

(Translation of Tibetan original. Brackets and footnotes provided by the translator.)

Resolution adopted by consensus at the Tibetan general convention of more than 750 ordained and lay Tibetans, at the auditorium of Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (T.I.P.A.) in Dharamshala, from August 27-31 corresponding to day 5 of the 7th Tibetan lunar month, Earth Tiger Tibetan royal era 2125.

Participants included delegates from United Cholsum Organization Central Executive members, advisors to individual Provinces, presidents and general secretaries of regional branches in India and Nepal, delegates from local Tibetan enclaves, representatives of monasteries, local assemblies, Tibetan Freedom Movement offices, Tibetan Youth Congress, Tibetan Women's Association, the Tibetan Institute in Varanasi, Tibetan Homes Foundation in Mussoorie, the twin Tibetan Children's Village in Dharamshala.

Agenda

1. Given the pervasive influence of the five degenerative factors of our time, there is strong defamation from the other side against His Holiness the Dalai Lama who is the sole lifeline in the present and future welfare of us the Tibetans. Not only this, about what we can do towards protection of the safety of His Holiness, in view of the continued covert and open efforts to undermine his safety.

Resolution

- A. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the saviour who can decide the continuation or otherwise of Tibet and its subjects; he is the Captain of Peace in the world; he is the overall head of all Buddhist traditions on this earth; he is the master acclaimed by all the religious traditions of the world. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's greatness is now spreading throughout the world as never before. Needless to mention that, there is **strong envious rebellion against him from the enemy camp** [*note the choice of words*], it was openly stated in 1994 that: "the head should be crushed when killing a snake". As everyone is aware the intolerable breaches in his safety from then onwards, this situation should never remain as it is. In this matter it is a matter of appreciation that the Central Govt. of India and the State government is taking exceptional responsibility. As there is nothing more important than ensuring the safety of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in view of obtaining the rights of both exile government and the public, it is urged that there should be special training to qualify personnel in the Dept. of Security and these trainees should be allocated at the earliest moment to remove present and long term complication. Furthermore it is also felt that there is great merit if a separate advisory committee is set up.
- B. As there is heavy influx of visitors to Dharamshala, infiltration by paid agents of the enemy is definitely possible. To cognise (*such cases*) immediately, the public in Dharamshala, as now, should maintain its own duty by being ever vigilant. Whoever be the visitor whether foreigner or Tibetan, their arrival should be reported to the concerned department along with their respective documents. Even though the Central Govt. and the local intelligence agencies are scrutinising Indian visitors who check into Indian hotels, the Dept. of Security should still urge them to be vigilant. When His Holiness travels abroad or within India, receiving and seeing off the

- entourage as well as those who call on His Holiness should be scrutinised closely.
- C. Regarding internal wellbeing (*of His Holiness*): Since complying with the wishes of (*His Holiness*) without opposition is the most important of the important, the spiritual and secular advice given by His Holiness in the overall interest of Tibet as a whole, should be adhered to with heartfelt faith and respect. Every Tibetan should promptly inform, by way of co-operation, the Dept. of Security and the Central as well as state Indian intelligence agencies on matters that are vital to the security of His Holiness.
 - D. To ensure long life for His Holiness and the fulfilment of His visions, the local (*Tibetan*) public should undertake the recitation of 'billion Om Mani's', '100,000 Tara prayers', vajra guru's, etc., and submit clear reports to the Dept. of Religion and Culture (*in Dharamshala*) of the prayers performed. [*if he is indeed a bodhisattva, nothing they do will change when he chooses to manifest death*]

Agenda

2. In view of the changing international political trend, how best can each of the members of three provinces can ensure the fulfilment of the great religio-political visions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Resolution

- A. In keeping with international norms of democracy, the Tibetan subjects (*Tib. 'bangs*) within and outside Tibet have been bestowed (*by the Dalai Lama*) the authority to decide the future of Tibet through a majority vote. (*However,*) Since the public of the three provinces through general consensus have already declared that "without going through majority vote, we will faithfully follow whatever His Holiness decides and advises in His divine wisdom", (*and*) since the majority of the Tibetan public has already given support to the independent choice of the Middle Approach (*autonomy under China as opposed to independence from China*) made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, this convention reaffirms that, in the future also, whenever the cause of Tibet is to be decided, the deliberations and the course decided upon by His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be accepted without question.

Agenda

3. In view of the fact that till date in our society, followers of communist Chinese and Taiwanese money and means, who under the pretext of (the) Shugden (religious conflict), have been engaged in systematic implementation of the enemy's designs and thereby undermine the cause of Tibet: how best these bad elements can be exposed to all, what should be done to stop these.

Resolution

- A. This all-Tibetans general convention would like to express its thanks to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for pointing out in the religio-political interest of Tibet that propitiating Dorje Shugden entails more harm than benefit and giving raw and clear admonitions. Furthermore, in deference to the opinions of the 5th and 13th Dalai Lamas, we at this convention hereby take oath that we will carry out also the

continuation of their policies enunciated by the present 14th Dalai Lama as per his wishes.

- B. We hereby reaffirm the announcement of the exile parliament and cabinet, the resolutions adopted by 12th Parliamentary session, the resolutions passed by abbots and former abbots of Gelug monasteries under the Ganden Tripa, the resolutions of the combined conventions of the executive committee of the three provinces, the resolutions passed by the Tibetan Youth Congress and Tibetan Womens Association, by the United (*Cholsum*) Organisation, and by the Guchusum movement etc. we will urge all Tibetans that, mindful of the kind and generous leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, they should continue to firmly demonstrate their reaction (*against the devotees of Dorje Shugden*)
- C. In the baseless defamation carried out by straining every nerve against the actions of His Holiness in a few western countries for the last few years, and also in the endless and baseless defamation launched by Mr Athar targeted against the Tibetan government to undermine its prestige and greatness, we clearly see in these a dubious effort to accomplish something which the communist Chinese government has not been able to accomplish inspite of every possible effort over a period of many years. Therefore, the general public should be able clearly know this fact and thereby make the public confront them through legal means.
- D. We will adopt a different stand those who, through organizational structure, engage in politics under the cover of Dorje Shugden, and against those who worship Dorje Shugden. Focusing on the general and specific steps adopted under Resolution 27 of the 12th Parliamentary session at its 4th sitting. (We will) announce these steps everywhere and see to it that they are effectively implemented.
- E. We will submit sealed and signed petitions to urge 1) the Central and State governments to separately review and scrutinised the activities and source of funding of the Dorje Shugden Devotees Charitable and Religious Society and Mr. Athar, and to cancel the legal registration of (their societies) concomitant with their questionable activities, and to 2) urge that the government of India should particularly put under successful surveillance the activities of Mr. Athar Norbu, Drawu Rinchen Tsering, (*Geshe*) Cheme Tsering, Lama Losang Yeshe, (*Ven. Geshe*) Kelsang Gyatso who lives in England, (*His Eminence*) Gangchen Lama, (*Ven.*) Gonsar Tulku who lives in Switzerland and (*Ven. Kyabje*) Dragom Lama who lives in Nepal.
- F. To make it impossible for those who are engaged in undermining the prestige of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and our government to get access to (*clearance for*) foreign travels, admission into schools, old age benefits, child support systems, and aid for the destitute, **we will urge that these people are not put in the same category as other Tibetans.** They should be subjected to similar scrutiny in the local Tibetan enclaves. It should also be checked whether these people have membership cards of their respective Provinces. In short we will urge (*the exile Tibetan government*) to not disappoint the general Tibetan public (*by treating those who worship Dorje Shugden against the injunctions of the Dalai Lama on par with other Tibetans*). Likewise, the local Tibetan Freedom Movement offices should check whether or not any Tibetan applying for or updating the Green Book (*without which no Tibetan is eligible for any Tibetan government programmes or foreign aid through the Tibetan government*) has a valid membership card of his or her local Province (*issued by the local branch of the United Cholsum Organisation*).

- G. Furthermore, in all Tibetan enclaves, unless and until devotees of Dorje Shugden voluntarily give up their worship of Shugden, no one should patronise Tibetan restaurants, shops, stores, guest houses etc. run by any devotee of Shugden. [*did His Holiness expressly recommend this, or specifically order for acts like these to be carried out?*]

Learning from history, as long as the religion and politics of the Tibetan people exists, each Tibetan should pledge that he or she will never attend any teachings or establish any spiritual bond with any Tibetan spiritual master or reincarnate lama who is related to Dorje Shugden.

- H. Since books, documents, newsletter and whatever other literature disseminated by Mr. Athar and the so-called Dorje Shugden Devotees' Charitable and Religious Society are nothing other than the ideology and activity of Communist China, whoever has any such literature, should burn them. [*book-burning and people-'burning' usually follow one another - note the Cultural Revolution and Holocaust*] From now on, no Tibetan will be allowed to subscribe to, purchase or read any of the above books and pamphlets. Nor should they be allowed to subscribe to, purchase or read any issue of the Drangden ("*The Truth*") newspaper, Nyanchen Thanglha newspaper. If they arrive by mail, they must be returned to the sender.

- I. To ensure that the above resolutions are implemented to the letter successfully, a new committee is hereby appointed. The membership of this committee will consist of:

1. One representative of U-Tsang province,
2. One representative of Dotoe (Kham) province,
3. One representative of Domey (Amdo) province,
4. One representative of Tibetan Youth Congress (T.Y.C),
5. One representative of Tibetan Womens Association (T.W.A),
6. One representative of Gangchen Chigdril Tsogpa,
7. One representative of the Gu-chu-sum Movement,
8. One representative of Ngari Welfare Association.

A. To contact Gaden, Sera and Drepung monasteries through the existing committee;

B. The term of office will be two years;

C. Contributions will be collected from Nepal, Bhutan, India and Western countries from wherever there are Tibetans.

In attestation whereof this resolution was adopted as the overall agreement reached at the All Provinces Tibetan General Convention on this date of August 31, 1998,

(Seals and Signatures of)

Central Executive Central Dotoe U-Tsang Association Committee, Domey Chushi Gangdruk

[and by the above measures, you will free Tibet, or create better human beings?]

(30 signatures).