

Introduction

The right to protest, especially the actions of government, is among the most cherished rights. Such right of protest is a signatory mark of civil society. It is in the nature of protest, however, to challenge authority and law, for it is sometimes the law that is the subject of protest. From the illegal protests of colonial rebels to longstanding cultural traditions of the French *manifestation* protest often provides the tectonic force that drives the landscape of political and societal change.

Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources provides sources from the nineteenth century to the present, with an emphasis on the global diversity of both the cause and nature of protest, and provides abundant evidence that the right to protest often comes to blows with a governmental concern to preserve order. In the United States, the legal pillars of protest are grounded in the freedom of speech protected in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. Other countries that offer such guarantees express and enshrine the right to protest in various bills, laws, and declarations. Yet, the primary sources selected show that civil protest is often at odds with the law, constantly pushing and probing the limits of speech and assembly. Arrests of protestors, even those engaged in peaceful protest, are not uncommon. Critics of erosions of civil liberties further argue that globally the right of protest is subject to slow systematic erosion by governments. This historical tension between protest and government, independent of the underlying cause, is also explored in the entries selected.

Protests often arouse passions on both sides of an issue because protests can be very effective. Tidal waves of protest can force rapid political and social change. Steady protest may weather and transform politics and society more slowly, but just as surely. Protest also provides some of the most poignant moments and images in human history, and the editors of *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources* have attempted to include a number of historically significant primary source images that complement the readings provided. Many of the images stand as primary sources in their own right.

Although it is beyond the scope of this collection to cover all protest movements, and all facets of those movements and their underlying issues, *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources* provides a wide-ranging and readable collection of sources designed to stimulate interest and critical thinking.

The editors sincerely hope that this book helps to foster a deeper understanding of the nature of protest, and inspires citizens to utilize the right of peaceful protest to continue the far from finished struggles for human rights, peace, and dignity—most especially on behalf of those least able to affect action themselves.

**K. Lee Lerner, Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, &
Adrienne Wilmoth Lerner, editors**
London, U.K. and Jacksonville, Florida
August, 2006

About the Entry

The primary source is the centerpiece and main focus of each entry in *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*. In keeping with the philosophy that much of the benefit from using primary sources derives from the reader's own process of inquiry, the contextual material surrounding each entry provides access and ease of use, as well as giving the reader a springboard for delving into the primary source. Rubrics identify each section and enable the reader to navigate entries with ease.

ENTRY STRUCTURE

- Primary Source/Entry Title, Subtitle, Primary Source Type
- Key Facts—essential information about the primary source, including creator, date, source citation, and notes about the creator.
- Introduction—historical background and contributing factors for the primary source.
- Primary Source—in text, text facsimile, or image format; full or excerpted.
- Significance—importance and impact of the primary source related events.
- Further Resources—books, periodicals, websites, and audio and visual material.

NAVIGATING AN ENTRY

Entry elements are numbered and reproduced here, with an explanation of the data contained in these elements explained immediately thereafter according to the corresponding numeral.

Primary Source/Entry Title, Subtitle, Primary Source Type

[1] **An Urgent Appeal From Our Anguished Hearts**

[2] Tibetan Protest Against Chinese Rule, 1989

[3] **Letter**

[1] **Primary Source/Entry Title:** The entry title is usually the primary source title. In some cases where long titles must be shortened, or more generalized topic titles are needed for clarity primary source titles are generally depicted as subtitles. Entry titles appear as catchwords at the top outer margin of each page.

[2] **Subtitle:** Some entries contain subtitles.

[3] **Primary Source Type:** The type of primary source is listed just below the title. When assigning source types, great weight was given to how the author of the primary source categorized the source.

Key Facts

[4] **Author:** Friends in the Struggle of the Lhasa Tiger-Leopard Group

[5] **Date:** September 27, 1989

[6] **Source:** Schwartz, Ronald David. *Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprising*. New York; Columbia University Press, 1994.

[7] **About the Author:** The Lhasa Tiger-Leopard Group was one of the groups of political activists who opposed the Chinese occupation of Tibet. A prominent member of this group was Lhakpa Tsering, whose

death while in Chinese custody in 1989 focused international attention on the treatment of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule.

[4] **Author, Artist, or Organization:** The name of the author, artist, or organization responsible for the creation of the primary source begins the Key Facts section.

[5] **Date of Origin:** The date of origin of the primary source appears in this field, and may differ from the date of publication in the source citation below it; for example, speeches are often delivered before they are published.

[6] **Source Citation:** The source citation is a full bibliographic citation, giving original publication data as well as reprint and/or online availability.

[7] **About the Author:** A brief bio of the author or originator of the primary source gives birth and death dates and a quick overview of the person's work. This rubric has been customized in some cases. If the primary source written document, the term "author" appears; however, if the primary source is a work of art, the term "artist" is used, showing the person's direct relationship to the primary source. For primary sources created by a group, "organization" may have been used instead of "author." Other terms may also be used to describe the creator or originator of the primary source. If an author is anonymous or unknown, a brief "About the Publication" sketch may appear.

Introduction Essay

[8] INTRODUCTION

Until 1950, Tibet was a sovereign nation, a remote and rugged land situated in the Himalayan Mountains. Tibet had been a sanctuary for the Buddhist faith since A.D. 700. For many centuries, Tibetan political leadership and religious direction were linked to the authority of the Buddhist spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. The current Dalai Lama is the fourteenth to hold this title. In 1950, Buddhist monks comprised approximately one sixth of the population of the capital city of Lhasa.

In 1950, China invaded Tibet and took control of all government institutions. Chinese rulers claimed Tibet as a part of their empire at various times in the previous five hundred years, and the newly founded People's Republic of China relied upon this historical connection as a basis to occupy the country. Years of unrest first boiled into an armed uprising against the Chinese occupiers in 1959. The Tibetan opposition to the Chinese occupation was brutally suppressed, as numerous Tibetan leaders were summarily executed

by the Chinese. The Dalai Lama and other prominent religious leaders fled to India, where they established a government-in-exile.

In the years that followed the 1959 uprising, there were repeated allegations of atrocities committed by the Chinese against the local population. Numerous Buddhist monasteries in Lhasa and throughout Tibet were destroyed and their contents sold. The Chinese government placed significant restrictions on the observance of the Buddhist faith in Tibet. Tibetan nationals were the subjects of discrimination by the Chinese. The Dalai Lama petitioned numerous world leaders to come to the aid of the Tibetan people against the Chinese occupation, with little success. Tibet was now ruled by China as the Tibetan Autonomous Region, a component part of the greater People's Republic of China.

Another popular uprising occurred in various parts of Tibet in 1987. This revolt was spearheaded by young political dissidents, and it attracted a vigorous armed response from the Chinese military. Demonstrations continued in Lhasa into 1988, as the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile renewed their efforts to secure international support for the Tibetan nationalist cause. Martial law was imposed by China in March 1989, and a series of prison terms in excess of fifteen years were imposed upon the various leaders of the insurgency.

In 1989, one of the Tibetan dissident leaders, twenty year old Lhakpa Tsering, died in Chinese custody at the notorious Drapchi Prison in Lhasa. Tsering was a member of the Tiger-Leopard Group whose members and supporters authored the letter of September 27, 1989.

[8] **Introduction:** The introduction is a brief essay on the contributing factors and historical context of the primary source. Intended to promote understanding and equip the reader with essential facts to understand the context of the primary source.

To maintain ease of reference to the primary source, spellings of names and places are used in accord with their use in the primary source. Accordingly names and places may have different spellings in different articles. Whenever possible, alternative spellings are provided to provide clarity.

To the greatest extent possible we have attempted to use Arabic names instead of their Latinized versions. Where required for clarity we have included Latinized names in parentheses after the Arabic version. Alas, we could not retain some diacritical marks (e.g. bars over vowels, dots under consonants). Because there is no

generally accepted rule or consensus regarding the format of translated Arabic names, we have adopted the straightforward, and we hope sensitive, policy of using names as they are used or cited in their region of origin.

Primary Source

[9] PRIMARY SOURCE

The great Protector Deities long ago commanded by Padmasambhava have not lost their power.

Though we have brought this fate upon ourselves, it is not time for the end of the aeon.

Are we not under the domination of misfortune and demonic hindrances?

Look with your eye of wisdom and see if it is time now for the forces of power to rise up.

One deity of this land of snow mountains incarnates the compassion of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

A pure unmistakable line of incarnations has come to Tibet.

Now, when the melodious sound of the wheel of Dharma is spoken, everywhere in foreign lands,

Look with your eye of wisdom on those who have stayed behind, like the corpse of a dead lion.

In the midst of the ruins of the great monasteries, magnificent places of pilgrimage, blades of grass sing a sad song.

The disputations of the monks arguing the five bundles of Sutras are not heard; a foreign song is sung.

Wild animals dwell in the hermitages and caves of practitioners of Tantra and Mantra.

Look with your eye of wisdom, you gods, how have we erred to make this happen?

Although the Buddha's wisdom is always as close to the faithful as a body and its smell,

Because of the two obstructions, I and those like me are deprived of the Buddha's words, and commentaries.

Like the agony of a baby bird whose training is not yet complete,

Look soon with your eye of wisdom upon the suffering of those sentient beings so we may see his face.

Because Tibetans are a people with great compassion and faith in Dharma,

The precious life and warm blood of our heroes and heroines is flowing in the streets of Lhasa.

Look soon with your eye of wisdom upon the torment of our friends in the struggle,

Held in the court of the Lord of Death, brought by inhuman foreign enemies to the land of men.

Unexcelled, most powerful Protectors of Tibet,

Were we not like mother and child, we could not ask this of you.

This is the anguished appeal of a child separated from its mother.

Though unbidden, we are powerless not to speak out, please be patient.

Though the ripening of our sins is relentless, there must be an end.

The Dalai Lama has said the great star of the dawn has already risen.

If we hold fast to the words of truth of the Tibetans,

There is no doubt we will soon be victorious.

From all the friends in the struggle of the Lhasa Tiger-Leopard Group

27 September 1989

[9] Primary Source: The majority of primary sources are reproduced as plain text. The primary source may appear excerpted or in full, and may appear as text, text facsimile (photographic reproduction of the original text), image, or graphic display (such as a table, chart, or graph).

The font and leading of the primary sources are distinct from that of the context—to provide a visual clue to the change, as well as to facilitate ease of reading. As needed, the original formatting of the text is preserved in order to more accurately represent the original (screenplays, for example). In order to respect the integrity of the primary sources, content some readers may consider sensitive (for example, the use of slang, ethnic or racial slurs, etc.) is retained when deemed to be integral to understanding the source and the context of its creation.

Primary source images (whether photographs, text facsimiles, or graphic displays) are bordered with a distinctive double rule. Most images have brief captions.

The term “narrative break” appears where there is a significant amount of elided (omitted) material with the text provided (for example, excerpts from a work's first and fifth chapters, selections from a journal article abstract and summary, or dialogue from two acts of a play).

Significance Essay**[10] SIGNIFICANCE**

Contemporaneous to the mobilization of Tibetan opposition against the Chinese, the national government of China was engaged in the suppression of the dissident movement that instigated the public demonstrations held at Tiananmen Square in Beijing between April 1 and June 4, 1989. Hundreds of protestors were killed or injured when the Chinese troops ended the demonstrations, events that touched off world-wide condemnation of Chinese tactics and attitudes toward apparently peaceful forms of protest.

The letter (in the form of a poem) written by the Friends of the Lhasa Tiger-Leopard Group does not mention China or the occupation of Tibet by name. However, the authors employ a mix of traditional Tibetan images, such as the mountains and the lion, against the context of death, blood, and foreign intervention. It is apparent that the passion for Tibetan nationalism had not faded in the almost forty years between the writing of the poem and the occupation of Tibet by China. The reference in the poem to blood flowing in the streets is with respect to the imposition of martial law by the Chinese in March, 1989, and the further repressive steps taken to quell political protests in Lhasa.

At the time of the publication of the letter by the Lhasa Group, the Dalai Lama had advanced his work to engage Western governments to support Tibetan nationalism. The Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1989, in recognition of his efforts to promote a peaceful resolution to the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

The award of the Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama is significant on a number of levels, as it appeared to stimulate a greater international interest in the Tibetan conflict. Between 1990 and 1993, there was a massive exodus of Buddhist monks from Tibet to India. At the same time, a number of nations passed resolutions that condemned the actions of the Chinese government as taken against the Tibetan population to limit their religious practices and cultural traditions. In 1991, the United States Senate passed a resolution declaring that Tibet was an occupied country, and that the Dalai Lama headed a government in exile. A similar resolution was passed by the Australian Senate in the same year.

The weight of international political opinion continued to favor the Tibetan nationalist cause in August of 1991, when the United Nations passed a resolution

in support of Tibet as a national entity, as did the European Parliament in 1992. In the United States, President Bill Clinton signed legislation that supported the efforts of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan nationalists to preserve their identity.

It is clear that the various political pronouncements made on behalf of the Tibetan nationalists had a limited impact upon the conduct of the Chinese in Tibet. It is also clear that little or no effort was made by any nations to compel change in Tibet through the direction of economic pressure upon China. Shortly after signing the Tibetan legislation in 1994, the United States re-affirmed China's 'Most Favored Nation' trading status; this designation confirmed China's desirability as an American economic partner. The apparently contradictory signals of the United States in 1994 regarding China, in contrast to the 1991 Senate resolution can only be interpreted as a belief on the part of the United States that the fostering of Chinese trade was of greater national importance than the use of trade sanctions to pursue a resolution in Tibet.

The Chinese actions against Tibetan national symbols continued in 1996 when the public display of photographs of the Dalai Lama was banned.

In recent years there has been a status quo maintained with respect to the Chinese governance of Tibet and the resolution of the human rights concerns raised by Tibetans. The Dalai Lama has persisted in his worldwide efforts to pursue a solution to the dispute with China. It is significant that while the government-in-exile continues to work from its base in northern India, the Dalai Lama has now advanced a desire to negotiate a resolution with China where Tibet would not be an independent nation, but an autonomous area within China where Tibetan religious and cultural practices can be preserved. Current American policy with respect to Tibet mirrors this attitude; In September, 2002, the Foreign Relations Authorizations' Act as signed by President George W. Bush affirmed American support for the preservation of Tibetan language and culture.

[10] Significance: The significance discusses the importance and impact of the primary source and the event it describes.

[11] FURTHER RESOURCES**Books**

Dreyer, June Teufel and Barry Sautman, ed. *Contemporary Tibet; Politics, Development, and Society in a Disputed Region*. Armonk, New York; M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama*. Berkeley; University of California Press, 1997.

Periodicals

Faison, Seth. "Dissident Monk Said to Die in Prison in Chinese-Controlled Tibet." *New York Times* (July 28, 1996): section 1, page 11.

Web sites

Nobel Prize Committee. "Nobel Peace Prize, 1989." April 1, 2005. <<http://www.nobelprize.org/peace/laureates/1989/index.html>> (accessed May 26, 2006).

[11] **Further Resources:** A brief list of resources categorized as Books, Periodicals, Web sites, and Audio and Visual Media provides a stepping stone to further study.

SECONDARY SOURCE CITATION FORMATS (HOW TO CITE ARTICLES AND SOURCES)

Alternative forms of citations exist and examples of how to cite articles from this book are provided below:

APA Style

Books: Stowe, Harriet Beecher. (1852). *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. London: John Cassell. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., (2006). *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale.

Periodicals: Selbourne, Maud. (1915). The Suffragette Dilemma in World War One. *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*. 22 Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., (2006). *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale.

Web sites: *City and County of San Francisco; Department of Elections*. "No Military Recruiters in Public Schools, Scholarships for Education and Job Training." Retrieved May 29, 2006 from http://www.sfgov.org/site/election_index.asp?id=33918. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., (2006). *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale.

Chicago Style

Books: Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. London: John Cassell, 1852. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Periodicals: Selbourne, Maud. "The Suffragette Dilemma in World War One." *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*. 22 (1915). Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Web sites: *City and County of San Francisco; Department of Elections*. "No Military Recruiters in Public Schools, Scholarships for Education and Job Training." <http://www.sfgov.org/site/election_index.asp?id=33918> (accessed May 29, 2006). Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

MLA Style

Books: Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, London: John Cassell, 1852. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Periodicals: Selbourne, Maud. "The Suffragette Dilemma in World War One." *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*. 22, 1915. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Web sites: "No Military Recruiters in Public Schools, Scholarships for Education and Job Training." *City and County of San Francisco Department of Elections*. 29 May 2006. <http://www.sfgov.org/site/election_index.asp?id=33918>. Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources*, Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Turabian Style

Books: Stowe, Harriet Beecher. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (London: John Cassell, 1852). Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources* (Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006).

Periodicals: Selbourne, Maud. "The Suffragette Dilemma in World War One." *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review*. 22, 1915.

Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources* (Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006).

Web sites: *City and County of San Francisco Department of Elections*. “No Military Recruiters in Public Schools, Scholarships for Education and Job

Training.” available from http://www.sfgov.org/site/election_index.asp?id=33918; accessed 29 May, 2006.

Excerpted in K. Lee Lerner and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, eds., *Government, Politics, and Protest: Essential Primary Sources* (Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006).

Using Primary Sources

The definition of what constitutes a primary source is often the subject of scholarly debate and interpretation. Although primary sources come from a wide spectrum of resources, they are united by the fact that they individually provide insight into the historical *milieu* (context and environment) during which they were produced. Primary sources include materials such as newspaper articles, press dispatches, autobiographies, essays, letters, diaries, speeches, song lyrics, posters, works of art—and in the twenty-first century, web logs—that offer direct, first-hand insight or witness to events of their day.

Categories of primary sources include:

- Documents containing firsthand accounts of historic events by witnesses and participants. This category includes diary or journal entries, letters, email, newspaper articles, interviews, memoirs, and testimony in legal proceedings.
- Documents or works representing the official views of both government leaders and leaders of terrorist organizations. These include primary sources such as policy statements, speeches, interviews, press releases, government reports, and legislation.
- Works of art, including (but certainly not limited to) photographs, poems, and songs, including advertisements and reviews of those works that help establish an understanding of the cultural milieu (the cultural environment with regard to attitudes and perceptions of events).
- Secondary sources. In some cases, secondary sources or tertiary sources may be treated as primary sources. In some cases articles and sources are created many years after an event. Ordinarily, a

historical retrospective published after the initial event is not be considered a primary source. If, however, a resource contains statement or recollections of participants or witnesses to the original event, the source may be considered primary with regard to those statements and recollections.

ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

The material collected in this volume is not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of a topic or event. Rather, the primary sources are intended to generate interest and lay a foundation for further inquiry and study.

In order to properly analyze a primary source, readers should remain skeptical and develop probing questions about the source. As in reading a chemistry or algebra textbook, historical documents require readers to analyze them carefully and extract specific information. However, readers must also read “beyond the text” to garner larger clues about the social impact of the primary source.

In addition to providing information about their topics, primary sources may also supply a wealth of insight into their creator’s viewpoint. For example, when reading a news article about an outbreak of disease, consider whether the reporter’s words also indicate something about his or her origin, bias (an irrational disposition in favor of someone or something), prejudices (an irrational disposition against someone or something), or intended audience.

Students should remember that primary sources often contain information later proven to be false, or contain viewpoints and terms unacceptable to future generations. It is important to view the primary source

within the historical and social context existing at its creation. If for example, a newspaper article is written within hours or days of an event, later developments may reveal some assertions in the original article as false or misleading.

TEST NEW CONCLUSIONS AND IDEAS

Whatever opinion or working hypothesis the reader forms, it is critical that they then test that hypothesis against other facts and sources related to the incident. For example, it might be wrong to conclude that factual mistakes are deliberate unless evidence can be produced of a pattern and practice of such mistakes with an intent to promote a false idea.

The difference between sound reasoning and preposterous conspiracy theories (or the birth of urban legends) lies in the willingness to test new ideas against other sources, rather than rest on one piece of evidence such as a single primary source that may contain errors. Sound reasoning requires that arguments and assertions guard against argument fallacies that utilize the following:

- false dilemmas (only two choices are given when in fact there are three or more options)
- arguments from ignorance (*argumentum ad ignorantiam*; because something is not known to be true, it is assumed to be false)
- possibilist fallacies (a favorite among conspiracy theorists who attempt to demonstrate that a factual statement is true or false by establishing the possibility of its truth or falsity. An argument

where “it could be” is usually followed by an unearned “therefore, it is.”)

- slippery slope arguments or fallacies (a series of increasingly dramatic consequences is drawn from an initial fact or idea)
- begging the question (the truth of the conclusion is assumed by the premises)
- straw man arguments (the arguer mischaracterizes an argument or theory and then attacks the merits of their own false representations)
- appeals to pity or force (the argument attempts to persuade people to agree by sympathy or force)
- prejudicial language (values or moral judgments are attached to certain arguments or facts)
- personal attacks (*ad hominem*; an attack on a person’s character or circumstances)
- anecdotal or testimonial evidence (stories that are unsupported by impartial or data that is not reproducible)
- *post hoc* (after the fact) fallacies (because one thing follows another, it is assumed to have been caused by it.)
- the fallacy of the appeal to authority (the argument rests upon the credentials of a person, not the evidence).

Despite the fact that some primary sources can contain false information or lead readers to false conclusions based on the “facts” presented, they remain an invaluable resource regarding past events. Primary sources allow readers and researchers to come as close as possible to understanding the perceptions and context of events and thus, to more fully appreciate how and why misconceptions occur.