimpong, India, in 1965.

From 1996 till now, Mr. Nyandak has been the Director of Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD), a NGO based in Dharamsala.

In 1996, just as he started working for (TCHRD), he was elected to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies to represent the Kham province. He held this post till 2001. During the same period, Mr. Nyandak served as the Vice-president/Secretary of the National Democratic Party of Tibet.

Earlier, from 1990 to 1995, he had served as the Secretary and Joint Secretary of the Tibetan Youth Congress.