



**COLLECTED STATEMENTS OF HIS HOLINESS
THE DALAI LAMA ON DEVOLUTION OF
POWER TO THE ELECTED LEADERS OF
CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION**

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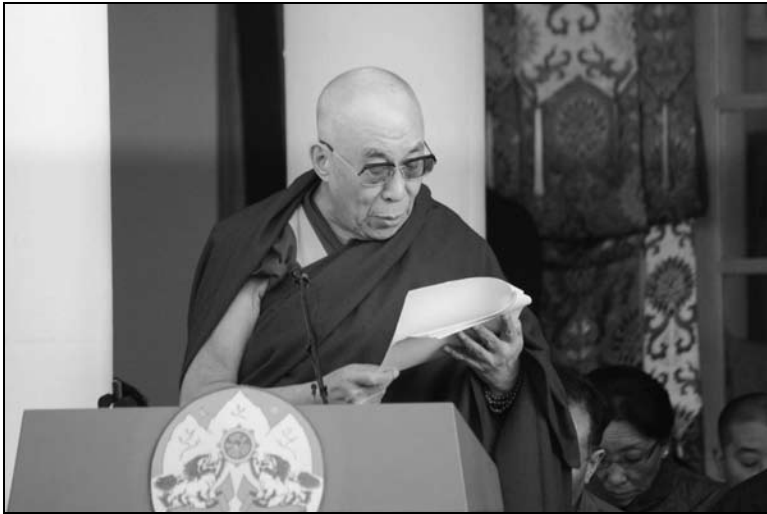
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**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the
52nd Anniversary of the Tibetan National
Uprising Day 10 March 2011**



For more than sixty years, Tibetans, despite being deprived of freedom and living in fear and insecurity, have been able to maintain their unique Tibetan identity and cultural values. More consequentially, successive new generations, who have no experience of free Tibet, have courageously taken responsibility in advancing the cause of Tibet. This is admirable, for they exemplify the strength of Tibetan resilience.

This Earth belongs to humanity and the People's Republic of China (PRC) belongs to its 1.3 billion citizens, who have the right to know the truth about the state of affairs in their country and the world at large. If citizens are fully informed, they have the ability to distinguish right from wrong. Censorship and the restriction of information violate basic human decency. For instance, China's leaders consider the communist ideology and its policies to be correct. If this were so, these policies should be made public with confidence and open to scrutiny.

China, with the world's largest population, is an emerging

world power and I admire the economic development it has made. It also has huge potential to contribute to human progress and world peace. But to do that, China must earn the international community's respect and trust. In order to earn such respect China's leaders must develop greater transparency, their actions corresponding to their words. To ensure this, freedom of expression and freedom of the press are essential. Similarly, transparency in governance can help check corruption. In recent years, China has seen an increasing number of intellectuals calling for political reform and greater openness. Premier Wen Jiabao has also expressed support for these concerns. These are significant indications and I welcome them.

The PRC is a country comprising many nationalities, enriched by a diversity of languages and cultures. Protection of the language and culture of each nationality is a policy of the PRC, which is clearly spelt out in its constitution. Tibetan is the only language to preserve the entire range of the Buddha's teachings, including the texts on logic and theories of knowledge (epistemology), which we inherited from India's Nalanda University. This is a system of knowledge governed by reason and logic that has the potential to contribute to the peace and happiness of all beings. Therefore, the policy of undermining such a culture, instead of protecting and developing it, will in the long run amount to the destruction of humanity's common heritage.

The Chinese government frequently states that stability and development in Tibet is the foundation for its long-term well-being. However, the authorities still station large numbers of troops all across Tibet, increasing restrictions on the Tibetan people. Tibetans live in constant fear and anxiety. More recently, many Tibetan intellectuals, public figures and environmentalists have been punished for articulating the Tibetan people's basic aspirations. They have been imprisoned allegedly for "subverting state power" when actually they have been giving voice to the Tibetan identity and cultural heritage. Such repressive measures undermine unity and stability. Likewise, in China, lawyers defending people's rights, independent writers and human rights activists have been arrested. I strongly urge the Chinese

leaders to review these developments and release these prisoners of conscience forthwith.

The Chinese government claims there is no problem in Tibet other than the personal privileges and status of the Dalai Lama. The reality is that the ongoing oppression of the Tibetan people has provoked widespread, deep resentment against current official policies. People from all walks of life frequently express their discontentment. That there is a problem in Tibet is reflected in the Chinese authorities' failure to trust Tibetans or win their loyalty. Instead, the Tibetan people live under constant suspicion and surveillance. Chinese and foreign visitors to Tibet corroborate this grim reality.

Therefore, just as we were able to send fact-finding delegations to Tibet in the late 1970s and early 1980s from among Tibetans in exile, we propose similar visits again. At the same time we would encourage the sending of representatives of independent international bodies, including parliamentarians. If they were to find that Tibetans in Tibet are happy, we would readily accept it.

The spirit of realism that prevailed under Mao's leadership in the early 1950s led China to sign the 17-point agreement with Tibet. A similar spirit of realism prevailed once more during Hu Yaobang's time in the early 1980s. If there had been a continuation of such realism the Tibetan issue, as well as several other problems, could easily have been solved. Unfortunately, conservative views derailed these policies. The result is that after more than six decades, the problem has become more intractable.

The Tibetan Plateau is the source of the major rivers of Asia. Because it has the largest concentration of glaciers apart from the two Poles, it is considered to be the Third Pole. Environmental degradation in Tibet will have a detrimental impact on large parts of Asia, particularly on China and the Indian subcontinent. Both the central and local governments, as well as the Chinese public, should realise the degradation of the Tibetan environment and develop sustainable measures to safeguard it. I appeal to China to take into account the survival of people affected by what happens

environmentally on the Tibetan Plateau.

In our efforts to solve the issue of Tibet, we have consistently pursued the mutually beneficial Middle-Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people within the PRC. In our talks with officials of the Chinese government's United Front Work Department we have clearly explained in detail the Tibetan people's hopes and aspirations. The lack of any positive response to our reasonable proposals makes us wonder whether these were fully and accurately conveyed to the higher authorities.

Since ancient times, Tibetan and Chinese peoples have lived as neighbours. It would be a mistake if our unresolved differences were to affect this age-old friendship. Special efforts are being made to promote good relations between Tibetans and Chinese living abroad and I am happy that this has contributed to better understanding and friendship between us. Tibetans inside Tibet should also cultivate good relations with our Chinese brothers and sisters.

In recent weeks we have witnessed remarkable non-violent struggles for freedom and democracy in various parts of North Africa and elsewhere. I am a firm believer in non-violence and people-power and these events have shown once again that determined non-violent action can indeed bring about positive change. We must all hope that these inspiring changes lead to genuine freedom, happiness and prosperity for the peoples in these countries.

One of the aspirations I have cherished since childhood is the reform of Tibet's political and social structure, and in the few years when I held effective power in Tibet, I managed to make some fundamental changes. Although I was unable to take this further in Tibet, I have made every effort to do so since we came into exile. Today, within the framework of the Charter for Tibetans in Exile, the Kalon Tripa, the political leadership, and the people's representatives are directly elected by the people. We have been able to implement democracy in exile that is in keeping with the standards of an open society.

As early as the 1960s, I have repeatedly stressed that Tibetans need a leader, elected freely by the Tibetan people, to whom I can

devolve power. Now, we have clearly reached the time to put this into effect. During the forthcoming eleventh session of the fourteenth Tibetan Parliament in Exile, which begins on 14th March, I will formally propose that the necessary amendments be made to the Charter for Tibetans in Exile, reflecting my decision to devolve my formal authority to the elected leader.

Since I made my intention clear I have received repeated and earnest requests both from within Tibet and outside, to continue to provide political leadership. My desire to devolve authority has nothing to do with a wish to shirk responsibility. It is to benefit Tibetans in the long run. It is not because I feel disheartened. Tibetans have placed such faith and trust in me that as one among them I am committed to playing my part in the just cause of Tibet. I trust that gradually people will come to understand my intention, will support my decision and accordingly let it take effect.

I would like to take this opportunity to remember the kindness of the leaders of various nations that cherish justice, members of parliaments, intellectuals and Tibet Support Groups, who have been steadfast in their support for the Tibetan people. In particular, we will always remember the kindness and consistent support of the people and Government of India and State Governments for generously helping Tibetans preserve and promote their religion and culture and ensuring the welfare of Tibetans in exile. To all of them I offer my heartfelt gratitude.

With my prayers for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

The Dalai Lama
10 March 2011

The Statement of Kashag on the 52nd Anniversary of the Tibetan People's National Uprising Day



Today is the 52nd anniversary of the Tibetan people's uprising against the Chinese authorities in 1959 and the third anniversary of the peaceful protests throughout Tibet in 2008. On this special occasion, the Kashag would like to pay homage to all the martyrs, who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibet, those who are still suffering and particularly we would like to express our solidarity with Tibetan intellectuals such as writers, poets, musicians and environmentalists, who have been arrested and incarcerated in recent years. We praise their courage and conviction.

During the last nine years, from 2002 to 2010, the twelfth and the thirteenth Kashag considered the 10 March anniversary as the most important occasion to inform the Tibetan people, both in and outside Tibet, about issues concerning Tibetan politics and the administration. The Kashag has transparently informed the Tibetans about developments, policies, course of actions, principles and future plans regarding the issue of Tibet and its origins, Tibetan people's strength and weaknesses, opportunities and risks, achievements

and failures, and the status of Sino-Tibetan talks and the international situation. Particularly, in 2009 during the 50th anniversary of our being in exile, the Kashag commemorated and thanked the extraordinary achievements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, which spans across the globe and the great accomplishments of the Tibetan people, in and outside Tibet.

Since this is the last 10th March statement of the present Kashag, we would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the general public and reiterate some issues as a reminder. As it was mentioned in our 10th March statement of 2009, for more than half a century, Tibet has been subjected to a series of repressive campaigns under various forms and names to annihilate the Tibetan people and its culture. This has pushed Tibet to the brink of extinction. However, at the same time, the strength of Tibetan people's unity and solidarity has gone undiminished, which has enabled us to sustain our struggle from one generation to the next.

Moreover, with the phenomenal accomplishments of His Holiness the Dalai Lama throughout the world, Tibetan Buddhism, culture, tradition and values have gained renewed recognition and interest. Consequently, the number of Tibet supporters and followers of Tibetan Buddhism and culture, both in the West and East, have grown many fold. Lately efforts to translate Kangyur and Tengyur into various Western languages were initiated, and the speed at which contact and discussions between Tibetan Buddhism and science is taking place today are a matter of great pride and constitute positive changes. Irrespective of the absence of any concrete change in the political situation, the fact that Tibetan religion, culture and tradition are developing paves great prospects for the future. When future generations look back at our times, they may consider our contemporary times as an era of expansion and spread of the Tibetan culture.

Furthermore, the nonviolent struggle of the Tibetan people and the transformation of the nature of Tibetan polity into a democratic system are two achievements that are source of pride and the strength for the Tibetan people. As a result, the issue of Tibet has

been able to be sustained around the world and these have become reasons why the People's Republic of China is unable to ignore the issue of Tibet.

As this miracle the Tibetans have achieved in exile is a result of the profound accomplishments of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. We express our deepest gratitude to him.

Since the PRC occupied Tibet, the Tibetan people have had not even a fleeting moment of peace and joy. Furthermore, policies were implemented that aimed to annihilate not only Tibetan religion and culture and natural resources, but even the trace of Tibetan identity as well. Since repression across Tibet worsened in 2008, the Tibetan people have been languishing in an environment of constant fear and suspicion. The recent campaign, targeted at Tibetan intellectuals, scholars, writers, artists and environmentalists, has resulted in their arbitrary incarceration on concocted charges. This further validates the existence of a definite objective to wipe out Tibetan identity and heritage. As Tibetan language is the bedrock of Tibetan identity and culture, the recent move to phase out Tibetan as the main medium of instruction in schools also constitute an aspect of the strategy towards the objective of annihilation of Tibetan identity. Under such circumstances, the people in Tibet have been struggling for the preservation and promotion of Tibetan language and culture by disregarding even at the risk of losing their lives. For this, they deserve our heartfelt gratitude.

The Tibetan and the Chinese people are neighbours and share close social, economic and commercial relations. However, if enmity between the two people grows and the relationship is strained due to manipulations by the Communist leaders then this is highly undesirable. Tibetans living in exile are trying their best to create a good relationship with the Chinese people. Likewise, the Kashag wish to request the Tibetans inside Tibet to maintain friendly relations with Chinese and other nationalities. Particularly, we would like to urge Tibetans not to engage in any violent act with other nationalities.

A series of recent peaceful people's protests in the Middle

East and North Africa to move towards freedom and democracy is a source of inspiration for us. We offer our solidarity for all those who take part in these protests and extend our support and stand with them in unity as long as their actions remain non-violent. These events prove the fact that suppression by authoritarian regimes anywhere cannot last forever.

Presently, a major cause of concern for Tibetans in and outside Tibet is that His Holiness the Dalai Lama will relinquish his role as the political leader of Tibetan people, and transfer his political and administrative responsibilities to the elected leadership. As a result, a great number of Tibetans in exile from the various settlements, organisations, monastic institutions and individuals and particularly many Tibetans from inside Tibet collectively and individually have been ardently supplicating His Holiness the Dalai Lama not to take such a step. We, the Kashag, would like to make the same request in the strongest terms. Since the institution of the Dalai Lama, as an emanation of Avalokitesvara, and the inhabitants of the Land of Snows, the spiritual domain of Avalokitesvara are intimately connected by a pure karmic bond, the Tibetan people must make all efforts to ensure that this relationship continues to last forever without change. The Tibetan people need to make great efforts to keep this bond between the successive Dalai Lamas and Tibet. In order for this to happen, we request the Tibetan people to make even more efforts to increase their collective merits.

To fulfil His Holiness the Dalai Lama's wish to relinquish the temporal responsibilities, His Holiness will issue a message to the coming session of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. And all future course of action will depend on how the members of the legislative body intelligently formulate legislation regarding this. The Kashag would like to urge the members of the exile parliament to consider this a matter of utmost importance and accordingly think carefully to take the right path.

Even though there are no major achievements during the tenure of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Kashag for the last nearly 10 years, we have been able to complete our tenure without any major

failures and controversy. This has been achieved because of the kind guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and the sincere hardwork of the officials of the Central Tibetan Administration, the cooperation and support of the general public. I and all my fellow members of the Kashag deeply thank and extend our gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. At the same time, with deep regret we offer our sincere apology for our inability to work in accordance with your vision during our tenure. We beseech His Holiness to continue to lead us until we attain liberation. Similarly, we wholeheartedly thank the Tibetan people in and outside Tibet for their consistent cooperation and support. Likewise, we profusely thank all the officials of the Central Tibetan Administration who have worked with sincerity and devotion for the exile Tibetan administration only because of their commitment to the cause inspite of inadequate salary and facilities.

10 March 2011

NB: This is the English translation. Should any discrepancy arise, the original Tibetan should be considered the final and authoritative.



Message of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Fourteenth Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies

To the members of the Fourteenth Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies,

It is common knowledge that ancient Tibet, consisting of three provinces (Cholkha-sum) was ruled by a line of forty-two Tibetan kings beginning with Nyatri Tsenpo (127 BCE), and ending with Tri Ralpachen (838 CE). Their rule spanned almost one thousand years. During that time, Tibet was known throughout Inner Asia as a powerful nation, comparable in military power and political influence with Mongolia and China. With the development of Tibetan literature, the richness and breadth of the religion and culture of Tibet meant that its civilisation was considered second only to that of India.

Following the fragmentation of central authority in the 9th century, Tibet was governed by several rulers whose authority was limited to their respective fiefdoms. Tibetan unity weakened with the passage of time. In the early 13th century, both China and Tibet came under the control of Genghis Khan. Although Drogon Choegyal Phagpa restored the sovereignty of Tibet in the 1260s, and his rule extended across the three provinces, the frequent change of rulers under the Phagmo Drupas, Rinpungpas and Tsangpas over the next 380 years or so resulted in a failure to maintain a unified Tibet. The absence of any central authority and frequent internal conflicts caused Tibet's political power to decline.

Since the Fifth Dalai Lama's founding of the Ganden Phodrang Government of Tibet in 1642, successive Dalai Lamas have been both the spiritual and temporal leaders of Tibet. During the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama, all the 13 myriarchies or administrative districts of Tibet enjoyed political stability, Buddhism flourished in Tibet and the Tibetan people enjoyed peace and freedom.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Tibet not

only lacked adequate political governance, but also missed the opportunity to develop effective international relations. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama assumed temporal power in 1895, but was compelled to flee to Mongolia and China in 1904, due to the invasion of British forces, and to India in 1910, when the Manchu China invaded. Once circumstances allowed him to return to Tibet, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama re-asserted Tibetan sovereignty in 1913. As a result of what he had learned in exile, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama introduced modern education and made reforms to strengthen the government of Tibet. Although these steps produced positive results, he was unable to fulfil his overall vision, as is evident from his last political testament of 1932, the year before his death. Despite the lacklustre political leadership and short-comings of the regents and their administrations, the Ganden Phodrang Government has on the whole provided stable governance for the last four centuries.

Since I was young, I have been aware of an urgent need to modernize the Tibetan political system. At the age of sixteen, I was compelled to assume political leadership. At that time I lacked a thorough understanding of Tibet's own political system, let alone international affairs.

However, I had a strong wish to introduce appropriate reforms in accordance with the changing times and was able to effect some fundamental changes. Unfortunately, I was unable to carry these reforms any further due to circumstances beyond my control.

Soon after our arrival in India in April 1959, we set up departments with Kalons (Ministers) in charge of education, preservation of culture and the rehabilitation and welfare of the community. Similarly, in 1960, aware of the importance of democratization, the first Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies was elected and in 1963 we promulgated the Draft Constitution for a Future Tibet.

No system of governance can ensure stability and progress if it depends solely on one person without the support and participation of the people in the political process. One man rule is both anachronistic and undesirable. We have made great efforts

to strengthen our democratic institutions to serve the long-term interests of the six million Tibetans, not out of a wish to copy others, but because democracy is the most representative system of governance. In 1990, a committee was formed to draft the Charter for Tibetans-in-Exile and a year later the total strength of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD), the Tibetans in exile's highest law-making body, was increased. In 1991, the Eleventh ATPD formally adopted the Charter for Tibetans-in-Exile and assumed all legislative authority. Given the limitations of our life in exile these are achievements of which we can be proud.

In 2001, the Tibetan people elected the Kalon Tripa, the political leader, directly for the first time. Since then, I have been in semi-retirement, no longer involving myself in the day-to-day administration, but able to dedicate more time to general human welfare.

The essence of a democratic system is, in short, the assumption of political responsibility by elected leaders for the popular good. In order for our process of democratization to be complete, the time has come for me to devolve my formal authority to such an elected leadership. The general lack of experience and political maturity in our democratic institutions has prevented us from doing this earlier.

Given that the line of Dalai Lamas has provided political leadership for nearly four centuries, it might be difficult for Tibetans generally and especially those in Tibet to envisage and accept a political system that is not led by the Dalai Lama. Therefore, over the past 50 years I have tried in various ways to raise people's political awareness and encourage their participation in our democratic process.

In my 10th March statement of 1969, for instance, I stated, "When the day comes for Tibet to be governed by its own people, it will be for the people to decide as to what form of government they will have. The system of governance by the line of the Dalai Lamas may or may not be there. In particular, the opinion of the forward-looking younger generation will be an influential factor."

Similarly, in my 10th March statement of 1988, I stated, "As I have said many times, even the continuation of the institution of

the Dalai Lama is for the people to decide.” Since the 1980s, I have repeatedly advised the Kashag, ATPD and the public that Tibetans should take full responsibility for the administration and welfare of the people as if the Dalai Lama were not there.

I informed the Chairman of the Thirteenth ATPD and the then Chief Justice Commissioner that I should be relieved of functions related to my political and administrative status, including such ceremonial responsibilities as the signing of bills adopted by the legislative body. However, my proposal was not even considered. On 31st August 2010, during the First Tibetan General Meeting (organized by ATPD), I explained this again in detail. Now, a decision on this important matter should be delayed no longer. All the necessary amendments to the Charter and other related regulations should be made during this session so that I am completely relieved of formal authority.

I want to acknowledge here that many of my fellow Tibetans, inside and outside Tibet, have earnestly requested me to continue to give political leadership at this critical time. My intention to devolve political authority derives neither from a wish to shirk responsibility nor because I am disheartened. On the contrary, I wish to devolve authority solely for the benefit of the Tibetan people in the long run. It is extremely important that we ensure the continuity of our exile Tibetan administration and our struggle until the issue of Tibet has been successfully resolved.

If we have to remain in exile for several more decades, a time will inevitably come when I will no longer be able to provide leadership. Therefore, it is necessary that we establish a sound system of governance while I remain able and healthy, in order that the exile Tibetan administration can become self-reliant rather than being dependent on the Dalai Lama. If we are able to implement such a system from this time onwards, I will still be able to help resolve problems if called upon to do so. But, if the implementation of such a system is delayed and a day comes when my leadership is suddenly unavailable, the consequent uncertainty might present an overwhelming challenge. Therefore, it is the duty of all Tibetans to

make every effort to prevent such an eventuality.

As one among the six million Tibetans, bearing in mind that the Dalai Lamas have a special historic and karmic relationship with the Tibetan people, and as long as Tibetans place their trust and faith in me, I will continue to serve the cause of Tibet.

Although Article 31 of the Charter spells out provisions for a Council of Regency, it was formulated merely as an interim measure based on past traditions. It does not include provisions for instituting a system of political leadership without the Dalai Lama. Therefore, amendments to the Charter on this occasion must conform to the framework of a democratic system in which the political leadership is elected by the people for a specific term. Thus, all the necessary steps must be taken, including the appointment of separate committees, to amend the relevant Articles of the Charter and other regulations, in order that a decision can be reached and implemented during this very session.

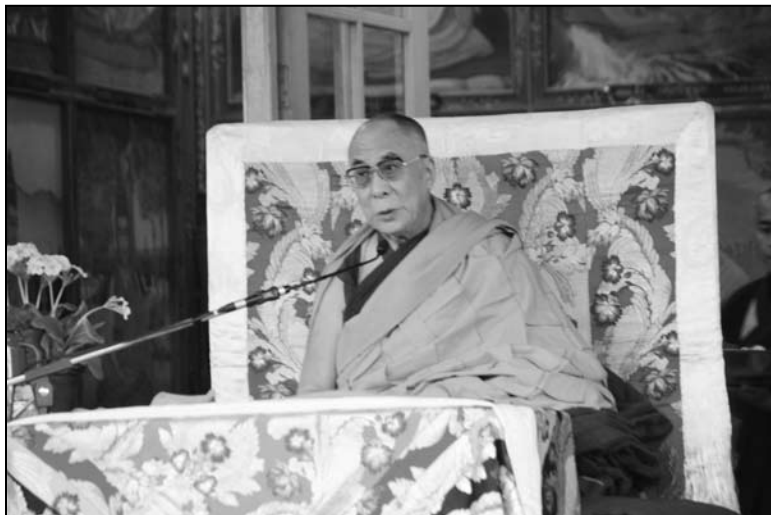
As a result, some of my political promulgations such as the Draft Constitution for a Future Tibet (1963) and Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity (1992) will become ineffective. The title of the present institution of the Ganden Phodrang headed by the Dalai Lama should also be changed accordingly.

With my prayers for the successful proceedings of the house.

Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama
11th March 2011

Note: Translated from the Tibetan original, which should be considered final and authoritative.

**English transcript of remarks made by His
Holiness the Dalai Lama on his retirement from
political responsibilities during a public teaching
in Dharamsala on 19 March 2011**



After coming into exile, I have made sincere efforts to establish a democratic system of governance in the last more than 30 years. The Tibetans in exile say “our democracy is a gift from His Holiness the Dalai Lama.” Ten years ago, the system of electing Kalon Tripa through democratic elections was introduced rather than nomination of the candidate by the Dalai Lama, which was not correct. Since the direct election of Kalon Tripa, the system of the institution of Gaden Phodrang of the Dalai Lama as both the spiritual and temporal authority has ended. Since then I described myself as in semi-retired position.

Since then ten years have passed and the day will come for us when we have to follow a meaningful democratic system. The rule by kings and religious figures is outdated. We have to follow the trend of the free world which is that of democracy. For example in India, besides its huge population and diverse languages, religions

and culture, but on the whole it remains very stable. This is because of democracy, the rule of law, free expression and media. To the contrary, China under the authoritarian rule is always facing problems. It was mentioned in a recent Chinese government's document that it is allocating more budget to maintain internal stability than national defense. This shows that they have more enemies inside rather than outside, which is a matter of shame.

The government of the People's Republic (of China) is meant to work for the people's welfare. So fulfilling the people's aspirations must come through democratic elections. If the leaders are selected through elections, it would be a matter of real pride. But to hold power at the barrel of the gun rather than through elections is immoral and outdated as well. So the system of one-man rule is not good. Therefore, it is not at all good if the Dalai Lama keeps on holding ultimate power. The Dalai Lama as the spiritual and temporal authority of Tibet did not begin during the period of the first four Dalai Lamas. It started during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama under different circumstances and the influence of the Mongol chieftain Gushri Khan. The system has brought many benefits since then. But now as we are in the 21st century, sooner or later the time for change is imminent. But if the change comes under the pressure of another person then it will be a disgrace to the former Dalai Lamas. Since the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, the Dalai Lamas have assumed both spiritual and temporal rule over Tibet. As I am the fourteenth in line of that institution, it is most appropriate if I on my own initiative, happily and with pride, end the dual authority of the Dalai Lama. Nobody except me can make this decision and I have made the final decision. The leadership democratically elected by the Tibetan people should take over the complete political responsibilities of Tibet. Some kind of a vestige of the dual system will remain if I am vested with the political authority in the Charter. This should change and now seems to be the time to do it.

I can talk a little about the great deal of accomplishments that I have made for the Tibetan cause, as the Tibetan people both in and outside Tibet put faith and trust in me and there are also

many people around the world who consider the Dalai Lama as someone they recognise, trust and love. So now is the right time to end the dual system of governance established during the fifth Dalai Lama and retain the kind of unanimity and recognition gained by the first four Dalai Lamas in the spiritual domain. Particularly, the third Dalai Lama received the honorific title of an ecumenical master with yellow hat. So like them I will continue to take spiritual responsibilities for the remaining part of my life.

Personally, I have been working for the promotion of moral values and religious harmony in the world. These are proving quite beneficial. Moreover, I receive many invitations from different schools and universities around the world. They are not asking me to come to preach on Buddhism as such, but to teach how to promote inner happiness and Buddhist science to which many people take interest and love to listen. So when the present Dalai Lama is in such a position, it would be a matter of great pride if the 400-year-old rule of Dalai Lama as both the spiritual and temporal authority gracefully comes to an end. No one else except me can decide to end something started by the fifth Dalai Lama and my decision is final.

Recently, I received telephone calls from Tibetans inside Tibet saying they are extremely worried and feel abandoned as I am retiring. There is absolutely no need to worry. After taking retirement, I will continue to lead Tibet in spiritual affairs like the first four Dalai Lamas. Like the second Dalai Lama Gedun Gyatso, who founded the Gaden Phodrang institution and led Tibet spiritually with unanimous mandate, I will also retain that kind of spiritual leadership for the rest of my life. Perhaps if I bring no disgrace on the people and make good efforts in the future, I will continue to lead spiritually.

If such a Dalai Lama with a unanimous mandate to lead spiritual affairs abdicates the political authority, it will help sustain our exile administration and make it more progressive and robust. Similarly, the international community, who support the Tibetan cause, will commend the Dalai Lama's sincerity for the complete democratization of the Tibetan polity. It will raise our prestige in

the world. On the hand other, it will fully expose the falsehood and lies of the Chinese government that there is no Tibet problem except the issue of the Dalai Lama's personal rights. The Tibetan people inside Tibet should not feel discouraged because I have made this remarkable decision by taking in consideration the benefit of the Tibetan people in the long run. The Tibetan administration in exile will be more stable and progressive. Contrary to the system of the Chinese Communist's authoritarian rule in Tibet, our small community in exile has been able to establish a complete modern democratic system.

In the long run this decision will make our exile administration stronger and efficient. Where else, if we compare our community in exile with the authoritarian communist regime in China, we have actually become a modernized society. This is our glorious achievement. Tibetans inside Tibet should be proud of this achievement. You all should understand and realise that I am not discouraged and I have not given up on the cause of Tibet.

I am a native of the land of snows. All the six million Tibetans from the land of snows carry the common responsibility of the Tibetan cause. As for me, I am also one Tibetan from the Amdo region of Tibet, so until my death I have the responsibility of the Tibetan cause.

While I am still healthy and present amidst you all, you should take full responsibility of the Tibetan affairs. And if some problem arises that necessitates my help, then of course, I am still here. I have not given up and neither am I disheartened. The democratic system that we have followed till now can take full responsibility and after considering the many requirements and reasons, I am asking the democratic system to take full responsibility. All of you present here and all of the Tibetans in Tibet should not get disheartened. There is no reason to worry.

Just yesterday, I met a Chinese scholar who told me that he was conducting a research on the Tibetan electoral process and had also come here five years ago. He told me that this time around, Tibetans were very actively participating and fully utilizing their

democratic rights. He praised the advancements that the Tibetan democratic system had made. So these developments represent our growing political awareness and the strides that we have taken in our democratic process. And so the decision to devolve my power is also a part of advancing democratization process.

Those of you from Tibet when you return and if there are people to whom you can confide then tell this to them. This may also be broadcast on the radio as well. I have made this decision to retire after giving thorough thought over it for years and years and for the ultimate benefit of Tibet. There is no reason at all for you to be disheartened.

On the other hand, Ganden Phodrang is not being shut down. Ganden Phodrang is the institution of the Dalai Lamas and as long as I live, I will need a small institution. So, this Ganden Phodrang will still remain. What is happening is that Ganden Phodrang is relinquishing its political responsibilities.

And then, regarding the future reincarnations, of course there is no hurry as of now. But after 20 or 30 years when I am near my end, then depending mainly on the wishes of the Tibetan people and also the people of the Himalayan regions and other Buddhists who are connected to the Dalai Lamas, if they so wish then the 15th, 16th and 17th Dalai Lamas and so forth, will come. So Ganden Phodrang will still remain intact. Political changes are bound to come but such a move will lend stability. Ganden Phodrang reverting back to its role and responsibility as being the spiritual head as during the times of the second, third and fourth Dalai Lamas have great significance and reason.

In the long run, if you think about it, then this change and decision I am making has great benefits for the Tibetans. In my letter to the Tibetan Parliament, I suggested that the title of Ganden Phodrang Shung will have to be changed. Ganden Phodrang will remain but it will not take any political responsibilities as we are now a democratic establishment.

The Tibetan word 'shung' may not necessarily translate in English as government. We don't use the English word 'government'

as such to describe our exile administration. At one instance during a press conference in Delhi, Rinpoche was also there, a journalist addressed Samdhong Rinpoche as the Prime Minister of the exile government. So, I instantly clarified that we don't use these titles like Tibetan 'Prime Minister' or the Tibetan 'Government-in-exile'. We call our administration the Central Tibetan Administration. Of course there are Tibetans in exile and we need an organization to look after them. This is the direct responsibility of the administration. Generally, the few of us in exile, being Tibetans, have the responsibility to articulate the aspirations of the Tibetans inside Tibet and to tell the world of the real situation inside Tibet. We have never called our administration the Tibetan exile government. Calling the administration the Ganden Phodrang Shung is another case in matter. So, the precise title is the Central Tibetan Administration whose leaders are all democratically elected.

To be true, this provides the leaders of the Tibetan autonomous areas in Tibet a reason to think. Those of us in exile, though remaining as refugees in alien countries, have carried out a genuine electoral process. If those leaders are really capable and confident, then let the Tibetans inside Tibet democratically elect their own leaders. Whatever the case maybe in the rest of China, if we could emulate the exile system in Tibet itself then it would be very good.

So, the many political changes that I have made are based on sound reasons and of immediate and ultimate benefit for all of us. In fact, these changes will make our administration more stable and excel its development. So, there is no reason to get disheartened.

This is what I wish to explain to you.

Note:- Translated from His Holiness the Dalai Lama's remarks in Tibetan made during a public teaching at Tsulagkhang, the main temple, in Dharamsala on the morning of 19 March 2011.

The Final Outcome of the 11th Session of the 14th Tibetan Parliament held from 14 - 25 March 2011



In his message to the 11th Session of the 14th Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, presenting a letter based on sound reason and Tibet's history and reality, said "... amendments to the Charter on this occasion must conform to the framework of a democratic system in which the political leadership is elected by the people for a specific term." This message was read out on the opening day of the Parliament session on 14 March 2011.

The Kashag made its statement on the second day on 15 March, following which the whole day was devoted to intensive deliberation on His Holiness' message. On 16 March, the members of Parliament met separately for a meeting and debated on the issue. On the basis of these deliberations, the speaker and deputy speaker issued two draft resolutions to the Parliament on 17 March. Accordingly, three sub-committees of the members of Parliament were formed, which held intensive deliberations. An official draft resolution was finalized based on the proposals, which were passed unanimously

or by majority, submitted by the three sub-committees in their recommendations. After holding a whole day discussion on 18 March, the Assembly passed a three-point resolution “strongly beseeching His Holiness the Dalai Lama to continue to remain as both the spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people”. The resolution was presented to His Holiness through his secretaries on 19 March. The office of His Holiness in its response said “There is no change in His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s decision as conveyed in detail in his earlier message. Therefore the resolution could not be accepted and have been directed to send it back.”

Subsequently, a general meeting of the members of Parliament was convened on the morning of 21 March and it was agreed to form a working committee. On 21 March, an official resolution no. 15 was passed to formally constitute a working committee comprising of members of the Kashag and Parliament. On 23 March, the working committee presented its recommendations and related documents to the House. The members of Parliament held intensive discussion on the recommendations on 24 and 25 March. A resolution was passed.

The members of the 14th Tibetan Parliament in Exile unanimously approved the following resolutions:

1. To implement His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s message to the Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies to devolve his formal authority to an elected leadership, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker will constitute a Charter Redrafting Committee comprising of members of the Kashag and Parliament.
2. The Charter Redrafting Committee will prepare a report based on the Action Plan proposed by Working Committee, the outcome of the discussions during the current Parliament session, consultations with legal experts and further developments. The committee is required to submit its report to the Parliamentary

Secretariat by 11 April 2011.

3. Necessary changes will be made to the proposed amendments to the Charter presented by Working Committee's recommendations as per its proposals in the foreword and Article 1 of the second annexure. In order to obtain His Holiness the Dalai Lama's assent to put into effect the amendments to the Charter, the second Tibetan National General Meeting will be held within the third week of May 2011. The date and venue of the meeting will be decided by the Standing Committee of the Tibetan Parliament. Participants to the meeting will be same as in the earlier general meeting.
4. An additional session of the 14th Tibetan Parliament will be convened to implement the final recommendations of the second Tibetan national general meeting.