

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



A half-century ago Tibet became an active matter of interest and concern on the international scene, when its leader, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, fled his country to avoid complete subjugation by a repressive Chinese government. In the intervening years he and his people and their cause have not only survived but have become the subject of international interest and concern as they moved “beyond Shangri-La” to become contributing participants in the current world.

While writing this book I have had the privilege of being a research associate at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University, whose distinguished scholars and authorities on China and United States involvement have been of great assistance to me. I am particularly indebted to Professor Roderick MacFarquhar for sharing his keen insights on the politics in China since the Mao government assumed control and in keeping me on track in recording Chinese actions as they affected Tibet. His associates, Merle Goldman, Ezra Vogel, Robert Ross, Arthur Holcombe, and Leonard van der Kuip, and William Kirby have all provided stimulating views on events and personalities in the political scene that has been unfolding in Beijing and Tibet over the past half-century. Holly Angell, Deirdre Chetham, and Jorge Espada have given me needed support. I am grateful to you all.

I have also had the benefit of perusing the papers of William Rockhill at the Lamont Library at Harvard, whose staff maintain them with a deserved sense of pride and provide ready and informed access to them. I am grateful for finding this same informed access at the FDR, Truman, and Kennedy libraries to the

original papers of the presidents filed there. Ambassador Harry Barnes was similarly generous in sharing the conclusions of the mission on which he served, looking for a constructive solution to the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The ready access to President Nixon's conversations in the Oval Office with Dr. Kissinger which were available at the National Archives was a pleasing surprise.

I am also very grateful for the ready reception and assistance I received from the members of the United States Congress and their staffs who have worked with diligence and insight into supporting the Tibetans in their struggle for recognition. From Senator Helms to Senator Feinstein and from Congresswoman Pelosi to Congressman Wolf they have provided their weighty support to a conscientious balance in Washington. Senator Udall's readiness to obtain bipartisan support for my efforts to place a plaque at Camp Hale in his home state commemorating the Tibetans who were trained there and later died defending their country was very gratifying. I am particularly indebted to Congresswoman Pelosi's aide Jonathan Stivers and Senator Udall's aide Jennifer Barrett.

The Tibetan government-in-exile has provided me with ready access to its leaders, particularly the Dalai Lama's family, represented by Gyalo Thondup, his wife and children, and brothers Thubten Jigme Norbu and Lobsang Samten. I am grateful for the long friendship and confidences that Gyalo and his faithful friend the late Lhamo Tsering shared with me as they navigated through the many and at times conflicting demands that have been made on both of them jointly and separately. Having access to Lhamo Tsering's timely reports and compilations of the records of the operations conducted by his fellow countrymen against the Chinese occupation of their country and their efforts to find a lasting peace and an equitable accommodation between his people and their Chinese neighbors has been invaluable. This has been enriched and enhanced by a deep and lasting relationship with many of the younger generation who have served as interpreters and aides between the Tibetan leaders and their countrymen and the Americans who worked with them on common endeavors and enabled us to compile an accurate history of the events that were involved. Lodi Gyari and Bhuchung Tsering have been tireless and effective advocates of the Tibetan government-in-exile's efforts to reach a permanent agreement with their Chinese counterparts concerning regional autonomy within the scope of the Constitution of Tibet. Fortuitously, during the past decade that I have been writing this book, I have shared it with Lobsang Samten as he prepared himself at Harvard to serve his country, which he now does as prime minister of the

Tibetan government-in-exile. They have also been ready to expound on and explain to me the status of these negotiations over the past decade.

I am particularly indebted to Joel McCleary and Robert Thurman for having shared their recollections, documents, and photographs. These provide authoritative evidence of what they have done to carry out successfully the injunction of their Buddhist mentor, Geshe La, that “this is not the age for mountains, but for politics.”

Throughout my work on Tibet I have had the support of my wife, known as “Miss Andy” to the many Tibetans we have known together and who have enriched both our lives. I have also had the privilege of having my children, Maggie, Holley, and John, share this interest and the way of life it represents. Thank you all.