

The Dalai Lama Cables: Follow the Money

February 22, 2011

By [goldenmala](#)



UNITED STATES POLICY CONCERNING THE LEGAL STATUS OF TIBET

1942-1956

10001-1805

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- 12 -

Department, in a telegram of June 2, to New Delhi, commented that Tibet should not "be compelled by duress [to] accept [the] violation [of] its autonomy" and that the Tibetan people should "enjoy certain rights [of] self-determination, commensurate with [the] autonomy Tibet has maintained since [the] Chinese revolution." The Department indicated that it believed Tibet should appeal to the United Nations and try to enlist the support of other states. Depending on developments in Tibet and the attitude of the Indian Government, the United States was prepared to provide light arms, but it was not prepared to pay the expenses of the Dalai Lama and his retinue if they sought asylum abroad, because it assumed that the Dalai Lama had enough treasure to pay his own expenses. The United States was willing, furthermore, to maintain informal contact with Tibetan representatives at Darjeeling and Kalimpong in northeastern India, but such contact would have "no representative character" in the absence of official relations with Tibet.¹

DEPARTMENT OF STATE		AIRGRAM		POL 19 TIBET	
A-854		SECRET/NOFORN		FOR RM USE ONLY	
TO : Department of State		RECEIVED		HANDLING INDICATOR	
INFO : HONG KONG, KATHMANDU, MOSCOW		JAN 1970		ACCO	
FROM : Amembassy NEW DELHI		DATE: December 24, 1969			
SUBJECT : Soviet Support for Tibetan Emigres					
REF :					
We now have first-hand evidence from a Tibetan emigre official of a Soviet offer of direct support for a new "progressive" anti-Chinese Tibetan front group to be formed in India.					
Enclosed is a memorandum of conversation between the reporting officer and a young Tibetan "Second Secretary" of the Dalai Lama's Bureau in New Delhi, G. G. LODI. Of particular interest is Lodi's description of the offer of direct support for a new "progressive" Tibetan front made by Vladimir SIMONOV, suave <u>Novosti</u> correspondent (and KGB officer) who had an audience with the Dalai Lama in October.					
According to Lodi, the Dharmala leadership has not yet accepted the Soviet offer; they would much prefer American assistance.					
It will be recalled that during a public lecture at the Indian School of International Studies given in October, the Dalai Lama emphasized that he did not oppose communism, or for that matter any "isms" in particular. He declared that an independent Tibet could have a communist government or any other form supported by the majority of the people. What Tibetans opposed was foreign domination. In the current context, these remarks would appear to have been primarily directed towards Moscow. We will follow further developments closely.					
Enclosure: Memorandum of Conversation.		KEATING		FOR DEPT. USE ONLY	
FORM 95-223		SECRET/NOFORN		<input type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out	
Dated by: POL:WAS:phb 12/22/69		Contents and Circulation Approved by: POL:WAS:phb			
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SECRET/NOFORN		Enclosure to New Delhi A-854		Page 3 of 3	
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Recently declassified US State Department cables reveal the workings of the Dalai Lama and his inner circle. The Dalai Lama Cables: Follow the Money [Part 1](#) and [Part 2](#) have been posted on the Western Shugden Society website.

[Part 1](#) reveals how despite having tens of millions of dollars worth of gold stored in banks in Calcutta, the Dalai Lama successfully pleaded poverty to the United States government and secured a tax-free hand out of \$180,000 per annum from 1959 onwards.

<i>Em</i> ES:CA:EMartin:mfh (Drafting Officer) (33) <i>708</i> M-640	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">SECRET</div> DEPARTMENT OF STATE Memorandum of Conversation	This document consists of <u>3</u> pages. No. <u>1</u> of <u>4</u> copies, Series <u>A</u> . 793b.00/11-359 11611.93b
DATE: November 3, 1959		
SUBJECT: Gyalo Thondup's Calls on Mr. Murphy and Mr. Parsons U. S. Attitude Toward Tibet		
PARTICIPANTS: Dr. George K. C. Yeh, Ambassador, Chinese Embassy Mr. J. Graham Parsons, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs Mr. Edwin W. Martin, Director, Office of Chinese Affairs		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px 0;">Dr. Yeh said that he was surprised to learn from Thondup that the Dalai Lama did not bring out any treasures from Tibet and consequently was very hard up financially. When asked who was supporting the Dalai Lama at present, Thondup had replied that all his support was coming from the Indian Government. Ambassador Yeh said that he had warned Thondup (who had made many disparaging remarks about Nehru) not to be too hard on Nehru, because if Nehru were to fall there would be chaos in India and a good chance of the Communists coming to power.</div>		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">SECRET</div>		

[Part 2](#) reveals that in addition to receiving money from the CIA, the Dalai Lama had been negotiating with the Soviets for financial assistance. It also reveals that the US congress continues to financially support the Dalai Lama, and the CIA subsidy has been replaced by National Endowment for Democracy funding.

The Dalai Lama Cables: Follow the Money - Part 1

Recently declassified US State Department cables reveal the workings of the Dalai Lama and his inner circle.

Throughout the 1950s the Dalai Lama negotiated with the US government for military and financial assistance. In the State Department document 'United States Policy Concerning the Legal Status of Tibet – 1942 – 1956', a summary of the US government's response is given:

'The United States was prepared to provide light arms, but it was not prepared to pay the expenses of the Dalai Lama and his retinue if they sought asylum abroad, because it assumed that the Dalai Lama had enough treasure to pay his own expenses.'

When the Dalai Lama finally did flee Tibet in early 1959, he sent his brother, Gyalo Thondup, to ask for financial and military assistance. Gyalo Thondup let it be known that:

'The Dalai Lama did not bring out any treasures from Tibet and consequently was very hard up financially'.

The [declassified documents](#) show that the Dalai Lama received a personal subsidy from the US government – a covert payment arranged by the CIA – of 180,000 US Dollars per year from 1959 through till at least 1974. To put this in a modern context 180,000 dollars in the 1950s would be worth nearly 1.5 million today, and 180,000 dollars in the seventies would be worth nearly 800,000 today. Considering the US intended not to support the Dalai Lama financially that's a pretty generous subsidy to have squeezed out of them.

An alternative version of the 'no treasure brought from Tibet' story can be found in *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering* on pages 57 – 58:

'In 1950, when it had seemed like a Chinese invasion was imminent, the Dalai Lama's substantial stocks of gold and silver had been transported out of the country to safety in Sikkim. During the 1950s, though the Dalai Lama himself was in Tibet, the gold and silver remained in one of the storehouses of the maharaja of Sikkim. The Chinese had asked for its return but had not made an issue of it at the time. Following the Lhasa Uprising and the flight of the Dalai Lama, they claimed that the money was not the Dalai Lama's personal fortune but belonged to the country--which they now considered to belong to them. At that point the Tibetan leaders decided it was time to secure their treasure more permanently and farther away from the border; and because of my association with Gyalola [Gyalo Thondup, the Dalai Lama's brother], I found myself involved. It was quite an operation.'

'The gold and silver were in the form of coins and ingots. When I became involved, the gold and silver were being hand-loaded onto trucks in Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, and driven south to Siliguri, the location of the nearest airstrip. At the airport the literally millions of dollars' worth of gold were loaded onto Dakota cargo planes and flown to Calcutta.'

‘When this precious cargo reached Calcutta, the gold was immediately put into the banks. But for a while the silver was stored in a single room on the third floor of a trusted Tibetan merchant's house. It was my responsibility to stand guard over it, and for nearly a month I stood sentinel in a silent room full of coins and odd pieces of silver.’

It is estimated that the Dalai Lama had nearly 5 tons of solid gold at his disposal in India. For a man with tens of millions of dollars in the bank to successfully plead poverty to the United States government is quite a feat.

Admittedly, the Dalai Lama had left the bulk of his fortune back in Lhasa – for example, in the west chapel of the Potala Palace there is a [tomb with nearly 5 tons of solid gold encasing it](#), there's no need to mention the thousands of other golden statues, tombs and works of art.

This rather clever con trick wasn't the only time the Dalai Lama rolled the US over, as we'll see in [part 2](#).

<http://www.westernshugdensociety.org/photos/dalai-lama-money-part1/>

The Dalai Lama Cables: Follow the Money - Part 2

In [part one](#), we showed how despite having tens of millions of dollars worth of gold stored in banks in Calcutta, the Dalai Lama successfully pleaded poverty to the United States government and secured a tax-free hand out of \$180,000 per annum from 1959 onwards.

By the 60s, however, some in the US administration were questioning the wisdom of these payments to the Dalai Lama, and the on-going financial support of the Tibetan refugees.

One illustration of this is the response to a letter from the Dalai Lama to the US President in late 1966, where the Dalai Lama mentions his plan to resettle with 400 Tibetans in the United States... with the apparent assumption that the US government will foot the \$425,000 bill for this.

The response is straight-forward: ‘No USG funds are available’.

Subsequent cables reveal an interesting development. In 1969, the Dalai Lama's personal representative Lodi Gyari lets the Americans know that the Dalai Lama has been negotiating with the Soviets [at that time the sworn enemy of the United States] for financial assistance.

‘Lodi concluded by stating that the Dalai Lama and he would much prefer to take American financial assistance and he hoped I would give the matter close attention, for they had to get help from somewhere.’

An exquisite hustle by anyone's standards.

Furthermore, in his report to the State Department, the US Ambassador noted, with some alarm, how during a recent public lecture:

‘The Dalai Lama emphasized that he did not oppose communism, or for that matter any “isms” in particular. He declared that **an independent Tibet could have a communist government** or any other form supported by the majority of the people. What Tibetans opposed was foreign domination. In the current context, these remarks would appear to have been primarily directed towards Moscow.’

Imagine the horror back in Washington at the prospect of their trump card in the global propaganda war against communism switching sides - swapping the CIA for the KGB, and happily inviting communist rule in Tibet.

Needless to say, funding for the Dalai Lama was granted, and his CIA support renewed at the [next review in 1971](#), and again in the following years. The US congress continues to financially support the Dalai Lama, and the CIA subsidy has been replaced by National Endowment for Democracy funding. As Professor Sautman reports:

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

Notes:

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 bianshen ‘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.

<http://www.westernshugdensociety.org/photos/dalai-lama-money-part2/>

DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 19 TIBET	
AIRGRAM			FOR RM USE ONLY	
REF	REP	AT	A-854	
ARR	EUR	5	SECRET/NOFORN	
NEA	CU	5	HANDLING INDICATOR	
E	P	5	TO : Department of State	
L	PRD	5	INFO : HONG KONG, KATHMANDU, MOSCOW	
AGR	COM	5	FROM : Amembassy NEW DELHI	
INT	LAB	5	DATE: December 24, 1969	
TR	XND	5	SUBJECT: Soviet Support for Tibetan Emigres	
IRMY	CIA	5	REF :	
DDO	USIA	3		
	NSA	2		
	NSC	6		

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PUBLISHING & REPRO. SERVICES DIVISION

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Enclosed is a memorandum of conversation between the reporting officer and a young Tibetan "Second Secretary" of the Dalai Lama's Bureau in New Delhi, G. G. LODI. Of particular interest is Lodi's description of the offer of direct support for a new "progressive" Tibetan front made by Vladimir SIMONOV, suave Novosti correspondent (and KGB officer) who had an audience with the Dalai Lama in October.

According to Lodi, the Dharmasala leadership has not yet accepted the Soviet offer; they would much prefer American assistance.

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Enclosure: Memorandum of Conversation.

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Contents and Classification Approved by: POL:WABrown

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Noted

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File 1/7/70

SECRET/NOFORN

Enclosure to
New Delhi A-854
Page 3 of 3

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Dalai Lama Money

The Dalai Lama Cables: Follow the Money - Addendum

In the aftermath of the Chinese invasion of Tibet, the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees were inundated with aid in the form of money, food, clothing, blankets, medicines, land, accommodation, livestock and so forth.

Many international charities, such as The Red Cross, CARE, Catholic Relief Services, The National Christian Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees and others, gave extensively.

Many national governments, such as the UK, France, Canada, New Zealand, the US and especially India gave generously to the Tibetan cause.

In the over fifty years since the Chinese invasion, the plight of the Tibetans rarely leaves media attention for long. It has become without doubt one of the most successful on-going fund-raising campaigns ever, drawing millions and millions of dollars in donations, merchandise and event-tickets each year.

Where has all the money gone? What has it been used for? When [Australian journalist Michael Backman](#) tried to discover the answer to these fundamental questions he found:

‘Details of the government-in-exile's funding today are far from clear.’

‘It is not clear how donations enter its budgeting. These are likely to run to many millions annually, but the Dalai Lama's Department of Finance provided no explicit acknowledgment of them or of their sources.’

‘Certainly, there are plenty of rumours among expatriate Tibetans of endemic corruption and misuse of monies collected in the name of the Dalai Lama.’

In part one of this series of articles we quoted from [Tashi Tsering's autobiography](#), before helping Gyalo Thondup transport the Dalai Lama's treasure from Sikkim to Calcutta, whilst back in Lhasa before the Chinese invasion, he had worked in the treasury of the Tibetan government. He recounts his experiences there (p63 of the autobiography):

‘I was still disillusioned and angry about what I had seen going on in the treasury office in Lhasa. The ordinary people sent their taxes and tribute in the form of money and goods, and both monk and lay officials just took what they wanted. There were ledgers filled with accounts of tea bricks, butter, cloth, gold, and silver. I saw the records that showed that the more powerful monks, **especially those from aristocratic families and the Dalai Lama's household, "borrowed" any of these things they wished and never returned them.** There was no overall record, no auditing. The officials and their friends and family could come in and take anything they fancied. I saw them doing so with my own eyes.’

Tashi Tsering was offered a position in the newly formed Tibetan-Government-in-Exile, but turned it down:

‘I felt that going to work for the exiled aristocrats and monks would have meant going to work to restore the same old system.’

Could this be the answer to Michael Backman’s questions? Could this be where the money went? In his pursuit of answers, Backman, uncovered some more inconvenient truths:

‘Like many Asian politicians, the Dalai Lama has been remarkably nepotistic, appointing members of his family to many positions of prominence. In recent years, three of the six members of the Kashag, or cabinet, the highest executive branch of the Tibetan government-in-exile, have been close relatives of the Dalai Lama.’

‘An older brother served as chairman of the Kashag and as the minister of security. He also headed the CIA-backed Tibetan contra movement in the 1960s.’

‘A sister-in-law served as head of the government-in-exile's planning council and its Department of Health.’

‘A younger sister served as health and education minister and her husband served as head of the government-in-exile's Department of Information and International Relations.’

‘Their daughter was made a member of the Tibetan parliament in exile. A younger brother has served as a senior member of the private office of the Dalai Lama and his wife has served as education minister.’

‘The second wife of a brother-in-law serves as the representative of the Tibetan government-in-exile for northern Europe and head of international relations for the government-in-exile. All these positions give the Dalai Lama's family access to millions of dollars collected on behalf of the government-in-exile.’

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<http://www.westernshugdensociety.org/photos/dalai-lama-money-addendum/>

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE

7938-007-1151

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : New Delhi, India

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: Transmitting copy of Document recently forwarded to Dalai Lama at Yatung

July 11, 1951

Air Trough

7938-007-1151

TOP SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DATE 12/22/00

BY 1045

DATE 12/22/00

TOP SECRET

ACTION COPY - DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7938-007-1151

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's telegrams No. 3764 of June 24 and No. 101 of July 6, 1951 with respect to Tibet and to enclose a copy of a Document which was recently forwarded to the Dalai Lama at Yatung.

This document was drawn up toward the end of June for the purpose of transmitting to the Dalai Lama a concise and clear statement of the attitude of the United States toward the various problems confronting Tibet. For reasons of security, the document is neither addressed to the Dalai Lama nor signed by an American representative. It contains no reference to the United States. Arrangements were made, however, by which the Dalai Lama was informed of its origin.

It is believed that this document as well as later information regarding the extent of American assistance for Tibet reached the Dalai Lama about July 6.

Lothar G. Steere
Charge d'Affaires, U. S.

ENCLOSURE

STATE DEPT. DECLASSIFICATION REVIEW

DATE 12/22/00

BY 1045

DATE 12/22/00

TOP SECRET

ACTION COPY - DEPARTMENT OF STATE

7938-007-1151

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 70, July 11, 1951
New Delhi, India

7910001-1941

We sent you a letter two months ago about the dangers of the Chinese Communists. Some of your advisers probably think that they understand the Chinese Communists and can make a bargain with them. We do not think they understand Communism or the record of its leaders. We believe that if you should return to China your life will be in jeopardy. The Communists will use you to further their objectives. They will murder you the moment your usefulness to them is over. That is the way they have treated leaders of all the countries where they have seized control. Your Holiness is the chief hope of Tibet. If the Chinese Communists seize control of Tibet, you will be of greater help to Tibet outside Tibet than you will be the recognized leader and will symbolize the hopes of the Tibetans for the recovery of Tibet's freedom.

We do not know whether you received our letter about the Chinese Communists. We would like to know.

Since sending the previous letter we have read in the newspapers your delegation to Peking signed an agreement with the Chinese Communists. We do not believe they signed it with your permission but were forced to do so. However, the world is beginning to think that you do not object to the agreement because you have made no statement about it. We think you should make this statement soon because the Chinese Communists are sending a delegation to Yatung through India. If you make your statement before they reach India, it should make it difficult for the Chinese delegation to come to Tibet. If you do not make such a statement, we think that Tibetan autonomy is gone forever.

The only access we have to Tibet is through the country of India. It is therefore important that Tibet tell India that you now want to do and persuade India to help you or permit other countries to help you. We don't know for sure but we think it possible India will permit it only because although India now seems friendly with the Chinese Communists we know many Indians are fearful of the Communists near India.

We ourselves are willing to help Tibet now and we will do the following things at this time:

1. After you issue the statement disavowing the agreement which your delegation signed with the Chinese Communists in Peking, we will issue a public statement of our own supporting your stand.
2. If you decide to send a new appeal to the United Nations, we will support your case in the United Nations.

3. If you leave Tibet, we think you should seek asylum in India, Thailand or Ceylon in that order of priority because then you will be closer to Tibet and will be able to organize its resistance to the Chinese Communists. Although we haven't consulted India, we think it would let you come to India because it said you could come last year. We haven't consulted Thailand or Ceylon but we will ask them if you can come if you want us to talk to them. If you are unable to remain in any of these countries, you may come to our country with some of your followers.

4. If you leave Tibet and if you organize resistance to the Chinese Communists, we are prepared to send you light arms through India. We think, however, that you should first ask India for arms and, if they cannot give them to you, ask India for permission for other countries to send them through India. If you are able to organize resistance within Tibet, we will also give consideration to supplying you with loans of money to keep up the resistance spirit and morale of the Tibetan people. This is important if Tibet's autonomy is to be maintained or regained in the event you should feel impelled to seek asylum outside of Tibet. We will discuss plans and programs of military assistance and loans of money with your representatives when you tell us who your representatives are.

5. We have already told your brother, Yaktse Rimpoche, that he can go to our country and we are making arrangements for his departure.

We are willing to do all these things. We have sent you many messages to this effect. We do not know if you have received them. Therefore we ask you to write us whether you have received this letter. We ask you also to send us a personal representative or to write us which Tibetan representatives in India have your confidence.

Dalai Lama Cables No Nobel Peace

The Dalai Lama Cables: No Noble Peace - Part 3

In this series of articles we will comprehensively refute the Dalai Lama's qualification for being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Throughout the articles please bear in mind [the words of Egil Aarvik](#) when presenting the Dalai Lama with the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize:

'This year's Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded ... first and foremost for his consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty. This is by no means the first community of exiles in the world, but it is assuredly the first and only one that has not set up any militant liberation movement.'

Please also bear in mind that the Dalai Lama is a fully ordained Buddhist monk with vows to forsake killing and any actions of harming others.

Previously we revealed how the Dalai Lama had requested military assistance from the United States through his various representatives, Tsepon Shakabpa and his elder brother Taktse Rimpoche.

Here we publish in full a reply sent by the United States. As the covering note by Charge d'Affaires Steere says:

'For reasons of security, the document is neither addressed to the Dalai Lama nor signed by an American representative. It contains no reference to the United States. Arrangements were made, however, by which the Dalai Lama was informed of its origin'.

Point 4 of the letter makes it clear that the United States is prepared to fulfil the Dalai Lama's request for military assistance:

'We are prepared to send you light arms through India... We will also give consideration to supplying you with loans of money to keep up the resistance.'

However it is necessary to note all the conditions the US applies:

- That the Dalai Lama leaves Tibet
- That the Dalai Lama issues a statement disavowing the agreement his delegates made with Communist China
- That the Dalai Lama organise resistance to the Chinese Communists

With this document, a deal is made between the United States Government and the Dalai Lama of Tibet. The Dalai Lama has successfully persuaded a super power to intervene militarily on his behalf. Exactly like his predecessor the [5th Dalai Lama](#), the present Dalai Lama has become a man of war.

How does this fit with the Dalai Lama's image of 'consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty'?

* See also: [Part 1](#) / [Part 2](#) / [Part 4](#) / [Part 5](#) / [Epilogue](#)

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Approved by M 11/3

(29) M-542

SUBJECT: Tibet

~~SECRET~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

By: *[Signature]* Date: *10/29/59*
Authority: *[Signature]*
DECLASSIFIED

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PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Murphy - Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Mr. Gyalo Thondup, Personal Representative of the Dalai Lama
Mr. Scott - M
Mr. Martin, Director, CA

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Mr. Gyalo Thondup, the Personal Representative of the Dalai Lama, and "Foreign Minister" of the Dalai Lama's Government, called at his request on Under Secretary Murphy this afternoon. Upon being introduced to Mr. Murphy, Mr. Thondup made the traditional presentation of a Tibetan silk scarf to the Under Secretary. Mr. Thondup said that he had come on behalf of his brother, the Dalai Lama, who wished to convey to President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter the deep gratitude of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people for the sympathy and help which the American Government and people have rendered to them. He also thanked Mr. Murphy for the assistance of the U. S. in connection with the recent United Nations deliberations on the Tibetan item.

Mr. Thondup then said he would like to make the following points with regard to the Tibetan situation:

1. It was the hope of the Dalai Lama that the U. S. Government would continue to help the people of Tibet in their struggle for independence. The Tibetans were now facing great difficulties but they intended to continue their struggle for freedom and they looked to the U. S. for support. The Dalai Lama would like very much to have advice and guidance as to what he should do to keep the Tibetan cause alive and before the conscience of the world.

2. The Dalai Lama was grateful for the assistance from U. S. sources for the Tibetan refugees who had fled after the uprising in March. He hoped that some of the refugees might go to the U. S. and other countries for training and education. He hoped for U. S. assistance in this respect.

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3. Due to the attitude of the Government of India, at present it was not feasible for the Dalai Lama to set up a government in exile. However, he hoped that the attitude of the Indian Government might change in time, and that it would be possible eventually to establish such a government. The Dalai Lama hoped that the U. S. Government would use its influence with the Indian Government and other governments to encourage the recognition of a Tibetan Government in exile.

4. The Tibetans needed financial and arms assistance from the U. S. in order to continue their resistance within Tibet against Chinese Communist oppression.

Dalai Lama Cables No Nobel Peace

The Dalai Lama Cables: No Noble Peace - Part 4

In this series of articles we will comprehensively refute the Dalai Lama's qualification for being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Throughout the articles please bear in mind [the words of Egil Aarvik](#) when presenting the Dalai Lama with the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize:

'This year's Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded ... first and foremost for his consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty. This is by no means the first community of exiles in the world, but it is assuredly the first and only one that has not set up any militant liberation movement.'

Please also bear in mind that the Dalai Lama is a fully ordained Buddhist monk with vows to forsake killing and any actions of harming others.

In the previous articles, we showed how the Dalai Lama reached a deal with the United States Government that they would provide military assistance to the Tibetans.

The US had attached some conditions to this agreement: that the Dalai Lama leave Tibet, disavow the agreement with the Chinese, and organise the resistance.

The Dalai Lama didn't leave Tibet or disavow the agreement with the Chinese until 1959. The Tibetan resistance was organised in the mid-1950s and the CIA had some limited involvement with it, including assisting with the Dalai Lama's escape to India. We now turn our attention to what the Dalai Lama wants next, now that he has finally met the three conditions requested by the Americans.

On the 23 April 1959, almost immediately after arriving in India the Dalai Lama sent a message directly to President Eisenhower. In response to the message the CIA prepared a ['review of Tibetan operations'](#).

[As an additional matter of interest, the review showed that Dalai Lama had asked the Indian government to support his anti-communist resistance, but that this request had been rejected. The review details how the Dalai Lama then turned again to the US, who again agreed to support military operations in Tibet, and a 'Tibetan Program' was initiated (this latter point is

currently redacted from the declassified document - it is however referred to in the CIA's [memorandum for the 303 Committee](#) of 26 January 1968).]

Although the actual contents of the Dalai Lama's message to President Eisenhower remain classified, it is very clear from CIA Director Allen Dulles response to the message what they were. In a memo to President Eisenhower entitled '[Dalai Lama's Request for Supplies for the Tibetan Resistance](#)' he details the progress the CIA is making to fulfil this request (The initials "DE" on the source text indicate the President's approval.).

In the Memorandum of Conversation of 29 October 1959, Gyalo Thondup (the Dalai Lama's brother and personal representative) makes requests on behalf of the Dalai Lama.

Again, note that the Gyalo Thondup is acting on behalf of his brother, carrying gifts and messages from the Dalai Lama for the American President. The Dalai Lama has four points to make, we highlight the fourth point:

'4. The Tibetans needed financial and arms assistance from the US in order to continue their resistance within Tibet against Chinese Communist oppression.'

The Dalai Lama is effectively trying to hurry up the US government. They promised to provide arms and money to Tibetan military for a war against the Chinese, and the Dalai Lama wants those weapons and that money delivered. The US did deliver both weapons and money and much more besides over a period of 2 decades, but it seems it was never as much as the Dalai Lama had hoped for. In a [Newsweek interview in April 1999](#), he says:

'They gave the impression that once I arrived in India, great support would come from the United States'.

How does this fit with the Dalai Lama's image of 'consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty'?

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FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
1964-1968
Volume XXXX
China

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, DC

Questions Pertaining to Tibet

337. Memorandum for the Special Group/1/

Washington, January 9, 1964.

SUBJECT

Review of Tibetan Operations

1. Summary--The CIA Tibetan Activity consists of political action, propaganda, and paramilitary activity. The purpose of the program at this stage is to keep the political concept of an autonomous Tibet alive within Tibet and among foreign nations, principally India, and to build a capability for resistance against possible political developments inside Communist China.

2. Problem--To explain Agency expenditures in support of the Tibetan program.

3. Background and Objectives--At a 13 December 1963 meeting "The Special Group approved the continuation of CIA controlled Tibetan Operations [1 line of source text not declassified]." Previous operations had gone to support isolated Tibetan resistance groups within Tibet and to the creation of a paramilitary force on the Nepal/Tibet border of approximately 2,000 men, 800 of whom were armed by [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] airdrop in January 1961. In 1963, as a result of the [2 lines of source text not declassified] and as a result of the cited Special Group meeting, the Agency began a more broadly based political program with the exiled Tibetans. This included bringing 133 Tibetans to the United States for training in political, propaganda and paramilitary techniques; continuing the support subsidy to the Dalai Lama's entourage at Dharmasala, India; continuing support to the Nepal based Tibetan guerrillas; the reassignment of a part of the unarmed guerrillas to India for further training; and the [6 lines of source text not declassified]. Operational plans call for the establishment of approximately 20 singleton resident agents in Tibet [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] two road watch teams in Tibet to report possible Chinese Communist build-ups, and six border watch communications teams [1 line of source text not declassified]. The [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] will stay in direct touch with Dharmasala and will conduct political correspondence with Tibetan refugee groups [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] to create an increased Tibetan national political consciousness among these refugees. The [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] was established in October 1963, and the communications center serving it, [1 line of source text not declassified] is presently being built with a completion date scheduled in February 1964.

One of the most serious problems facing the Tibetans is a lack of trained officials equipped with linguistic and administrative abilities. The Agency is undertaking the education of some 20 selected Tibetan junior officers to meet this need. A United States advisory committee composed of prominent United States citizens has been established to sponsor the education of these Tibetans. Cornell University has tentatively agreed to provide facilities for their education.

The Agency is supporting the establishment of Tibet Houses in [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] Geneva, and New York City. The Tibet Houses are intended to serve as unofficial representation for the Dalai Lama to maintain the concept of a separate Tibetan political identity. The Tibet House in New York City will work closely with Tibetan supporters in the United Nations, particularly the Malayan, Irish, and Thai delegations.

The cost of the Tibetan Program for FY 1964 can be summarized in approximate figures as follows:

- a. Support of 2100 Tibetan guerrillas based in Nepal--\$ 500,000
- b. Subsidy to the Dalai Lama--\$ 180,000
- c. [1 line of source text not declassified] (equipment, transportation, installation, and operator training costs)--\$ 225,000
- d. Expenses of covert training site in Colorado--\$ 400,000
- e. Tibet Houses in New York, Geneva, and [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] (1/2 year)--\$ 75,000
- f. Black air transportation of Tibetan trainees from Colorado to India--\$ 185,000
- g. Miscellaneous (operating expenses of [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] equipment and supplies to reconnaissance teams, caching program, air resupply--not overflights, preparation stages for agent network in Tibet, agent salaries, etc.)--\$ 125,000
- h. Educational program for 20 selected junior Tibetan officers--\$ 45,000

Total--\$ 1,735,000

4. Coordination--This Tibetan operational program has been coordinated with the Department of State for a number of years. Specific operational activity has been coordinated with the Department of Defense and the [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] as necessary.

5. Recommendations--Barring sudden developments inside Communist China and Tibet, expenses for this long-range, politically-oriented Tibet program are not expected to exceed this amount in the foreseeable future. In fact, there are a number of probable economies, [1-1/2 lines of source text not declassified] for example. Nonetheless, this program will continue to require fairly large expenditures over a long period of time to keep the possibility of a non-Communist government alive to the Tibetan people. We recommend continuance of this program.

Dalai Lama Cables No Nobel Peace

The Dalai Lama Cables: No Noble Peace - Part 5

In this series of articles we will comprehensively refute the Dalai Lama's qualification for being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Throughout the articles please bear in mind [the words of Egil Aarvik](#) when presenting the Dalai Lama with the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize:

'This year's Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded ... first and foremost for his consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty. This is by no means the first community of exiles in the world, but it is assuredly the first and only one that has not set up any militant liberation movement.'

Please also bear in mind that the Dalai Lama is a fully ordained Buddhist monk with vows to forsake killing and any actions of harming others.

As illustrated in the previous article in this series, the Dalai Lama called in the deal he had made with the US Government for military and financial support for a war against the Chinese Communists over Tibet.

Here we give some details as to the measure of the support that was afforded. This [previously top secret document](#) is now publicly available. We urge everyone interested in the Dalai Lama and Tibet to read it.

This shows that the US government was true to its words and for the best part of two decades provided millions of dollars each year to fund the Dalai Lama's war. Included in this was an annual personal subsidy of \$180,000 to the Dalai Lama. We also note that the CIA was behind the development of 'Tibet Houses' around the world - a subject we will return to later.

In conclusion to this series of articles, we have comprehensively refuted the claim that the Dalai Lama is a man of peace. Egil Aarvik's praise of him for *'his consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty'* could not be any more hollow.

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Dalai Lama Wikileaks Statistics

The Dalai Lama Wikileaks - Curious Statistics

The US embassy cables:
The documents



Monday, 30 June 2008, 10:26

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NEW DELHI 001795
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EO 12958 DECL: 06/30/2018

TAGS PGOV, PREL, PREF, PHUM, SOCI, CH, IN

SUBJECT: TIBETAN YOUTH SEE POTHOLES IN THE MIDDLE PATH -
PART 1 OF A STATUS REPORT ON TIBETAN REFUGEES IN INDIA
REF: A. NEW DELHI 1483 B. NEW DELHI 3617 C. NEW DELHI
1476

NEW DELHI 00001795 001.2 OF 003

Classified By: Acting PolCouns Joel Ehrendreich for
Reasons 1.4 (B and D).

7. (C) In Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh, Tibetan youth take advantage of one career option - the Special Frontier Force (SFF). Seven SFF units, based in Chakrata, Uttarkhand form a special division of the Indian army composed solely of Tibetans. The GOI entrusts SFF to protect its borders, stationing Tibetans along the border with China and in Ladakh. The Tibetans can only attain the rank of junior officer and earn a meager salary compared to their Indian counterparts. Yet, most Tibetan men in northeastern India join the SFF. In Gangtok, the Welfare Officer noted that the majority of Tibetan men work for the SFF; and in Ravangla, 90% of the Tibetan families have at least one family member serving. In Miao, about 350 of the settlement's youth serve in the SFF.

The recent release of US State Department cables by whistle-blowing website Wikileaks.org has revealed some curious statistics in relation to the Tibetans in exile.

Clearly, Tibet and the Dalai Lama are at the centre of a propaganda war between the United States and Communist China. In virtually all western media, the Tibetans are portrayed like the [Ewoks](#) from Star Wars - as cute, cuddly, harmless and deeply spiritual - while the Chinese are demonized - sinophobic caricatures like [Ming the Merciless](#) from Flash Gordon spring to mind. This media distortion has been carefully orchestrated with the US's vested interests in mind. A closer analysis of the Wikileaks cables reveals statistics that challenge this popular myth.

In [one cable](#) it reveals that far from being pacifists, most of the Tibetans serve in the military. The cables states:

'Most Tibetan men in northeastern India join the SFF [Special Frontier Force]. In Gangtok, [...] the majority of men work for the SFF; and in Ravangla, 90% of the Tibetan families have at least one family member serving.'

That so many Tibetans serve in the military may come as a shock to some readers, and they may perhaps think this must be a recent development, quite unusual for the Tibetans. Such a view would only demonstrate how deeply effective the Dalai Lama's efforts to rewrite Tibetan history have been. In his illuminating article ['Vegetarian between Meals: The Dalai Lama, War, and Violence'](#), [Professor Barry Sautman](#) presents facts that are in stark contrast with the picture the Dalai Lama likes to paint. Professor Sautman provides references for every statement he makes, his sources are listed below.

'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 prevailed 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

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

To illustrate just how militarized the Tibetan people were, Professor Sautman provides us with a statistical comparison to the present United States military:

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

The carefully crafted image of the Dalai Lama as a benign spiritual leader, and of Tibet as a Shangri-la, is a weapon in the CIA's propaganda war. The Dalai Lama has knowingly colluded with the myth-building about himself and Tibet. A more realistic assessment of the present Dalai Lama, and the Dalai Lamas through history can be found in ['A Great Deception'](#).

Professor Sautman's sources:

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

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, pp1.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: Instituto 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).

<http://www.westernshugdensociety.org/photos/dalai-lama-wikileaks-statistics/>



Dalai Lama Cables No Nobel Peace

The Dalai Lama Cables: No Noble Peace - Epilogue

In this series of articles we comprehensively refuted the Dalai Lama's qualification for being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Throughout the articles please bear in mind [the words of Egil Aarvik](#) when presenting the Dalai Lama with the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize:

'This year's Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded ... first and foremost for his consistent resistance to the use of violence in his people's struggle to regain their liberty. This is by no means the first community of exiles in the world, but it is assuredly the first and only one that has not set up any militant liberation movement.'

Please also bear in mind that the Dalai Lama is a fully ordained Buddhist monk with vows to forsake killing and any actions of harming others.

Over the course of the previous articles in this series we showed how the Dalai Lama personally requested the CIA involvement in Tibet - an involvement that led to thousands of deaths on both sides.

Now we can contrast the evidence found in the US State Department documents with the Dalai Lama's own words:

Some quotes from his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech:

'The prize reaffirms our conviction that with truth, courage and determination as our weapons, Tibet will be liberated.'

'Because violence can only breed more violence and suffering, our struggle must remain nonviolent.'

And some from the Nobel Lecture he gave thereafter:

'I speak to inform you of the sad situation in my country today and of the aspirations of my people, because in our struggle for freedom, truth is the only weapon we possess.'

'Despite the fact that we have not drawn attention to our plight by means of violence, we have not been forgotten.'

He has always, and continues to this day, to pretend he was uninvolved with the CIA activities in Tibet. He blames his brothers, claims they acted without his knowledge, claims he wasn't informed, and so on and so forth.

In his autobiography 'Freedom in Exile' he says:

'The other sad episode concerned the guerillas, trained and equipped by the CIA, who continued their struggle to regain Tibetan freedom by violent means. On more than one occasion, I tried to discover detailed information about these operations from Gyalo Thondup and others, but I have never heard the full story...

'Although I admired the determination of the guerillas, I had never been in favour of their activities.'

How hollow all these words sound now, in the light of the truths revealed.

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