



Securing Tibet's Future

VISION PAPER

The 16th Kashag | 2021-2026

Central Tibetan Administration

Published in 2023

© **The Kashag**

Central Tibetan Administration

Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamshala

Guiding Principles

**Equitable Justice,
Cooperative Effort,
Moving Forward**



The 16th Kashag | 2021-2026
Central Tibetan Administration

Contents

Sikyong's Message	1
Executive Summary	5
Why Tibet Matters?	7
1. The Geo-Political Significance of Tibet	7
2. The Spiritual and Cultural Significance of Tibet	7
3. The Environmental Significance of Tibet	8
4. China's Policy of Cultural Genocide in Tibet	8
a. Cultural Genocide	8
b. Intensive Surveillance	9
c. Information Control	9
d. Colonial-Style Boarding Schools	9
e. Politicisation of Religion and Violation of Freedom of Belief	9
5. The Way Forward: Middle-Way Policy	10
Section 1. Resolving the Sino-Tibet Conflict through Middle-Way Policy	11
1. Reopening Sino-Tibetan Dialogue	12
a. Restructuring the Committee on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations	12
b. Reaching out to the Chinese Government for Resumption of Dialogue	12
c. International Advocacy for Recognition of Tibet's Historical Status to Gain Appraisal for the Middle-Way Policy	12
2. Upgrading Information Management System	13
a. Exploring New Sources, Mediums and Techniques of Information Gathering	13
b. Preparing Background of Issues, and Research and Analysis of Information	13
c. Strengthening Network of Information Dissemination	14

Section 2. Welfare of Tibetans in Exile **15**

1. Uniting the Tibetan Community **16**

- a. Securing Democracy and Upholding Democratic Principles & Practices 16
- b. Ensuring Transparency in Administration 16
- c. Equitable Distribution of Resources 17
- d. Encouraging Public Participation and Cooperation 17

2. Preserving and Promoting Tibet's Unique Identity **17**

- a. Building Back Compact Communities 17
- b. Sustaining Religious Institutions 18
- c. Implementing Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile and Integrating Schools as per the need of the community 18
 - i. Implementing Basic Education Policy for Tibetans in Exile 18
 - ii. Sustaining Tibetan Educational System 19
 - iii. Integrating Tibetan Schools 19
 - iv. Supporting Tibetan Language Education 19
 - v. Facilitating Tibetan Traditional Craftsmen, Artists and Writers 20

3. Inclusive Community **20**

- a. Caring for the Underprivileged 20
- b. Empowering Women 20
- c. Engaging Youth 20
- d. Encouraging Healthy Settlements 21

4. Creating Sustainable Economic Opportunities **21**

Section 3. Enhancing CTA's Administrative Efficiency and Capacity **23**

1. Creating Sound Database for Policy Decisions **24**

2. Amending Necessary Administrative Structure & Regulations **24**

3. Creating Standard Administrative System **24**

4. Developing Short-term and Long-term Planning and Effective Implementation	24
5. Upgrading Capacity of Civil Servants	25
6. Digitisation and E-Governance	26

Vision Delivery **27**

Appeal	28
1. For Governments and Parliaments	28
2. For International Tibet Advocates	28
3. For Donors	28
4. For CTA Civil Servants	29
5. For all the Tibetans	29

Annex A: Unique Democracy of Tibetans-in-Exile	30
---	-----------

Annex B: Evolution of the Middle-Way Policy	33
--	-----------

Map of Tibetan Settlements' in India, Nepal & Bhutan	35
---	-----------



VISION PAPER

Securing Tibet's Future

2021–2026





Sikyong's Message

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is an extraordinary leader: the apostle of peace, an embodiment of compassion, a visionary, holistic in approach, and wisdom personified in logic. His perspectives and decisions are always based on reality and pragmatism. His concerns and compassionate leadership to mitigate suffering extend to all sentient beings beyond Tibet and the Tibetan people.

This Kashag is fully committed to following the vision and wisdom of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in finding a non-violent, mutually beneficial, negotiated, and lasting solution to the Sino-Tibet conflict through the Middle-Way Policy. This, I believe, will contribute to a more peaceful world beyond China and the Tibetan people. Unfortunately, the lack of political will and commitment from the leadership of the People's Republic of China (PRC) led to the stalling of the dialogue that took place between 2002-2010.

The geo-political, geo-strategic, and environmental significance of Tibet cannot be discounted as a mere irritant when raised with the PRC at bilateral or multilateral deliberations. This concerns not only Tibet and the Tibetan people, but also has serious implications for the people, food, economic, and water security of all the countries around the Tibetan plateau and beyond. International collaborative work with environmental experts must be initiated to avert irreversible damage to the fragile environment of Tibet and its consequences.

The unique Tibetan religion and script originated from India. Tibet is the repository of a valuable part of ancient Indian wisdom of Nalanda Buddhist philosophy. Our early masters and translators preserved all the Sanskrit teachings in the Tibetan language, which they practised over the centuries, and developed their own distinctive features.

Buddha's message of non-violence and compassion is more relevant than ever before in this violence-ridden world driven by narrow self-interest and lack of concern for the oneness of humanity. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is one of the very few global leaders representing the potential of this thinking to promote a more peaceful and habitable world to live in.

Unfortunately, Tibet continues to be under a very strict Orwellian grid management surveillance that makes it extremely difficult for Tibetans to do anything. The consequences of one's actions could be linked to the security of their near and dear ones. If we are not able to counter President Xi Jinping's current policy of one nation, one language, one culture, and one religion, it will lead to the extermination of the Tibetan identity from the face of this earth. We are dying a slow death.

There is an absence of political space and religious freedom, language rights, environmental protection rights and even the right to live one's way of life is denied in Tibet. Every technological means used to enslave people's minds, actions, and expressions by the PRC are unprecedented. Freedom House has recognised Tibet as one of the least free countries in the world. This is not governance but enslavement by the state - a new avatar of slavery in post-modern times.

The charismatic leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, complemented by the indomitable spirit of the Tibetans in Tibet, with consistent international support has transformed our community in exile into a formidable force for PRC to reckon with. It is also a model exiled democratic community, dispersed across the world, with hopes alive and growing to return to our homeland.

However, the Tibetan diaspora is rapidly dispersing from the compact Tibetan refugee communities owing to a lack of opportunities in the rural settlements. It is a major challenge to deal with, as it also presents an existential threat to the survival of the Tibetan identity and the future of the Tibetan movement as a whole. Adapting to changing circumstances in maintaining our relevance and legitimacy would be a crucial challenge to overcome.

For that, the Kashag is setting a vision and a path forward under the overall policies enshrined in the Charter. We shall employ and utilise every available opportunity and administrative skill to seek a peaceful resolution to the Sino-Tibet conflict and also fulfil the needs of the community.

My two decades of service in the parliament, including as the speaker for one and a half terms, have greatly helped in developing this vision for securing our future. As we keep learning more about new realities, we shall deliver on all the needs of the community in an equitable manner involving the cooperation of all stakeholders. Since this is a living document, you will periodically witness changes marking our progress in fulfilling our responsibilities.

The 16th Kashag took over the reins of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) on 27th May 2021, about a year and a half into the Covid-19 Pandemic. The very next day, I visited the Dharamshala quarantine centre to meet with the infected Tibetans. That was the situation the world was in when we began adapting our working methods to suit the circumstantial challenges in identifying problems and finding ways to fix them by reviewing the Covid-19 Task Force's recommendations, updating executive decisions, and legislative amendments.

When opportunities prevailed, we undertook international visits to build on our diplomacy and spent much of our time visiting Tibetan settlements all over India and a number of Tibetan communities abroad. These visits helped identify the needs of the people through a bottom-up approach and bolstered closer bonding with our people. Some top-down initiatives have also been planned for the all-round sustainability of compact communities.

With our hopes to return to Tibet while preparing for the worst, the last six months were utilised

on budgeting for the next four years to streamline the needs of the community and the delivery of services. In view of the long-term future challenges, we have developed short and mid-term plans for the sustainability of our communities and our struggle. Therefore, the administrative structure should be geared towards implementation of programmes to ensure transparency, efficiency, monitoring, reporting, accounting, and evaluation, besides verifying new needs.

Planning and budgeting for the flagship programme to repopulate the dispersing compact communities are meant to turn two challenges - dispersing community and housing needs for newcomers - into an opportunity. Much of the success of this programme will depend on the funding from generous donors for this one-time aid. An Integrated Sustainable Development Plan would also be put in place for every settlement providing opportunities for the marginalised and the underrepresented.

Due importance has been given to digital transformation to catch up with the times. E-governance as a tool fits the bill for the governance of a dispersed community like ours. To reduce the volume of this vision paper, only new initiatives have been mentioned but rest assured, the Kashag has included all vital ongoing programmes in the budgetary provisions. Additional programmes in other areas are being refined and will be reflected in the next updated version.

In the meantime, we restructured and realigned our political tactics and achieved some success internationally in the last two years. We remain on top of things on the dynamics of the evolving international political situation and developments in the PRC and Tibet. We shall look for an opportune time to proactively engage with the PRC. Till such a time, we will push for international advocacy leveraging the potential of our youth around the world. Countering PRC's disinformation on Tibet's historical narrative and building cohesiveness within the community warrants due scrutiny and action.

Cooperation, collaboration, support and contribution from many governments, organisations, and individuals are indispensable for our sustainability. I am sure, by understanding our recurring and one-time needs, you will extend a helping hand in achieving our aspirations. We know we must be self-reliant in the long run, yet that is still some time away. We appreciate all the self-supporting organisations for their effort and laud the Tibetans involved in rendering their services back to the community.


To bring this Vision Paper to fruition, the sincere and active involvement of all civil servants in the delivery of these services is indispensable. We shall also create a resource pool of Tibetans in different fields of expertise for future cooperation.

During our tenure, we will build a sound database, and create sustainable structures and efficient systems to assist long-term planning. All members of the Kashag are very much on board in developing this Vision Paper and are committed to due diligence and intelligence in discharging our responsibilities.

I acknowledge and thank all those who have extended support in making this possible. Due acknowledgement also goes to all the civil servants for their contribution giving shape to this Paper.

We are sharing this document for you to understand the journey we are on and how you can contribute to it. We are all committed and determined to work hard. If all of you can lend a helping hand in our endeavour to live up to the expectations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and our brothers and sisters in Tibet, we will definitely be in a position to contribute for the betterment of humanity.

Humbly,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Sikyong Penpa Tsering', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Sikyong
Penpa Tsering
Central Tibetan Administration (CTA)
10 April 2023



Executive Summary

Our work as representatives of the Tibetan people and in securing the future of Tibet is more timely and crucial than ever. The PRC has increased its efforts to destroy Tibetan culture and identity through the imposition of draconian measures. The PRC government has coerced our children into colonial boarding schools and imposed a ban on teaching all subjects in the Tibetan language. Our monasteries are increasingly controlled by Beijing, and even our tradition of reincarnation is politicised. In the name of maintaining national security and stability, with the existing control by the permanent work teams stationed down to the village level, Tibetans are subjected to intrusive state security through constant surveillance by the PRC using artificial intelligence and grid management system.

With the paradigm shift in geopolitics and international system post-Covid, Ukraine crisis and particularly with the escalation of sporadic tension between different nations, Tibet's strategic importance increasingly matters because of its geographical position and historical role as a buffer zone between China and India. Moreover, rivers originating from Tibet's mountains feed the rivers of ten nations downstream that provide water to a population of about 2 billion people. Due to the number of glaciers and permafrost on the Tibetan plateau, Tibet is also called 'Asia's Water Tower' and the 'World's Third Pole'.

Spiritually and culturally, the Tibetan people's steadfast belief in the Buddhist principles of non-violence and compassion under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, even in the face of brutal attacks serves as an inspiration for the violence-ridden world.

Two fundamental missions of the CTA are inextricably linked: mobilising Tibetans and our allies to reopen the Sino-Tibetan dialogue to seek genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people and to develop a sustainable Tibetan community in exile. Both missions ensure the survival of our identity and contribute to the furtherance of our cause.

Our political priority is to find ways to re-engage with the PRC government and resolve the Sino-Tibet conflict based on the Middle-Way Policy for a mutually beneficial and lasting solution. The Middle-Way Policy offers a middle way between the historical status of Tibet as an independent state and the present status of Tibet under the illegal occupation of the PRC.

Until we secure genuine autonomy for Tibet, ensuring the survival of our identity requires sustainable communities. However, today the compact communities in exile are getting more dispersed, which poses a challenge to their sustainability. And the number of students in Tibetan schools has halved in the last decade. To ensure the sustainability of the Tibetan communities

and the preservation of our unique identity, we envisage repopulating the compact communities by providing homes to those from Tibet and others who don't own homes by facilitating equitable economic and livelihood opportunities.

Taking into consideration the need and practicality of the Tibetan community, we shall gradually integrate and strengthen the Tibetan schools in exile. For the diaspora in the West, while continuing to provide support for the weekend Tibetan schools, we shall look into the possibility of establishing and providing necessary support for new compact Tibetan communities and charter schools.

The CTA shall work towards the sustainability of the monasteries that play a crucial role in protecting and preserving our unique identity, including the Tibetan language, culture, religion, and way of life.

We remain committed to following the visions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the aspirations of the Tibetan people in all our endeavours. Despite various means employed by the PRC government to create disunity through disinformation, we give utmost importance to being responsible to the Parliament and the general public by executing all our administrative undertakings in accordance with the law, transparency, and result-oriented objective. Therefore, at this critical time, every Tibetan should use due intelligence and prudence in pooling their resources towards furthering our common cause.

For that, the Administration is making every effort to reach out to the international community on key strategic issues concerning the Sino-Tibet conflict. This involves countering China's false narratives and introducing the historical status of Tibet as an independent nation to the international community, seeking to recognise Tibet as an unresolved conflict, thereby bringing fruition to the Middle-Way Policy. We are building on harnessing the potential of the younger generation of Tibetans towards this end. For the smooth flow of information, the Administration shall strengthen the efficiency of the Information Management System and ensure timely delivery of information and materials to advocates in their respective countries.

To materialise this vision, the CTA, in addition to reforming the administrative structure and enhancing human capacity, shall increase our network with all the stakeholders through e-governance in tune with the times.



Why Tibet Matters

1. The Geo-Political Significance of Tibet

Tibet is located in the heart of Central Asia, at an average altitude of over 4,000 metres, bordered by China to the east; India, Nepal, and Bhutan to the south; Burma to the southeast; and East Turkestan to the north. Tibet has historically been a buffer state, enjoying a strong and harmonious relationship with all its neighbours until its occupation by the PRC. With an area of 2.5 million square kms, Tibet is almost a quarter of the PRC's territory; the PRC has reduced much of Tibet into the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and Qinghai Province, and the rest is incorporated into the neighbouring Chinese provinces of Kansu, Sichuan and Yunnan.

Until the PRC's military occupation, Tibet had always remained an independent state, a position supported by a growing consensus in academia, including amongst Chinese and Western scholars. In this context, acting at the behest of the PRC in distorting the historical status of Tibet by claiming "Tibet as an inseparable part of China since ancient times" contravenes international law and destroys the very basis for according leverage to the Middle-Way Policy. The decisions about Tibet and the future of Tibetans must be made only by the Tibetans.

Considering the geo-political impact of Tibet in the increasingly interdependent world, the resolution of the Sino-Tibet conflict will undoubtedly promote better understanding and relations between our neighbours for a more secure region and a peaceful world.

2. The Spiritual and Cultural Significance of Tibet

The world is suffering the consequences of ignoring the bitter lessons learned from the last century's wars and destruction. Buddha's message of non-violence and conflict resolution through dialogue is needed now more than ever, and the preservation of the Tibetan Buddhist culture has the potential to promote greater peace in the world.

Today, Tibetan Buddhism's influence permeates into its neighbouring nations of India, China, Mongolia, Bhutan, Nepal, Russia, and beyond. Particularly with regard to India, the logic rooted in the ancient wisdom of the Nalanda tradition of Buddhism has deeply influenced Tibet, and it has been preserved in its pristine form in the Tibetan language. The cultural connection between Tibet and India is ancient and abiding. We look upon India as Guru and ourselves as devoted Chela. It is estimated that China alone has at least 250 million Buddhists, and many of them take a keen interest in Tibetan Buddhism, a practice that can support millions in fulfilling their spiritual void.

3. The Environmental Significance of Tibet

From the ecological perspective, Tibet - the roof of the world, is one of the most strategically located regions in the world. And it is also an environmentally sensitive region to climate change. Tibet is also known as the 'Water Tower' of Asia, and its rivers flow into India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, and China, directly or indirectly serving an estimated 2 billion people. Referred to as the world's 'Third Pole' by environmentalists, Tibet houses the largest reservoir of glaciers and permafrost outside of the Arctic and the Antarctic circles. Tibet is also home to distinctive flora and fauna, and its unique biodiversity must be preserved not only for the sake of Tibet's ecology but for the future of the earth. The Tibetans have traditionally lived in harmony with nature for thousands of years, guided by Buddhist beliefs in the interdependence of both living and non-living elements of the earth.

During the last seven decades of the PRC's occupation, its destructive and exploitative policies have caused mineral exploitation, deforestation, destruction of wildlife, forced resettlement of nomads, and large-scale infrastructure development leading to desertification of Tibetan grasslands, rising temperature, landslides, and floods.

Proper stewardship of Tibet's environment is central to climate change challenges, making it important not only for the Tibetans but for China and the world at large. However, Tibet is warming at twice the global rate, resulting in melting glaciers, and causing flood, food and water security risks in the downstream riparian states.

4. China's Policy of Cultural Genocide in Tibet

To have a vision for Tibet's future, it is critical to understand the harsh oppression and suffering faced by Tibetans inside Tibet and work towards fulfilling their aspirations. Therefore, it is one of our prime responsibilities to create awareness on the international platform based on the real situation inside Tibet.

a. Cultural Genocide

The PRC has made multiple commitments to international human rights conventions and what is enshrined in its own Constitution. Violating these commitments, the PRC is imposing a policy of one nation, one culture, one religion, and one language aimed at destroying the Tibetan culture. It threatens the very survival of our unique cultural identity. Instead of learning lessons from the repression suffered by the Natives and Aborigines under the colonial regimes in different parts of the world, the PRC is intentionally repeating such anachronistic and misguided policies in Tibet. 157 Tibetans are known to have set themselves on fire out of desperation under the repressive policies of the Chinese government in the last more than ten years.

b. Intensive Surveillance

In the name of national security and stability, the PRC is making huge investments in internal security and surveillance apparatus. Tibetans are subjected to multiple layers of surveillance on a regular basis, including the use of artificial intelligence-enabled surveillance: electronic identification, facial recognition, geo-location, DNA profiling, and iris scanning. This technological surveillance is augmented by human surveillance through the grid management system. Most recently, the so-called Regulations on Network and Information Security have been enforced in Tibet, strictly monitoring the movement of Tibetans and restricting their freedom of expression and freedom of thought. Increasingly, any political actions of an individual Tibetan have severe consequences for the safety of relatives and friends inside Tibet. There are also many cases of relatives abroad facing intimidation in the form of transnational repression.

c. Information Control

In China, any information that is deemed to “threaten national security and stability of China” is considered a “threat to the nation”. Tibetans are frequently labelled “separatist” and face consequences ranging from arbitrary arrests, disappearances, incarcerations, and deaths. The flow of information is strictly controlled and monitored with severe consequences for those who share information with the outside world or redistribute information inside Tibet. A new regulation has been enforced to criminalise and severely punish those creating social media groups with alleged links to “separatist forces” and joining such groups. The Chinese government has imposed heavy restrictions on Tibetans inside Tibet from travelling abroad. Access to Tibet remains elusive for Tibetans abroad and foreigners alike.

d. Colonial-Style Boarding Schools

Despite being a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, nearly a million Tibetan children have reportedly been forced into colonial-style boarding schools. These children are indoctrinated with the Chinese language, ideology, and loyalty to the party by separating them from their families and depriving them of their right to grow in their own culture and learn their own language. Besides that, Tibetan language classes conducted voluntarily during the holidays are banned. Sinicisation of the Tibetan children will not only have a detrimental impact on the Tibetans but may harm the traditional affinity between the Tibetans and the neighbouring countries, including India.

e. Politicisation of Religion and Violation of Freedom of Belief

The PRC’s design to control Tibet and Sinicise Tibetan Buddhism directly infringes on the fundamental religious freedom of the Tibetan people. These include the persecution of influential religious leaders, restriction on freedom of movement, and denunciation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, including banning His Holiness’ portraits, controlling the curriculum and monasteries, and politicising the recognition of reincarnate lamas. The PRC issued Order No. 5 of 2007 that falsely asserts the right of the government’s authority over the recognition of reincarnate lamas

in violation of the traditional Tibetan Buddhist practice. Even today, the PRC government conducts workshops, discussion forums, meetings, policy announcements, and documentary film screenings and uses every means to promote a false narrative on issues concerning the evolution, development, and reality of Tibetan Buddhism and reincarnation.

Sadly, the Eleventh Panchen Lama, recognised by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the tender age of six, was abducted in 1995, and his whereabouts and well-being remain unknown. Similarly, hundreds of Tibetan political prisoners continue to suffer incarceration and imprisonment.

5. The Way Forward: The Middle-Way Policy

Even in the face of existential attacks, including the suppression of our people and the destruction of our distinct identity, we remain committed to resolving the long-standing Sino-Tibet conflict through non-violence and negotiation. The term Middle-Way Policy is derived from a Buddhist concept that seeks to avoid extreme polarities. The Middle-Way Policy was formulated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, supported by the majority of the general Tibetan public, and endorsed unanimously by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile.

The Middle-Way Policy seeks the right for Tibetans to self-govern, preserve and promote our language, maintain intergenerational transmission of identity and culture, practise our religion free from interference, and have the freedom to live our way of life in harmony with nature. It is a policy based on pragmatism and mutual benefit, balancing the sovereignty concerns of China while recognising the one-ness of Tibetan identity across all Tibetan regions. Moreover, Tibet can benefit from PRC's economic development while China can spiritually benefit from the Tibetans, which will help to promote ethnic harmony and secure regional stability.

Section 1

Resolving the Sino-Tibet Conflict through Middle-Way Policy



1. Reopening Sino-Tibetan Dialogue

Since coming into exile in 1959, from 1973 onwards, His Holiness the Dalai Lama pursued a policy of seeking happiness for the Tibetan people rather than seeking independence. In 1979, the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping proposed that “except independence, all other issues can be discussed through negotiations”. With the subsequent period of slight liberalisation in China, there was a brief respite in Tibet during which fact-finding delegations and exploratory missions for negotiation were sent to Tibet. The prospect for dialogue dissipated in 1989. During the nine rounds of dialogue between 2002 to 2010, a Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan people was presented to the Chinese government. However, with the closing of the Olympic Games in 2008, the dialogue process ended sans traction due to the Chinese leadership’s lack of political will.

Therefore, creating new momentum and opportunities for dialogue is our top-most priority. Inspired by the vision of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we remain committed to the Middle-Way Policy guided by the principles of our Charter and public opinion leading to the unanimous resolution of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. All efforts towards this end shall be conducted in the name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and as per His guidance.

a. Restructuring the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations

The earlier Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations, which had around 20 members, held meetings at irregular periods. To make this body more effective, it has been restructured into a Permanent Strategy Committee. Headed by the Sikyong, the Committee comprises Kalons and Secretaries from relevant departments of CTA, Advisors, and Special Invitees. The concerned political related officials hold meetings every Monday. The members and working system will be restructured as and when necessary.

b. Reaching out to the Chinese Government for Resumption of Sino-Tibetan Dialogue

Even though the Kashag wishes to resume contact with the Chinese government, it depends on whether the Chinese leadership has the political will to resolve the conflict. If the Chinese side sincerely proposes dialogue to find a lasting solution to the conflict, we stand ready to respond. Until such a solution is found, we will meticulously examine the situation inside Tibet and point out the wrong policies that need to be stopped or rectified.

c. International Advocacy for Recognition of Tibet’s Historical Status to Gain Appraisal for the Middle-Way Policy

We will reach out to truth and justice-loving countries and governments to emphasise the

significance of the historical independent status of Tibet to counter PRC's false narratives. An expert testimonial was held on 23 June 2022 in the U.S. Congress on the historical status of Tibet as an independent state. Last year and February this year, a Bill has also been moved in both Houses of the U.S. Congress seeking to recognise Tibet as an unresolved conflict. It underscores the need to counter the PRC's false narrative on the true historical status of Tibet and resolve the Sino-Tibet conflict through dialogue. This Bill will help the international community to understand Tibetan history and its status under international law as well as gain more appraisal for the Middle-Way Policy.

We call on governments around the world to view Tibetans as partners in bringing about positive change in China rather than being considered only as victims of the PRC. We also call for transatlantic cooperation along with all other democratic countries to counter PRC.

2. Upgrading Information Management System

In light of the PRC's strict control of information flow, gathering information from inside Tibet has become increasingly challenging. The Kashag is exploring all practical avenues and adopting innovative approaches to meet this existing challenge.

a. Exploring New Sources, Mediums, and Techniques of Information Gathering

Until the Sino-Tibet conflict is resolved, it is our priority to understand the situation inside Tibet to inform the international community to counter PRC's false narrative and propaganda. Towards this end, the Department of Security will explore both conventional and modern means to gather and analyse accurate information on all matters concerning Tibet and Tibetans. When necessary, we shall collaborate with other like-minded entities.

Likewise, every effort must be made to counter the PRC disinformation campaign seeking to create disunity amongst Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and within the exiled community.

b. Preparing Background of Issues, and Research and Analysis of Information

The information so gathered by the relevant department and based on information from open-source materials, the researchers of the Tibet Policy Institute (TPI) shall analyse the timeline, background, context, development, impact, and consequences of each of the individual issues. Likewise, TPI shall conduct research on the current situation and timely share the same with the concerned departments.

TPI shall work towards creating a network of international experts on China and Tibet. TPI shall

also continue to publish journals, organise workshops, seminars and conferences on specific issues inside Tibet, and take part in international conferences on topics concerning Tibet.

c. Strengthening Network of Information Dissemination

To take upon the responsibility of representing CTA to the international community and as an official spokesperson, the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) shall repackage the information gathered by the relevant department and analysed by TPI to distribute it for advocacy.

The Offices of Tibet (OoTs) are representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the CTA to the international community. For DIIR to reach out to the countries under the jurisdiction of the OoTs, in the light of changing global political developments, working in tandem with governments, think tanks and the media, it has to explore every possible avenue to influence the policy of the respective countries. The OoTs shall reach out and engage with the Voluntary Tibet Advocacy Group (V-TAG) members, parliamentary groups, Tibet Support Groups and Tibetan Associations for effective collaboration.

With the growing number of Tibetans settled in the West, the Kashag has launched the V-TAG to provide a platform for every Tibetan, particularly the younger generations, to engage in Tibet-related social and political movements. It has initiated a system of appointing two Tibetan liaison officers in the Offices of Tibet in North America and Europe, which will enable the representatives to devote more time to diplomacy. The DIIR, by understanding the political systems, status and dynamism of different nations, shall develop a strategy of cooperation with all the stakeholders.

The DIIR, through the Offices of Tibet and Tibet Advocacy Section, will update the V-TAG members in their respective countries with updated advocacy materials and help coordinate and guide the activities of V-TAG groups. Not only will this empower the youth but will develop organic leadership within the Tibetan community for future responsibilities. Tibetan associations will also be encouraged to raise funds annually for V-TAG activities in their country or region.

Section 2

Welfare of Tibetans-in-Exile



Looking after the welfare of the Tibetans in exile in India, Nepal, Bhutan, and other countries is the CTA's second most important responsibility enshrined in the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile.

1. Uniting the Tibetan Community

It is natural to have differences of opinion in any democratic society, and Tibetans are no different. Given the present critical situation in Tibet, it is imperative to maintain unity and harmony amongst Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and within the Tibetans in exile, which is indispensable for the sustainability of our struggle and survival. Much of the causes of disunity in exile are fuelled by PRC's disinformation campaign and few Tibetans with vested interests. With transparency in the CTA's administrative system, the general public has woken up to be able to judge right from wrong, which leaves a very narrow space for such malicious efforts to operate.

Our community's ability to adapt to the new realities and for the CTA to evolve and maintain its relevance and legitimacy will be critical challenges in the years to come. Building on the legacy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Kashag shall continue to strive to be a model of governance in exile to the international community.

a. Securing Democracy and Upholding Democratic Principles and Practices

The Kashag is committed to upholding the democratic principles of accountability, responsibility and answerability to the Tibetan Parliament, and through them, to the general Tibetan public while discharging our responsibilities. We shall continue to adhere to and uphold all the democratic norms and practices required for a vibrant and functioning democracy. It is incumbent upon the Tibetan leadership to be informed of the nature of our administration, division of power, checks and balances and one's responsibility. Whilst executing our responsibilities, we should be mindful of the consequences of our actions on the Tibetan struggle and the community as a whole. While dealing with possible future challenges, we should be in a position to take on the opportunity to amend our democratic practice based on the changing realities.

b. Ensuring Transparency in Administration

The Kashag will carry out its administrative responsibilities by upholding accountability and transparency to the Tibetan Parliament and the general Tibetan public. All the standard undertakings, decisions and execution will be in accordance with CTA rules and regulations,

directives, orders and guidelines. To bring awareness to the public on ongoing programmes, a web portal will be developed for all stakeholders to track the progress. We will make efforts to digitise the budgeting process and bring more transparency by presenting regular financial status reports.

c. Equitable Distribution of Resources

Despite Covid interruption at the initial phase of our tenure, our subsequent interactions with Tibetan communities in the last one and half years have helped bring coherence between the CTA and the general public. This initiative of intensive engagement enabled us to see and understand the needs of the public and the communities first-hand, enabling us to make decisions. While executing our future programmes based on bottom-up and top-down approaches, all the services of the Administration are being distributed in an equitable manner.

d. Encouraging Public Participation and Cooperation

The Kashag continues to follow the provisions of the Charter, where the division of functions is enshrined while carrying out our political and social welfare undertakings. Likewise, if the individual pillars of democracy and the autonomous bodies also function in accordance with the rules and regulations, the Administration will certainly be in a better position to contribute to collectively pool its strength. To make the administrative functions effective, the Kashag has embarked on the mission to develop a standard database, sustainable structure and efficient system. However, to bring it to fruition, the cooperation of local leaders is indispensable. Therefore, your involvement in the administration's endeavour is vital. We make efforts to meet with the youths separately during our visits to the communities, imploring them to prepare for future responsibilities while reminding the general public of their cooperation in our common cause.

2. Preserving and Promoting Tibet's Unique Identity

Tibetans face an existential threat to their culture and identity due to the repressive genocidal policies of the PRC. Our language and religion form the bedrock of our identity. The Tibetans in exile also face numerous challenges in preserving our language, culture and national identity.

a. Building Back Compact Communities

On the one hand, many young Tibetans in India and Nepal continue to relocate to cities and other developed countries due to a lack of employment opportunities in rural Tibetan settlements. This presents a grave and existential challenge to the sustainability of compact communities. On the other hand, newcomers from Tibet over the last forty years and those who do not belong to any compact community face housing challenges.

We have decided to combine the two challenges of the dispersing community and the Tibetans

who have no housing provision into an opportunity by relocating these Tibetans into the existing larger Tibetan communities. The Kashag has decided to provide land and housing subsidies to these beneficiaries consisting of around 2,000 families with more than 5,000 individuals based on their financial condition. Eventually, we intend to cater the same facilities to those under similar circumstances.

The first phase of planning and implementation will begin from Odisha Settlement, Chandragiri, where we are in possession of 130 acres of land. We hope donors will give due consideration to this one-time strategic need favourably.

b. Sustaining Religious Institutions

Under the visionary leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, many of the religious institutions that were destroyed in Tibet were not only re-established in exile but also have become centres of religious learning not only for Tibetans in exile but for the monks and nuns from the Himalayan regions, other Buddhist nations and interested international students. Presently, 66 per cent of the monks and nuns are from the Himalayan regions. For the long-term sustainability of these monasteries that practices the pristine Nalanda tradition of Buddhism, it is imperative to seek the cooperation of the relevant state governments of the Himalayan regions. We will continue to urge the relevant government departments to facilitate easier access for overseas students to study in the monasteries in the Tibetan settlements.

Similarly, the Offices of Tibet shall make effort to coordinate and help organise conferences of the Buddhist Centres to strengthen relations, exchange experiences, and cooperate on programmes in different parts of the world.

c. Implementing Basic Education Policy for Tibetans-in-Exile and Integrating Schools as per the need of the community

The Department of Education is responsible for the overall education of Tibetan communities in exile to create a generation of Tibetans equipped with both traditional and modern education through guidance, directives, and support.

i. Implementing Basic Education Policy for Tibetans-in-Exile

The Basic Education Policy of the CTA has laid special emphasis on the Tibetan language and traditional values. It has produced a new generation of Tibetans more proficient in the Tibetan language, which has helped infuse a sense of pride in their identity. The Department of Education is making every effort to ensure the teaching of all subjects in the Tibetan language at the primary level in a phased manner, as enshrined in the Basic Education Policy. Modern teaching tools and techniques, such as animation and other creative mediums, will be developed, which will help ignite young minds to appreciate our traditional and cultural values. More such learning tools will be developed as per the needs and aspirations of the community.

ii. Sustaining Tibetan Educational System

The Tibetan student population in India and Nepal has declined from 20,140 in 2012 to 9,552 in 2021. This can be attributed to the declining number of children arriving from Tibet, out-migration from India and Nepal to Western countries, and the low birth rate. The current annual birth rate in Tibetan communities in India and Nepal is estimated to be about 500. The ratio of new births to that of more than 50 schools warrants due deliberation.

We will continue to support the 6,000-strong locals and students from the Himalayan region. Some assistance from the Himalayan state governments will go a long way in sustaining these schools.

The rules and regulations of the Tibetan Scholarship Programmes for higher studies have been amended to cater to different categories of students based on merit, need and supplement. A fixed percentage has been allocated for the Tibetan language to give weightage as it deserves to encourage and promote learning of the language. We shall continue providing specific scholarships for those with reserved seats in Tibetan colleges and universities.

Following intensive and extensive training for teachers on Social, Emotional and Ethical (SEE) Learning based on Secular Ethics, we have introduced it as part of the curriculum in all the Tibetan schools in exile.

iii. Integrating Tibetan Schools

In view of the declining number of students in the Tibetan schools, the process of integrating schools within the existing Sambhota Tibetan School Society and autonomous bodies of Tibetan Children's Village and Tibetan Homes Foundation is being worked out as per the last meeting of the stakeholders. If we are to avoid wastage and duplication of resources, we have to have a holistic understanding of the situation to achieve the overall objective of meaningful children's education. Based on the community's needs and conditions or implementation in the respective schools, all the stakeholders will eventually have to seriously deliberate on the possibility of integrating schools into zones.

iv. Supporting Tibetan Language Education

For the Tibetan children in the West, we will make every possible effort to support the weekend Tibetan schools and facilitate the establishment of compact Tibetan communities and charter schools. We shall render our services to the organisations and individuals that promote the study of the Tibetan language and Buddhism. Following thorough research based on the interest of Tibetan students in the West, we will look into the possibility of designating a school with all amenities, particularly for those who want regular schooling in India.

v. Facilitating Tibetan Traditional Craftsmen, Artists, and Writers

While continuing to provide support to Tibetan professionals in traditional crafts, arts, and literature, we will shortly develop an effective and efficient programme based on the report of inputs collected through meetings of experts and professionals.

3. Inclusive Community

In any society, ensuring the welfare of the public inclusive of the underprivileged, women, and youth, is one of the prime responsibilities of the administration. Empowering youth and women to reach positions of decision-making is a major challenge in our community. It should be of concern when some young Tibetans are of the opinion that they feel distant from the functions of CTA, Tibetan culture and the Cause. Increased participation of youth and women is essential for an empowered community, and we shall provide as many opportunities for participation and engagement in the public cause.

a. Caring for the Unprivileged

Looking after the welfare of every single poor, old aged, orphan, semi-orphan and differently-abled person is the prime responsibility of the administration. Upon receiving the review committee's overall report of the poor and needy, we shall finalise the exact number of poor and needy. We will set up a care centre for the older and aged differently-abled people in addition to improvement of facilities at the old people's homes and develop clear guidelines for implementation in the future.

b. Empowering Women

In addition to Sikyong appointing three women ministers and three women Representatives in the Offices of Tibet, we will create more opportunities and continue to encourage more participation of women to take leadership responsibilities.

Women's Empowerment Desk (WED) under the Department of Finance, in collaboration with various settlements, has been progressively working on providing counselling, workshops, aids and facilities that will be fine-tuned and developed. As required by the law of the host nation, we have put in place mechanisms in schools and offices to root out abuse against children and women.

c. Engaging Youth

Within the framework of the need-based planning being undertaken now, we have had satisfactory outcomes from the internet-based virtual job training. We will provide low or interest-free

capital to promote small enterprises amongst the youth. We also aim to provide aspiration-based livelihood and vocational skills for young Tibetans to enable them to have a decent livelihood in their settlements.

We will work towards fostering potential leaders for future responsibilities. Building on the foundation of the Voluntary Tibetan Advocacy Groups, the Department of Information and International Relations has lined up several international and regional meetings to harness the power of the youth.

d. Encouraging Healthier Settlements

For the physical and mental well-being of Tibetans in the settlements, we shall strive to improve facilities of the existing traditional Tibetan medicine, astrology and allopathy. We also hold the prevention of diseases and substance abuse of equal importance.

- i. Under the Mother and Child Health Programme, we have made efforts to provide care during pregnancy, incentives on delivery, paid maternity and paternity leave, vaccination and follow-ups, nutritional and educational tools, and toys to nurseries.
- ii. We will continue to provide an all-round medical care for former political prisoners, new arrivals and the underprivileged. The Tibetan Medicare System will be implemented as per the needs and wishes of the general public.

4. Creating Sustainable Economic Opportunities

Building on the foundation of traditional livelihood through agriculture, animal husbandry and seasonal business, the CTA will help develop primary infrastructure to turn Tibetan settlements into tourist destinations. More people would be encouraged to return to the settlements by providing more opportunities in the service sector.

- a. Develop a universal Tibetan Buddhist religious app for pilgrims and visitors in as many languages as possible, with explanations about Buddhist sites and images.
- b. Encourage and facilitate centres for holistic healing in the settlements for both mental and physical well-being through Tibetan meditative practices and Tibetan medicine. We shall also support organic farming, soil and water conservation and rainwater harvesting programmes in the Tibetan settlements.
- c. Initiate and develop settlement-specific agricultural and animal husbandry programmes

under the guidance of Agricultural Extension Officers in accordance with the wishes of the farmers and market conditions.

- d. Assess and inform the general public on the evolving situation and its implications, and with the agreement of the public, a long-term solution for settlement integration will be developed.
- e. Work closely with the local Tibetan Cooperative Societies and other business-related organisations to create as many opportunities as possible to promote employment.

Section 3

Enhancing CTA's Administrative Efficiency and Capacity



For any administration, the essential factors to achieve exemplary results on programmes are sound planning and efficient implementation.

To achieve that, a coherent administrative structure and increased human capacity are crucial. Therefore, the Kashag has reformed the administrative structure and is working on increasing the capacity of civil servants. To form the basis of planning, implementation and policy decisions, our effort to upgrade database collection from time to time for effective and result-oriented objectives is important to be in step with other regions of the world.

1. Creating Sound Database for Policy Decisions

Considering the lack of a credible database in the Central Tibetan Administration, the 16th Kashag conducted a demographic survey of the Tibetan population in exile. Likewise, based on the administrative sources, databases of schools, monasteries, civil servants, poor and needy and Tibetans who don't own any housing have been collected, policies devised and are being implemented. All departments have been directed to maintain data and update the database from time to time.

2. Amending necessary Administrative Structure and Regulations

Even though the structure of the Central Tibetan Administration is well organised, the structure of decision-making and implementation in the respective departments will be reformed. While understanding the existing and new needs of the community, we should be in a position to plan and utilise human capacity and technological tools. For that, under the overall equitable grand strategy laid down by the Kashag, each department and its subsidiaries should take responsibility for the implementation of existing programmes and identify new needs.

The primary responsibility of raising revenue lies with the specially designated section in the Finance Department. Aimed at creating the right condition to pool the capacity of the specialists in their respective fields, we formed the Work Force Commission, amended the Civil Service Code of Conduct and Rights, and other administrative rules and regulations, directives, orders and guidelines to strengthen the administrative structure. We will from time to time make amendments based on our experiences and changing circumstances.

3. Creating Standard Administrative System

To realise the objective of the Kashag to render effective delivery of services to the public, under

the overall long-term strategy of the Kashag, the concerned officials should consider it their bounden responsibility to verify the feasibility of the programmes and ensure proper implementation while rendering services to the public. The Kashag reviewed the civil service transfer system and entrusted the responsibility of the transfer of joint secretary and below to the committee of secretaries of ministerial departments. In addition to creating inter-departmental coordination among the political sections, we will develop a mechanism for better coordination amongst social welfare departments.

4. Developing Short-term and Long-term Planning and Effective Implementation

To ensure transparency in the budgeting and financial accountability system, we have presented a 20-year General Fund Status Report of the CTA during the 2022 budget session of Parliament. As undertaken to the Parliament, an updated Financial Status Report has been presented during the 2024 Budget Session.

The needs of the community are collected through a bottom-up approach and some of the top-down programmes of the Kashag will be implemented over the next three years. The programmes that fall under the first priorities of the Kashag will be implemented in the financial year 2023-2024.

The Kashag intends to strictly adhere to the CTA's long-held Zero Corruption Policy, a policy that we are proud of upholding.

For self-sufficiency and future sustainability, we have streamlined the Green Book distribution and collection of voluntary contributions. At the same time, a legislative amendment on waiver of arrears from those who have fallen behind in paying the voluntary contributions has been approved.

We acknowledge and appreciate the former settlement residents for contributing back to their communities and also call on other Tibetans to do the same. We also urge Buddhist centres to support the aged and old people's homes as part of their charitable activity.

5. Upgrading Capacity of Civil Servants

The Kashag will create as many opportunities for civil servants to gain experience through workshops and interactions with the public. Civil servants will need to be cognisant of their immediate responsibilities, and their surroundings and develop abilities to recognise and take effective decisions, while efforts should be made to maintain a strong relationship with the public and understand the real needs of the community.

6. Digitisation and E-Governance

E-governance is not only the way forward globally but is more efficient and practical in the case of the dispersed Tibetan community in exile like ours. Within the first year of our tenure, we initiated intra-office mailing and e-filing to reduce the usage of paper and enhance efficiency. Before long, we intend to extend this system to the settlement offices and offices of Tibet. Development of digital applications according to the needs of the departments to facilitate administration through e-governance is being supported.

The Kashag has begun the digitisation of archival materials and will encourage the use of Artificial Intelligence in the preservation and promotion of the Tibetan language and religion. The Kashag will engage with all the Tibetan libraries in possession of old documents in India to assess the current status of the digitisation process in their respective libraries and for future collaborations.

The Kashag organised the first Tibetan IT Professionals' Conference in January 2023 to assess human resources and their capabilities and discussed future prospects of collaboration with CTA on projects such as animation. In addition, we shall continue to organise workshops for civil servants on e-governance.

The Tibetan Computer Resource Centre (TCRC) shall undertake all computer-related assets purchase and app development of the CTA to ensure the best deals and uniform system. Since this section's service is related to all the departments, it was decided to place it under the Finance Department.



Vision Delivery

This document that sets out the overall future Vision of the Kashag is for the CTA and all stakeholders to understand the direction that the Kashag has set in the coming years. All the executive departments should consider this as the basis for developing and implementing future policies and programmes.

For the CTA to develop in tune with the times, we will have to undertake periodic changes in accordance with the changing dynamics. The reason for not mentioning the ongoing programmes specifically in this paper is not because it is undervalued, but because this document focuses more on the priorities and new initiatives of the administration rather than explaining ongoing programmes.

Since every department should ensure sound delivery of the programmes laid down by the Kashag for every accounting year to secure follow-up of the implementation of the programmes, all the CTA civil servants and the general public should know and understand the contents of this Vision Paper and pool their resources with the administration in achieving it.



Appeal

The collective efforts of all the stakeholders, including the CTA and the Tibetan NGOs, governments, international organisations, Tibet supporters and donors, have contributed to the resilience of the Tibetan freedom movement, the survival of the Tibetan national identity and the sustenance of the Tibetan community. Therefore, we call for your continued support in transforming this Vision Paper into a reality:

1. For Governments and Parliaments :

We remain firmly committed to non-violence and continue to pursue the Middle-Way Policy. This is the only way to resolve the Sino-Tibet conflict based on mutual benefit and negotiation. The recognition of Tibet as an independent nation, as proven by historians, is a prerequisite for according leverage and value to the Middle-Way Policy. Therefore, it is important to accept the fact that Tibet is currently an occupied nation. It is important for all stakeholders to recognise Tibetans not just as mere victims of the PRC but as partners in bringing about positive changes in China.

2. For International Advocates :

We call on Tibetans and Tibet supporters to keep their hopes and faith unwavering while representing the Tibetans inside Tibet who are suffering repression and persecution. You must be able to present the reality of the situation inside Tibet with insight to the governments, parliaments, think tanks and media in your respective countries to bring about favourable policies for Tibet.

3. For Donors :

To secure our struggle and the survival of our identity, we urge you to join hands to support and cooperate with us in building a sustainable Tibetan community.

4. For Civil Servants within the CTA :

You are the core team working towards transforming this Vision into a reality. Civil servants should perform their duties with altruism, honesty and sincerity as per the guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

5. For all the Tibetans :

We urge you to be part of our collective mission through unity and collective effort. And we seek your cooperation in fulfilling these broad and long-term visions.



Annex A

Unique Democracy of Tibetans-in-Exile

To effectively support the struggle of the Tibetan people, it is essential to understand the unique democratic system of the Tibetan administration in exile and how it governs.

Nearly 130,000 Tibetans in exile live in many countries around the world in both compact and scattered communities. About 80,000 are settled in 54 different locations across India, Nepal and Bhutan, mostly in compact communities. Around 50,000 are scattered across many countries in the West. With the exception of Tibetans in Tibet, all Tibetans are administered by the Central Tibetan Administration from Dharamsala in India through a vast network of settlement offices in India, Nepal and Bhutan, and Offices of Tibet and Tibetan Associations in other countries.

With a long-term vision, His Holiness the Dalai Lama established democratic polity in exile in 1960, just a year after coming into exile, in his efforts to prepare the Tibetan people to shoulder political responsibilities in the long run. After initiating a series of democratic reforms in the last more than five decades, His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved all his political and administrative responsibilities to the democratically-elected leadership in 2011.

Under the visionary leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan people with their experiences in practising and learning from the flourishing democratic system have developed a unique democratic system with distinct features.

- Ours is the only party-less democracy in the world's democratic electoral system.
- Democracy percolates to the grassroots, with elected officials at the helm of affairs at all levels.
- Media and civil society play a proactive role in building a vibrant democratic policy.

Judiciary : The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission (TSJC)

1. The Chief Justice Commissioner and Justice Commissioners are elected by a simple majority in the House from candidates listed by a peer selection committee appointed by the leaders of the three pillars of democracy of the Central Tibetan Administration.
2. They adjudicate on the interpretation of laws or cases that are civil and administrative in nature pertaining to Tibetans. Local judiciary apparatus has also been established. Though we follow all the processes of law, TSJC functions as an arbitration facility in conformity with Indian laws
3. There have been only 22 cases at TSJC since its inception.

Legislature : Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

1. The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile consists of 45 members elected for a five-year term. Thirty members of Parliament are elected from three traditional provinces and ten from four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and the Bon religion in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Two Members from North and South America, two Members from Europe and Africa, and one Member from Asia-Australasia are elected by Tibetans residing in these areas.
2. Parliamentarians visit the Tibetan communities twice during their two terms.
3. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are elected by the members of the Tibetan Parliament.
4. The Parliament meets twice a year: a budget session in March and a session on the annual work reports of the Departments in September. When the Parliament is not in session, the 11-member Standing Committee led by the Speaker and Deputy Speaker manages the daily affairs, assisted by the Parliamentary Secretariat.
5. In the absence of political parties, every Member of Parliament has the right to vote with their conscience in the unicameral parliament.
6. Local legislative bodies, except for a few settlements in India and Nepal, have been effectively functioning at the grassroots over the last three decades.
7. The Offices of the Tibetan Freedom Movements in the Tibetan settlements fall under the jurisdiction of the Parliament. They are responsible for collecting Green Book voluntary contributions from the Tibetans in their respective settlements.
8. On par with other parliaments in the world, the Parliament not only legislates and approves the administration's policy and budget but also passes the budget and scrutinises the functions of the Executive.

Executive : The Kashag

1. The term of the Kashag is five years, and is headed by the Sikyong, leader of the Executive Kashag, who is elected directly by Tibetans all over the world. It is quite a challenge for the candidates in a party-less democracy.
2. Ministers of the CTA's seven Departments, namely the Department of Religion and Culture, the Department of Home, the Department of Finance, the Department of Education, the Department of Security, the Department of Information and International Relations and the Department of Health, are nominated by the Sikyong for the seven departments and approved by a simple majority in the House if objections are raised.
3. The Sikyong and the ministers can initiate or take part in all procedures of the House except voting.
4. The Kashag is responsible both for finding the best possible means for resolving the Sino-Tibet conflict through non-violence and working towards strengthening the Diaspora community.

Three Independent Bodies

1. The Election Commission oversees and conducts all works related to exiled Tibetan elections. The Chief Election Commissioner and two Additional Election Commissioners are also elected by the Tibetan Parliament or its Standing Committee. The Election Commission oversees the elections of Sikyong; Members of the Tibetan Parliament, including its Speaker and Deputy Speaker; Members of the Local Assemblies, including the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker; Tibetan Settlement Officer and Assistant Settlement Officer and Members of the Tibetan Freedom Movement, and conducts referendum.
2. The Public Service Commission decides recruitment, promotion, and retirement and maintains records of the civil servants.
3. The Office of the Auditor General scrutinises all funds spent by any part of CTA in accordance with the budget set out by the Parliament. This office ensures that funds are judiciously used for what they are meant for. Corruption is almost unheard of in the administration, which is attested by a robust auditing system and ethical behaviour of the civil servants.



Annex B

Evolution of the Middle-Way Policy

The Middle-Way Policy was conceived by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the height of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution in the early 1970s, at a time when Tibet had suffered irreparable damage to its people and their identity.

The Five Point Peace Plan of 1987, presented before the Human Rights Caucus of the US Congress, followed by the Strasbourg Proposal in 1988, forms the basic framework of the Middle-Way Policy.

In the 1990s, His Holiness reached out to the Tibetan people to decide on the future course of the Tibetan movement. Short of a referendum, the majority of the public decided to follow His Holiness' decision, which the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile unanimously adopted in 1997. His Holiness subsequently reiterated his commitment to Middle-Way Policy, and the Central Tibetan Administration continues to pursue this policy.

During the nine rounds of Sino-Tibetan dialogue that took place between 2002 and 2010, the PRC government asserted the precondition of "Tibet as historically a part of China", but we made it clear that the past history should be left to historians and experts to decide and what matters most is the future of the Tibetan people. Also, in 2008, the Memorandum of Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People to the Chinese leadership. Due to the lack of political will on the part of PRC leadership, the dialogue process has remained deadlocked since 2010.

Tibetan Settlements in India, Nepal & Bhutan

