

“Vegetarian between Meals”: The Dalai Lama, War, and Violence

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Q. You always stress that it’s important to put everything to the test of reason and not accept things automatically. I wonder if more and more people . . . just accept everything that you say.

A. Yes. A kind of blind faith! Yes, that also is happening.

—Pico Iyer, “Over Tea with the Dalai Lama: An Interview with the Dalai Lama”

Political leaders often attain international stature by waging war, but the personas of only a few “men of peace”—Gandhi, King, and Mandela—are prominent.¹ The Dalai Lama’s “apostle of nonviolence” persona was built in the 1980s, alongside a campaign to internationalize the Tibet question by fostering protests in Tibet, mobilizing Western converts to Tibetan Buddhism, and sending the Dalai Lama to engage Western political and media elites.² Boosted by his 1989 Nobel Peace Prize, U.S. excoriations of China

and expectations of its collapse, and Westerners' growing interest in human rights issues and Tibetan Buddhism, the Dalai Lama "became an international symbol of wisdom and a protector of oppressed and dispossessed people. He successfully combined his divine status with his exile political struggle under a veil of non-violence, compassion and selflessness."³

After two decades of internationalization, tropes of the Dalai Lama as peacemaker and of "the peaceful Tibetans" are discursive givens. They could arise because of a preexisting stereotype of pacific Himalayans led by a philosopher king. This myth was first fostered by British officers to support making Tibet a buffer for colonial India against Russia and China.⁴ It spread through fictional works, such as James Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon* (1933) and its film adaption,⁵ linked to the idea of Tibetans "as advanced in some spiritual kind of way," as the Dalai Lama has put it.⁶ The strength of these tropes derives also from Tibetan émigrés' efforts to ingratiate Western and Indian patrons through fulsome praise of their political and social systems, while negatively framing almost every action of "the Chinese."

The perception of the Dalai Lama as a "man of peace" is constructed mainly by Western politicians and media⁷ and deflects attention away from Western war-making: Europeans in 2007 regarded the United States as the greatest threat to world peace. A year later, Western media treatment of protests in Tibet in 2008—including of the Dalai Lama as a peacemaker to whom China refuses to talk—doubled the proportion of Europeans who see China as the world's biggest threat.⁸ *Time* magazine named the Dalai Lama the most influential person in the world⁹ and Western Europeans saw the Dalai Lama as the most respected world leader.¹⁰ The notion he is a pacifist is so pervasive that it has circulated from the West to China: the dissidents Hu Jia and Teng Biao, in a 2007 letter on human rights, termed him a "world-renowned pacifist."¹¹

The perception of the Dalai Lama as pacifistic and Tibetans as especially gentle is, however, inaccurate. He has said, "I am committed to nonviolence—I have been all of my life"¹² and "I am always against force,"¹³ but he does not consistently oppose violence and endorses the wars of his U.S. and Indian patrons. Neither does he address the social bases of violent conflict or evince much sympathy for oppressed peoples, who are the victims of wars and the

structural violence of an impoverished existence. Rather, he makes well-off Westerners a greater focus of his compassion.

The image of a pacifist Dalai Lama and belligerent China obstructs a settlement of the Tibet question. It mobilizes support for a “Free Tibet” that is possible only if China disintegrates, thus diverting attention from forging negotiations. It allows Western elites to demand that because the Dalai Lama is a “man of peace,” China must unconditionally negotiate with him, which it will not do unless he first accepts Tibet as an *inalienable* (i.e., legitimate) part of China.¹⁴ Because he refuses to do so,¹⁵ the Chinese government links him to “Western hostile forces” who seek to dismember China.¹⁶

The Dalai Lama’s persona will impede a compromise for as long as the discourse is a binary of idolizing or demonizing him and disallows differentiating his religious and political roles. Mohandas Gandhi’s grandson has recalled that “somebody said in jest once that [Gandhi] was a saint who was masquerading as a politician, and Grandfather countered and said, ‘No, I am a politician masquerading as a saint.’”¹⁷ The Dalai Lama is a spiritual master who recognizes he is also a political leader,¹⁸ in accordance with the Tibetan practice of “religion and politics combined” (*chos-srid zung ‘brel*).¹⁹ It is thus proper to analyze his position on war and violence. That analysis leads to the conclusion that his stance is attuned to the political interests of the Tibetan exiles’ patrons and reflects a conservative view of the relationship of peoples and “races.”

Peaceful Old Tibet, “Gentle Tibetans,” and the Tibet Question’s Internationalization

For years, the only way Tibetans could get a hearing in the world’s capitals was to emphasize our spirituality and helplessness. Tibetans who pick up rifles don’t fit into the romantic image we’ve built up in Westerner’s heads.

—Tibet independence activist Jamyang Norbu, quoted in Paul Salopek, “The CIA’s Secret War in Tibet”

The Dalai Lama has said “the people of Tibet are, by their nature, honest, gentle and kind,” that “Tibetan culture is a compassionate and non-violent culture” and “under the kings and Dalai Lamas . . . peace and happiness pre-

vailed in Tibet.”²⁰ He has also stated that “Tibetan culture [is] based on peaceful relations,”²¹ and that “before 1950, Tibet was completely a land of peace.”²² A leading “Tibet supporter” has claimed that Tibetans long ago “demilitarized, adjusted their life to perfect balance, and [became] expert at helping people become civilized.”²³ A peer of the realm has informed the House of Lords that “on the north Tibetan plain in the first half of the century . . . all the animals and birds were tame. They had no reason to fear man as man would not harm them. The Tibetans would not take life of any sort.”²⁴

Western media and their stars reinforce the idea of Tibetans as naturally gentle. The 1997 film *Seven Years in Tibet*, featuring Brad Pitt, conveyed that “Tibetans revere life so much that they refuse to kill even worms,”²⁵ and that “the Chinese are brutal; the Tibetans are gentle.”²⁶ The Tibet activist and actor Richard Gere has spoken of “Beijing’s savage oppression of the gentle Tibetan people.”²⁷ The lead singer of the rock group R.E.M., Michael Stipe, has said Tibetans resisted Chinese rule “peacefully without raising swords. No matter what hardship these people were under, they would not raise a hand against the enemy.”²⁸ Western media refer to the Dalai Lama as an apostle of peace,²⁹ and the idea that “the Tibetan people are naturally peaceful” is obvious to Tibet supporters.³⁰

Tibetans, including monks, have however long borne arms against outsiders and each other in wars between rulers or Buddhist sects.³¹ The “Great Fifth” Dalai Lama “ferociously annihilated enemies and their families.”³² Tibetan armies warred in Ladakh in 1679–84 and in Bhutan many times in the eighteenth century, against Zunghar Mongols in 1720, Nepal from 1788 to 1792 and 1854 to 1858, Ladakh in 1842, and Britain in 1904.³³ From the late eighteenth century, the ancien régime had a standing army,³⁴ and in the early twentieth century, the “Great Thirteenth” had a ministry of war oversee his British-trained army. He advised Tibetans that, “where [peaceful means] are not appropriate, [they should] not hesitate to resort to more forceful means.”³⁵ The present Dalai Lama has noted that the Thirteenth did “raise an army, train it as best as possible. Just between us, this isn’t strictly practicing nonviolence.”³⁶ During World War I, the Thirteenth offered his British patrons one thousand troops,³⁷ and in 1920 he dispatched his army to help the murderously racist Russian baron Roman von Ungern-Sternberg assault Mongolia’s capital.³⁸

In Eastern Tibet, in the first half of the twentieth century, Lhasa's army fought Tibetans led by eastern chieftains and both fought non-Tibetan warlord armies.³⁹ "People from Kham fought around 400–500 major battles both against the Chinese and the Lhasa government, between 1911 and 1935. These armed guerrilla forces increasingly occupied the central Tibetan military. The fighting intensified after the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933 and the eastern Tibetans, moreover, sought a separate state, independent from any Han and central Tibetan control."⁴⁰ Violent conflicts occurred in Tibet right up to the old regime's fall.⁴¹ Some 10 to 15 percent of monks at three large Lhasa monasteries were "fighting monks" (*dobdob*) who had access to guns; more generally "lamas had their own courts and prisons, and often organized their own militias and possessed thousands of guns and horses."⁴² In a 1947 civil war, thousands of monks fought with artillery and guns and as many as three hundred died.⁴³ In 1950 the Tibetan army had twelve thousand troops for a region of 1.2 million people.⁴⁴ The United States, with 761 bases abroad, has only half that proportion of its people under arms.⁴⁵ Thousands of Tibetans fought China's army in 1950s eastern Tibet, in the 1959 Lhasa uprising, and in 1960s and 1970s cross-border raids.⁴⁶ A CIA man who trained them has said, "You had monks carrying guns. The Chinese were trying to take their guns away from them."⁴⁷ More than ten thousand Tibetans have served in India's Special Frontier Force (SFF), set up by Indian and U.S. intelligence agencies.⁴⁸

Outside the state ambit, too, Tibetans are not nonviolent. Deadly violence occurs with some regularity among Tibetan herders, often connected with theft and blood feuds.⁴⁹ As among other peoples, violent quarrels—from barroom brawls, to domestic assaults, to sectarian conflicts—are not rare in Tibetan exile communities⁵⁰ and are a subject of complaints by Indians nearby.⁵¹ There have also been clashes between Tibetans and Muslim Chinese, in which both sides have attacked people and property.⁵²

The leading "Tibet supporter" Claude Arpi has argued that "it is a misconception to think of Tibet and its people as traditionally nonviolent."⁵³ A senior scholar of Buddhism has said that "nonviolence has never been a traditional Tibetan practice, or a societal norm, or . . . [a] teaching of Tibetan Buddhism."⁵⁴ Exile leaders have only in the last two decades claimed that nonviolence is essential to Tibetan culture and underlies Tibetan strategy.⁵⁵

The Dalai Lama gives a speech every March 10 to mark the 1959 Lhasa Uprising. He first mentioned nonviolence in that speech in 1988.⁵⁶ Only in 1996 did the Tibet Parliament in Exile (TPIE) adopt nonviolence as “a fundamental principle for the [Tibetan Government in Exile (TGIE)] to serve the Tibetan nation.”⁵⁷

Since the 1980s the Tibetan émigré leaders have occluded the history of exile violence,⁵⁸ while Western elites have touted Tibetans as a peaceful, gentle people.⁵⁹ Soon after the notion was created however, protests in Lhasa turned violent. They came after Beijing had responded, by late 1986, to Tibetan grievances about official restrictions on religious practice and Han migration. Many Tibetans had come to accept Tibet's place in China. A *modus vivendi* was emerging between Beijing and Tibet's elites.⁶⁰ In response, émigrés and supporters launched the internationalization campaign in which protests in Lhasa were to feature, although the extent of outside inspiration remains unclear.⁶¹ There were two dozen sizeable protests in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Several in 1987–89 and one in 1993 involved more than a thousand participants. Police killed dozens and arrested hundreds; protestors killed several policemen and directed beatings and arson at Han civilians.⁶² Protesting monks told reporters they would use guns to fight the Chinese, if they could get them.⁶³

In the mid-1990s, arms dealers offered to supply Tibetan émigrés,⁶⁴ an approach unlikely to be made to pacifists. There were eight bombings in Tibet.⁶⁵ The TGIE, without evidence, blamed these on “the Chinese,”⁶⁶ but the proindependence Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), the largest exile group, mentioned bombings in discussing its strategy to keep Han Chinese from coming to Tibet.⁶⁷ The TYC president in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Lhasang Tsering, stated that “his organization ‘unanimously decided that we have no option but to resort to violent means’” and “begin an ‘armed struggle to destabilize Tibet.’”⁶⁸ Tashi Namgyal, the TYC secretary general, averred that “if the world thinks Tibetans are pacifists, it is not true. Tibetans will shed blood for independence.”⁶⁹ When asked if he would “support activists who targeted bombs at the Chinese in Tibet,” he replied, “Yes, with no hesitation. . . . Every type of struggle against them is justified!”⁷⁰ Sporadic bombings continued: one outside a Lhasa police building in 1998 injured four; in 2000 a bomb exploded outside a Lhasa courthouse.⁷¹ In 2002

a Chinese court convicted and sentenced to death the reincarnated lama (*tulku*) Tenzin Delek Rinpoche and ex-monk Lobsang Dhondup for five bombings that killed one person and wounded twelve in Sichuan's capital, Chengdu (Lobsang Dhondup was executed, Tenzin Delek's sentence was commuted to life in prison in 2005).⁷² In Chamdo prefecture in 2008, eight monks were convicted of bombing a township government office and sixteen other Tibetans, mostly monks, were arrested for three other bombings.⁷³ Another government building was bombed in January 2009.⁷⁴

The Dalai Lama and the Wars of the United States

The United States has honored the Dalai Lama as a man of peace and a lifelong advocate of nonviolence.

—Paula Dobriansky, U.S. Undersecretary for Global Affairs and Special Coordinator for Tibet

The Dalai Lama denounces war and violence in the abstract but endorses specific wars. His position is thus not that of a pacifist like, for example, the late Erwin Kroll, a U.S. journalist, who wrote in 1991, "I believe in ingenious, nonviolent struggle for justice and against oppression. So I won't support our troops — not in the Persian Gulf or anywhere else. And I won't support anyone else's troops when they go about their murderous business."⁷⁵ The U.S. pacifist leader Colman McCarthy, as a *Washington Post* columnist in the 1990s, was a fervent "Tibet supporter"⁷⁶ and termed the Dalai Lama "credible as both a theorist and practitioner of nonviolence."⁷⁷ He later concluded, however, that the Dalai Lama is "a pacifist between wars, akin to being a vegetarian between meals" and is "nowhere close to being in the company of Gandhi who said 'I do not believe in any war.'"⁷⁸ He has added that the Dalai Lama's "message is cliché-ridden and compared with other people in the peace movement, he's politically shallow. . . . Why doesn't he condemn the U.S. government? It's the world's most militaristic and most violent nation and it needs to be said by . . . people like him who have an enormous audience . . . but the Dalai Lama fritters it away with hot tub spirituality, searching for inner peace while the world is in chaos."⁷⁹

Premodern Tibetan elites had “priest-patron” (*cho-yon*) relations with Mongol khans and Chinese emperors, whom they spiritually sustained in exchange for material support. Since 1950 patronage has been globalized and secularized, with India and the United States the chief patrons.⁸⁰ The Dalai Lama has stated “these two countries have, I think, great important role to serve humanity, to bring humanity more happier, more equal, more peaceful.”⁸¹ He endorses their wars and war-making capacities. India has been the Tibetan émigrés’ host, so exile leaders back its actions, including its Kashmir policy and attendant wars with Pakistan.⁸² The Dalai Lama’s only sharp criticism of the United States has concerned India’s interests: he has said the “U.S. attitude towards Pakistan is a disgrace.”⁸³ He supports India’s refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and its “right” to test nuclear weapons.⁸⁴ The tests spurred “wild rejoicing by Tibetan exiles” in their capital Dharamsala.⁸⁵ The Dalai Lama backs India’s claim to territory that China disputes, including Tawang, a valued part of Tibet until 1951.⁸⁶

The Dalai Lama has said that in China “the authorities are totally against harmony which comes out of heart and not gun,” but that “all communities in India live in complete harmony. . . . The entire country is very united . . . the rule of law and freedom of expression prevails in India in complete and true sense,”⁸⁷ and that in India “people of all religions and sects live peacefully.”⁸⁸ India however experiences large-scale religious violence.⁸⁹ He also “laud[s] the spirit of nonviolence that India has always upheld,”⁹⁰ despite decades-long counterinsurgencies in which tens of thousands have been killed. In 2001, the year he praised the Indian government’s “spirit of non-violence,” fatalities in India from terrorism, insurgency, and their suppression were 5,839.⁹¹ In Kashmir, seventy thousand have died in the past twenty years of civil strife, many of them civilians killed by the Indian military.⁹² India is “a nation of militias,”⁹³ and its army has engaged in widespread killings, beatings, and arbitrary arrests to force peasants to join vigilantes fighting Maoist insurgents.⁹⁴ In 2009, however, the Dalai Lama led the exiles in a spate of public acts intended to say, “Thank You, India.”⁹⁵ Indian politicians repay the Dalai Lama by upholding his peacemaker persona. The Indian government has called him “a steadfast proponent of peace and an apostle of nonviolence.”⁹⁶ Prime Minister Mammohan Singh dubbed him “a personification of nonviolence,”⁹⁷ and the head of the rightist Bharatiya Janata

Party (BJP) termed him “a messenger of peace and humanism.”⁹⁸ According to the *Singapore Straits Times*, “Most of the Dalai Lama’s personal needs, including security and travel, are met by the Indian government.”⁹⁹

Western political and media elites support the TGIE. Skewed media treatment of the Tibet question emerged soon after the internationalization campaign began.¹⁰⁰ A British journalism scholar has noted that “the Dalai Lama was well respected in the west, which influenced the way the media reported the issues.”¹⁰¹ The Dalai Lama himself has said the Western “media is very favorable, very supportive.” Public opinion, as expressed through the media, “gives inspiration for more support, and more concern in Parliament or Congress.”¹⁰²

The Dalai Lama regards U.S. leaders as “all very supportive of the Tibetan cause”¹⁰³ and fulsomely praises the U.S. political system and foreign policy. He has stated that “America is champion of democracy, liberty, freedom,”¹⁰⁴ despite the fact that the United States supplies weapons and military training to 149 countries.¹⁰⁵ The U.S. Congress and the European Parliament have termed Tibet an “occupied country” and the TGIE Tibet’s legitimate government.¹⁰⁶ Beginning in 1951, the United States promised the Dalai Lama “full aid and assistance” if he would leave Tibet to lead a resistance from a neighboring country, which he did in 1959.¹⁰⁷ In the 1960s and 1970s, the CIA organized and funded Tibetan guerrillas and the Dalai Lama himself.¹⁰⁸

The United States is at least the second-largest donor, after India, to the TGIE, providing \$2 million in “humanitarian aid” annually and may be the largest donor.¹⁰⁹ Since 2004 it has given the exiles \$4 million annually and provided \$5.25 million for “Tibetan community assistance” in 2008.¹¹⁰ The U.S. National Endowment for Democracy (NED) supplies additional funds.¹¹¹ The group’s founding president, Allen Weinstein, has said, “A lot of what [the NED does] today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA.”¹¹² Some analysts see the 2008 protests in Tibet as an attempt at another of the “color revolutions” in which NED has played a role.¹¹³ The International Campaign for Tibet’s 2005 “Light of Truth Award” was given to NED head Carl Gershman, while the Dalai Lama and his representatives have addressed many NED functions.¹¹⁴ Since 1997 the United States has had a high-level State Department official serve as special coordinator for Tibet;

the official's main duty is to be a liaison with émigré leaders. Congress funds proexile Tibetan-language Radio Free Asia broadcasts and gives scholarships to bring TGIE-linked Tibetans to the United States.¹¹⁵

A Singapore journalist has said of the Dalai Lama's relationship with the U.S. government, "If you take the King's shilling, you do the King's bidding."¹¹⁶ The Dalai Lama has stated that visiting George W. Bush was like encountering an old friend,¹¹⁷ that Bush's "intentions are good, but . . . some of his method becomes unrealistic because of a lack of understanding about reality."¹¹⁸ "I love him . . . very nice man, very simple, straightforward,"¹¹⁹ he said of Bush, calling the U.S. president a firm supporter of democracy,¹²⁰ "liberal, open,"¹²¹ with very strong sympathies for the émigré cause.¹²² His representative has said "President Bush has been a tremendous friend and supporter of this issue. We have always been very grateful."¹²³ Not coincidentally, Indian political elites considered Bush "the best president vis-à-vis India in the past 50 years," because Bush in effect pushed for U.S. support for India's nuclear weapons program. Prime Minister Singh has told Bush that "'the people of India deeply love you.'"¹²⁴ One of the Dalai Lama's most vocal backers in Congress was the famously bellicose Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC).¹²⁵ One of his main Canadian parliament supporters is Rob Anders, the lone member of Parliament to oppose awarding honorary Canadian citizenship to Nelson Mandela, on the grounds that he is a "Communist and terrorist."¹²⁶ Making him an "honorary citizen," Rome's far-right, anti-immigrant mayor Gianni Alemanno told the Dalai Lama, "We stand by you and strongly demand the full recognition of the autonomy of the Tibetan nation."¹²⁷

The Dalai Lama generally refrains from criticizing U.S. foreign policy and has stated that "The social freedom you Americans instituted has proved immensely valuable to all people around the world."¹²⁸ He has averred that the Korean War "protected South Korea's prosperity and freedom" and that in Vietnam the United States had "the same aim, the same motivation" as in Korea, but failed.¹²⁹ He remarked in 1991 that it was unfair for the United States not to do for Tibet what it had done for Kuwait in the Gulf War.¹³⁰ He accepted the U.S. justification for the Kosovo war, to protect Kosovars from ethnic cleansing,¹³¹ and stated that the war must make the West also support the Tibetans.¹³² He regarded the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan as

“perhaps some kind of liberation”¹³³ and has praised U.S. approaches to bombing and “nation building” there.¹³⁴

The Dalai Lama’s position on the Iraq War evolved from implicit support for its purported goals to a perfunctory wariness, after setbacks to the war effort and a loss of U.S. popular support. Before it began, he stated, “I favor talks with Iraq rather than war,”¹³⁵ but also “Producing weapons of mass destruction—that’s very bad . . . If there is some way to stop that, that’s in the interests of the Iraqi people and the whole area.”¹³⁶ He thus accepted the U.S. justification for the Iraq invasion and, in the final run-up to it, “said there was little or nothing that could be done to avert the world’s only superpower from attacking Iraq.”¹³⁷ With the war underway, he rhetorically queried, “What can we do when big powers have already made up their minds?”¹³⁸

After Iraq was occupied, the Dalai Lama was asked whether the Iraq war was just. He replied that “the situation there is ‘more complicated’” and that it will take more time before he can judge, adding “I think history will tell.”¹³⁹ The *New York Times* noted that “at a time when many political and religious leaders are saying that the American antiterrorism campaign and the war in Iraq are only fueling additional terrorism, the Dalai Lama refused to pass judgment.” He said it was “too early to say” that the war was a mistake, “only history will tell,” and “Terrorism is the worst kind of violence, so we have to check it, we have to take countermeasures.”¹⁴⁰

Two years into the war in 2005, the Dalai Lama said “whether that violent method become positive or negative, you cannot judge until many years after. It’s still too early to say the Iraq war justified, or that can be justified or not.”¹⁴¹ Asked how to counter terrorism, “he said ‘the war in Iraq may be helping for now,’ but he is not sure of the long run. ‘Only history will show if violence will bring something good.’”¹⁴² Asked in spring 2006 whether the war was wrong, he stated, “The method was very violent. Violence is always unpredictable; it can produce a lot of problems.” The British journalist who posed the question stated, “It is pointless pressing him further: despite his outward simplicity, he has considerable diplomatic skills when it comes to issues that are best not confronted head-on by an exile who relies on the world to protect him from the Chinese.”¹⁴³ In the fall of 2006 the Dalai Lama voiced qualms about the war because “things not very positive.”¹⁴⁴ His qualms came after U.S. Democratic Party leaders began to

favor withdrawing some U.S. troops from Iraq.¹⁴⁵ He has refrained however from criticizing the U.S. government. At a fall 2006 gathering of Nobel Peace Prize laureates, “only the Dalai Lama . . . did not take a direct jab at the U.S.”¹⁴⁶ The furthest he would go, in the fall of 2007 — “after professing his admiration for U.S.-style democracy and individual rights” — was to state, “So, America now spends billions of dollars in Iraq. . . . Instead of spending billions of money on military purposes spend it on education and health in Iraq.”¹⁴⁷ He has seemingly made no further statements on the Iraq War. A TGIE Web site on his view of the war has only a short speech made just before the invasion that concludes “if a war does break out, let us pray that there be a minimum bloodshed and hardship. I don’t know whether our prayers will be of any practical help. But this is all we can do for the moment.”¹⁴⁸

Exile leaders term the Dalai Lama “an apostle of peace”¹⁴⁹ and “true protector and savior of humanity.”¹⁵⁰ Western elites tout him as a “peacemaker”¹⁵¹ and “expert on conflict resolution.”¹⁵² When, however, the Dalai Lama was asked about demands for intervention in Sri Lanka, where a Buddhist government was waging an offensive against Hindu and Muslim Tamil rebels, “he said he did not want to comment on the internal affairs of another country.”¹⁵³ Asked how Australian Aborigines should deal with the denial of their rights, he said, “It is a difficult situation. I don’t know.”¹⁵⁴ Asked whether Western powers should bomb Serbia in response to Serb actions in Bosnia, he replied, “Very complicated, very sad. What to do, really I don’t know.”¹⁵⁵ Asked how to solve the Israel-Palestine conflict, he replied, to a crowd’s delight, “The precise answer for this question is, ‘I don’t know.’”¹⁵⁶ Asked what can be done about misuse of Buddhism by governments, notably Burma’s, he said “I don’t know. Is the Burmese regime really Buddhist?”¹⁵⁷ Asked about Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad that sparked protests in the Muslim world, the Dalai Lama said “I think tricky question . . . so difficult . . . I remain silent. No comment.”¹⁵⁸ Asked how best to end the war in Iraq and bring peace to the Middle East, he stated, “The best answer for that, I don’t know.” The crowd “applauded his honesty.”¹⁵⁹ Asked “‘what can we do to wake up our civilization to . . . global warming, warfare and religious fundamentalism,’ he said ‘the real answer is, I don’t know.’”¹⁶⁰ The Dalai Lama may have no ideas about specific conflicts or

may not want to alienate patrons, but such statements have not lowered his esteem in the eyes of those constantly told of his peacemaking prowess. A Canadian journalist has noted that “one of the Dalai Lama’s favorite phrases is ‘I don’t know,’ but audiences never seem to believe him.”¹⁶¹

Indeed, much of the Western world is in awe of the Dalai Lama. Besides making him “famous for being famous,”¹⁶² image makers build his reputation on notions that he is a “peacemaker,” although the Dalai Lama has not made peace with or for anyone. Seemingly the only dispute in which he tried to be a peacemaker concerned the issue of Ayodhya, India, where Hindu fundamentalists destroyed a mosque and built a temple on its ruins. The Dalai Lama’s offer to mediate was welcomed by the Hindu ultra-nationalist group Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Muslim leaders, aware of the mutual admiration between the RSS and the Tibetan exiles, were less than enthusiastic.¹⁶³ When friends of the Dalai Lama proposed he “could be helpful regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict,” he replied that it was just an idea. Asked to go to Baghdad, he stated, “I have no connection with the Arab world.”¹⁶⁴ It may be argued that although he has not been a peacemaker, his urging of nonviolence has kept Tibet more peaceful than it might have been. That speculation is unconvincing. Because the Dalai Lama has not forthrightly condemned Tibetan perpetrators of antistate and anti-Han violence but only violence in the abstract, many forms of carnage, from the 1950s insurgencies to the 2008 Lhasa ethnic murders, have been carried out in his name.

The Dalai Lama often discusses nonviolence, but as a strategic, not principled, supporter: he speaks of Tibetan casualties¹⁶⁵ or loss of support from non-Tibetans, including Chinese who “appreciate our way of struggle,”¹⁶⁶ and foreigners who equate it with general beneficence.¹⁶⁷ Violence would cast the cause as a typical nationalist war; nonviolence allows the implication that nonsupporters foster terrorism: the U.K. Tibet Society has said that those who ignore Tibet “further the cause of global terror,” because the Tibet cause is nonviolent and if it is not valorized, violent ones will be.¹⁶⁸ The Dalai Lama also validates the “war on terrorism” by stating that “it is difficult to deal with terrorism through nonviolence” because terrorists are close-minded.¹⁶⁹ He has said that “warfare with human feeling is much better than completely mechanized warfare”¹⁷⁰ and “Buddhists believe if the

motivation is good and the goal is good, then the method, even the apparently violent kind, is permissible . . . in our case whether it is practical or not, that I think is the big question.”¹⁷¹ Just before his 1959 emigration from Tibet, he called Tibetan forces warring against China “heroes” and urged them to go on fighting. He later recalled that he admired and thanked them and did not advise them to avoid violence.¹⁷² He also gave them awards¹⁷³ and has often praised the CIA-linked Tibetan guerrillas of the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷⁴ After their defeat the Dalai Lama urged nonviolence, as Tibetans could not overcome Chinese forces.¹⁷⁵

Apart from the 1950s armed uprisings in Tibet and 1960s and 1970s armed émigré incursions into Tibet,¹⁷⁶ critics of the TGIE¹⁷⁷ and religious dissenters¹⁷⁸ have been assaulted, threatened, or excluded from the émigré polity. A Tibet scholar has noted that “within the exile community there is a continuing streak of political intolerance, especially toward those who have made the slightest perceived criticism of the Dalai Lama, who risk beatings or threats of assassination.”¹⁷⁹ A German scholar has noted that “every criticism that challenges [the Dalai Lama’s] political authority is interpreted as anti-religious,”¹⁸⁰ and a U.S. scholar of Tibetan history has said “accusations of disloyalty to the Dalai Lama remain a weapon in political and personal feuds in Dharamsala.”¹⁸¹ A leading proindependence activist has stated that “hate campaigns and mob violence” typify Dharamsala politics.¹⁸² A TPIE member has averred that “if someone openly criticized his Holiness he would be in a difficult position. I think he would suffer a social boycott, if not be physically beaten up.”¹⁸³ In part this is because, as another TPIE member put it, “We do not have any doubt about the Dalai Lama’s decisions. . . . He’s a supreme human being and he is god.”¹⁸⁴

TGIE leaders regard proponents of violence as part of the Tibet Movement,¹⁸⁵ causing Chinese officials to adopt the awkward term “Dalai Clique” (*dalai jituan*) to connect supporters of nonviolence and violence.¹⁸⁶ The Dalai Lama’s representative has denied that any exiles have ever been involved in terrorism or separatism.¹⁸⁷ The TGIE treats the TYC as the loyal opposition, even though it has endorsed violent struggle and is seen as undermining the Dalai Lama’s efforts. The TGIE has said “on account of some Tibetans being not able to completely give up violence in vocal expressions and thoughts, all our efforts till today, instead of achieving a genuine result,

is stuck in a vicious circle.”¹⁸⁸ In fact, Jigme Yeshe, the head of the All India Tibetan College Students’ Mass Movement head and a member of TYC, “admits that the independence-seeking efforts of Tibetan youth ‘act as a hindrance to the peace process.’”¹⁸⁹

The TYC has, in effect, endorsed terrorism.¹⁹⁰ TYC presidents of the late 1980s and early 1990s held that, because no Chinese in Tibet is innocent, war should be waged on civilians there.¹⁹¹ Indian intelligence reported the TYC planned guerrilla warfare in Tibet and contacted retired officers of the Indian Army’s Tibetan unit to train in insurgency. TYC President Kalsang Phuntsok said in 2003, “We’re planning to train our members for six-seven months in guerilla warfare but it’s still in the thinking process.”¹⁹² He hinted at assassinations: “I want to ask the Dalai Lama: ‘If you could achieve Tibetan independence in a day by killing 100 Chinese would you do it?’ If he says no, he cannot be the leader of the Tibetan people.”¹⁹³ TYC Vice-President Dhondup Dorjee said in 2008 that “if someone said to us ‘Tibet will be free if we chop off the head of a sheep,’ the Dalai Lama cannot do it. But we are not the Dalai Lama. Where is the problem in us chopping off the heads of thousands of sheep to free Tibet?”¹⁹⁴ According to Columbia University professor and Tibet scholar Robert Barnett, the Dalai Lama has encouraged extreme nationalist expressions “to make him[self] look more conciliatory.”¹⁹⁵ “A steady hate-China diet” and talk of martyrdom through violence is found in India’s Tibetan settlements.¹⁹⁶

The TGIE says “it does not have any organizational contact with the [TYC] due to difference in views,”¹⁹⁷ yet “the Dalai Lama has maintained his support for the Youth Congress in spite of divergent views on Tibetan independence in China.”¹⁹⁸ He and his prime minister have addressed TYC-organized gatherings.¹⁹⁹ TYC “Freedom Marchers” arrested in India in 2004 were freed after Prime Minister (Kalon Tripa) Samdhong Rinpoche intervened.²⁰⁰ TGIE prime ministers from 1992 to the present have all been TYC executive bureau founders.²⁰¹ The TYC in turn regards the Dalai Lama as “the undisputed leader of the six million Tibetans,”²⁰² has “absolute faith and respect in his leadership,”²⁰³ and upholds his initiatives, such as the ban on propitiating the Dorje Shugden “protector deity,” which the TYC has declared incompatible with membership.²⁰⁴

Some émigré notables fantasize about terrorism without public rebuke

from exile leaders, who nevertheless accuse China of terrorism.²⁰⁵ An ex-guerrilla leader has called for a “force [to] rise up in Tibet, killing Chinese one by one.”²⁰⁶ After the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, a mainstream émigré journal published an activist’s missive urging Tibetans: “In future, if any individual is determined to take his or her life, why not use this final act in a gesture of heroism? For example, like those Palestinians, carrying suicide bombs, in their freedom struggle.”²⁰⁷ Samdhong Rinpoche has called for an “evacuation” of Chinese from Tibet.²⁰⁸ TYC president Tsewang Rigzin, a U.S. citizen, said in 2008 that pacifism had led Tibetans to a dead end, while Palestinians and Iraqi suicide bombers get attention. The title of the article, quoting Rigzin, is “Nonviolence? It Doesn’t Pay. We Could Use Kamikazes.”²⁰⁹ The leading activist Tenzin Tsundue has rhetorically queried, “What’s wrong with blowing up a few bridges?”²¹⁰ Despite these statements, Samdhong Rinpoche has stated that “Tibetan exiles are 100 percent committed to nonviolence. There is no question of suicide attacks.”²¹¹

The Dalai Lama has also excused Tibetans who engaged in ethnic violence. For weeks after the March 14, 2008, Lhasa riot, he did not call for Tibetan perpetrators of ethnic murders, beatings, and arsons to be punished but demanded “the release of all those who have been arrested and detained.”²¹² Claiming that “Tibetans by nature were a non-violent race,”²¹³ he asserted that Chinese soldiers had dressed as monks to kill, beat, and burn Han and Muslim Chinese. The evidence proffered turned out to be a photo of Chinese soldiers serving as extras in a film shot in summer 2003.²¹⁴ Yet Samdhong Rinpoche still said that “Chinese policemen in Tibetan dress and in monks’ robes taking the leading role during the protests” did the violence.²¹⁵ He also queried whether “Chinese might masquerade as Tibetans and plan [suicide] attacks to give bad publicity to Tibetans.”²¹⁶ One of the Dalai Lama’s negotiators stated that “rumors continue to be ripe in Lhasa that it was encouraged, if not started, by Chinese government agents.”²¹⁷ The Dalai Lama told French parliamentarians in June 2009 that “the March 2008 events were a provocation by the Chinese authorities.”²¹⁸

The Dalai Lama said that “those who take advantage of the situation and take to looting and vandalism, their crime should be tried and punished,”²¹⁹ but he implied that Tibetans had not done the killings, beatings, and arsons

in Lhasa seen on videos. As evidence from Western eyewitnesses of such violence was overwhelming, TGIE officials tried to mitigate the damage. Its spokesman Thubten Samphel said that “‘peaceful Tibetan protesters were provoked’ by Chinese forces into committing acts of violence.”²²⁰ Dawa Tsering, the TGIE head of Chinese affairs, argued that “Tibetans didn’t take any violent actions,” because for Buddhists, beatings and burnings that kill do not amount to violence, unless there is an intent to kill.²²¹

The Dalai Lama also excused arsonists and looters by stating that “in many places, most of the Han shops that were burned are the sites where prostitution takes place” and that “some of the banks were also attacked [because they] had made use of central government funds for Tibet for their own business activities, instead of for building Tibet as required by the central government.”²²² In fact, the British journalist James Miles saw “armed and very intimidating” Lhasa rioters chanting “Long Live the Dalai Lama” while engaging in “calculated, targeted” ethnic violence, stoning, burning, or looting Han and Hui shops and persons, including a ten-year-old boy and an old man. Tibetan shops were spared, but “almost every other business was either burned, looted, destroyed, smashed into.” A Swiss tourist reported that “everything that looked Chinese was attacked and beaten up.” A man with a megaphone and a woman seemed to be directing the mob where to attack.²²³ Eyewitnesses did not indicate a singling out of businesses connected with prostitution or diversion of state funds.

Two months after the Lhasa riot, the Dalai Lama conceded more, but still with equivocation. Asked whether Tibetan youth in Lhasa were guilty of looting and arson, he replied, “I assume that this was the case,” but that it was “the result of deep-seated disillusionment and despair over being second-class citizens in their own country.”²²⁴

In March 2009, however, the Dalai Lama reverted back to his previous claim that the violence was arranged by “the Chinese,” telling a German newspaper that the People’s Liberation Army “staged these riots and sent the pictures around the world. . . . We have reports from eyewitnesses. On March 12 and 13, they have seen Chinese trucks transporting people who were apparently Tibetans, but who were unknown to anybody. They were brought to Lhasa. Some hours later they could be seen setting buildings on fire. The Chinese want crises for which they can blame the Tibetans.”²²⁵

The Dalai Lama's attitude toward the murders and arson thus differed sharply from that of Gandhi in a like situation. In 1922 Gandhi launched his Non-Cooperation Movement of civil disobedience (*satyagraha*) to protest the lack of human rights and self-government in British India. Three protestors were killed by police in Chauri Chaura. A crowd of two thousand people attacked the police, forcing them into a police station, which was then burned, killing twenty-two policemen. Gandhi ended the Non-Cooperation Movement and fasted to repent for his self-perceived role in inciting the attacks.²²⁶ In contrast, the Dalai Lama said of Tibetans who reject nonviolence, "They love me, they respect me" and "are utilizing freedom of speech, freedom of heart. I'm always telling them I have no authority to say, 'Shut up.' It is up to you."²²⁷

"Compassion Personified"

We Tibetans have been quite successful in creating and fueling the stereotype that we are a morally superior people.

—Tenzin Wangyal, a leader of Students for a Free Tibet, "The Myth of Tibetan Moral Superiority"

The Dalai Lama has endorsed the wars launched by the United States and India, while Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI criticized the Gulf and Iraq Wars before and after they started.²²⁸ Yet more Germans in a 2002 survey chose the Dalai Lama as the "wisest public figure" than chose John Paul II (although a third of Germans are Catholics) and 83 percent of Germans polled in 2009 had a good opinion of the Dalai Lama, versus 60 percent for the German Pope Benedict XVI.²²⁹ That cannot be because the popes are more socially conservative than the Dalai Lama. Like the Catholic Church, he generally opposes abortion,²³⁰ homosexuality,²³¹ stem cell research,²³² and euthanasia,²³³ and he is generally negative about sexuality.²³⁴ His popularity likely derives from images of the Dalai Lama as compassionate toward the oppressed, as indicated by his 2009 German Media Prize for "exceptional commitment and contribut[ion] to shaping a more peaceful and socially just world"²³⁵ and his U.S. National Civil Rights Museum's International Free-

dom Award for his “commitment to protecting and defending the rights of the oppressed people of Tibet and elsewhere in the world.”²³⁶

The Dalai Lama, however, appears to commiserate more with the prosperous than the poor.²³⁷ He has said that people in developed countries “are in some ways less satisfied, are less happy, and to some extent suffer more than those living in the least developed countries. Indeed, if we compare the rich and the poor, it often seems those with nothing are, in fact, the least anxious.”²³⁸ Studies show, however, that most people in rich countries say they are happy; most in poor countries say they are not. People in least developed countries suffer much poorer health than those in rich countries.²³⁹ Anxiety is commoner among the poor than the rich; a study found it is 2.5 times more prevalent in low than higher socioeconomic status youth.²⁴⁰ Asked for advice on spreading wealth to poor countries, the Dalai Lama gave none, but stated that “material development alone is not the answer for humanity.”²⁴¹ Asked how Americans can help developing countries, he only praised the U.S. Peace Corps.²⁴² As to inequality between developed and developing countries, one of the few demands the Dalai Lama has made is that “developed nations should not tell Third World countries what to do with their weapons.”²⁴³

The Dalai Lama’s message to rich business people is “to use capitalism to make money and then redistribute this money to the poor.”²⁴⁴ He tells the world’s poor that “they should develop self-confidence and work hard,”²⁴⁵ an unsurprising paternalism given his view of his natal society. He recognizes that it was feudal²⁴⁶ and holds that Tibetans are being punished for bad karma acquired by practicing feudalism, just as a disabled child is being punished for past life sins or countries suffer earthquakes or tsunamis because of common negative karma.²⁴⁷ Yet he is positive about old Tibet,²⁴⁸ whose “relationship between landlord and peasants was generally like that between parents and children, with landlords often showing great compassion and care.”²⁴⁹

For Tibetan Buddhists—some 3 percent of the world’s estimated 350 million Buddhists—the Dalai Lama incarnates Chenrezig, the patron deity of Tibet and Buddha of Compassion.²⁵⁰ He has said he “never loses compassion for people,”²⁵¹ “when I encounter difficulties, I face them with com-

passion and wisdom,”²⁵² and compassion “has defined the purpose of my life.”²⁵³ A high level of compassion implies empathy with the oppressed, on whose behalf renowned religious figures are expected to speak. The Dalai Lama’s hagiographers have created the image that he does so. For example, it has been claimed that he “speaks unstintingly on behalf of all people’s rights to basic freedoms of speech and thought.”²⁵⁴ The Dalai Lama, however, never participates in mundane displays of solidarity, such as antiwar or antiracist marches, although millions of ordinary people do so.²⁵⁵ A few commentators have queried why the Dalai Lama does not, with one asking, “As an influential humanitarian, is it not incumbent upon him at least to ask the tough questions of world leaders and, at most, to bring all conceivable pressure to bear on them as his conscience dictates?”²⁵⁶

The Dalai Lama has not pressured Western leaders about their wars because he usually supports them. As to injustices underlying wars, his compassion focuses elsewhere.²⁵⁷ One example concerns apartheid—systematic racial domination in South Africa from the late 1940s to early 1990s. There was a huge worldwide antiapartheid movement from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s. South Africa attacked neighboring states that sheltered antiapartheid exiles, causing tens of thousands of deaths. My assiduous search for evidence of opposition by the Dalai Lama to decades of apartheid revealed none, making the praise of him by Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Prize-winning South African archbishop emeritus, appear anomalous.²⁵⁸ After apartheid ended, there was another instance of extreme ethnic oppression in Africa, the genocide in Rwanda. My search found no comment on it by the Dalai Lama.²⁵⁹

The Dalai Lama’s failure to condemn apartheid jibes with his conservative, self-orientalizing view of “races,” his acceptance of an East-West binary, and his lack of a conception of a global South. He credits the West, that is, whites, with key creations of civilization: “We must recognize the contributions of the West. Democracy, rule of law, human rights, ecology—all these come from the modern West.”²⁶⁰ He has not discussed the West’s colonialism or postcolonial support for authoritarian rulers; in fact, exile leaders have praised British and U.S. colonialism.²⁶¹ The Dalai Lama has also said that “Eastern culture and tradition are mainly concerned with mental health and mental development and Western civilization concentrates

mainly on technology and scientific development,”²⁶² even though Asia and Africa contributed greatly to the West’s technological development.²⁶³ When asked in mainly white countries about “overpopulation,” he has said it is a “very serious” problem, although it is typically deemed a “problem” because populations in many nonwhite countries are increasing, while populations shrink in many mainly white countries.²⁶⁴

Although he has received the Museum of Tolerance Peace Award as “a leader who transcends all racial and religious lines,”²⁶⁵ the Dalai Lama does not see racism as structural, as do most specialists.²⁶⁶ Instead he holds that “discrimination and racism is just a matter of ignorance.”²⁶⁷ That converts to Buddhism in the West are overwhelmingly white²⁶⁸ may also explain why his compassion focuses less on oppressed peoples than on those associated with their subordination. That conclusion is indicated by remarks he made on a visit to Australia. Arriving in Melbourne, he noted that “he had flown over ‘a large empty area’ of Australia that could house millions of people from other densely populated continents.” The area is not empty, as it contains Aborigines. To them, the Dalai Lama proffered the advice that “black people ‘should appreciate what white people have brought to this country, its development.’”²⁶⁹ In fact, the Dalai Lama seems to believe that indigenous people in Western countries are not badly off. He has said of New Zealand and Canada, which have the largest (15%) and second largest (3.8%) percentage of indigenous people in their populations, that the Maoris are “very successfully preserving their language and habits” and Canada’s First Nations are “very fortunate” because they “have every right to preserve [their culture].”²⁷⁰ The 2006 censuses in New Zealand and Canada show however that only 24 percent of Maoris and 21 percent of First Nations people can speak their indigenous languages.²⁷¹

Another example concerns Israel’s occupation of Palestinian lands since 1967, an act implicated in several subsequent wars. The occupation has elicited widespread criticism and there is broader international agreement than in the case of Tibet that an occupation exists in Palestine and should end. In Israel in 2006 the Dalai Lama again essentially told a native people that they have benefited from a settler influx. “‘The white people murdered millions of Native Americans when they came to that land . . . and that is very very sad. But it happened. It not realistic to expect the white people to leave . . .

after all how would that small number of Native Americans handle those big cities?’ As the audience chuckled he said more seriously, ‘To the Arabs I say it is sad sad what happened to you. But look at what the Jewish people have done here. Take the good.’²⁷²

He lauds Israelis for their “very strong spirit”²⁷³ and “lavishly praises Jews,”²⁷⁴ but not Palestinians. His comments on the Israel-Palestine issue have mainly been criticisms of Palestinian violence but not of Israel’s forcible occupation.²⁷⁵ He has denounced Hamas and said that to pressure it to recognize Israel and end violence is acceptable, but he has not criticized Israel’s use of violence.²⁷⁶ Asked how Tibetans could look to Jews to preserve their culture in exile and regain a country, he said, “We need a Moshe Dayan!”²⁷⁷ — the Israeli general whose victory created the occupation.

Among Tibetans in India there is also a sense of racial hierarchy and disparagement of and apartness from Indians. Asa Tiljander Dahlstrom reports that Tibetans regard Indians as lazy and cheats and themselves as hardworking and honest.²⁷⁸ Surveys by the Indian scholar Girjia Saklani showed many Tibetan exiles view Indians as lethargic and lazy. He notes “Tibetans’ sneering upon and denigrating India and belittling her material and cultural standards” and judges that “there is every possibility that such dystopian outlook upon India and Indians might be widespread among the educated Tibetans, though they discreetly never publicize it.”²⁷⁹ The U.S. anthropologist Keila Diehl found that “relations between the two groups are generally restricted to the economic sphere (mostly between Indian shopkeepers and their Tibetan customers and between Tibetan families and their Indian servant boys).”²⁸⁰

Many Tibetan exiles live in better conditions than local Indians and Nepalese, due in large part to funds provided by Western governments, nongovernmental associations, and converts.²⁸¹ Local resentment of poverty relative to Tibetan settlers has been attributed to Indians’ having less education, skills, and political privilege, but also to Tibetan ethnic disparagement, which resulted in anti-Tibetan riots in Dharamsala in 1994.²⁸² There has also been communal violence between locals and Tibetans in Arunachal Pradesh. In Himachal Pradesh in the late 1990s, “there were continuous conflicts between the Tibetans and the local Indian communities.”²⁸³ An Indian teashop owner “complained about [Tibetans’] having land and

owning shops. And we work for them. They have the wherewithal to run establishments. Not an eyebrow is raised if they encroach [on forests].”²⁸⁴ Dharamsala Indians have said, “Often Indians are treated shabbily by shopkeepers and hoteliers at Tibetan-controlled McLeod Ganj, while in sharp contrast the foreign tourists are favored.”²⁸⁵ An Indian taxi driver said of the exiles, “They treat us local Indians like dirt and look up to Westerners because they receive so much aid from them. . . . Today most are economically much better off than us.”²⁸⁶

Conclusion

I myself am just a human being, and incidentally a Tibetan, who chooses to be a Buddhist monk.

—The Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile*

Tibetan exile leaders assert that “His Holiness has no reason to correct his political stance. All his actions absolutely match his words.”²⁸⁷ The claim that he consistently upholds nonviolence is intended to show that, unlike Chinese leaders, he is moderate and benevolent. It is one of many such problematic assertions. For example, his top aides claimed the Dalai Lama “always supported that China should hold the much waited Olympic Games”²⁸⁸ and “supported the Olympics from day one.”²⁸⁹ He stated that “I have been a supporter of China’s right to host the Olympics from the very beginning”²⁹⁰ and claimed that “he always supported China’s bid for the 2008 Beijing Olympics.”²⁹¹ China was awarded the Olympics in July 2001 at an International Olympics Committee meeting in Moscow. When asked in April 2001 whether he supported Beijing’s bid, he said there were reasons to have reservations about it.²⁹² In May he noted that the TGIE opposed the bid, but said he was “indecisive.”²⁹³ He made up his mind in July, however, and “issued a statement saying he had been misquoted when earlier media reports said he supported China’s bid.” He concluded that “the human rights situation in both China and Tibet is deteriorating by the day. . . . It is not appropriate to award the Olympic Games to Beijing at this time.”²⁹⁴

The Dalai Lama’s construction of a moderate, benevolent image is often belied by the more strident, unsupported statements of his associates. For

example, the Dalai Lama praised Chinese authorities' response to the 2008 Sichuan earthquake.²⁹⁵ At the same time, however, Thubten Phalgey, head of the TGIE Solidarity Committee, said, "We have reason to believe that the Government of China is carrying out relief and rescue efforts in the Chinese-affected areas on a warfooting, and where the Chinese people are concentrated. The Tibetan areas and the Tibetan people are being neglected."²⁹⁶ No evidence of neglect was offered.²⁹⁷ In fact, due to the quake relief efforts, an improvement in the government's image among ethnic minorities has been noted.²⁹⁸

The Dalai Lama's contrast of his benevolence with that of China's leaders requires that he charge the latter with malevolence, although usually without evidence. In 2008 he said, "Half-a-million Chinese people are already there [in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR)] and there are plans to settle over one million Chinese people after the Olympic Games."²⁹⁹ The most recent census is the 2005 Tibet Regional Bureau of Statistics and National Bureau of Statistics 1 percent sample, which concluded that 180,000 Han, 4.2 percent of its population, had resided in the TAR for six months or more before the November 1 census.³⁰⁰ The claim that 1 million Han are to be settled in the TAR after the Olympics resembles earlier claims: in 1993 Tibetan exile sources said "some one million Chinese 'flood victims,' expected to come in batches, [would] soon be resettled in the area of Gongkar Airport, Lhoka and Kongpo in southern Tibet."³⁰¹ The TGIE noted in 2000 that 1.2 million people were displaced by the Three Gorges Dam and claimed that "sources within Tibet say at least one million Chinese will move to Tibet's southern Kongpo region because of its climatic similarity with Yangtze region from where they are being displaced."³⁰² Neither "resettlement" materialized.

The Dalai Lama's charges are often so far off the mark that they can be refuted by anyone with basic knowledge of the topic; yet the Western media seldom provides such knowledge. For example, receiving honorary citizenship in Venice, the Dalai Lama, stated that China is "deliberately seeking to eliminate Tibetan people, culture, and religion," and that "monks in Lhasa now only numbered 'around 50,' down from 100 a couple of years ago and thousands in 1959."³⁰³ Yet Tsering Woeser, a Tibetan writer sympathetic to the émigré cause, has stated that "thousands of monks in Lhasa" staged a March 2008 protest and Students for a Free Tibet claimed that more than

one thousand monks from Lhasa were imprisoned.³⁰⁴ There are in fact thousand of monks in Lhasa and a total of about 150,000 Tibetan monks and nuns in China.³⁰⁵

There have been scattered efforts to disestablish political cults built around “men of peace,”³⁰⁶ but these fail where evidence is questionable or a balanced appraisal of their subject’s varied roles is not made.³⁰⁷ Even where there is solid evidence, his persona may still be deemed unassailable. The Dalai Lama is in that position. His top representative has stated that he agrees with Tibetans who have told him that even if the Dalai Lama were to give them permission to criticize him, they still should not do so.³⁰⁸ Behavioral science experiments also show that most people display great resistance to information that does not accord with their preconceived ideas and that resistance is likely to be stronger still where religious beliefs come into play.³⁰⁹

Because of the Dalai Lama’s followers’ devotion, their unwillingness to distinguish his political and religious roles, and the symbiotic relationship of the “Tibet Lobby” and Western elites, it is difficult to decenter the Tibet question from the Dalai Lama’s persona. While he may focus on Tibet’s status and Tibetan interaction with the Chinese state, his followers unflinchingly bring the issue back to him,³¹⁰ typically idolizing him and thus inducing Chinese government demonization, especially when Tibet is unstable. His persona, rather than knowledge about Tibet, is likely why most Westerners believe Tibet should not be part of China.³¹¹

The Dalai Lama has said “it will be a great setback” when he dies.³¹² TPIE Speaker Karma Choephel has stated that “after [the Dalai Lama’s] passing away, for the next 50 years Tibetans will not be able to bring any sort of momentum for their struggle and the Tibetan issue will be lost.”³¹³ Samdhong Rimpoche has told exiles they should “be prepared for the worst eventuality, whereby the Tibetan movement has to be sustained indefinitely, for centuries, until the last Tibetan.”³¹⁴ For there to be a compromise settlement while the Dalai Lama is still around to make it, the Tibet question has to be reshaped into one that fixes on how Tibetans’ political participation, economic status, and cultural preservation can be enhanced within the context of Chinese sovereignty, a position to which the Dalai Lama himself has, at times, alluded.³¹⁵ That can happen, however, only by challenging

central aspects of the Dalai Lama's political cult, which remains an obstacle to achieving negotiations.

Notes

1. Of these, the Dalai Lama most often cites Gandhi, whose concept of nonviolence was equivocal. Gandhi wrote in 1922, "Have I not repeatedly said that I would have India become free even by violence rather than that she should remain in bondage?" "Letter from Martin Buber to Gandhi," www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/BuberGandhi.html. Although allowing for violence by Indians, Gandhi argued German Jews should challenge the Nazis to shoot or imprison them, so Jews could derive "inner strength and joy." Even a massacre of all German Jews "could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy," for "to the God-fearing, death has no terror"; Haim Gordon, "A Rejection of Spiritual Imperialism: Reflections of Buber's Letter to Gandhi," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 36:3-4 (1999): 470-79. Gandhi wrote to the British in 1940, "I want you to fight Nazism without arms. Let them take possession of your beautiful island. . . . If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman, and child to be slaughtered, but will refuse to owe allegiance to them"; "To Every Briton," in *The Gandhi Reader*, ed. Homer Jack (New York: Grove), 345.
2. Tom Grunfeld, "The Advantages and Perils of Globalization: The Case of Tibet," in *As China Meets the World: China's Changing Position in the International Community*, ed. Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik et al. (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science Press, 2007), 35-60. To interact with these elites, the Dalai Lama created a pontifical role, "reportedly an arrangement that other religious schools reached in the 1960s partly to simplify their relations with foreigners"; Robert Barnett, "Essay," in Steve Lehman, *Tibetans: A Struggle to Survive* (Santa Fe, NM: Umbrage, 1998), 178-96.
3. Stephanie Roemer, *The Tibetan Government-in-Exile* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 150.
4. Alex McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre, 1904-1947* (Richmond, U.K.: Curzon, 1997), 205-6.
5. Tomoko Masuzawa, "From Empire to Utopia: The Effacement of Colonial Markings in Lost Horizon," *positions* 7:2 (1992): 541-72; Donald Lopez, *Prisoner of Shangri-La* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 5-6; Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing, and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 117-18.
6. "Dalai Lama Visited Pro-Tibet Event in Berlin," World Tibet Network News, May 22, 2008.
7. See, e.g., "U.S. Calls Dalai Lama 'Man of Peace,'" Voice of America News, April 1, 2008; Johanna Neumann, "McCain Joins Call for Boycott," *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 2008.

8. European Council on Foreign Relations head Mark Leonard has noted that “the little that Europeans kn[o]w about China [comes] from news coverage,” which has been “recently unfavorable”; “China Seen as Biggest Threat to Stability,” *Financial Times*, April 15, 2008.
9. “Dalai Lama *Time*’s ‘Most Influential,’” *Time*, May 1, 2008. *Newsweek* named him the world’s forty-seventh most powerful person; “The New Global Elite,” *Newsweek*, December 29, 2008.
10. John Freed, “Dalai Lama Gets Top Rating in Survey on World Leader,” *International Herald Tribune*, November 27, 2008. George W. Bush was eighteenth of nineteen leaders. In a 2009 poll, the Dalai Lama had a 77% positive rating, up 5% over his 2008 rating. Chinese President Hu Jintao’s rating was 9%. Harris Interactive, “Obama-mania Sweeps Europe as New U.S. President Tops List of Most Popular World Leaders,” www.harrisinteractive.com/news/FTHarrisPoll/HI_France24_IHT_HarrisPol1_February2009.pdf.
11. “The Real China and the Olympics,” *Washington Post*, April 5, 2008.
12. Erich Follath and Padma Rao, “*Spiegel* Interview with the Dalai Lama,” *Der Spiegel*, May 12, 2008.
13. “Will Surrender Privileges if Tibet Becomes Free: Dalai Lama,” *Indian Express*, January 21, 2009.
14. The Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping spoke in 1979 of negotiations over all issues other than independence, *if the Dalai Lama accepted that Tibet is part of China*. Guy Dinsmore, “China and the Tibet Exiles Reopen Talks,” Reuters, July 22, 1993. “So long as it is not accepted that Tibet is an integral part of China,” Deng said, “there is nothing else to talk about”; Dawa Norbu, *China’s Tibet Policy* (London: Routledge, 2001), 316. China first framed a precondition of acknowledging Tibet as an inalienable part of China in 1998; “We Are Building a Friendship,” *Washington Post*, June 28, 1998. Emigré Prime Minister Samdhong Rinpoche has said Tibet would only become a legitimate part of China when “Tibetans have voluntarily decided to remain as part of the PRC”; “Kalon Tripa’s Statement on ‘Future Prospects for Tibet,’” *Tibetan Bulletin* 12:4 (2008): 15–20.
15. “Interview: Very Few Chances of Agreeing with China: Tibetan Leader,” Indo-Asian News Service, June 8, 2008. In this interview, Samdhong Rinpoche said, “We are ready to acknowledge that Tibet is now part of China. But we will not say that it was historically part of China. That is what China wants the Dalai Lama to say. We will not do it as it will legitimize their occupation of Tibet.” In 1982 U.K. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher rejected China’s claim to Hong Kong; only after she recognized Chinese sovereignty could formal negotiations begin; Michael Weisskopf, “Thatcher Won’t Endorse China’s Hong Kong Stand,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 1982. Takashi Oka, “Trying to Fit Hong Kong into the Chinese Puzzle,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 1983. The Dalai Lama’s refusal to pronounce Tibet an inalienable part of China may rest on his belief that change for Tibet can be a “sudden result of what has been building for years,” that is, that China may collapse; Holly Morris, “Inside the Paradoxes of the Dalai Lama,” *International Herald*

- Tribune*, April 5, 2008. He has been quoted as saying that “the entire people of China support the Tibetan cause”; “China’s Communist Regime Losing Ground: Dalai,” *Fresh News* Delhi, January 16, 2009. Thus, Beijing receives mixed signals. The Dalai Lama’s London envoy has said “Tibetans have a right to independence”; “Crunch Time for Tibetan Cause,” *BBC News*, November 17, 2008, news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/asia-pacific/7727791.stm. Samdhong Rinpoche told an exile conference in November 2008 that “if the outcome of the present meeting is that we should switch over from the ‘middle way’ to independence, we will gladly follow that”; “Tibetan Exiles Debate Pushing for Independence,” *Associated Press*, November 19, 2008. The Chinese government regards this approach as denying China’s sovereignty over Tibet; see “Ulterior Motives behind Dalai’s ‘Memorandum,’” *China Daily*, November 22, 2008. See also “Interview with Samdhong Rinpoche,” *WTNN*, June 27, 2009 (Chinese leadership is soon going to fall). Even Western China specialists who are harshly critical of the country’s government have concluded, however, that “it is a resilient regime, not a fragile one,” as Edward Friedman has put it. “China: A Threat to or Threatened by Democracy?” *Dissent*, Winter, 2009, www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=1318.
16. “China Reportedly Orders Beefing Up of Education against Religion,” *Kyodo*, November 18, 2004. More than 80% of respondents to a 2008 poll in China believed that Western media spread a biased image of China; Edward Cody, “As China Gets Heat, Foreigners Feel the Chill,” *Washington Post*, April 30, 2008. In 2007, before the events in Tibet, only 49% held that view. U.S. Committee of One Hundred, *Hope and Fear: Survey on American and Chinese Attitudes toward Each Other* (New York, 2008), 28. An April 2008 private poll in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou (Canton) found that “half the respondents said what the Dalai Lama said and did recently deepened their repugnance toward him.” More than three-fourths had used foreign news sources, but only 2% were inclined to believe Western media accounts of the Olympics and Tibet issue; “France Plunges in Popularity Ranking: Poll,” *China Daily*, April 24, 2008.
 17. Ed Bradley, “People Who Dedicated Their Lives so That Others Could Live in Freedom and Peace,” *CBS News Transcripts*, December 27, 1999.
 18. “Tibet Will be Independent, while China Will Follow the Path of the USSR Says Dalai Lama,” *Official Kremlin International News Broadcast*, April 30, 1992.
 19. Margaret Nowak, *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 156.
 20. Dalai Lama, “Guidelines for Future Tibet’s Polity and Basic Features of Its Constitution” (Dharamsala: Central Tibetan Administration, 1992); Central Tibetan Administration, “World Needs Tibet’s Compassionate and Non-violent Culture: His Holiness,” *World Tibet Network News*, November 24, 2008. See also “Dalai Lama Calls on Beijing to Change,” *Voice of America*, August 9, 2009 (head of Dalai Lama Foundation states “Tibetans are traditionally peaceful and gentle”).
 21. Iyer, “Over Tea.”

22. Dalai Lama, [Canada] Joint Meeting: The Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Affairs and International Trade: Evidence, April 22, 2004, www.parl.gc.ca/committee/CommitteePublication.aspx?SourceId=81758.
23. “Robert Thurman Talks Nonviolence, Tolerance to Receptive Audience,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 9, 1997.
24. “Tibet,” HL (House of Lords) Deb 13 December 1989 v. 513 cc1363 (Viscount Mersey). As a U.S. conservation specialist has pointed out, “Hunting has been a traditional activity for many people on the Plateau”; Richard Harris, “Wildlife Conservation on the Tibetan Plateau: Part of Development or Anti-Development?” Sustainable Development in Tibet Roundtable, Brandeis University, May 8, 2001.
25. Jay Carr, “Tibetan Book of the Brad,” *Boston Globe*, October 10, 1997.
26. Rosemary Sorensen, “Tibetan Chic,” *Brisbane Courier Mail*, December 12, 1997. The Dalai Lama approved the script, as he did for Martin Scorsese’s *Kundun*, which contrasted peaceful Tibetans to cruel, bellicose Chinese; Matthew Soegel, “Getting Himself All Gere-ed Up for Ruthless Role,” *Florida Times-Union*, April 5, 1996. Suzanne Goldenberg, “Cheers and Fears of the Dalai Lama,” *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 4, 1997. Hollywood films on Tibet have represented Chinese as “subhuman murderers” and Tibetans as “superhuman, perfect citizens under a perfect leader”; Eve Mullen, *The American Occupation of Tibetan Buddhism* (Berlin: Waxman, 2001), 95.
27. “Leviticus and Richard Gere,” *Boston Herald*, April 20, 1993.
28. Nick Mamatas, “I’m a Contra Tool!” *Disinformation*, October 18, 2000, www.disinfo.com/archive/pages/dossier/id393/pg1/index.html, citing *New York Post*, November 2, 1997.
29. See, e.g., Charles Radin, “Giving Comfort in a World of Chaos,” *Boston Globe*, September 24, 1990 (“a peacemaker recognized world-wide”); Christopher Kremmer, “Dalai Lama Blesses Refugees Starving for Independence,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 9, 1998 (“apostle of nonviolence”).
30. Alexandra Power-Hays, “Tibet Is an Innocent Victim,” *University Wire*, March 21, 2008.
31. William Coleman, “The Uprising at Batang: Khams and Its Significance in Chinese and Tibetan History,” and Wim Van Spengen, “Frontier History of Southern Khams: Banditry and War in the Multi-ethnic Fringe Lands of Chatring, Mili, and Gyethang, 1890–1940,” in *Khams pa Histories: Visions of People, Place, and Authority*, ed. Lawrence Epstein (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2002), 31–55, 7–29.
32. Elliot Sperling, “‘Orientalism’ and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition,” in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, ed. Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 318–19. See also Tsepon Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), 113; Melvyn Goldstein, *A History of Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 42–43, 513–15; Lydia Arans, “Inventing Tibet,” *Commentary* 127:1 (2009): 38–41. The Fifth Dalai

- Lama also forced Buddhists of other schools to “convert” to the Gelugpa school; John Powers, *History as Propaganda: Tibetan Exiles versus the People’s Republic of China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 146.
33. Zahiruddin Ahmad, “New Light on the Tibet-Ladakh-Mogul War of 1679–1684,” *East and West* 18 (1968): 340–61; Patrick French, *Tibet, Tibet* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2003), 98; David Kopel, “Self-Defense in Asian Religion,” *Liberty Law Review* 2:1 (2007): 79–164; Donald Lopez, “Seven Things You Didn’t Know about Tibet,” www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/493105.html.
 34. Michael Fredholm, “The Impact of Manchu Institutions on Tibetan Military Reform,” paper presented at Sixth Nordic Tibet Conference, May 5–6, 2007, ppi.it.secure.su.se/content/1/c6/04/25/81/Fredholm.pdf.
 35. Quoted in John Billington, “It’s Time for Tibetans to Ignore the Dalai Lama’s Policy of Nonviolence,” *Independent* (London), October 12, 1997.
 36. Dalai Lama, *Violence and Compassion: Dialogues on Life Today* (New York: Random House, 2001).
 37. Sanderson Beck, *Tibet, Nepal, and Ceylon, 1800–1950* (Goleta, CA: World Peace Communications, 2007), reproduced at www.san.beck.org/20-7-TibetNepalCeylon1800-1950.html.
 38. James Palmer, *The Bloody White Baron* (London: Faber, 2007).
 39. Carole McGranahan, “Empire and the Status of Tibet: British, Chinese, and Tibetan Negotiations, 1913–1934,” in *The History of Tibet*, ed. Alex McKay, vol. 3 (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 267–95; James Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and Its Indigenes Became Chinese* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 71–72.
 40. Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 27.
 41. Charles Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927), 191–93; Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 101.
 42. Lin Hsiao-ting, “When Christianity and Lamaism Met: The Changing Fortunes of Early Western Missionaries in Tibet,” *Pacific Rim Report*, no. 36 (December 2004), www.pacificrim.usfca.edu/research/pacrimreport/pacrimreport36.html.
 43. Goldstein, *A History of Tibet*, 513; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 12; Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama* (Berkeley, CA: Grove, 2007), 286. See also Barnett, “Essay,” 192 (“There were several insurgencies against the previous Dalai Lama or his regents this century led by monks”). Torture and death-inducing punishment was common, as U.S. Army officers observed in Tibet in 1942 and 1943. See Rosemary Jones Tung, *A Portrait of Lost Tibet* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1987).
 44. Robert Ford, “Robert Ford’s Report” (Dharamsala: Tibetan Government in Exile, 1994), www.tibet.com/status/ford.html. Tibetan rulers wanted to raise one hundred thousand troops; Tsering Shakya, *Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet since 1947* (London: Pimilico, 1999), 13.

45. Chalmers Johnson, *Sorrows of Empire* (New York: Metropolitan, 2004).
46. Mikel Dunham, *Buddha's Warriors: The Story of the CIA-Backed Freedom Fighters, the Chinese Invasion, and the Ultimate Fall of Tibet* (New York: J. P. Tarcher, 2004).
47. Brett Popplewell, "The CIA's Buddhist Affair," *Toronto Star*, March 14, 2009.
48. "Establishment 22," www.chushigangdruk.org/history/history11.htm. Tenzin Tsundue, "Semshook: Our Bond with India," *Tibetan Review*, December 2004. The Tibetan Government in Exile (TGIE) had "made it compulsory for every young Tibetan refugee to serve a term in this military unit"; Jamyang Norbu, "A Not So Special Meeting," February 4, 2008, in World Tibet Network News, February 20, 2008. "Even after it became clear that the [SFF] would only be serving India's national interest, many Tibetans in exile stayed and made the army a career"; Jessica Falcone and Tsering Wangchuk, "'We're Not Home': Tibetan Refugees in India in the Twenty-First Century," *India Review* 7:3 (2008): 164–99.
49. Fernanda Pirie, "Violence and Opposition among the Nomads of Amdo: Expectations of Leadership and Religious Authority," in *Conflict, Religion and Social Order in Tibet and Inner Asia*, ed. Toni Huber and Fernanda Pirie (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 217–40.
50. Martin Cohn, "Lost Horizons of Lhasa," *Toronto Star*, December 7, 2001; Julian Gearing, "Struggle for Tibet's Soul," *Asiaweek*, March 19, 2001; "Tibetan Group Rejects Dalai Lama's Leadership," *Times of India*, November 12, 2000; Lobasang Ragbey, "A Profile of Tibetans in Canada: Social Needs and Strategies for Cultural Preservation" (Washington, DC: Conservancy for Tibetan Art and Culture, 2002), 7.
51. Jagdish Bhatt, "Tensions between Locals, Tibetans Rise in Manoli," *Times of India*, July 7, 1999; this article attributes to Indians the view that Tibetan youth "drink homemade brew and engage in brawls." For Indian resentment of Tibetans' sexual mores and violence, see Sandra Penny-Dimri, "Conflict amongst the Tibetans and Indians of North India: Communal Violence and Welfare Dollars," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 5:3 (1994): 280–93.
52. Andrew Fischer, "The Muslim Cook, the Tibetan Client, His Lama, and Their Boycott: Modern Religious Discourses of Anti-Muslim Economic Activism in Amdo," in *Conflict, Religion and Social Order in Tibet and Inner Asia*, ed. Toni Huber and Fernanda Pirie (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 159–92; "Tensions Rise between Tibetans, Chinese Muslims," *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 2008. On conflicts between Tibetan Buddhists and Muslims outside Tibet, see Yoginder Skiand, "Muslim-Buddhist Clashes in Ladakh: The Politics behind the 'Religious' Conflict," www.countercutents.org/comm-sikand130206.htm.
53. "Intrepid French Woman Unveiled Tibet for the World," Indo-Asian News Service, July 6, 2008.
54. Arans, "Inventing Tibet," 40.
55. Robert Barnett, "Violated Specialness: Western Political Representations of Tibet," in *Imag-*

- ining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, ed. Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 308n23.
56. A.A. Shiromany, *The Political Philosophy of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings* (Delhi: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, 1998), 421. He also began to speak of “the peaceful Tibetan people”; Mary Kay Magistad, “Tibetans Living in Constant Fear, Dalai Lama Says,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, April 13, 1988.
 57. Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 83.
 58. See Carole McGranahan, “Truth, Fear, and Lies: Exile Politics and the Arrested Histories of the Tibetan Resistance,” *Cultural Anthropology* 20:4 (2005): 570–601.
 59. See, e.g., Peter Worthington, “Tibet’s Dalai Lama Now a Figure to Heed,” *Toronto Financial Post*, October 16, 1989; Derek Brown, “Eyewitness: Indian Police Crush Gentle Tibetan Protest,” *Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1991; “David Schlesinger, “Beijing Bitter at U.S. Ultimatum,” *Melbourne Sunday Age*, May 30, 1993. Former U.S. Rep. Charlie Rose (D-NC) said of Tibetans, without irony, that “if this gentle people find themselves forced to take up arms against Chinese communist tyranny,” the United States might supply them with Stinger missiles and other weapons, as it had the Afghan *mujahdeen*; “U.S. Congressman Calls Christopher’s Beijing Visit a Fiasco,” Central News Agency, March 18, 1994.
 60. Shakya, *Dragon in the Land of Snows*, 406–16.
 61. Melvyn Goldstein, “Outside Instigation and the Disturbances in Tibet: A Rejoinder to Sharlho,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 1:4 (1993): 93–97; Xu Mingxu, *Yinmo yu qiancheng: Xizang saoluan de lailong qumai (Intrigues and Devoutness: The Origin and Development of the Tibet Riots)* (Brampton, ON: Mirror, 1999).
 62. Colina MacDougall, “Violence Sweeps Lhasa as Uprising Anniversary Nears,” *Financial Times*, March 7, 1989; “Documents, Arrests Indicate New Crackdown on Religion,” Associated Press, November 11, 1991. For the charge that “hundreds of Chinese soldiers and police have been beaten during demonstrations in Tibet, and at least one killed in cold blood, probably several more,” see Barnett, “Essay,” 192.
 63. Daniel Southerland, “China Flies More Security Forces to Tibet,” *Washington Post*, October 6, 1987.
 64. “Exit the Dragon,” *New Internationalist*, no. 274 (1995), www.newint.org/issue274/dragon.html.
 65. Jonathan Mirsky, “Chinese Army Fires Tear Gas at Tibetan Demonstrators,” *Times of London*, May 25, 1993; “Tibet Bombing Confirms Worst Fears of Dalai Lama,” *Manchester Guardian*, January 1, 1997.
 66. Jane Ardley, “Violent Compassion: Buddhism and Resistance in Tibet,” paper presented at Political Studies Association-U.K. conference, April 2000, 2. The Dalai Lama has noted nine bombings in Tibet. “Newshour with Jim Lehrer: Zone of Peace,” PBS, April 22, 1997, www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/Asia/April97/Tibet_4-22.html.
 67. “Tibet Is No Shangri-la,” *Mainichi* (Tokyo), June 25, 1998. The TYC helped organize the

- 2008 “Tibet People’s Uprising Movement,” whose manifesto stated, “We will bring about another uprising that will shake China’s control in Tibet and mark the beginning of the end of China’s occupation”; Ching Cheong, “Split in the Middle Road,” *Singapore Straits Times*, April 26, 2008.
68. Richard Ehrlich, “Exiled Tibetans Vow to Free Country,” *Toronto Star*, September 20, 1988.
 69. “Tibetan Youths Eager for War with China,” United Press International, August 21, 1988.
 70. Pierre-Antoine Donnet, *Tibet: Survival in Question* (London: Zed, 1994), 186.
 71. “Chronology of China Bombs and Mystery Blasts,” Agence France-Presse, January 29, 1999; “Explosion Hits Tibet’s Tense Capital: Report,” Agence France-Presse, November 9, 2000.
 72. “China Court Rejects Appeal of Tibetan Monk Sentenced to Death for Separatism,” *New York Times*, January 27, 2003. “China Justifies Death Sentence to Tibetan Monk,” Press Trust of India, November 5, 2004; United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, *USCIRF Annual Report 2005—China*, May 1, 2005, www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4855697619.html (accessed October 17, 2009).
 73. “China Jails Tibetan Monks Convicted in Bomb Blast,” Associated Press, October 14, 2008; “China Arrests Sixteen Tibetan Monks,” Associated Press, June 5, 2008.
 74. “Tibetan Protestors Beaten, Detained,” Radio Free Asia, January 21, 2009, in World Tibet Network News, January 22, 2009.
 75. Erwin Kroll, “Not a Just War, Just a War,” excerpted in the *Progressive*, April 2009, 106.
 76. Colman McCarthy, “Tibet Overrun by Wheels of Progress,” *Washington Post*, May 18, 1993.
 77. Colman McCarthy, “The Unwavering Dalai Lama,” *Washington Post*, May 12, 1991.
 78. Colman McCarthy, “The Dalai Lama Is No Gandhi,” *National Catholic Reporter*, October 2003, 22.
 79. Colman McCarthy, “Ordinary as Daylight,” *Toronto Star*, May 10, 2004. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark was a member of “Tibet support” groups, such as the Committee of One Hundred for Tibet, in the 1990s; “Trying to Save Tibet from Palo Alto to Pacifica,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 20, 1998. In 2008, however, he condemned the U.S. government for attempting to use the Tibet issue to destabilize and dismember China. “Leftists See U.S. Plot to Undermine Beijing,” *New York Sun*, April 10, 2008.
 80. Tibetan émigré families also receive foreign patronage or “sponsorship” (*rogs ram*). Thus, most Tibetan families in Dharamsala “receive some form of rogs ram for their children to see them through primary and secondary education”; Audrey Prost, “The Problem with ‘Rich Refugees’ Sponsorship, Capital, and the Informal Economy of Tibetan Refugees,” *Modern Asian Studies* 40:1 (2006): 233–53.
 81. “Brookings Institution, Speaker: HH the Dalai Lama,” Federal News Service, October 18, 2007.
 82. “Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama,” Central Tibet Administration, August 7,

- 2001, www.tibet.net/en/index.php?id=13&articletype=flashold&rmenuid=morenews&tab=1. Exile leaders particularly supported Indian state policy under the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). For example, while the Dalai Lama said that “the world could learn from the long experience of India, where many faiths and traditions lived side by side for centuries,” he joined the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP, World Hindu Council) and other militantly anti-Islamic organizations in India in deploring missionary efforts by Muslims and Christians; “His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Rome,” World Tibet Network News, June 6, 2004. Muqtedar Khan, “Dalai Lama Condemns Islamic and Christian Practice of Conversions,” www.beliefnet.com/story/64/story_6448_1.html. The TGIE has said it hopes the twenty-first century will be an Indian century; “Kashag’s Letter to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh [May 22, 2004],” TibetNet, May 25, 2004, www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=6966.
83. “On Record,” *Strategic Affairs*, August 1, 2001, 12.
 84. “Dalai Lama Backs Indian Stance on Test Ban Treaty,” Agence France-Presse, August 17, 1996; “Dalai Lama’s Representative Talks about China, Tibet, Shugden, and the Next Dalai Lama.” Wikinews. November 14, 2007, en.wikinews.org/wiki/Dalai_Lama's_representative_talks_about_China,_Tibet,_Shugden_and_the_next_Dalai_Lama. (Dalai Lama’s representative, when asked “Did the Dalai Lama support India’s nuclear testing?” responds “When India exploded a bomb, he said India is a big country and has its foreign concerns, so it would be unfair with its security concerns to deny of that ability to defend itself.”)
 85. Ajay Singh, “Letter from Little Lhasa,” *American Spectator*, April 1999, 62.
 86. “Tussle for Tawang On,” *Hindustan Times*, January 18, 2007; Goldstein, *A History of Tibet*, 299–300.
 87. “Dalai Lama Asks China to Take Lessons on Democracy from India,” United News of India, March 29, 2008.
 88. “India’s Religious Tolerance a Role Model for World: Dalai Lama,” Press Trust of India, June 1, 2008. On a visit to Nigeria in 2008, the Dalai Lama also “commended the level of religious harmony prevalent in the country, saying that the world stood to gain from Nigeria’s show of inter-religious tolerance.” “Dalai Lama in Country,” *This Day* (Lagos), November 28, 2008. Nigeria, however, has one of world’s worst records of religious violence. Since 1999 more than ten thousand Nigerians have been killed in sectarian clashes. During the Dalai Lama’s visit, Christians and Muslims were fighting in Jos state, with hundreds killed on both sides; “Death Toll More Than Three Hundred in Nigeria Violence,” Associated Press, November 29, 2008. In devout Nigeria, the Dalai Lama denied that Buddhism is atheistic; “When Dalai Lama Preached Tolerance,” *This Day*, December 1, 2008. In the less pious US resort of Sun Valley, he had said the opposite; “Dalai Lama Meets Idaho Religious Leaders,” *SunValleyOnline*, September 15, 2005 (“from the theistic viewpoint Buddhists are atheists”), sunvalleyonline.com/news/articles.asp?ID_Article=1146.
 89. Martha Nussbaum, *The Clash within Democracy: Religious Violence and India’s Future*

- (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); Tom Joehnk, "Religious Murders Embarrass India," *Financial Times*, October 2, 2008. "The India That Is Not and Never Was," *New Statesman* (U.K.), December 8, 2008, 24. Five hundred Christians were murdered, tens of thousands displaced by Hindu "Saffro-Nazis" in Orissa.
90. "Dalai Lama: NGOs Should Fight Terror," *Statesman* (India), November 8, 2001.
 91. Ajai Sahni, "Terrorism in India: An Uncertain Relief," *Progressive* (Bangladesh), March 21, 2008.
 92. Basharat Peer, "Mutiny in the Mountains," *New Statesman*, November 10, 2008, 33–37.
 93. Anand Giridharadas, "Forget Gandhi, Violence Is Now the Chosen Path," *International Herald Tribune*, December 24, 2008.
 94. Human Rights Watch, "Being Neutral Is Our Biggest Crime: Government, Vigilante, and Naxalite Abuses in India's Chhattisgarh State," 2008, www.hrw.org/reports/2008/india0708/index.htm; Somini Sengupta, "Largest Democracy Is Short on Tolerance," *International Herald Tribune*, October 30, 2008.
 95. Proshun Chakroborty, "Tibetans in Exile Say 'Thank You India,'" *Times of India*, April 27, 2009.
 96. "Dalai Lama Wins 1989 Nobel Peace Prize," United Press International, October 5, 1989.
 97. "PM's Swipe at Beijing: Dalai Lama Stands for Nonviolence," *Indian Express*, March 21, 2008.
 98. "Tibet Protests: Chinese Envoy Meets Rajnath," *Indian Express*, April 2, 2008.
 99. Ravi Velloor, "Tibetan Exiles Keep the Fight Alive," *Singapore Straits Times*, April 6, 2008.
 100. See Jude Carlson, "Tibet in the News," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 24:2 (1992): 25–40.
 101. Klaudia Lee, "TV Slur Fury Highlights Poor Channels of Communication," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, May 1, 2008. For examples of unconcealed enthusiasm for the Dalai Lama as a political leader by journalists working for Western media, see Patricia Miotto, "Compassion in Troubled Times," *Montreal Gazette*, September 28, 2009; "Behind the Scenes: Amanpour 'Transfixed' by Dalai Lama," CNN.com, August 1, 2008; Amy Yee [Financial Times Delhi correspondent], "Pro-Justice, Not Anti-China," May 11, 2009, www.feer.com/authors-corner/2009/may56/Pro-Justice-Not-Anti-China.
 102. Robert Thurman, "The Realpolitik of Spirituality: An Interview with His Holiness the Dalai Lama," *Shambhala Sun*, November 1996, www.Shambhalasun.com/archives/features/1996Nov96/dalailama.
 103. "U.S. Supportive of Our Cause: Dalai Lama," *Times of India*, October 6, 2003.
 104. "Brookings Institution, Speaker: HH the Dalai Lama." See also "Dalai Lama Calls America 'Champion of Freedom' in Exclusive Interview," Fox News, April 24, 2009, in World Tibet Network News, April 25, 2009.
 105. "The Military the Country Needs," Atlantic Council, February 22, 2009, www.acus.org/new_atlanticist/military-country-needs.
 106. "Tibet Flag to Be Hoisted in Vilnius," Baltic News Service, March 9, 2004.

107. John B. Roberts II, "The Secret War over Tibet," *American Spectator* 30:12 (1997): 30–36; quotation on 32.
108. Paul Salopek, "The CIA's Secret War in Tibet," *Chicago Tribune*, January 25, 1997; Jim Mann, "Files Reveal That CIA Funded Dalai Lama, Tibetan Resistance," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1998. See also Tom Grunfeld, "Grunfeld on McGranahan," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8:6 (2006), www.h-net.org/~diplo/reviews/PDF/Grunfeld-McGranahan.pdf.
109. M. Kripalani, "World Watches India's Response to Tibet," *Business Week* (India), March 21, 2008. Most TGIE income is from Western state grants. In 2006–7, grants totaled US\$17.5 million. "Rinpoche Defies China as Tibet's Prime Minister Based in India," Bloomberg, April 30, 2008. See also Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 118–23, on the dependence of the TGIE and Tibetan exiles in India (three-fourths of whom do not work) on external financial support. The TGIE has said its annual budget is \$700,000, leaving substantial funds for internationalization activities; Velloor, "Tibetan Exiles Keep the Fight Alive."
110. Thomas Lam, "U.S.-Funded Assistance Programs in China," Congressional Research Service RS22663 (January 28, 2008). An official Chinese news source has reported that the US Congress appropriated US\$2.4 million for Tibetan exile organizations in 2009, up by 25 percent over 2008. Almost 89 percent of the TGIE's 2005 revenues derived from foreign aid and it has annually spent 30–40 percent of its funds on projects related to the Tibet Question and representation abroad. Yi Duo, "Dalai Lama bian shen 'yao qian shu' Liancai zhi shu bei meiti baoguang ("The Dalai Lama has been changed into one 'shaking the money tree': techniques of accumulating wealth by unfair means exposed by media"), *Huangqiu Shibao* [*Global Times*], June 19, 2009, www.cns.hk:89/gn/news/2009/06-19/1741923.shtml.
111. "Asia Programs," NED, www.ned.org/grants/06programs/grants-asia06.html#chinaTibet.
112. David Ignatius, "Innocence Abroad: The New World of Spyless Coups." *Washington Post*, September 22, 1991.
113. Ching Cheong, "The Crimson Revolution's True Colors," *Singapore Straits Times*, April 22, 2008. Phunchok Stobdan, a Tibet expert at India's Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, has said of the protests in Tibet that "organized elements [were] ready for them"; Randeep Ramesh, "Strategy: Younger Generation Rejects Nonviolent Tradition," *Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 2008.
114. "Dalai Lama to Address U.S. Congressmen," Central News Agency, April 13, 1991; "Dalai Lama Reaffirms Belief in Democracy," Central News Agency, April 27, 1993; "Dalai Lama Seeking Self-Rule for Tibet, Says He's an 'Unlucky' Refugee," Associated Press, November 11, 1998; "Dalai Lama's Special Envoy to Address at WMD," *Economic Times of India*, February 1, 2004. After the July 2009 Urumqi riots, which mainly involved Uyghur murders of scores of Han passersby, the Dalai Lama praised NED-financed World Uyghur Congress leader Rebiya Kadeer as "a paradigm of non-violence." Kadeer, however, has demanded that all arrested Uyghurs be released. "Dalai Lama Supports Kadeer as Woman of Peace,"

- Tibetan Review*, August 12, 2009; “Uyghur Leader Seeks Tokyo Support,” *South China Morning Post* October 21, 2009.
115. On Radio Free Asia’s propaganda function, see Mark Hopkins, “A Babel of Broadcasts,” *Columbia Journalism Review*, July–August 1999. Some 96% of grantees of the Tibetan Scholarship Program work for the TGIE and related entities. U.S. Department of State, *Outcome Assessment of the Tibetan Scholarship Program* (2004), exchanges.state.gov/education/evaluations/reports/tsp.pdf.
 116. Yu Shiyu, “Dalai Lama yu Yisilan” (“The Dalai Lama and Islam”), *Lianhe Zaobao*, November 7, 2007.
 117. “Blair Provokes Outrage over Refusal to Meet with Dalai Lama,” *Independent*, January 10, 2004.
 118. “Dalai Lama: Bush Has Lack of Understanding of Reality,” *Huffington Post*, July 18, 2008.
 119. Jim Brown, “His Holiness Comes to the Hill,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, October 29, 2007. For the Dalai Lama’s statements that he and George W. Bush are “very close friends” and that he loves the U.S. president, see also Johanna Neuman, “The Dalai Lama Loves Bush,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 2008; and Michael Paulson, “In Local Visit, Dalai Lama Takes Firm Stance on China,” *Boston Globe*, 30 April 2009.
 120. “Bush Praises Dalai Lama, Urges China to Invite Him for Talks,” Associated Press, October 17, 2007.
 121. “Brookings Institution, Speaker: HH the Dalai Lama.”
 122. “Dalai Lama Praises Bush Meeting on Stop in Germany,” Associated Press, May 29, 2001.
 123. “Lost Horizon,” Accuracy in Media, April 1, 2009, www.aim.org/briefing/print/lost-horizon/.
 124. Stanley Weiss, “Wary on Obama,” *International Herald Tribune*, April 19, 2009.
 125. Greg Torode, “Gentle but Shrewd, and with Charm on His Side,” *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, June 22, 2000.
 126. “Canadian Politicians Pledge Support for Dalai Lama,” CBC News, April 18, 2008. The Dalai Lama has praised Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper in much the same terms as he has Bush. See, e.g., “‘Hurt’ Chinese Hint at Trade Consequences,” *Toronto National Post*, October 30, 2007.
 127. “Italy Seeks to Placate China after Rome Honors Dalai Lama,” *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, February 11, 2008; “Neo-fascist Sweeps in as Rome’s Mayor,” *Independent*, April 29, 2008. On Alemanno’s fascist background, see Anna Cento Bull, *Italian Neofascism* (New York: Berghan, 2008), 102.
 128. “Dalai Lama Compares Chinese in Tibet to Iraqis in Kuwait,” Associated Press, September 22, 1990.
 129. “Dalai Lama Warns War on Terrorism Could Backfire,” *AAP Newsfeed*, May 21, 2002. The Dalai Lama later stated that the Korean War “had made positive contributions to human society.” Michael Paulson, “Dalai Lama Takes Message to Arena,” *Boston Globe*, September

- 15, 2003. He stated that “the Korean War was also just, since it gave South Korea the chance of gradually developing democracy”; Dalai Lama, “The Reality of War,” www.dalailama.com/page.64.htm.
130. “America Honors Dalai Lama,” United Press International, April 17, 1991.
131. Andrew Billen, “He May be a Living God but He Sounds Like Sid James,” *Evening Standard*, May 19, 1999. On Kosovo, the Dalai Lama stated, “The original intention was humanitarian. It began because of genuine concern and sympathy for human rights violations on the Kosovo people”; “War in the Balkans,” *Independent*, May 13, 1999. A study by a UN expert on the epidemiology of conflict found that the intensity of the Serbian campaign of ethnic cleansing increased after, and perhaps as a result of, NATO bombardment of Serbia; Bob Brustmen, “Decoding ‘Complex Emergencies,’” *Harvard University Gazette*, March 9, 2006.
132. “Dalai Lama in Germany Affirms ‘Real Autonomy,’ Not Isolation of China,” Deutsche Presse Agentur, June 15, 1999.
133. “Dalai Lama Assesses Afghan, Iraq Wars,” Associated Press, September 10, 2003.
134. “Dalai Lama Praises U.S. Approach to Bombing Afghanistan,” Agence France-Presse, October 24, 2001 (“I am amazed and admire that, at this moment, unlike First World War, Second World, Korean War and Vietnam War, I think the American side is very, very carefully selecting targets, taking maximum precautions about the civilian casualties”); “Dalai Lama Leads Prayers to Lessen Suffering from a War in Iraq,” Associated Press, March 11, 2003. My search for statements by the Dalai Lama on other U.S. wars, i.e., the invasions of Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989) and the mid-1990s deployments to Somalia and Haiti, revealed none.
135. “Dalai Lama Calls for Peaceful Solution,” *Morning Star*, January 17, 2003.
136. “Dalai Lama Calls for Peaceful Solution in Iraq,” Associated Press, January 16, 2003.
137. “Dalai Lama Leads Prayers to Lessen Suffering from a War in Iraq.”
138. Brad Khan, “Mountains Can Inform Foreign Policy,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 28, 2003.
139. “Tibetan Leader Reserves Judgment on Whether Iraq War Was Justified,” Associated Press, September 11, 2003.
140. Laurie Goodstein, “Dalai Lama Says Terror May Need a Violent Reply,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2003.
141. Barbara Walters, “The Dalai Lama Interview,” ABC News, March 21, 2005. See also “Dalai Lama Spreads Message of Nonviolence at Stanford Visit,” Associated Press, November 5, 2005 (“The Iraq war — it’s too early to say, right or wrong”).
142. Megha Garg, “Dalai Lama Speaks to U. Miami Students on World Peace,” *Miami Hurricane*, August 2, 2005. “With regard to the Afghanistan and Iraq cases,” the Dalai Lama has said, “only history will tell. At this moment, Afghanistan may be showing some positive results, but it is still not very stable. With Iraq, it is too early to say”; Amitabh Pal, “The Dalai Lama: Interview,” *Progressive* (Madison, WI), January 1, 2006.

143. Alice Thomson, “‘Westerners Are Too Self-Absorbed,’” *London Daily Telegraph*, April 1, 2006.
144. “Dalai Lama Says War in Iraq Has Cost Too Many Lives,” Associated Press, September 27, 2006.
145. Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama first called for partial withdrawal and phased withdrawal, respectively, after sentiment in the United States turned against the war in late 2006; before that, they backed the occupation. See Stephen Zunes, “Hillary Clinton on Iraq,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, December 10, 2007; J. Kass, “Obama’s a Star Who Doesn’t Stick to the Script,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 27, 2004; Stephen Zunes, “Barack Obama on the Middle East,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, January 10, 2008.
146. “Nobel Winners Lambaste U.S.,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Sept. 18, 2006.
147. Brett Clarkson, “‘Concept of War Is Out of Date,’” *Toronto Star*, November 1, 2007.
148. “His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s Views on Wars and the Iraq Conflict,” TGIE, www.tibet.com/NewsRoom/iraqi.htm. The Dalai Lama chose this speech as his contribution to Irwin Abraham and Wang Gungwu, eds., *The Iraq War and Its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Laureates and Eminent Scholars* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2003). In contrast to the Dalai Lama, most of the other contributors explicitly denounced the war.
149. “Exile Government Denies Dalai Lama Stroked Unrest,” PressTV, March 16, 2008; David Senedd, “Morgan Urged to Take the Moral High Ground and Speak Out for Tibet,” *Perth Western Mail*, March 6, 2008.
150. “Statement of the Kashag on the Occasion of the Seventy-Third Birthday Celebration of HH the Dalai Lama,” Tibet.net, July 10, 2008.
151. David Whitney, “Feinstein Is Fearful on Tibet,” *Sacramento Bee*, March 22, 2008; “MPs Attack ‘Double Standard’ on Dalai Lama,” *Canberra Times*, May 16, 2007. “Dalai Lama Earns First Lantos Award,” United Press International, October 6, 2009. (U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi states “The Dalai Lama is one of the most highly honored peace-makers in our time.”)
152. Jennifer Brown, “Peace Sages and Teens vs. World Strife,” *Denver Post*, July 27, 2006. The Dalai Lama has said, “I’m not an expert on political science”; Jeff Sallot, “PM, Dalai Lama to Discuss Rights,” *Toronto Globe and Mail*, April 23, 2004. Yet, he has sided with the West against “troublesome” states. During the 2008 conflict between Georgia and Russia, though Georgia drew first blood, the Dalai Lama said, “Although the Soviet Union has changed in the Russian Federation it seems the old thinking, all sorts of old tendencies and habits are now returning! It is not good!”; “Dalai Lama Speaks to EuroNews,” EuroNews.net, August 21, 2008.
153. “Will Surrender Privileges if Tibet Becomes Free.”
154. David Humphries, “No Meeting, No Problem, Says Dalai Lama,” *Melbourne Age*, April 30, 1992.
155. “Somali Civilians in the Crossfire,” CNN, June 14, 1993, town.hall.org/radio/club/050193_club.HALL.html.

156. "The Dalai Lama's Vision: A World without War," *Herald News*, Auckland, New Zealand, September 26, 2008.
157. Amitabh Pal, "The Dalai Lama Interview." *Progressive*, January, 2006, www.progressive.org/mag_intv0106.
158. "Dalai Lama Asks Hamas to Renounce Violence, Won't Take Sides on Cartoon Controversy," Associated Press, February 15, 2006.
159. "Dalai Lama, Speaking in Indiana, Has No Answers about Iraq War," Associated Press, October 27, 2007.
160. "Dalai Lama Looking for Answers, Too," *Boston Globe*, May 10, 2007. On occasion, he will give an anodyne response: asked what can be done about war in the Middle East, poverty, epidemics, racial hatred, and pollution, he responded, "Be nice"; "Charlie and Dalai Lama the Solution," *Chicago Tribune*, February 14, 2005.
161. Kate Heartfield, "The Compassionate One," *Ottawa Citizen*, September 16, 2006. It has nevertheless been observed that the Dalai Lama says "I don't know" "so often that his followers become anxious that it will undermine his authority." Rasoul Sorkhabi, "From Exile Came Liberation for the Dalai Lama," *Nation* (Thailand), May 25, 2009. On topics involving Buddhism, he may respond similarly. Asked at a conference on law and Buddhism what professors should teach law students, he stated, "I don't know"; "Dalai Lama Addresses Legal Scholars at University of Buffalo Law School," *Daily Record of Rochester*, September 22, 2006. Asked at a U.S. college the most important thing to keep in mind during one's life, he said, "I don't know"; "Dalai Lama Gives Cheery Speech at Smith College," Associated Press, May 9, 2007. Asked about the actress Sharon Stone's attribution of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake to karma resulting from the Chinese government's being "not nice" to Tibetans and the Dalai Lama, he responded, "Every event is due to karma. So the tragedy in Tibet, tragedy in Burma, tragedy in China—all this karmic. But her particular sort of comment, that I don't know"; "Dalai Lama in Sydney: Forgiving of Kevin Rudd, Sharon Stone," *Macquarie National News*, June 12, 2008. He once said at a talk, "You should know I have nothing to offer, nothing just a lot of fla, fla, fla." He was described as "giggling and mimicking a mouse with his hand" as he spoke; "Dalai Lama Urges Peace, Compassion, Not War," *Ottawa Citizen*, September 22, 2003.
162. On the Dalai Lama's celebrity persona in the West, see John Kohut, "Messiah of the Modern Age," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, October 23, 2003.
163. "Hindu, Muslim Groups Air Differing Voices on Dalai Lama Appeal," Press Trust of India, January 9, 2004. Nussbaum, *Clash within Democracy*, 155, characterizes the RSS as "possibly the most successful fascist movement in any contemporary democracy" and documents its anti-Muslim violence. The RSS, which has 5 million members, offers "complete support" for the Dalai Lama and avers that "(Tibetan) genes must be saved"; "Autonomous Yashwant Defies BJP Line," *Indian Express*, April 8, 2008. "Tibet Tops Agenda in India-China Talks," *Manchester Guardian Unlimited*, September 18, 2008. The Dalai Lama has been associated

- with the RSS and its VHP front since its founding in 1964. He and Samdhong Rinpoche have attended their functions; “China in Mind, Joshi Keeps off Dalai Meet,” *Indian Express*, January 22, 2004; “Tibetans Have the World for Help: Rinpoche,” *Economic Times of India*, October 15, 2002; “Dalai Lama’s Kumbh Visit Improper,” *Hindu*, January 29, 2001. The VHP has engaged in mass killings and forced conversions of Christians; Shaikh A. Rahman, “An Unholy War,” *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, September 20, 2008.
164. “Dalai Lama Ready to Foster Spirit of Mideast Reconciliation,” Agence France-Presse, October 8, 2003.
 165. Claude Levenson, *The Dalai Lama: A Biography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 264; “Dalai Lama Celebrates Golden Jubilee as Tibetan Head of State,” Agence France-Presse, December 3, 2000.
 166. “An Interview with the Dalai Lama,” *China Now*, 2003, www.chinainowmag.com/interview.htm. See also Nick Meo, “Could Culture of Devolution Deliver Tibetan Shangri-La?” *Sunday Herald Scotland*, November 26, 2000, in which the Dalai Lama says violence “would antagonize those Chinese the Tibetans hope to win over and alienate crucial Western support attracted by the nonviolent Tibetan struggle.”
 167. David Little, “Belief, Ethnicity, and Nationalism,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1:2 (1995): 284–301. See also Gabriel Rozenberg, “Exiled Tibetan Prime Minister Warns against Armed Uprising,” *Times of London*, June 1, 2004, which quotes Samdhong Rinpoche as saying that Uygurs and Inner Mongolians had tried violence and failed and that “worldwide support for Tibet would disappear” if violence was used.
 168. “Blair Provokes Outrage over Refusal to Meet with Dalai Lama,” *Independent*, January 10, 2004.
 169. “Non-violence Cannot Tackle Terrorism: Dalai Lama,” *Indian Express*, January 17, 2009.
 170. “Yo, Om, and Other Quacks,” *Herald of India*, March 6, 1990.
 171. Tenzin Sonam and Situ Sarin, dirs., *The Shadow Circus: The CIA in Tibet* (1999). He has also said that “any action carried by a sense of concern or compassion, no matter what its appearance, even if it looks harsh, is essentially nonviolent”; Shekhar Gupta, “On the Record,” *Indian Express*, October 25, 2005. Thus, “if someone has a gun and is trying to kill you . . . it would be reasonable to shoot back with your own gun”; H. Bernton, “Dalai Lama Urges Students to Shape World,” *Seattle Times*, May 15, 2001.
 172. Michael H. Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama: A Biography* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1986), 271; Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People* (London: Panther, 1964), 190. As the Dalai Lama traveled to India in March 1959, Khampa guerrillas escorting him “kill[ed] all Chinese soldiers along the way”; Claude Arpi, “Interview: We Killed All Chinese Soldiers along the Route,” World Tibet Network News, March 30, 2009. The Dalai Lama was not actively pursued as he left, however; Mao Zedong had decided to allow him to leave. See Chen Jian, “The Tibetan Rebellion of 1959 and China’s Changing Relations with India and the Soviet Union,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8:3 (2006): 54–101.

173. Gampo Tushi Andrustsang, *Four Rivers, Six Ranges: Reminiscences of the Resistance in Tibet* (Dharamsala: Information and Publicity Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 1973), opposite 106.
174. Dalai Lama, "March 10 Statement 1970," in *The Political Philosophy of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches, 2d Writings*, ed. A. A. Shiromany (New Delhi: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, 1998), 376–77; Claudia Dreifus, "The Dalai Lama," *New York Times*, November 28, 1993; Dalai Lama, "March 10 Statement, 1994," in Shiromany, *Political Philosophy of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama*, 441, 443.
175. The former TGIE kalon (minister) T. C. Tethong has said, "The Dalai Lama is very concerned about the consequences of violence. The final result would be a massacre of Tibetans"; "Dalai Lama Celebrates Golden Jubilee as Tibetan Head of State," Agence France-Presse, December 3, 2000.
176. Many monks who fought with the guerrillas had their monasteries' permission; Ardley, "Violent Compassion."
177. Toni Huber, "Shangri-La in Exile," in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, ed. Tierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 357–71. For stories of death threats against dissident exiles, see Vanessa Baird, "Exit the Dragon: Is Dissent in the Exile Community a Sign of Nascent Democracy or Disintegration?" *New Internationalist*, no. 274 (1995), www.newint.org/issue274/dragon.html. For the story of a Tibetan exile impelled by death threats to go armed in Dharamsala, see "Tibetan Sherlock Shakes Up the Movement," *International Herald Tribune*, March 28, 2002. "Those who [criticize the Dalai Lama], or who are suspected of being critical of him, risk being attacked"; J. Gearing, "Wrangling Hinders Talks with Beijing," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, December 12, 2003. "Those Tibetans who fail to support the Dharamsala administration are excluded from international help, for example, they are unable to get a [TGIE] scholarship to study at a university abroad"; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 128.
178. Deepak Thapa, "It's Dalai Lama vs. Shugden," *Himal*, September 1996, www.south-asia.com/himal/September/dorje.htm; Martin Mills, "This Turbulent Priest: Contesting Religious Rights and the State in the Tibetan Shugden Controversy," in *Human Rights in Global Perspective: Anthropological Studies of Rights, Claims, and Entitlements*, ed. Richard Wilson and Jon Mitchell (London: Routledge, 2003), 54–70. Shugden followers in the TGIE were dismissed. "Demonizing Ghost Haunts Dalai Lama in Spiritual Feud," *Toronto Star*, August 22, 1997. On house-to-house searches for images of Shugden in Dharamsala, see Sara Chamberlain, "Deity Banned," *New Internationalist*, August 1, 1998, 4. Shugden supporters claimed in 1998 that many were threatened or attacked. "The Dalai Lama and Dorje Shugden," Swiss Public TV, hk.youtube.com/watch?v=bIdILwsmwCQ. They claimed that in 2008 hundreds of pro-Shugden monks were expelled from monasteries, mostly in India. Michael Backman, "Selling Tibet to the World," *Melbourne Age*, June 5, 2008; "Dalai Lama: The Devil Within," Al-Jazeera, September 30, 2008, hk.youtube.com/watch?v=KqON2lx

- Arek. Shunning of Shugden followers in exile includes banning them from stores, hospitals, etc., and threats of violence. See “Demons of the Dalai Lama,” France 24 (TV), 2008, dharmadhatu.web-log.nl/dharmadhatu/controversies/index.html.
179. Barnett, “Essay,” 192.
 180. Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 99. See also *ibid.*, 165, on physical attacks on critics of the Dalai Lama.
 181. Eliot Sperling, “He Has Got It Wrong,” *Times of India*, November 28, 2008.
 182. Jamyang Norbu, “Making the November Meeting Work,” World Tibet Network News, November 8, 2008. For a detailed description of acts of intimidation against Tibetan exile critics of the TGIE and its undemocratic characteristics, see also Jamyang Norbu, “Waiting for Mangtso: A Reality Check of Tibetan Exile Politics,” September 9, 2009, www.phayul.com/news/tools/print.aspx?id=25483&t=0.
 183. “God-King in Quest of a Lost Kingdom,” *Sunday Times of London*, May 9, 1999.
 184. “The Dalai Lama: The Devil Within,” Al Jazeera, Sep. 30, 2008, hk.youtube.com/watch?v=KqON2lxArek.
 185. See, e.g., “Spiritual Leader Dalai Lama Says Struggle Will Continue after His Death,” Press Trust of India, July 4, 1999, which quotes Samdhong Rinpoche as saying, “Tibetans are free to change their stance on nonviolence.”
 186. *Jituan* has the sense of a grouping, e.g., of corporations, or a military bloc. On the close interconnectedness of the “Exile Tibetan NGOs” (TYC, Tibetan Women’s Association, Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy) and the TGIE, see Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 113–14.
 187. “Dalai Lama’s Envoy in Russia Urges Opposition to Beijing’s Olympic Bid,” Ekho Moskv radio, July 11, 2001, in BBC Worldwide Monitoring, July 14, 2001.
 188. “Kashag Appeals to Tibetans to Stand Committed to Nonviolence,” TibetNet, August 29, 2008.
 189. Christian Cotroneo, “Tibetan Youth Group Goads China,” *Abu Dhabi National*, May 26, 2008.
 190. For TYC support of violence in furtherance of Tibetan independence, see Singh, “Letter from Little Lhasa.” For TYC calls for violence, see “Officials Say Martial Law Has Thwarted Plans for Riots,” Associated Press, March 21, 1989. For the TYC plan to use violence to induce “Chinese” to flee Tibet, see “China’s Twenty-First Century Soft Underbelly,” BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, May 4, 1999.
 191. Donnet, *Tibet*, 186. The TYC president declared, “I declare war on China, even on their civilians in Tibet”; J. Gittings, “Tibetan Exiles Defy Dalai Lama in Call to Arms,” *Manchester Guardian*, July 22, 1988. For Kalsang Phuntsok’s statement that “we will resort to any action, violent or non-violent, if it is necessary for our cause,” see “Young Tibet Up in Arms,” *Statesman* (India), July 4, 2003. TYC Joint Secretary Pema Lhundup has stated, “Unless and until we do any forceful action there won’t be any chance for the Tibetan issue

- to get up onto an international level”; “China Tightens Yoke Forty Years after the Tibet Uprising,” Deutsche Presse Agentur, March 8, 1999.
192. “Young Tibet Up in Arms,” *Statesman* (India), July 4, 2003.
 193. J. Pocha, “Tibet’s Gamble,” *In These Times*, December 1, 2003.
 194. “Exiles See Room for More Militant Tibetan Groups,” Reuters, May 22, 2008.
 195. Barnett, “Violated Specialness,” 315n82. TYC President Kelsang Phutsok has stated that the Dalai Lama uses the TYC as the stick to convince China he is the carrot; Pocha, “Tibet’s Gamble.”
 196. S. Chakravart, “Tibetan Refugees: Restless Rage,” *India Today*, May 18, 1998. The exile activist Tenzin Tsundue has recounted that émigré cultural productions show Han Chinese as “a cunning race, untrustworthy, unethical and absolutely cruel”; “Gyami: Our Chinese Imagination,” *Tibetan Review*, July 2004. The then-president of the TYC said in the early 1990s, “We hate the Chinese”; Donnet, *Tibet*, 86.
 197. “Some Exiled Tibetans Question Nonviolent Path, Seek Independence,” Japan Economic Newswire, April 2, 2008. Chinese sources claim that more than half of the TGIE’s personnel “have come from” the TYC; “Chinese Article Says Lhasa Riots ‘Masterminded,’ ‘Instigated’ by Dalai Lama,” Xinhua, March 30, 2008, in BBC Worldwide Monitoring, April 1, 2008.
 198. Peter Wonacott, “Tibetan Youth Challenge Beijing—and Dalai Lama,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 20, 2008. For a Tibetan-exile rejection of “the Chinese attempt to label [the TYC] as a violent and terrorist organization,” see “Statement by Special Envoy Kasur Lodi Gyalsen Gyari,” *Tibetan Bulletin* 12:4 (2008): 23–24. The Dalai Lama’s representative has decried China’s linking of the TYC with terrorism as “baseless” and “shocking propaganda”; “Envoys to Brief Dalai Lama on China Talks Wednesday,” Indo-Asian News Service, May 6, 2008. For the Dalai Lama’s claim that the TYC is “firm in [its] commitment toward non-violence,” see “Dalai Lama Meets with Chinese Community in Paris,” *Phayul*, June 7, 2009.
 199. “Summary of the Two-Day Seminar (Tibet: Role of India),” World Tibet Network News, March 22, 1999; TYC, “Tibetan Youth Leadership Training Program,” December 8, 2005, www.tibetanyouthcongress.org/tyltp2004.html.
 200. “Indian Police Beat Back Tibetans at Start of Month-Long ‘Freedom March,’” Channel NewsAsia, February 11, 2004. Samdhong Rinpoche claims no knowledge of TYC funding sources but was himself a TYC leader. Indian regulations require that funds for the TYC be channeled through the TGIE Ministry of Finance; “Tibetans Helpless without Global Support: Rinpoche,” *Chandigar Tribune*, April 4, 2008; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 114.
 201. Tenzin N. Tethong, Sonam Topgyal, and Samdhong Rinpoche. Other TYC Executive Bureau founders include present-day representatives of the Dalai Lama, Lodi Gyari, Tashi Wangdi, and Tempa Tsering. The Dalai Lama’s long-time private secretary Tenzin G. Tethong was the first TYC president; “Le Parlement de la Jeunesse” [“The Youth Con-

- gress”], *Alternative tibétaine*, 2006, www.alternative-tibetaine.org/articles/0106/focus20.htm. “Many of the present [TGIE] officials and deputies used the TYC as a training ground for the positions”; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 108.
202. “Mass Prayer Meetings for His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama,” TYC Web site, September 8, 2008, www.tibetanyouthcongress.org/mass_prayer_meeting_HH_Dalai_Lama.html.
 203. “Tibetan Youth Congress Reaffirms Faith in Dalai Lama’s Leadership,” *Phayul*, January 14, 2009.
 204. “Resolution Passed by the Tibetan Youth Congress” (1997), www.dalailama.com/page.139.htm.
 205. “Briefing on the Changing World Order: The Human Rights Situation in Tibet,” Hearing before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, World Tibet Network News, December 6, 2001, www.tibet.ca/wtnnarchive/2001/12/6_5.html (statement of Bhuchung Tsering, director of International Campaign for Tibet).
 206. Arthur Max, “Unity behind Dalai Lama’s Campaign Begins to Unravel,” Associated Press, May 31, 1998.
 207. Angchen Kikhang, “A Letter to My Fellow Tibetans,” *Tibetan Review*, October 2001, 28. On “human bomb” tactics, see Pimmi Pande, “Guns over Faith,” *Tibetan Review*, January 2002, 19. Pocha, “Tibet’s Gamble,” reported that young exiles told him “they don’t mind taking help even from Al Qaida.”
 208. “Tibetans Reconciled to Chinese Sovereignty: Rinpoche,” *Chandigarh Tribune*, September 10, 2005. Although prime minister of the “democratic” TGIE, Samdhong Rinpoche has said that “any actions that are not in consonance with the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, can never be supported in any way”; “Hard Talk with the Kalon Tripa,” *Tibetan Bulletin* 12:2 (2008): 20–24.
 209. “La non violenza? Non paga. Potremmo usare i kamikaze,” *Corriere della sera*, March 27, 2008. Rigzin claimed he was misquoted, that the TYC had never engaged in terrorism, and that the Chinese government is “the real terrorists”; “Tibetan Exile Group in India Denies Chinese News Reports that Activists Plan Suicide Attacks,” Associated Press, April 24, 2008. Asked whether the TYC agrees with the Dalai Lama’s insistence on nonviolence, Rigzin stated, “I am not sure. Our struggle has been nonviolent so far.” “Dalai Lama Finds It Harder to Lead Than Teach,” *Inside Bay Area*, March 28, 2008. He has also said the TYC is “not against the middle way approach of His Holiness”; “Dalai Lama Losing Hope for Tibet Autonomy — Aide,” Reuters, October 26, 2008. Yet its proindependence stance contradicts a central element claimed for that approach.
 210. China Hand, “Stigmata: The Passion of Tenzin Tsundue, the Tibetan Uprising, and China,” *Japan Focus*, August 2008, japanfocus.org/products/toppdf/2806.
 211. “China Alleges Tibetan Suicide Squads,” Associated Press, April 1, 2008.
 212. “An Appeal from His Holiness the Dalai Lama,” April 2, 2008, in World Tibet Network News, April 3, 2008.

213. "China Behind Tibet Violence: Dalai Lama," *Indian Express*, March 30, 2008.
214. Jonathan Manthorpe, "Disinformation Taints News from Tibet," *Vancouver Sun*, April 7, 2008.
215. "Press Statement by Kalon Tripa, Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, on the Situation in Tibet," World Tibet Network News, April 18, 2008.
216. "China Alleges Tibetan Suicide Squads," Associated Press, April 1, 2008.
217. Bhuchung Tsering, "Tibetan Emotional Upheaval and After," *Tibetan World*, June–July 2008. In October 2008 the TGIE was still attributing the Lhasa ethnic murders to "PLA soldiers in monks' robes"; "CTA's Response to Chinese Government Allegations: Part V," in World Tibet Network News, October 13, 2008.
218. "Dalai Lama Hits Out at China," Agence France-Presse, June 7, 2009.
219. "His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Tokyo," World Tibet Network News, April 11, 2008.
220. Kristine Kwok, "Thirty Tibetans Sentenced for Rioting," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, April 30, 2008.
221. Dawa Tsering, interview, Radio France Internationale, April 2, 2008, www.dailykos.com/story/2008/4/15/224155/744/780/492483. The Chinese government claimed twenty-two killings by rioters in Lhasa, ten by burning, the rest by beating or stabbing. Western tourists reported seeing beatings that may have resulted in death. Jeremy Page, "They Got Him in the Head," *Time*, March 19, 2008; "Terror in Tibet," *Brisbane Courier Mail*, March 20, 2008; "Reliving the Turmoil in Tibet," *London (ON) Free Press*, March 23, 2008. In many jurisdictions, deaths from felonies such as arson are murder, even if no intent is shown. See, e.g., U.S. Model Penal Code § 210.2(1)(b) (1962). In California in 2009, prosecutors sought the death penalty for a man who set a wildfire that killed five firefighters; "Proving Murder in Case of Wildfire Difficult," Associated Press, February 14, 2009.
222. "Xunzhao jiejie Xizang wenti de xin lujing" ("Looking for a New Path for Solving the Tibet Question"), *Yazhou Zhoukan*, April 13, 2008: 30–33.
223. James Miles, "Fire on the Roof of the World," *Economist*, March 14, 2008; "Transcript: James Miles Interview," CNN, March 20, 2008 edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/03/20/tibet.miles.interview/index.html; "Eyewitnesses Recount Terrifying Day in Tibet," *Washington Post*, March 27, 2008. A Hong Kong journalist's interviews in Lhasa in June 2008 "seem to support the government's claim that the riot was provoked and premeditated by a small group of people," who most interviewees thought were connected to the TYC; Josephine Ma, "Eye of the Storm," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, June 6, 2008.
224. Follath and Rao, "Spiegel Interview with the Dalai Lama."
225. Dalai Lama, "Ich bin in grosser Sorge" ("I Am in Great Sorrow"), *Frankfurter Rundschau*, March 6, 2009.
226. Shahid Amin, *Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura, 1922–1992* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

227. “Kerry O’Brien’s Exclusive Interview with the Dalai Lama,” Australian Broadcasting Corporation, June 12, 2008, in World Tibet Network News, June 13, 2008.
228. “Bush Hails Pope’s ‘Wisdom,’ Offers His Prayers for New Leaders,” *New York Daily News*, April 20, 2005.
229. Yenni Kwok, “Dalai Lama Is Peace-Loving Germany’s Spiritual Pin-Up,” *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, August 23, 2005; Harris Interactive, “Obama-mania Sweeps Europe,” 3.
230. The Dalai Lama has said of the Pope’s opposition to birth control, “I feel very touched that the Pope has taken a stand on that,” and he has said that “abortion from a Buddhist point of view is an act of killing and is negative generally speaking. But it depends on the circumstances”; Dreifus, “Dalai Lama.”
231. “The Dalai Lama explicitly condemns homosexuality, as well as all oral and anal sex. His stand is close to that of Pope John Paul II”; Patrick French, “Dalai Lama Lite,” *New York Times*, September 19, 2003.
232. The Pope and Dalai Lama have both issued negative opinions about stem-cell research. See “U.K. Legalizes Human Cloning,” *Applied Genetic News*, February 1, 2001.
233. Kenneth Woodward, “A Lama to the Globe,” *Newsweek*, August 16, 1999, 32.
234. “Sex Invariably Spells Trouble, Says Dalai Lama,” Agence France-Presse, November 29, 2008.
235. “Dalai Lama Arrives in Dharamsala,” Indo-Asian News Service, February 3, 2009.
236. “Dalai Lama to Receive International Freedom Award,” World Tibet Network News, August 6, 2009.
237. An Indian journalist has observed that “the Dalai Lama chooses with care where and to whom he delivers his sermons. . . . Most of his lectures are to well-heeled audiences in the United States and Western Europe”; Mohammed Ahmedullah, “Marketing the Buddhist Message,” *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 56:2 (March 2000): 13. The Dalai Lama often remarks on the problems of wealthy people, e.g., their unhappiness, lack of true friends, and restlessness; Julie Sullivan, “Dalai Lama Stresses Need to Protect Language, Culture,” *Portland Oregonian*, May 14, 2001; Ann Rogers-Melnick, “The Spirit of Peace,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 12, 1998; Richard Scheinin, “Dalai Lama Reveals He Hasn’t Jumped aboard Technological Train,” *San Jose Mercury News*, May 18, 2001.
238. Dalai Lama, *Ethics for the New Millennium* (New York: Riverhead, 1999), 5.
239. Angus Deaton, “Income, Aging, Health and Wellbeing around the World: Evidence from the Gallup World Poll,” www.princeton.edu/~deaton/papers.html. See also Betsey Stevenson and Justin Wolfers, “Economic Growth and Subjective Well-Being: Reassessing the Easterlin Paradox,” working paper, Wharton School, 2008, bpp.wharton.upenn.edu/betseys/papers.asp.
240. Mark Lemstra et al., “A Systematic Review of Depressed Mood and Anxiety by SES in

- Youth Aged 10–15 Years,” *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 99:2 (2008): 125–29. The study also found that poverty (but not aboriginal status) influenced youthful anxiety. See also Ahmed Abdel-Khalek, “Wealth Is Associated with Lower Anxiety in a Sample of Lebanese Students,” *Psychological Reports* 96:2 (2005): 542–44.
241. Office of HH the Dalai Lama, “Dalai Lama Launches Peace, Education Center in Canada,” September 11, 2006, www.dalailama.com/news.68.htm.
242. “Dalai Lama Speaks to Thousands at Cornell U.,” *University Wire*, October 10, 2007.
243. “Dalai Lama Says Developed Nations Should Not Dictate to Third World,” All India Radio, May 14, 1998, in *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*, May 15, 1998.
244. Nicky Blackburn, “Give Your Money to Poor, Tibetan Leader Urges Business Leaders,” *Jerusalem Post*, November 25, 1999. The Dalai Lama has stated in a recent book, “I have come to put my faith in the free-market system . . . it is the one we should be working from.” *Dalai Lama, The Leader’s Way: The Art of Making the Right Decisions in Our Careers, Our Companies, and the World at Large* (New York: Broadway Books, 2009), quoted by Ellen Wulffhorst in “Dalai Lama Says Capitalism Can Learn from Buddhism,” *Reuters*, July 28, 2009. The Dalai Lama does endorse philanthropy and debt forgiveness. See, e.g., “Dalai Lama’s G8 Poverty Appeal,” *Associated Press*, July 5, 2005. He has “bemoaned the gap between rich and poor [countries], saying it can lead to frustration, anger and violence”; “‘Taking Care of Your Only Home’ Dalai Lama Speaks on Environment,” *Ann Arbor News*, April 21, 2008.
245. “Brookings Institution, Speaker: HH the Dalai Lama.”
246. Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), 38. He has termed the bulk of the rural population “serfs”; *Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama* (New York: Harper, 1991), 101.
247. Johann Hari, “The Dalai Lama: A Life Less Ordinary,” *Independent*, June 7, 2004; Shekhar Gupta, “I’m Probably Going to Meet Bush . . .” *Indian Express*, October 25, 2005.
248. Lehman, *Tibetans*, flyleaf (“we Tibetans lived a delightful and peaceful life. We were free and contented”). For the claim that old Tibet’s nomads and peasants had light work and ample food, see Robert Thurman, “*Rolling Stone* Interview: The Dalai Lama,” *World Tibet Network News*, May 8, 2001. Within émigré society, “most people will refer to ‘the old Tibet’ as a happy country”; Wangpo Tethong, “Between Cultures: Young Tibetans in Europe,” in Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus von Welck, *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora* (London: Orient Longman 2004), 409–18, 411. Old Tibet was “feudal” as the term is used in common parlance, that is, ruled by aristocrats and clergy, with much of the peasantry having land use in exchange for fulfilling obligations to lords. “Before 1959, Tibet was ruled under a two-tiered feudal system [with] *Tsidrung* (monk-officials) and hereditary *Kudrak* (aristocrats) controlling the government”; Lobsang Sangay, “Tibet: Exiles’ Journey,” *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (2003): 119–30. For the émigré historian Tsering Shakya’s assertion that old Tibet was “abysmally feudal,” see A. Simpson, “Where the Soul Calls Home,”

- Herald Scotland*, August 2, 1999. Old Tibet was ruled by nobles and monastic officials; monasteries had government-given estates and nobility had hereditary estates, to whom subject classes had obligations; Eva Dargyay, *Tibetan Village Communities* (Warminster, U.K.: Aris and Phillips, 1982), 16–21. Higher level monk officials (*drungdrag*) were recruited from the aristocracy; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 17.
249. “A Chinese Student’s Interview with the Dalai Lama,” *China Digital Times*, May 3, 2008, chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/05/chinese-student-interviewing-the-dalai-lama. Landlords were often aristocrats. The latter remain leaders of many exile entities today. Three sons of the Lhasa aristocratic Tethong family became TGIE ministers. One now heads the Dalai Lama Foundation and Committee of One Hundred for Tibet; his daughter is head of Students for a Free Tibet. Another Tethong has headed the International Tibet Support Network and Tibet National Olympic Committee. The Voice of America’s Tibet service is led by a descendant of Lukhang, the aristocratic 1950s premier. Radio Free Asia’s Tibet service is headed by a Ngapo, a scion of another aristocratic family. Robert Barnett, *Lhasa: Streets with Memories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 19; Drokpakunle, “Time for a Change,” *Phayul*, December 6, 2007, www.phayul.com/news/discuss/view.aspx?id=18726. The Dalai Lama’s family was enobled when he was a child and every TGIE cabinet (Kashag) from 1991 to 2001 had at least one minister from the Dalai Lama’s family; Lobsang Sangay, “Tibetan Exiles Journey,” *Journal of Democracy* 14:3: 119–30.
250. The Dalai Lama has disavowed being a deity and explained, “Buddhism [is] a nontheistic religion, with no god”; Rosslyn Beeby, “‘Simple Monk’ with a Moral Message,” *Cannberra Times*, June 13, 2007. In fact, Takster Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama’s eldest brother, who had been designated a reincarnated lama around 1930, admitted that he did not know whether he was in fact one. “Obituary: Thubten Jigme Norbu,” *Guardian*, September 8, 2008.
251. Matt Russell, “Dalai Lama Talks about Recent Feelings of Helplessness,” *Rochester Post-Bulletin*, April 16, 2008.
252. “President Chen Holds Amiable Talks with Dalai Lama,” Central News Agency, April 5, 2001.
253. “Tibetan Spiritual Leader Addresses Forty Thousand in Central Park,” *AAP Newsfeed*, August 16, 1999.
254. Pico Iyer, “A Monk’s Struggle,” *Time*, March 19, 2008.
255. The Buddha said leaders have a duty “to promote peace by avoiding and preventing war and everything that involves violence and the destruction of life.” Eighth of the “Ten Duties of the King,” quoted in Bharati Puti, *Engaged Buddhism: The Dalai Lama’s Worldview* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 151.
256. Adrian Zupp, “Why Won’t the Dalai Lama Pick a Fight?” *Humanist* 64:1 (2004): 5–6.
257. The Dalai Lama, Margaret Thatcher, and George H. W. Bush participated in a successful “massive propaganda campaign . . . to free [Chilean former dictator] General Pinochet on compassionate grounds,” after Pinochet was held in Britain to await extradition to Spain to

- stand trial for mass murder and torture; Kim Sengupta, "The Pinochet Case," *Independent*, January 12, 2000. The Dalai Lama stated that as Pinochet is "now old, it might be worth it to forgive him"; "Mercy Plea for Former Dictator," *Brisbane Courier Mail*, April 13, 1999.
258. Tutu has said the Dalai Lama is "one of the greatest human beings" but has not said why; "Tutu Receives Gandhi Prize," *Cape Town Cape Argus*, February 2, 2007. There is also no evidence that the Dalai Lama offered support for the US Civil Rights movement during the 1960s when he already was an adult leader of Tibetans in exile, making anomalous as well the award presented to him by the US National Museum of Civil Rights. Rather, immediately after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Mao Zedong issued a statement "In Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression," *Xinhua*, April 16, 1968.
259. He has, however, spoken about the Armenian genocide of 1915, advising Armenians to forgive the Turkish perpetrators, even though the Turkish government refuses to admit that genocide took place; "To Forgive Is Not to Forget What Happened: Dalai Lama XIV about Armenian Genocide," ARMINFO News Agency, January 16, 2007.
260. Eetta Prince-Gibson, "Accomplished Compassion," *Jerusalem Post*, February 24, 2006.
261. Samdhong Rinpoche has described colonial-era Britain as "a civilized nation which had a rule of law and a parliament"; Isabel Hilton, "Tibet: Desperate Nation Prepares to Defy Might of Peking," *Independent*, October 20, 1997. British colonialists were not as complimentary to Tibetans: the leader of Britain's punitive 1904 expedition against Tibet, Francis Younghusband, told Lord Curzon that Tibetans were "not a fit people to be left to themselves"; quoted in "Principals of Wesley," n.d., www.wesleycollege.org/DoubleBlue/principals.htm. Many Puerto Ricans argue that based on unequal political rights, the island is a U.S. colony, but the Dalai Lama has said, "Puerto Rico is associated with the United States in many aspects [and] that helps with Puerto Rico's progress"; "Dalai Lama Praises Puerto Rico for Rejecting Death Penalty," Associated Press, September 23, 2004. He has stated that the Chinese of today are far worse than the British imperialists; Follath and Rao, "*Spiegel* Interview with the Dalai Lama."
262. James Bredin, "Close Encounter," *Industry Week*, January 21, 1991.
263. John M. Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
264. "East Meets West," *Phoenix New Times*, June 19, 1997; Jeff Jacoby, "The Coming Population Bust," *International Herald Tribune*, June 24, 2008. In relating that "Everyone knows the position of the TGIE on autonomy," the Dalai Lama has specified who counts as "everyone": "European countries, Australia, North America, Japan and New Zealand"; "I Call Myself a Son of India, Says Dalai Lama," *New Kerala*, March 31, 2009.
265. "Dalai Lama Gets Award," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 3, 1996; "The Dalai Lama Phenomenon," *Chicago Daily Herald*, August 17, 1999.

266. See, e.g., John Powell, "Structural Racism and the Obama Presidency," *Pambazuka News*, December 18, 2008, www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/52847/print.
267. Shelby Oppel, "Dalai Lama Tells Youth Have Faith in Yourself," *Portland Oregonian*, May 15, 2001.
268. Clark Strand, "Born in the USA," *Tricycle* 13:3 (2004): 9; Michelle Spuler, "Characteristics of Buddhism in Australia," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 15:1 (2000): 29–44. Tibetan exile leaders have acknowledged a lack of support for their cause by black people in the United States and elsewhere. See Bhuchung K. Tsering, "Black Americans and Tibetans," *Tibetan Review*, July, 1999, reproduced at tibetreport.wordpress.com/2009/01/02/black-americans-and-tibetans/.
269. R. Callick, "Dalai Lama Treads Fine Line," *Australian Financial Review*, May 22, 2002. In 2008 the Dalai Lama congratulated Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd for apologizing to the "Stolen Generations," one hundred thousand Aborigines taken from their families as children under assimilation policies from 1910 until the 1970s. He described the apology as the "civilized thing to do"; "Dalai Lama Praises Stolen Generations Apology," ABC Premium News, February 15, 2008. Rudd, however, did not apologize for the present treatment of Aborigines or provide for redress, ruling out compensating Stolen Generations victims. Aboriginal suicide rates are three times, their unemployment rate is four times, and their imprisonment rate is fifteen times the national average. Their life expectancy is seventeen years less than for whites; illiteracy is as much as 80% in remote areas; their rates of heart disease, asthma, and diabetes are two to seven times those of other Australians; "Aborigines Plan to Sue after Australia Issues Historic Apology for Racist Policies," Associated Press, February 15, 2008; Adam Creighton, "How to Help Australia's Aborigines," *American*, March 4, 2008. Mariah Foley and Donald McNeil Jr., "In Australia, Poverty Adds to Swine Flu Threat for Aborigines," *International Herald Tribune*, August 17, 2009.
270. "Dalai Lama Admires Maori Cultural Efforts," *Evening Post* (Wellington), May 28, 2002; "Dalai Lama Preaches Peace as Angry China Scolds Canada," *Calgary Herald*, October 31, 2007.
271. "Maori Language Speakers," www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/cultural-identity/maori-language-speakers.html; "Most Native Languages Dwindling," *Canadian Press*, January 16, 2008. In Australia, the figure for aborigines is 13%; Nicholas Rothwell, "Lost for Words, and in the Silence a World Disappears," *Australian*, November 12, 2003.
272. Prince-Gibson, "Accomplished Compassion." On discriminatory and antidemocratic policies in Israel and the West Bank, see Bernard Avishai, *The Hebrew Republic* (New York: Harcourt, 2008).
273. "Dalai Lama: Tibetan Independence Not My Aim," *Jerusalem Post*, November 21, 1999.
274. Nathan Katz, "A Bracha for the Dalai Lama," *Jerusalem Post*, April 30, 1991. The Dalai Lama did, however, cause a stir in Israel by stating that he found a "seed of human compassion" in the Nazis; "Israeli Minister Scolds Dalai Lama for Finding Humanity in Nazis,"

- Associated Press, March 22, 1994. More recently, asked in Israel how Hitler affected him, he “replied by mentioning that affection is the basis for compassion, and we must oppose the wrong doings and help that person”; Office of HH the Dalai Lama, “The Israel Democratic Institute Presents Constitution to the Dalai Lama,” February 21, 2006, www.dalailama.com/news.3.4.htm. He has also said, “‘I think everybody has the potential for compassion no matter the cruelty inside,’ at one point referring to Nazi tyrant Adolf Hitler”; Katie Hampson, “Meat-Loving Monk Wins Hearts with His Message,” *Perth West Australian*, June 7, 2007. “Even Hitler, the Dalai Lama said, was born of a mother and had a compassionate nature”; Charles Agar, “Holding for His Holiness,” *Aspen Times*, July 26, 2008. Hitler’s principal biographer, however, has noted that even well before Hitler entered politics, “characteristically, he felt no compassion”; Joachim Fest, *Hitler* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 2002), 53.
275. “Dalai Lama Foresees Free Tibet in Ten Years,” Agence France-Presse, May 11, 1992.
276. “Dalai Lama Asks Hamas to Renounce Violence.” The Dalai Lama’s criticisms of Palestinian violence accord with those of the United States and India, both of which are allies of Israel. Harsh Pant, “India-Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints,” *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 8:4 (2004): 60–73.
277. Molly Gordy, “Everyone Benefits from a Democratic China,” *Newsday*, April 27, 1994.
278. Asa Tiljander Dahlstrom, “Belonging in Nowhere Land: The Tibetan Diaspora as Conflict,” in *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts*, ed. Paul Richards (Athens: Ohio University Press 2005), 173–92.
279. Girjia Saklani, *The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications 1984), 362, 378.
280. Keila Diehl, *Echoes from Dharamsala: Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 119.
281. Anne Frechette, *Tibetans in Nepal: The Dynamics of International Assistance among a Community in Exile* (New York: Bergman, 2004), 14; Roemer, *Tibetan Government-in-Exile*, 122.
282. Penny-Dimri, “Conflict amongst the Tibetans and Indians of North India.” On the 1990 conflict in Dharamsala between Indians and Tibetans, see French, “Dalai Lama Lite.”
283. Rajesh Kharat, “Gainers of a Stalemate: The Tibetans in India,” in *Refugees and the State: Practices of Asylum and Care in India, 1947–2000*, ed. Ranabir Samaddar (New Delhi: Sage, 2003), 281–320. See also Falcone and Wangchuk, “‘We’re Not Home,’” 183. On Indian and Nepali resentment of Tibetan exiles, see Tanka Subba, *Flight and Adaption: Tibetan Refugees in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalaya* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1990), 142–48.
284. B. Pankaj, “‘Adharmasala (About the Recent Conflicts in Dharamsala),” *Dharamsala Tribune*, May 22, 1994, in World Tibet Network News, June 7, 1994.
285. “Excitement and Concern over Karmapa Move,” *Statesman* (India), January 16, 2000.

286. Rashme Sehgal, "Born in Exile," *Infochange*, August 2008, infochangeindia.org/Agenda/On-the-move/-Born-in-exile.html. Indian racism against Tibetans is also not uncommon.
287. "Kashag Welcomes UN Chief's Tibet Remarks and Reaffirms Its Commitment to Dialogue," World Tibet Network News, December 19, 2008.
288. "Kalon Tripa [Samdhong Rinpoche] Affirms Commitment to Middle Way Approach," TibetNet, April 21, 2008.
289. "Dalai Lama's Envoy [Lodi Gyari] Details Tibetan Proposals at China Talks," Associated Press, May 8, 2008.
290. "I Can't Wait to Be a Chinese Citizen, Says Dalai Lama," *Singapore Straits Times*, May 18, 2008.
291. "The Dalai Lama Says He Always Supported China Hosting the 2008 Olympics," *Canadian Press*, October 4, 2009.
292. "Dalai Lama Says He Wants to Send Tibetan Students to Taiwan," Central News Agency, April 7, 2001. See also "Dalai Lama Touches Student's Heart," *Contra Costa Times*, May 20, 2001.
293. "Press Stakeout with the Dalai Lama . . .," Federal News Service, May 23, 2001.
294. "Muzzled in Moscow," *Montreal Gazette*, July 12, 2001. The Dalai Lama's representative in Russia joined a demonstration and news conference to oppose China's bid; "Dalai Lama's Envoy in Russia Urges Opposition to Beijing's Olympic bid," Ekho Moskvyy Radio, July 11, 2001, in BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific, July 14, 2001. "The TGIE stated 'We deeply regret that Beijing is awarded the 2008 Olympic Games,'" CNN, "Disappointment for Beijing's Rivals," July 13, 2001.
295. "Dalai Lama Seeks Olympics Invitation," CNN, May 21, 2008.
296. "China Discriminating against Quake-Hit in Tibetan Areas, Say Exiles," *Hindustan Times*, May 20, 2008.
297. The ethnic group hardest hit by the quake was the Qiang. A tenth of the 320,000 Qiang were killed, including 20,000 of 90,000 Qiang in Beichuan Qiang Autonomous County; "Can the 'People in the Clouds' Survive?" *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, June 10, 2008; "Quake Threatens Ancient Qiang Culture," *Baltimore Sun*, May 25, 2008. Although Tibetans are 18.6% of the population of Wenchuan, the other hard-hit county, apparently few Tibetans died in the quake; "Scenic, Ethnically Diverse Wenchuan County Is a Top Tourist Draw," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, May 13, 2008; Tibet Foundation, "Update: May 30, 2008," www.tibet-foundation.org/news/newsitem.php?NewsStory=127.
298. Bill Salvadore, "Relief Effort Gives Beijing a Better Image among Ethnic Minorities," *Hong Kong South China Morning Post*, June 10, 2008.
299. "Dalai Lama Sees China's Role in Tibet Unrest," Press Trust of India, March 29, 2008.
300. "Tibet's Resident Population Reaches 2.76 Min," Xinhua, March 21, 2008. China's census assigns troops to their home provinces. The most recent estimate (40,000) seems to be that

- of *Jan Wong's China: Reports from a Not-So-Foreign Correspondent* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2000), 177.
301. "Dalai Lama Presence at Rights Meet Will Anger China," InterPress Service, May 7, 1993.
 302. *Tibet: Environment and Development Issues* (Dharamsala: Department of Information and International Relations, 2000), 18.
 303. "Dalai Lama Honored by Venice," ANSA (L'Agencia Nazionale Stampa Associata), February 10, 2009.
 304. Tsering Woeser, "A Record of Tibetan Unrest: April 10–April 13," en.epochtimes.com/news/8-4-17/69325.html; "A Month before the Olympics China Imprisons over 1000 Tibetan Monks," freetibet2008.org/2008/07/07/a-month-before-olympics-china-imprisons-over-1000-tibetan-monks/.
 305. The TAR officially has 47,500 registered monks and nuns, plus many who are unregistered; John Gittings, "Culture Clash on the Roof of the World," *Manchester Guardian*, February 8, 2002. There are more than one hundred thousand monks and nuns in the Tibetan areas outside the TAR. U.S. Department of State, *International Religious Freedom Report 2003*, www.savetibet.org/policy-center/us-government-and-legislative-advocacy/state-department-annual-reports/state-department-international-rel-4; Matthew Kapstein, "A Thorn in the Dragon's Side: Tibetan Buddhist Culture in China," in *Governing China's Multi-ethnic Frontiers*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 230–69.
 306. An example of a longstanding cult figure who endorses nonseparation of politics and religion and has initiated "peace" organizations is the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, head of the Unification Church and an associate of U.S. politicians for some four decades. See John Gorenfeld, "Dear Leader's Paper Moon," *American Prospect*, July 19 2005, www.prospect.org/cs/articles?articleId=9868.
 307. See, e.g., G. B. Singh, *Gandhi behind the Mask of Divinity* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 2004); G. B. Singh and Tim Watson, *Gandhi under Cross-Examination* (New York: Sovereign Star, 2008).
 308. Ewa Kedzierska, "All Tibetan People Should Be under One Single Administration: Lodi Gyari," *Gazeta Wyborcza* July 11, 2007, www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=17152&t=1&c=5.
 309. See Farhad Manjoo, *True Enough: Learning to Live in a Post-fact Society* (New York: Wiley, 2008).
 310. For example, Robert Thurman has said that "Tibet doesn't legitimately belong to China" but that the Dalai Lama "is the key to giving [China] legitimate sovereignty over Tibet"; "Buddhist Scholar Robert Thurman on 'Why the Dalai Lama Matters,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 16, 2008.
 311. "Should World Leaders Skip the Olympics," Harris Poll #55, May 21, 2008, www.harrisinteractive.com/harris_poll/index.asp?PID=909.
 312. Paul Watson, "Spiritual War Wears the Soul of Tibetans," *Toronto Star*, May 25, 1996.

313. "Tibetan Activists Hold Onto Hope as Dalai Lama Marks Forty-Five Years in Exile," Agence France-Presse, March 9, 2004.
314. Ching Cheong, "*Split in the Middle Road.*"
315. He has averred that "he can accept the socialist system in Tibet under Communist Party rule"; Nicholas Kristof, "An Olive Branch from the Dalai Lama," *International Herald Tribune*, August 8, 2008.