

**THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION  
ASIA SOCIETY  
AND  
THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND  
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**WELCOME AND INTRODUCTIONS:**  
ANDREA KOPPEL, Journalist

**FEATURED GUEST SPEAKER:**  
HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA  
TENZIN GYATSO

**PARTICIPANTS:**  
RICHARD HOLBROOKE,  
CHAIRMAN; ASIA SOCIETY;  
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MS. KOPPEL: Good morning, everyone. I'm Andrea Koppel and on behalf of the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Asia Society, I'd like to welcome all of you to what is surely going to be a very interesting 90-minute conversation with the Nobel Prize-winning, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, who is the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader. His Holiness is in Washington this week because the U.S. Congress has just honored him with a Congressional Gold Medal, the nation's highest and most distinguished civilian award. The award was in recognition of the Dalai Lama's many contributions over the years to peace, non-violence, human rights, and religious understanding.

As many of you know, His Holiness was recognized at the age of two to be the reincarnation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. And in accordance with Tibetan tradition, he was enthroned as the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1940. Now a spry 72 years old, His Holiness has spent the last 48 years living in exile in India where he and thousands of his followers fled, following the violent suppression by the Chinese People's Liberation Army of an uprising in Lhasa in March 1959. Since then, His Holiness has sought to bridge the differences with Beijing in the hopes of reaching a mutually beneficial resolution to the Tibet issue.

Now, this morning's conversation is going to cover a wide range of topics, which will include, of course, the decades-long impasse with Beijing over Tibet. It will also cover other important international issues like the environment, global warming, the widening gap between rich and poor, an issue near and dear to the Dalai Lama's heart, and tolerance or intolerance in the name of religion.

With us to lead the conversation with His Holiness are three distinguished men well-known to many of you in this room. They include Strobe Talbott who is the president of the Brookings Institution and served as the deputy secretary of state in the Clinton administration. During his tenure at the State Department, he was one of the Clinton administration's foremost experts and strategists on China and on India.

Richard Armitage, who is a trustee at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and he is also the president of Armitage International. He served as deputy secretary of state in the Bush administration from March 2001 until November 2004, during which time he, among other things, helped the Bush administration to craft its Asia policy.

And Richard Holbrooke, chairman of the Asia Society, and he is also the vice chairman of Perseus. His dealings with China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama go back several decades. During the Carter administration, he served as the assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific affairs when he was deeply engaged in establishing diplomatic

relations with China. Tibet is an interest and a cause about which he is extremely passionate to this very day, and he counts the Dalai Lama as a close personal friend.

One note – I want to ask all of you who may still have your BlackBerries or your phones on to please turn them off, and also to let you know that, time permitting, we may have an opportunity to take a couple of questions that people wrote, I guess, and dropped into a box at the back of the room when they first came in. Of course, that's time permitting, the last few minutes of this conversation.

And now, I want to turn things over to Richard Armitage.

MR. ARMITAGE: Well, thank you, Ms. Koppel. Good morning, Your Holiness. It's great to be back with you again, see you again. You've joined with three refugees from the Department of State here. (Laughter.)

But as you can see by the representatives here, the issue of Tibet and the message that Your Holiness brings is not a matter of partisan politics here in Washington. It crosses party boundaries and it crosses governmental bureaucratic boundaries. And the Department of State, which all three of us have worked in, is quite proud of the fact that historically we've been able to support NGOs who have been involved in the development and preservation of Tibetan culture. We've raised, each of us in our own way, with Chinese interlocutors, the need to have meaningful dialogue with representatives of His Holiness. And I'm pleased to say that four of those dialogues have been held.

We have here today Undersecretary Paula Dobriansky, who is a very powerful advocate of the Tibetan people and makes absolutely clear to the American people and to the American Congress that we are living up to our responsibilities to the people of Tibet. And finally, I think that you've seen in your visits to Washington, Your Holiness, and most particularly your welcome yesterday that everyone here in Washington wants to be of assistance and amplify the message of hope and peace, which you bring.

Now, all of us have participated in the Department of State in matters of Tibet, I think though all of us – the three of us at least – probably have some regrets that we weren't able to do more. So we'll look to you today, Your Holiness, to give us an idea on what you think the United States should better do, or more perhaps vociferously do, to support the hopes and aspirations of the Tibetan people.

Now, I might start things off, as Ms. Koppel had indicated, with a question if I may. Your Holiness, many of the eyes here in Washington not focused on you in the last couple days were focused in Beijing watching the Party Congress, where Chinese officials were making decisions about personnel and about policy. And I wonder if you have any information that Tibet was a matter of discussion in those deliberations in Beijing. Some observers have noted that the conversations and the statements from Beijing on the question of Taiwan have been conciliatory, and I wonder if you think this is also possible regarding Tibet?

DALAI LAMA: I don't know. (Laughter.)

MR. ARMITAGE: Should I go to the next question? (Laughter.)

DALAI LAMA: Yes, yes.

MR. TALBOTT: I wish more of us in our line of work were as good at answering questions that way as His Holiness. (Laughter.) That would be the beginning of wisdom for all of us, I think. Your Holiness, I join my colleagues, and I think everybody in the room in expressing what an honor it is to be in your presence and to have a chance to interact with you today. I would like to put a question to you also concerning Tibet and its relationship to the People's Republic of China.

Let me preface this by saying first, those who follow this issue – and more people should – know that you have spoken on it before. Chairman Lantos, yesterday, spoke for you, with you, when he said that you accept the PRC's sovereignty, that you are not a splittist. I think all of us know that there is disagreement over the historical aspect of this problem. You and many others have one view; others have different views. I would like to pose my question without reference to history, because what really matters is the situation today and the situation into the future.

Is it your position that Tibet is and will continue to be within the People's Republic of China?

DALAI LAMA: Yes. Actually, after '59, or I think until '59, they suppose – I think – policy of China, according to 17-point agreement, and after '59, that era then, no longer. Then, in '74, we heavily engaged resettlement and start schools. These are sort of measures of our work because 1959, the early '60s, we also tried to raise the Tibetan issue at the U.N. Then, '74, in – (inaudible) – few – I think (inaudible) – leaders of the refugee community, we decided or we made up in our mind, sooner or later, we had to talk with the central government of China. Then, the question of independence is out of question. It's a realistic approach, genuine autonomy, which Chinese constitution itself provided.

Actually, the setting up autonomous region is when I was in Peking, 1954, Chairman Mao personally had a meeting that I think first meeting – second meeting – first meeting more formally. Second meeting was I think – (inaudible) – long discussions. In that meeting, Chairman Mao asked me in 17-point agreement, it mentioned something – what kind of – (inaudible) – committee, political, military, that kind of setup. It mentioned in 17-point agreement. But Chairman Mao asked me about his suggestion, now instead of setting of that political military sort of possibility, I don't know – arrangement – better to set up autonomous region. For that, the – (inaudible) – committee for autonomous regions, Chairman Mao himself suggested. And after our meeting, I asked my – (inaudible) – cabinets – all the important officials – I asked,

everybody, including – (inaudible) – everybody overjoyed, in setting up autonomous region, or that setting up – (inaudible) – committee.

So at that time, many of I think at least some Tibetan Communists, some of these Tibetan Communists, they joined the Communist Party in '30s. So then, we really sort of have a strong enthusiasm. Now, this is the time to build Tibet under the leadership of China's Communist Party – full enthusiasm and with that enthusiasm and then setting up autonomous region – everybody now happy. And then, we responded to the central government. We fully agree with that. So '74 we again, after our discussion, now meaningful autonomy, genuine autonomy, is the best interest, mutually a good resolution. So since then, you see, we fully committed about toward middle approach – not significant.

So early '79, when we received some indication from China's government, we already made up in our mind so at once we responded very happy – (inaudible) – meet their – (inaudible) – sort of like that. So we fully committed about middle approach, not independence, therefore, among Tibetans, Tibetan outside as well as inside and also among some of our supporters, they are quite critical about our middle approach. So in spite these conditions, we all those years fully committed and future also we fully committed.

So now, it has become clear, it is our own interest, because Tibet materially very, very backward, and landlocked country, small population. Therefore, in meantime, every Tibetan want modernize Tibet. Therefore, Tibet remain within the People's Republic of China. As far as material development is concerned, it would be great benefit. Provided since we have our own cultural heritage and rich Buddhist tradition, and also the delicate environment of the situation, therefore, I say we really need meaningful – (inaudible) – that means accept foreign affairs difference in all the business including religion, culture, education, because we have our own language, our own script, and also economy.

That should be in the hands of Tibetan who knows about Tibetan culture, about Tibetan – (inaudible). And then those Tibetan Communists are not necessarily knowing Tibetan Buddhism – (chuckles) – but that doesn't matter as a Tibetan. This is some sort of – (inaudible) – awareness of Buddhism in Tibetan community. Some or all of these Tibetan Communists eventually become more religious minded. (Laughter.)

Recently, I met one – the former bodyguard of Li Peng, I think last year. He told me his boss, Li Peng, now become more religious minded. (Laughter.) So like that, you see those Communists when they are young, really radical atheist. But when they become older and older – (laughter) – come nearer, nearer to death – (laughter) – then obviously Marxism no longer any use after death. (Laughter.) So, then they are compelled to think, oh, what is religion, what is spirituality – (chuckles) – like that.

So, anyway, today Tibetan Buddhism or Tibetan spirituality, Tibetan culture, education, and economy, which is very much with ecology, these should handle by Tibetan. Unfortunately, up to now, now for example, the main sort of decisionmakers

always is a Han Chinese who have no knowledge about the Tibetan culture and distance (?). The worst thing is, I just recently met – very recently I met one Tibetan who cannot speak Tibetan, only Chinese and English, some broken English like my English. (Laughter.)

That person told me, at his native place, the people, they want to learn Tibetan. They asked the council of Chinese leader, officials, we want to learn Tibetan. The answer, no need to study Tibetan; Chinese more useful, reasons like that. Then in the industry also, one-party secretary a few years ago, I think it was 10 years ago, the one party secretary told in the party meeting in Lhasa, the ultimate source of threat for Tibet's separation from mainland China is Tibetan Buddhism. So that kind of attitude, persons who have – who are decision maker, that kind of view is very damaging, very damaging.

So, so the – it is a mutual sort of benefit – one will give us meaningful autonomy; several, meantime, remain happily and within People's Republic of China. That is mutual benefit. I often was telling Tibetans and also some of my friends, Tibet remains within the People's Republic of China and we economically will be stronger, more prosperity. If Tibet remains – or Tibet separates from that big country, then we will remain weak, poor. So therefore, with long sort of answers – (chuckles) – but the one word, yes – (laughter) – remain within the People's Republic of China, we are fully committed.

MR. ARMITAGE: Richard?

MR. HOLBROOKE: Thank you, Your Holiness. When I'm in your presence I feel more religious, too. (Laughter.)

Congratulations on yesterday. It was in the long, complicated history of your and Tibet's relations with the United States, yesterday was a historic, landmark day. And as Richard Armitage said, it was a fully bipartisan day and that had great meaning, particularly in a city where bipartisanship has been in very short supply lately.

I would like to ask two linked questions. First, given what you just said, your very clear answer on Strobe's question, yes, you do not challenge the fact that Tibet is part of the People's Republic of China; you want autonomy within China; you are not seeking independence – given the fact that you've said this over and over and over again for the last 15 or 20 years, my first question is very basic. Why do you think that the leadership of the People's Republic of China continues to call you, as recently as yesterday, a splittist? Why do they insist on calling you a splittist? And then I have a second related question.

DALAI LAMA: I might say, we, we also – (inaudible) – question. They, as you know, since renewed, direct contact with China's government, the six-time round-table talks take place – I think you mentioned four – excuse me, sir, for six times, six meetings. At fifth meeting, the Chinese officials acknowledged now Tibetan and the Lama side are not seeking independence – acknowledged.

And then, soon after, the Chinese government sort of started as propaganda, still continuously accuse us as splittist. So, we don't know why. Then all officials at our meeting, fifth meeting, acknowledged that other government officials still continue, so there must be some reason to that – some reasons or some, I mean, there are basic policies, something different. So, I think you will get best answer if you ask Chinese directly – (laughter) – then you get your true answer.

MR. HOLBROOKE: Your Holiness – Your Holiness, as you –

DALAI LAMA: This just simply is a guess. Why, why, why? (Laughter.)

MR. HOLBROOKE: As you and Lodi know, I have asked that question; my friend Dick Blum has asked that question very often of the Chinese whenever we are there, and their answer is always either – I'm just quoting them now; I don't want to get into editorializing – their answer to the question I asked you and then you asked me, their answer is either that you were insincere, which of course none of us believe, we – if there's a sincere man in this universe, it's you. And the second –

MR. HOLBROOKE: That was a compliment, Your Holiness. (Laughter).

The – and your second, the second reason they give is, gets very complicated with details that we don't need to go into here, but sometimes they say that there's a disagreement over what the definition of what Tibet is. So, I think we pose the question, we don't need to carry it further, but since you asked me, I should say that Dick and I and I know Paula have all had this conversation with the Chinese and it's very frustrating because all of us look for a reconciliation now, which brings me to my second question.

Yesterday, Congressman Lantos, Speaker Pelosi, and President Bush all expressed the very strong desire that you be able to return to China at least on a visit. And your excellent emissary, who is here with us today, Lodi Gyari, and many others of us have long dreamed about this. And the last three or four American administrations have all advocated this. What would – would you go back to China on a visit, not to live, would you go back to China without any conditions if such an invitation were issued?

DALAI LAMA: Yes. My desire to visit the People's Republic of China, including Tibet – in 1983 I publicly expressed my desire to visit, to see by myself – (inaudible). Then because the previous, my fact-finding delegations, I think, four – three, four times, when they visited different Tibetan area, the local population – (in Tibetan) – response. So sometimes a little provocation – so there is – such as a danger. Therefore, I want visit something very smooth and must be helpful to diplomatic trust, not causing any problems.

So therefore, we want to send a delegation for my – in preparation for my visit, '84. Then, back then, '85 I won that visit. But then that, that sort of delegation, preparation did not materialize – the Chinese government not – gave us not much

permission. Okay, then '92 also, I expressed I want to visit Tibet, the main purpose is to cool down the situation. That petition also – no positive response. Then sometimes the Chinese officials with the state, actually at the funeral of Panjin Lama, they invited me, but Dalai Lama could not come.

That is just excuse, at that time, it was a very short period, very short time and difficult and a visit, not that easy. The Chinese officials themselves, you see, they told one occasion about meeting – when they mentioned about my desire, at least one pilgrimage, strictly non-political. Then they responded, Dalai Lama, as a political sort of that person, so impossible to avoid, impossible the strict – strictly non-political, is impossible, some implication always there.

So, anyway it is true. So therefore without proper sort of preparation and it may turn some negative sort of consequences. So otherwise my desire, always there, and politically, a pilgrimage, like – (unintelligible) – those sacred places as a Buddhist, now also as I'm now getting older, with the walking, pay my sort – (inaudible) – prayer to those holy places in China .

So my desire is very much keen but in the meantime, not that simple, so I do not want to cause more trouble, I do not want. Now for example last year, I think that some Chinese, I think, agent I think created a rumor, that I will come to Kumbum Monastery, so and with that rumor, thousands, thousands of Tibetan from that area gathered to Kumbum Monastery. So naturally, when Tibetans heard, or even Chinese, that I was coming to – (inaudible) – I think without proper sort of preparation, some problems may happen.

There is very top-secret ways to visit, that wasn't of much use – (laughter). (Inaudible.) I think the third visit – first was at Lhasa. So they had the opportunity – (in Tibetan) – to be reasonable with one another, prayer – (in Tibetan) – to our temple almost like prisoner – (chuckles) – a few of them surrounded by security police there and no opportunity to meet with the Tibetan – no opportunity to talk, almost like it was bring – almost like a prisoner, go in a very rushed way, so such a pilgrimage, I don't think – will not prove the real meaning of pilgrimage. Pilgrimage should be – (chuckles) – calm and faith and prayer, some meditation. Without that – (chuckles) – not much use.

So, I – (unintelligible) – my desire always will be keen. And beside pilgrimage, if there is possibility meet some leaders, only happy. I did design a sort of conversation, it can take place in China, very happy – made very clear I am not splittist – (chuckles). I can state clearly.

MR. ARMITAGE: Well, one hopes, Your Holiness, that the Chinese will accept your message of peace. You mentioned earlier the phenomenon of Han Chinese making policy decisions in Tibet. Can I ask you the status of Han migration to Tibet and what, if anything, should be done about it?

DALAI LAMA: Now, that is really what is the matter, as I mentioned yesterday in my speech. The – (in Tibetan) – this is my tea, hot water. Good – (chuckles) – this is for you, this is for you. Yeah, cold water – (chuckles). You want some hot?

MR. ARMITAGE: No. (Laughter.)

DALAI LAMA: So like you see, now Lhasa, the population, in the past before 1950 when we were there, I think around 50,000, about 50,000, very small population. Of course, quite dirty – (chuckles) – no proper toilet; however, small population in cold climate, dry climate, so there's not much problem – (chuckles).

MR. HOLBROOKE: And no railroad and no road.

DALAI LAMA: Nowadays, this is a population around 300,000. Out of 300,000, 200,000 are Chinese. Every visitor has now noticed except in the center of the surrounding Jokhang, Jokhang Temple, they're all now town become like Chinatown. Now, everybody has noticed that. I think that must mean that some people who visit, they say, Lhasa, everybody has noticed that.

So, I think it is a clear indication is those Tibetans, young Tibetans who come from Tibet, who have grown up in that kind of atmosphere – now Tibetan who born in India have – they behave differently. Tibetans who come from Tibet, more violent type, more aggressive; Tibetan born in India, more Tibetan traditionally like that. So, this is the clear indication, degeneration of Tibetan cultural heritage or Tibetan – (unintelligible). And then because – (inaudible) – in China's population, then the minority Tibetan, they have to use Chinese language as a means and which – other than Tibetan – Tibetan language in their own place no longer much use.

So, that very serious matter, a very, very serious matter. And like Lhasa, most of the bigger towns, the Tibetans are really becoming minority.

MR. TALBOTT: Your Holiness, if I could broaden the scope of our discussion to a global issue, which is climate change, or global warming, I would like to ask your view on what you see as the role for religious leaders like yourself, but religious leaders from all faiths around the world and religious institutions on this issue. The scientists working on this problem seem to be increasingly in agreement with each other and increasingly concerned, I would say even pessimistic about what the consequences for our planet will be if the politicians and political leaders of the world do not take some kind of urgent action.

And since politicians, in some countries more than others, but in general do respond to the people that they govern, and since the people that they govern are very often religious, that suggests that there may be an important role for you and religious leaders like you. Would you care to tell us your views on this?

DALAI LAMA: Of course global issue, that's a way to see it. In India where I live, the climate not more than 40 years, the climate pattern are changing. In early '60s we used to have snowfall quite thick, but it did get less and less and less. So many bother India, the climate condition is now changing. But through the last, I think two years, there's a big change. So this, according to the scientists, is due to the global warming. And the European continent also is experiencing some differences, the weather is changing. So it is very serious, and they look at those with big ice, and the north and the south, the amount of melting, also very, very serious. And snow mountain and glaciers in Tibet also is rapidly melting. So basically, of course I'm no expert. I have a serious concern about that. I think the whole galaxy and the solar system is moving, all of it's moving.

But anyway, after a few billions or so years our sun also will disappear, so that's the end – (chuckles) – of the whole world, isn't it. So not much is – from that perspective it's not much use, is it, to fight my interest, your interest, my place, your place, my religion, your religion – it's silly. Think more whole planet, and 6 billion community; consider as one entity. Much happier – much reasonable. I'm always telling people the very concept of real days no longer relevant today's world. So anyway, so the whole universe that's changing. So I think getting warmer, I think with that velocity is changing.

Then some extent, suddenly our own behavior also make a contribution for that. So in that respect, if we take some assertiveness of the way of life and precaution measure, then suddenly can reduce impact.

So then another thing I was telling people about the seriousness about environment, not that sort of violent war, bloodshed, destruction in our mind. So the tendency of nonviolence, peace, and that easily (?) will grow. But the environment issue, invisible – day by day, or month by month, you can't see it. Decade by decades, then gradually you feel; you see signs of the degenerating of the environment. And like the wall off (?) at these things can change by few individual or government. The environment issue, no. Whole community, entire community, is have to take some responsibility, otherwise this is a – you cannot just change these things. So therefore, it's much with each individual. So that also.

From early morning, I think everybody takes a bath, right, or a shower. At least in the last, I think few decades, I never take a – (gestures). Only shower. It's a small contribution, I think – (laughter) – I feel to preserve water. When I'm passing through, you see, in Delhi, in India, when I saw some water pipe leaking, I feel – (in Tibetan).

INTERPRETER: Running out and blocking the leakage.

DALAI LAMA: So it is getting some awareness, importance of or seriousness about the environment. Then, is it that counsel to become part of our life, in daily life. Then, there is some kind of realization of individual responsibility to take care of this planet.

So it is a very serious matter. So the religious leaders, certainly, have some possibly important role. One time, some ecology-cultural organization asked me with their material to ask – (inaudible) – about the issue, of the ecology issue. So I carry all these materials, documents, and put it in his desk. (Laughter.) I mentioned that, I entered as a messenger of that organization. So one response from the ladies on his vote (?), I don't know.

So it is everybody's responsibility, I think – responsibility and out of evidence. So I think immediate people, I think more important role than religious leader – tell people. They are our responsibility – or dangerous, of this delicate situation about the environment, than how to take diversity measures of individual family, individual person. I think it's important.

Then, American lifestyle, I think, always consume, consume. Maybe think more, then this also is related with the gap, rich and poor. In our audience, maybe some billionaire – so the number of billionaires increasing, the poor people still living poor, and sometimes even poorer, even within the country, is very sad. It's not only morally wrong but practically also is a sort of problem.

And then the challenge is overpopulation. Of course, individual life is very, very precious. But that precious life now, too many – (laughter) – and bring some disaster whole, the six billion precious human life. (Laughter.) So we have to think very seriously about these things.

All these through education, through evidence. My own case: When I was in India, no idea about ecology. Then eventually, when I visited different places, also different country – then when I first heard of this river – cannot drink water from this river not pure. I'm a bit surprised; in Tibet, any water can drinkable. And also the distinction: This water you can drink but this water is polluted, cannot drink. No idea. To keep in our pocket the thamba (ph), and whenever you find water, then it's ready to make lunch like that. (Laughter.) Over here it's no, no, you have to take these bottled water you see everywhere – (chuckles) – like that.

So to myself, also, you see the ecology problem, yes? Come later – earnest, like that. So I think many people, I think through education, through information, that's very important. So those cameras, those cameramen, I believe you have very, very important role in this case. (Laughter.)

MR. HOLBROOKE: Well, thank you for an excellent answer on that question.

Let me turn to the question of Burma, and let me ask you two questions about Burma. Are you able to have direct contact with Aung San Suu Kyi, your fellow Nobel laureate? I don't think you've ever met her, but have you been able to contact her?

And secondly are you able to have dialogue, directly or indirectly, with the Buddhist monks who were risking their lives in the streets of Rangoon? And would you like to make any general comments on the tragedy that's unfolding in Burma?

DALAI LAMA: Of course, very, very sad. And this crisis, recent crisis happened – actually, I was in Europe. I saw some pictures of Buddhist monk, like Tibetan monks robe – Maroon color – Maroon color and monk receiving stick from police, very sad, very sad. Then their purpose, an open society or democracy, very right.

So are they, military junta, unfortunately, I think they are quite – looks is a very disturbing. I think lack of vision, future, is simply think about their present power, which is very narrow-minded in their thinking. So, I think the outside world have the responsibility of making better awareness to these people. So constant appeal or persuasion is very, very necessary. I think many in the United Nations, they are doing that and many think it's good. And my contact Aung San Suu Kyi yes, I have few communication. Then the monk demonstrators I have no valid contact – no valid contact.

MR. HOLBROOKE: Do you think the outside world can affect this situation inside Burma? What could America, or what could India –

DALAI LAMA: Again my answer, I don't know. That is the answer.

MR. HOLBROOKE: No, it's a very tough question. I think we're all grappling with it, and have been for many, many years.

MR. ARMITAGE: If I may, off of Dick's question. You're an often visitor here to the United States; we benefit much from your visits. But I would like, in having had – this is a prejudiced question because I've had part of this discussion with you in my office, when I held office. Could you tell us what you think America's role in the world should be? You've talked about the different – you've used different terms, but the tools in our tool-kit. We have more than just military, and I think we could benefit greatly from knowing your view of what America's role in the world should be, and how should we carry ourselves.

DALAI LAMA: (Laughter) – since I traveled, we have the view or impression America is champion of democracy, liberty, freedom. And then eventually, I myself witnessed that. That is greatness of America. I think even the stature, the administration, the Congress, Houses – it seems to me I think the power is divided, is balanced. I think this already is wonderful, wonderful. And then American public, I usually have found very easy to communicate. So therefore, I think your economy power and also military power, I think American spirit, I think really great, and you can promote that. And I commend it. I think that's very, very important.

Then I think in 1972, when Bangladesh crisis happened, then is East Pakistan. The American government, at that time, we got the impression, a little bit tilted towards Pakistan. Then we –

MR. HOLBROOKE: You got the right impression. (Laughter.)

DALAI LAMA: Then you see in Asia losing some respect. (Chuckles.) Previously, we always believed all, really gentle friend of freedom, democracy, rule of law. But during that period, America supporting military dictator, military junta, it's sad. Such things are, I think very, very damaging image of America. So we see it as, in some countries, in Asia and often Middle East, and I think even Africa, sometimes, I think due to certain policy I think great damage, the image of America.

I often visit – expressing some of my public talk in Europe and other countries like President Bush. Some of his policy, you see, I have some reservation. But as a person, very nice person. I love him. (Laughter.) I'm serious, a few location in Europe I expressed that on my sort of, representative there, a little bit question because in Europe, many Europeans dislike – (chuckles) – President Bush. (Laughter.) I like him. Well, I don't, oh. And this kind of a person called from the American society, liberal, open, very straightforward, very nice. So that's my impression.

So I – of course now, this is none my business, I think your business. (Laughter.) I think America, American foreign policy, I think number two; and the number one, I think, should keep your ancestors because of the principles: democracy, liberty, freedom, rule of law. I think these are very, very important.

Sometimes you may gain or you may lose temporary gain, but long run these principles are very, very important. And anyway, America is the most powerful democratic country. Then, next to India, most populated democratic country. I think these two countries have, I think, great important role to serve humanity, to bring humanity more happier, more equal, more peaceful. That's ideal.

MS. KOPPEL: Your Holiness, I'm going to jump in now. We have some questions from people in the audience that they want to ask you. And this actually is sort of a follow on to a point that you were making earlier. What is the nature of the moral obligation of wealthy nations to development in poor nations and how should this obligation be realized?

DALAI LAMA: As I mentioned earlier, this gap, this must address effectively this not – not totally, not right to say, oh, oh, poor, how pity, you know, like that, and pray to God. (Laughter.) That is not a solution. We have to work – we have to address – (applause) – effectively. So I think both sides, I think – many occasion, I have the opportunities in meeting some of my – people from poorer countries. The richer side – at first the poorer side. They should develop self-confidence and work hard. Generally I got the impression the poorer section of people, sometimes they – they more sort of feeling of frustrations, and frustrations turned anger, and anger brings violence. Through violence, mutual destruction – no benefit. So instead of feeling of frustrations, work hard, with self-confidence.

One occasion in South Africa, I met one family in Soweto, Soweto Township. There are few family – one family – a few members there. I remember very clearly that day, I think about noon – I think due to my thirst, they provided us tea. Oh, so delicious tea. I remember very clearly – (chuckles) – in that small family. Then they are – I inquired – they are sort of possibly – (inaudible). Then eventually I promised – (in Tibetan) –

INTERPRETER: As a result of this meeting with the family members, I pledged to help support the education of the younger children of that family, and later I followed up on that.

DALAI LAMA: So my small contributions. So the important thing is, there I met one quite young African. He introduced me as a teacher. Now, I inquired about now – about the condition – the constitution now changed, become democracy; rule of white people gone; wonderful. But then psychological factor. Still you need more effort to change. Then I ask you have to work hard. You, as a teacher are wonderful. Now, you teach your students further – self-confidence teachings. Then he told me with some sign of sadness, he told me, their brain is inferior. He believed that. I was shocked.

And I told him – I argued with him. This is absolutely wrong. As far as brain is concerned, white people, black people, or yellow people, and this – (inaudible) – people – (laughter) – they are all the same, the same human being, same brain, same potential – should not feel that kind of period. I argued and argued and argued, and make example with Tibetan case also. Then finally, he responded with low voice. Now, I am convinced we are the same. At that moment I felt a tremendous sort of relief. Now, at least I made some sort of – some contribution, changed his mental attitude. Sort of like that. I think that is one small example. I think self-confidence is very, very crucial.

Then, education, training, and also I met one school in South Africa, the – when I entered into that school, the atmosphere is completely different. Every student full of joy, full of sort of spirit. So education really makes that – big differences. So education is very, very important. And then also, you see expertise, training, skills – these are very, very important. Now, religious side – religious side provide them facility of education, health. Recently I met one – in Portugal I met – I can't remember the name of this – that organization – new organization. Now they are collecting 1 percent – 1 percent.

INTERPRETER: It is a new organization based in Portugal and one of the projects they have is to collect –

DALAI LAMA: I think international organization.

INTERPRETER: International organization. The project is to collect 1 percentage of all of the airline tickets.

DALAI LAMA: Now, that money now used for subsidies of AIDS patients – medicine for AIDS patients. These are really, really wonderful work. So the religious

side, see – they provide facilities, education, health, these things. Then they give equipment to make them self-sufficient, and then gradually they develop self-confidence. From self-confidence and feeling of – self-confidence or equality then genuine friendship can develop. I think that is very important. Otherwise, deep inside some kind of different feeling, that that brings anger, jealousy. That sometimes ends up being disastrous. That is my view.

MS. KOPPEL: Your Holiness, this next question actually is a good segue. What is the best piece of advice that you can give individuals on how to live day-to-day life with compassion?

DALAI LAMA: Firstly, as I mentioned earlier, inequality – this also – true learning. So read more – analyze more the value of compassion, warm heartedness and destructiveness about anger, hatred. Now, here there is not only a question of peace of mind, but even physical well-being, constant anger, jealousy, fear, hesitation, very bad for our health. Some scientist, she told me the anger, strong anger and hatred actually eating our inner system. The compassion brings inner strength. That brings piece of mind. That is very, very – very, very important to strengthen or sustain our inner system.

And then I think regarding our daily life, if one day we lost – sort of very strong temper, anger, then hold your mood – remain very bad, then at night, you still suffer. Isn't it? No? That is also is a digestion also eventually suffer. Perhaps you may rely more on alcohol – (laughter) – one glass, two glass, three glass, four glass, and then mad like that – (laughter). Very bad for your health. So genuine peace of mind in order to get – peace of mind through drugs or through this use is nonsense.

We have, by birth, we have equipped to counter this negative destructive emotion. But nature we all have. So thinking on these lines, then you develop conviction, full conviction in inner world, particularly emotional world, there are destructive emotions, construction emotions. Clear evidence that life is of taking care about our health. Similarly, other evidence taking care of our inner world – (inaudible). So that is the way. Then on top of that, if someone – believer, then pray to God. Give more blessing in the form of compassion. And wonderful. If that even fail, it doesn't matter; you're already making effort. (Laughter.)

MS. KOPPEL: Another member of the audience –

DALAI LAMA: Again, media people, I think very, very important role. (Laughter.) Then in education. Since many years – of course, I myself never attend one day attend a school class – I mean, the modern – a modern education. Yesterday I mentioned mine sort of English sort of knowledge like kindergarten sort of – knowledge like that.

So, however, all of these, you see, troubles we are facing essentially our own creation. That is very clear. Some disaster due to the natural sort of imbalance; otherwise – (inaudible) – most problems are our own creation. Then no single person

want to trouble – want to create trouble. Of course, one could create trouble for your enemy, but you yourself – you see, no one wants to create problems to one self, clear.

But out of control of your own emotion, then also as a result of lack of – (inaudible) – your method, even your motivation is very sincere, because lack of knowledge about reality, your method become unrealistic method. Result: Not satisfactory – (inaudible). Now, for example, your health – constant anger, fear. That level of awareness of what – carrying of our own emotion.

So through education, we have to tell – we have to educate our younger generation. Because sometimes – I tell people – when something goes wrong, it is unfair to blame some of these leaders alone. But these leaders come from a society. They are full of anger, hatred, competition like that – lack of affection. Perhaps I go now too long.

MS. KOPPEL: Not at all.

DALAI LAMA: I think you, you mentioned I think suspicion on the Chinese side of suspicion. I think that is very true. Oh, look in Stalin's period and Chairman Mao's period. Apparently comrade – they also use the word of comrade – comrade. But internally, full of suspicion of each other. (Laughter.) Terrible, isn't it. So not only towards me but towards their own sort of member of the politburo. I think full of suspicion of each other. I think – although I really – I am one of the admirer of Karl Marx's theory. I still call myself half-Marxist. (Laughter.) I am proud to say it in America – (laughter) – to say that. (Chuckles.)

So in anyway, you see they –

MR. HOLBROOKE: You're more Marxist than the Chinese leaders.

DALAI LAMA: Maybe, maybe. (Laughter.) But then unfortunately, eventually, Marxism just simply used the – they justified their power – their main game – main concern is power from Stalin too – (inaudible). I think that is a really I think damaging factor for pure Marxism. This is how I feel.

So in anyway, what was that did that argument come from where. Oh, so the leadership come from certain society where there is a lack of compassion, lack of sort of sense of community. Then these things happen. Therefore, it is ultimately change of our society – society way of thinking. That is our – (inaudible) – I think our strategy is that. So now how to change, you see, society, change our emotion, change our mind through education.

The younger generation whose mind not fixed, open. So educate them using our common sense, common experience, and latest scientific finding. But that I usually call non-religiously, without touching religion, but simply through I call secularism, secularism. But here, you see some of the problem. Some of my friends say secularism means some tendency – rejection of religion.

But according India – according to an Indian friend, and particularly Indian constitution, it's based on secularism. That not at all against all – rejection of religion. Instead, respect all religion and also respect non-believer – equal to everybody, believer, non-believer. Among the believer – this belief, that belief – no differences – all equal. That is I consider – I take the interpretation that way. So I usually call secular way to approach, to promote these inner value, through education, not through preaching, not through – but through education, through – (inaudible).

So I think education is very, very important. (Inaudible) – modern education system. Pay attention about brain development, not adequate pay attention about development of warm-heartedness. That is quite clear. So usually we rely on religious teaching. That I think is a mistake.

MS. KOPPEL: Well, thank you for educating us, Your Holiness. I think we're going to leave it there. And we want to thank His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, for taking so much time out of his schedule to speak before the Asia Society, CSIS, and the Brookings Institution. And we want to thank all of you for coming out today. If you wouldn't mind, just stay in your seats for a moment until His Holiness leaves the stage. And also, we want you to know that there are copies of His Holiness's address before the U.S. Congress yesterday when he received the Gold Medal that will be at that back of the room for you to pick up, if you would like, on your way out. Thank you so much.

(Applause.)

(END)