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The Arrow explores the relationship between contemplative practice, politics, and activism. We investigate topics in politics, economics, ecology, conflict transformation, and the social sciences. Inspired by the vision of meditation masters Chögyam Trungpa and Sakyong Mipham for a “union of social life and spiritual wakefulness” in society, *The Arrow* provides a critical and much needed space for investigating the meeting point of contemplative wisdom and pressing issues of climate change, racism, inequality, and conflict.

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Georges Bataille, Chögyam Trungpa, and Radical Transformation: Theorizing the Political Value of Mindfulness

by JAMES K. ROWE

Abstract

Social movements are increasingly turning to mind-body practices like meditation to support their work. This is a new, but still marginal trend. The spread of mindfulness practices among social justice organizations will grow if a compelling case can be made that mind-body practices are central, not peripheral, to collective liberation. The philosophers Georges Bataille and Chögyam Trungpa provide that case. Both Bataille and Trungpa, in their respective works, articulate how easy it is for humans to feel small in the face of a contingent and finite existence, and how this felt smallness often fuels compensatory desires for aggrandizement and domination, desires with profound material effects. If there are existential drivers behind systemic dominations like colonialism, capitalist exploitation, white supremacy, and hetero-patriarchy, then existential change strategies become central to addressing the causes of injustice. The accounts provided by both Bataille and Trungpa clarify how efforts to integrate mind-body practices into social movements are central to the pursuit of social and ecological justice.

Keywords: mindfulness, micropolitics, Tibetan Buddhism, Chögyam Trungpa, Georges Bataille, root causes of domination

AGROWING NUMBER OF social justice organizations are turning to mind-body practices like meditation to supplement their efforts to transform systemic dominations like white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy, and capitalist exploitation.¹ While embodied practices such as singing and dancing, along with spiritual forms like prayer and ceremony, have been central to most successful social movements, the integration of meditation and yoga into secular and multi-faith movements in the Euro-Americas is a recent and growing trend.² This integration is part of what *TIME* magazine recently called the “mindful revolution,” a mainstreaming of mindfulness practices that is being largely powered by new research illuminating their health and cognitive benefits.³ Medical researcher and meditation popularizer Jon Kabat-Zinn defines mindfulness as “paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and nonjudgmentally.”⁴ The most common form that mindfulness practice takes is sitting meditation.

Like most revolutions, the “mindful revolution” is composed of multiple and competing forces. Corporations are increasingly offering mindfulness and yoga programs to their employees, for example, with the aim of heightening productivity and maximizing company profits.⁵ Mindfulness workshops at the World Economic Forum are now standard fare. Critics worry, however, that the transformational potential of mindfulness practice is being hijacked by a neoliberal discourse of self-help that reinforces rather than challenges egoistic behavior and capitalist institutions.⁶

In their influential article on corporate mindfulness, “Beyond Mc-Mindfulness,” Ron Purser and David Loy emphasize the Buddhist distinction between Right Mindfulness (*samma sati*) and Wrong Mindfulness (*miccha sati*).⁷ The difference is “whether the quality of awareness is characterized by wholesome intentions and positive mental qualities that lead to human flourishing and optimal well-being for others as well as oneself.”⁸ The growing use of mind-body techniques by social justice organizations is more aligned with Right Mindfulness than corporate uses, and represents a better integration of mindfulness into the larger society, one that foregrounds goals of personal and collective liberation.

I recently conducted interviews with leaders of social justice organizations that are centering mind-body practices in their work (what I call the “transformative movement-building current”).⁹ I learned that the rationales activists use for turning to mind-body practices focus

primarily on dealing with the *effects* of systemic domination (such as relieving trauma, and helping with burnout). But what *causes* dominations (such as white supremacy) in the first place? And might mind-body practices have a role to play in transforming the root causes of domination, not merely their effects? The fledgling integration of mind-body practices into social movements will more likely take flight if a compelling case can be made that these practices are central, not incidental, to collective liberation.

According to Buddhist teacher Adam Lobel: “The relationship between spiritual, inner transformation and social transformation is under-theorized and often misunderstood in the present. Despite the claim and the hope that personal transformations are relevant for global issues, it is unclear precisely why this is the case.”¹⁰ Buddhist teachers such as Thich Nhat Hanh, Sulak Sivaraksa, Bernie Glassman, and the Dalai Lama have helpfully articulated the importance of mindful social engagement, but the link between personal change practices like meditation and broader social change remains under-theorized. In this article I turn to two powerful and complementary sources to help clarify the link between contemplative practice and social change: the French philosopher Georges Bataille (1897-1962) and the Tibetan Buddhist teacher and philosopher Chögyam Trungpa (1939-1987). While emerging from different philosophical traditions, both Trungpa and Bataille offer deeply resonant explanations for the origins of dominative social relations. Through close readings of their works, I make the case that efforts to integrate mind-body practices into social movements are vital, not peripheral, to projects of radical social transformation.

Bataille, Trungpa, and the Political Force of Existential Resentment

What possibly could Bataille, the controversial author of pornographic novels, have in common with Trungpa, a meditation master trained in monastic Tibet? The resonances are surprisingly plentiful. Indeed, cultural theorist Marcus Boon recently called Trungpa the “most Bataillean of contemporary Tibetan teachers.”¹¹ To reverse the comparison, we could also say that Bataille was a particularly “Trungpian” European philosopher. Bataille’s interest in Tibetan culture was longstanding. He trained in the language, expressed interest in travelling to the country,

and planned to write a book on tantra.¹² Besides their shared appreciation for tantric practice and the sacred potential of carnal pleasures like love-making and liquor, these apparently disparate thinkers are primarily linked by their shared emphasis on what I will call *existential resentment*, when explaining worldly challenges like economic inequality and nuclear build-up.

By existential resentment, I mean the felt smallness that humans can feel in the face of our finite and fleshy existence.¹³ Both Bataille and Trungpa, in their respective works, articulate how easy it is for humans to feel small and servile in the face of a contingent existence, and how this felt servility often fuels compensatory desires for aggrandizement and domination, desires with profound material effects. For Trungpa, we struggle with a “fear of death, fear of oneself, and fear of others” that fuels aggressive behavior.¹⁴ Similarly, Bataille sees humanity as “revolting intimately against the fact of *dying*, generally mistrusting the body, that is, having a deep mistrust of what is accidental, natural, perishable.”¹⁵ This mistrust fuels efforts to best others as a way of compensating for the lack of power and control we can feel in the face of decay. Both Trungpa and Bataille draw a strong causal link between existential resentment and dominative social relations.

Bataille and Trungpa’s resonant approaches to the origins and cessation of domination complement each other in vital ways. Bataille is clearer than Trungpa, for example, in linking existential rancor to specific forms of systemic domination. For Bataille, “an active intention to surpass and destroy animal nature within us” is responsible for the creation of racial and class hierarchies; social distinctions that are established to help the elect feel in control, at the top of the heap, removed from the domineering muck of nature. Trungpa, on the other hand, tends to use more general terms like “chaos” and “aggression” when describing systemic challenges.¹⁶ A strength of Bataille’s analysis is the direct link he makes between existential resentment and particular systemic challenges such as class exploitation and racism.

A key strength of Trungpa’s corpus, however, is the refined path of contemplative practice he offers for transforming existential resentment into gratitude and appreciation for earthly life. For Trungpa “meditation practice is regarded as a good and in fact excellent way to overcome warfare in the world: our own warfare as well as greater warfare.”¹⁷ Bataille meditated himself, and was one of the first Euro-American philosophers to take mind-body practices seriously as tools for individual and cultural transformation. The actual meditations he developed,

unfortunately, have limited transformative value.¹⁸ While Bataille offers a clearer existential diagnosis of systemic challenges, Trungpa's body of teachings and methodology for treatment are more robust.

Bataille's rich theoretical work, however, can help inform the teaching of meditation in social movements and in the broader culture. To concretize this point, I put Bataille's materialist account of earthly richness into conversation with Trungpa's meditations on "basic goodness." Before turning to this comparative work, I focus the beginning and middle sections of this essay on Bataille and Trungpa's respective explanations for domination, and why they both see existential change strategies like meditation—and other methods for transforming the self and our experience of the world—as integral to radical social transformation.

Who Is Georges Bataille?

While a key influence for better-known theorists like Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Judith Butler, Bataille remains a marginal figure in most political theory. As Robyn Marasco recently noted, "precious little has been said about Bataille as a resource for philosophical critique and political theory."¹⁹ Bataille's work, meanwhile, is teeming with insights, especially ones that bear directly on the relationship between contemplative practice and social change.

Deeply influenced by Eastern philosophy, Bataille is representative of a centuries-old tradition in Euro-American philosophy of drawing on Buddhist ideas.²⁰ Like Buddhist philosophers, Bataille offers an explanation of strife that is rooted in human resistance to the contingency and finitude of existence. Because of Bataille's analysis of domination, he is one of the first European philosophers to take mind-body practices seriously as tools for cultural and political change. Bataille is a vital—if sometimes unsettling—ally in ongoing efforts to better understand how contemplative praxis relates to social change.

Putting Bataille's thought to use for Left political theory and practice is not a straightforward process.²¹ A number of his interests were outrageous (human sacrifice, necrophilia, and orgiastic debauchery) and are not easily reconciled with Leftist morality, or most moral conventions for that matter.²² Bataille's transgressive pursuits help explain why such a generative philosopher remains relatively marginal.²³ But while outrageous, Bataille's intellectual and lived transgressions were intelligible. One need not endorse Bataille's darker proclivities to ap-

precipitate his general encouragement of practices that might better align cultures with the always-fleeting present and transform existential resentment into earthly affirmation. Bataille's sometimes-fumbling search for micropolitical strategies that work on the existential plane (fears, affects, habits) is sensible when we consider his diagnosis of domination.

Bataille's Theory of Domination

Bataille's analysis of domination is rooted in his study of the body, and the terror and shame human animals can feel before it. The body is unpredictable: It leaks, expels, hungers, fails, and ultimately dies. Our bodies are our opening to life, but also to death. And this inevitable death seems to suggest insignificance before the putrefaction from which we come and will one day return. Humans, Bataille writes in his masterwork *The Accursed Share*, "[appear] to be the only animal to be *ashamed* of that nature whence he comes, and from which he does not cease to have departed."²⁴ We feel primal shame, according to Bataille, because the decay we are conscious of suggests servility and baseness.²⁵

This primary disdain for animal nature, and our dependence upon it, spurs fantastical efforts to dominate our bodies, each other, and the more-than-human-world in attempts to offset felt servility with felt dominance. For Bataille, much of human history can be read as a permanent struggle against animality.²⁶ In *The Accursed Share* he observes that humanity "resembles those parvenus who are ashamed of their humble origin. They rid themselves of anything suggesting it. What are the 'noble' and 'good' families," he writes of upper class morality, "if not those in which their filthy birth is the most carefully concealed?"²⁷

One of the crucial rationales for accumulating wealth, according to Bataille, is that material riches help us distinguish ourselves not only from animality, but also from those we take to be nature's proxies in our fantastical efforts to dominate the nature we fear. Proxies, in the Euro-American context, have included Indigenous peoples, women, people of color, and workers. These proxies have been discursively linked to animal nature and then materially controlled in efforts to provide compensatory hits of dominion. For Bataille, "[i]t is not so much wealth... that *distinguishes*, that qualifies socially, as it is the greatest distance from animality."²⁸

We dominate our bodies and each other in efforts to surpass and ultimately control our animality, our impermanence. This desire to "destroy the animal nature within us," he suggests, lurks behind many

of our most vexing political and ecological problems.²⁹ In Bataille's view, the pull of existential resentment is universal; it is a *human* struggle.³⁰ He is attuned, however, to the important mediating role played by culture. Individuals and cultures relate to existential realities like impermanence in multiple ways. Tibetan Buddhism, for example, offers meditative practices for befriending the reality of death. We are not destined to resentfully interpret death as domineering, or to flee from felt servility with fantasies of mastery.

Transforming Resentment into Earthly Gratitude: The Case of Tibetan Buddhism

Bataille surveys multiple cultures in *The Accursed Share*, but his engagement with Tibetan Buddhism is most germane to this analysis. His musings on Tibetan Buddhism are often selective and incomplete characterizations of the tradition, but they nevertheless offer useful frames for transforming existential resentment. Bataille saw the culture and economy of Tibet before the Chinese invasion in 1959 as a glorious effort to affirm the totality of life, including death. He admired, for example, the Tibetan tantric practice of meditating in graveyards.³¹ The benefit of these practices, according to Bataille, is that if existential resentment leads to compensatory self-seeking, then affirming the totality of life, including death, can produce an ethos of generosity.

Prior to China's occupation, Tibetan wealth was poured into developing an extensive network of monasteries devoted to a religion that encourages openness to the reality of death and the changeful present. In 1917, according to rough estimates provided by British diplomat Charles Bell, monastic budgets were double that of the government and eight times that of the army.³² In Bataille's view, Tibetan energetic and material investments were successful in creating a culture that bestows prestige upon self-overcoming and compassion instead of upon avarice and accumulation.³³

Bataille's enthusiasm for Tibetan culture was not ungrounded. There were important material manifestations of Buddhism's emphasis on primordial richness and universal well-being before the Chinese invasion. Because a majority of productive land was under the Dalai Lama's sway, for example, the private enclosure of common land that kick-started capitalism in Great Britain was less imaginable and actionable in Tibet.³⁴ And while land belonged to the Dalai Lama, tax-paying

peasants held relatively inalienable usufruct rights, granting them open access to the means of subsistence. The cultural priority that Tibetan Buddhism places on transforming existential resentment into earthly affirmation does appear to have helped nurture relatively equal access to land.

Moreover, after the Chinese Revolution in 1949, Tibetan intellectuals—including the current Dalai Lama—hoped that modern socialism could disrupt stubborn feudal hierarchies that predated Buddhism's hold on political power, and could better materialize the Buddhist emphasis on universal well-being.³⁵ Even after Communist China's colonization of Tibet, the Dalai Lama still refers to himself as “half-Marxist, half-Buddhist.”³⁶ The Dalai Lama's double allegiance is deserving of more analytical attention. Part of my argument in this essay is that the work of Georges Bataille, the tantric communist, can support the development of Buddhist socialism and the ongoing integration of meditative praxis into secular and multi-faith social movements.³⁷

Part of the story that Bataille does not cover, however, is that Tibet still experienced economic hierarchy, gender-based oppression, and corruption. There was a class system, for example, that differentiated monks, aristocrats, peasants, nomads, and servants, as well as outcasts akin to Indian “untouchables” who performed undesirable tasks such as blacksmithing, butchering, and corpse disposal.³⁸ Bataille was not typically prone to idealism, but Tibet took his breath away; his account of the country is marked by Orientalist idealization.³⁹ According to Donald Lopez Jr., Bataille's analysis fits within an overly simplistic Euro-American pattern of presenting Tibetan culture as a balm that can “regenerate the West by showing us, prophetically, what we can be by showing us what it had been.”⁴⁰

Despite Bataille's romantic view of Tibet, he was ultimately a tragic thinker. He did not hold to the prospect of a utopian future where the “the pursuit of rank and war” is perfectly transformed.⁴¹ Bataille evinces a tragic radicalism; he locates drivers of domination in our existential condition as animals that die, know we die, and easily feel fear and servility in light of inevitable decay. Since our mortality is hard fact, completely undoing compensatory desires for dominion is unlikely in his estimation. And yet by locating a root driver for dominance-seeking, Bataille's work breaks ground for radical politics; it offers a pathway towards increasing, if not perfect and final, liberation.

One of the implications of Bataille's analysis is that mind-body practices should become central, instead of merely supplementary, to

processes of transformative political change. Bataille understood that moving from a culture that interprets death as a domineering master to one affirming mortality as a necessary movement in the general generosity of life requires practices that enable the felt experience of basic richness.⁴²

Chögyam Trungpa and the Pursuit of Enlightened Society

Bataille's approach to existential resentment is deeply resonant with the one pursued by Tibetan Buddhist teacher Chögyam Trungpa, especially in Trungpa's Shambhala teachings. In the late 1970s, Trungpa developed a secular training program—"Shambhala Training"—with the goal of reaching an audience beyond Buddhists. The curriculum is largely drawn from Trungpa's famous work, *Shambhala: The Sacred Path of the Warrior*, and is designed to help students experience their "basic goodness," or the basic workability of our existential situation as mortal and vulnerable beings.⁴³ In a nice summation of the Shambhala teachings, Trungpa notes in his book *Smile at Fear* that: "By naturally being here, we have less resentment. When we are resentful, we are somewhere else, because we are preoccupied with something else. Being a warrior is being simply here without distraction and preoccupation. And by being here, we become cheerful. We can smile at our fear."⁴⁴

For activists keen to address the effects of existential resentment in their movements and beyond, the Shambhala training curriculum is a more valuable source than Bataille's underdeveloped contemplative toolkit.⁴⁵ And yet Bataille's work can helpfully supplement the transmission of Shambhala teachings in Euro-American activist communities. For one, as noted, he offers a more direct linkage between existential resentment and systemic domination than we find in Trungpa's work. Moreover, Bataille offers a rich materialist account of earthly life that supports Trungpa's teaching on "basic goodness." But before discussing these linkages, who is Chögyam Trungpa, and what is basic goodness?

Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche (1939–1987) was born in Tibet. Following the Chinese occupation, he helped lead a group of fleeing Tibetans across the Himalayas and into India.⁴⁶ He then studied comparative religion at Oxford University before moving to North America

in 1970. He is a key force in the worldwide spread of Tibetan Buddhism, and there are currently 200 meditation centers propagating his teachings (most major cities in North America have a “Shambhala Center”). Trungpa promoted social engagement among his students and advocated for an “enlightened society,” not simply personal enlightenment.⁴⁷ Despite his wide readership, and the spread of Shambhala centers across the continent, Trungpa’s work has yet to be rigorously applied to contemporary political problems (a need *The Arrow* is seeking to address). This is a significant gap, since Trungpa’s work sheds important light on the drivers of domination, and their remedies (even if he himself does not use the language of domination or systemic injustice in his work).

Trungpa’s theory of change, is that experiencing “basic goodness” and cultivating appreciation of our basic existence can create the psychic ground for more generous relations with each other and the more-than-human-world. For Trungpa, “A great deal of chaos in the world occurs because people don’t appreciate themselves. Having never developed sympathy or gentleness towards themselves, they cannot experience harmony or peace within themselves, and therefore, what they project to others is also inharmonious and confused.”⁴⁸

Our lack of appreciation, according to Trungpa, comes from fear of our fundamentally impermanent and mortal situations.⁴⁹ To transform this fear we need to examine it. Trungpa’s claim is that if we care to look closely enough we will see that at the core of our experience is a basic goodness, or fundamental workability. Trungpa sometimes uses ecological metaphors to explain basic goodness. “If we didn’t have sunlight, we wouldn’t have vegetation, we wouldn’t have any crops, and we couldn’t cook a meal. So basic goodness is good *because* it is so basic, so fundamental.”⁵⁰ Our interdependent earthly lives, the products of millions of years of evolutionary process, are fundamentally sound: We have all that we need to make good human lives (e.g., light, warmth, food, resources, digestive and respiratory systems, multispecies companionship).

The image of the sun occupies a central role in Trungpa’s affirmative philosophy. He refers to the growing appreciation of basic goodness as the dawning of the “Great Eastern Sun.” Jeremy Hayward, a senior teacher in the Shambhala tradition, explains the concept this way: “*Great* refers to a vision of sacredness shared by many human societies across all cultures and ages; *Eastern* to the wakefulness of such societies—east being the direction one first looks when one wakes up;

and *Sun* to the limitless and unceasing wisdom and energy available to those who follow this vision.”⁵¹ In other words, those individuals and societies able to celebrate the basic energies composing earthly life are manifesting the “Great Eastern Sun.”

Trungpa contrasts this affirmative view with what he calls the “Setting Sun” world: “a world based on the fear of death, fear of oneself, and fear of others.”⁵² For Trungpa, this fear of vulnerability is a primary source of human confusion, aggression, and ensuing social chaos. We fundamentally doubt our existential condition, and seek to placate that doubt with the pursuit of material comfort and power. Trungpa observes,

The setting-sun approach is to shield ourselves from dirt as much as we can, so that we don't have to look at it—we just get rid of anything unpleasant. As long as we have a pleasurable situation, we forget about the leftovers or the greasy spoons and plates. We leave the job of cleaning up to someone else. That approach produces an oppressive social hierarchy in the setting-sun world; there are those who get rid of other people's dirt and those who take pleasure in producing dirt.⁵³

The antidote to this situation, according to Trungpa, is befriending the very vulnerability that can so easily sow fear, resentment, and compensatory bids for control and power. Our vulnerability and accompanying sensitivity is how we connect with others. Trungpa refers to our sensitivity as the “genuine heart of sadness.”⁵⁴ He elaborates: “You don't feel sad because someone has insulted you or because you feel impoverished. Rather, this experience of sadness is unconditioned. It occurs because your heart is completely exposed. There is no skin or tissue covering it; it is pure raw meat. Even if a tiny mosquito lands on it, you feel so touched. Your experience is raw and tender and so personal.”⁵⁵ This tenderness can be a source of anxiety and resentment since it seems to spell our softness, our weakness. But for Trungpa, this basic sensitivity is the fuel for love, compassion, and generosity; it is a key expression of basic goodness.⁵⁶ Our genuine heart of sadness is what connects us with other humans and the more-than-human-world; this sensitivity is an evolutionary inheritance, and according to Sakyong Mipham, key to species survival and flourishing.⁵⁷

The fear that leads us to cover over our vulnerability and sensitivity is itself an expression of basic goodness, and needs to be affirmed as well. According to Gaylon Ferguson, a senior Shambhala teacher, “fear

is a sign of our own life-force energy in a startling upsurge. Fear is our experience of the world becoming vivid: we passionately *care* about the safety of our loved ones [including ourselves]. That is why we fear for their well-being. Fear is an aspect of our caring heart.”⁵⁸ For Trungpa, we need to train in feeling and knowing our fear. Specifically, we need to train in the art of transforming fear into fearlessness, into a confident affirmation of earthly existence, even though that existence is fraught with vulnerabilities like sickness and death. “You have to realize fear as the starting point of fearlessness. Fear is not regarded as black, and fearlessness is not regarded as white. You have to make friends with fear.”⁵⁹

The primary technique that Trungpa prescribes for befriending fear is sitting meditation. By just being with our bodies, minds, and world, we can begin to see the existential real without concept or narrative. Trungpa insists that people examine the existential real themselves, but offers this encouraging guidance:

[I]f you actually look, if you take your whole being apart and examine it, you find that you are genuine and good as you are. In fact, the whole of existence is well constructed, so that there is very little room for mishaps of any kind. There are, of course, constant challenges, but the sense of challenge is quite different from the setting-sun feeling that you are condemned to your world and your problems.⁶⁰

Meditation, in other words, is a tool for transforming existential resentment into deep and embodied appreciation for the fundamental goodness of earthly life by directly addressing the fear that leads to such resentment. And if we can embody that basic goodness both individually and collectively, then we are much less likely to harm ourselves and others due to compensatory bids for oppressive power. For Trungpa, “we can work with the rest of the world, on the basis of the goodness we discover in ourselves. Therefore, meditation practice is regarded as a good and in fact excellent way to overcome warfare in the world: our own warfare as well as greater warfare.”⁶¹

There are a multitude of ritualistic technologies available for transforming fear and resentment into affirmation of life and basic goodness. A benefit of Shambhala meditation training, especially in the Euro-Americas, is that it was developed with Western, secular, and multi-faith communities in mind, but by a teacher extensively trained in monastic Tibet. Shambhala training is rooted in the wisdom traditions of Tibet, while also being cosmopolitan, drawing from Japanese, Chinese, Indigenous, and Euro-American sources.⁶² “With the great

problems now facing human society,” notes Trungpa, “it seems increasingly important to find simple and nonsectarian ways to work with ourselves and to share our understanding with others.”⁶³

For activists wanting to address the effects of existential resentment in their movements and beyond, the Shambhala Training curriculum is a powerful but underutilized resource. Bataille’s work, I think, can help facilitate the uptake of Shambhala training among activists. Besides offering a clearer link between existential resentment and systematic injustice than is found in Trungpa’s work, Bataille’s materialist account of planetary richness helps flesh out the concept of basic goodness within the context of confronting systems of domination. In his book *Great Eastern Sun*, Trungpa notes, “It would be good to conduct a study of Western historical figures who tried to achieve the Shambhala vision of enlightened society.”⁶⁴ Bataille is one such figure, if a particularly roguish one.

Bataille and Solar Exuberance

The sun is a central force in the philosophies of both Trungpa and Bataille. For Trungpa, the sun is a symbol of basic goodness, and the human capacity to awaken to it, to become *enlightened*. For Bataille, the sun is the material starting point for earthly life, and thus his philosophy. “Solar energy,” writes Bataille, “is the source of life’s exuberant development. The origin and essence of our wealth are given in the radiation of the sun, which dispenses energy—wealth—without any return.”⁶⁵ The sun offers our planet enough energy in one hour to meet contemporary civilizational needs for an entire year.⁶⁶ Harnessing this energy, to be sure, is a massive technological challenge. Moreover, biological life only has limited access to the superabundance of solar energy that hits the planet every day. But the amount of energy we can access enables an energetically rich life. Bataille’s materialist analysis of solar lavishness helpfully concretizes Trungpa’s account of basic goodness, what he also referred to as “basic richness.”⁶⁷ While Trungpa offers practices for people to *feel* their inherent goodness and richness, actually experiencing this goodness takes time.⁶⁸ Without spending hours meditating, and slowly uncovering a tender and radiating heart, Trungpa’s teachings on basic goodness and richness can appear idealistic. Bataille’s materialist account of solar generosity further evidences Trungpa’s philosophy; it offers strong conceptual proof that can heighten commitment to the experiential practice of meditation.

“The sun gives without ever receiving,” argues Bataille. “[Humans] were conscious of this long before astrophysics measured that ceaseless prodigality; they saw it ripen the harvests and they associated its splendor with the act of someone who gives without receiving.”⁶⁹ At a basic biological level, the sun’s exuberance means that “on the surface of the globe, for living matter in general, energy is always in excess, the question is always posed in terms of extravagance.”⁷⁰ Put more succinctly: “We receive more energy than we can use.”⁷¹ The basic planetary condition is wealth more than poverty. The essential meaning of Bataille’s claim that luxury—not necessity—organizes life on earth is that all organisms have access to more energy than required for subsistence, thanks to the sun’s exuberance. This excess is often invested in biological growth (at the level of an organism, species, or ecosystem). But growth can never fully exhaust the energy available to an individual organism or biological system. All organisms and systems are left with a surplus to spend “willingly or not, gloriously or catastrophically.”⁷²

Evidence of earthly richness includes the ornate colors and plumage of the animal kingdom that seemingly exceed evolutionary use-value. Similarly, consider the capacity for pleasure suffusing animal life, especially all the sexualized pleasures apparently unrelated to procreation. Even when a sensory pleasure is associated with basic functioning like a good sneeze, excretion, or stretch, there can still be sumptuousness to the sensation (need it feel so good?). A sneeze is arguably basic goodness at work, a flash of solar exuberance amidst our everyday lives.

Consider, also, the ubiquity of queerness across the animal kingdom. According to Bruce Bagemihl, author of *Biological Exuberance* (a book that draws heavily from Bataille), “homosexuality is found in virtually all animal groups, in virtually all geographic areas and time periods, and in a wide variety of forms.”⁷³ But why, asks Bagemihl, “does same-sex activity persist—reappearing in species after species, generation after generation, individual after individual—when it is not useful” from a strictly evolutionary perspective?⁷⁴ Bagemihl’s answer is that use and necessity are not life’s sole organizing principles: “Natural systems are driven as much by abundance and excess as they are by limitation and practicality. Seen in this light, homosexuality and non-reproductive heterosexuality are ‘expected’ occurrences—they are one manifestation of an overall ‘extravagance’ of biological systems that has many expressions.”⁷⁵

For Bataille, our primordial condition is marked by richness thanks to the lavishness of the sun. And then, of course, we die. Death can

easily appear as proof of our ultimate poverty; it seemingly mocks attempts to assert the basic richness or goodness of life. But Bataille reads mortality as another marker of life's luxuriousness. Large mammals like us are impressive condensations of energy (we are ourselves only possible given energetic wealth). This energy is then extravagantly squandered upon our necessary deaths. "When we curse death," argues Bataille, "we only fear ourselves... We lie to ourselves when we dream of escaping the movement of luxurious exuberance of which we are only the most intense form."⁷⁶ Death's energetic squandering is also an ecological gift for the new life arising from decay: "[Humankind] conspires to ignore the fact that death is also the youth of things."⁷⁷ Bataille's reading of death as exemplary of basic goodness supports Trungpa's encouragement to "make friends with our death," and to not resentfully cast it as "a defeat and as an insult."⁷⁸

Tibetan culture, according to Bataille, is more successful than Euro-American ones at affirming the totality of life. For Bataille, cultural forms that communicate this affirmation are glorious expenditures of basic energetic wealth. The resentment that animates so many Euro-American cultural forms is itself enabled by energetic exuberance, a "catastrophic" use of our basic richness.⁷⁹ And the Euro-American desire to escape our corporeality only intensifies feelings of lack and malaise by disconnecting us from the earthly exuberance alive in our changeful bodies. For Bataille:

Anguish arises when the anxious individual is not himself stretched tight by the feeling of superabundance. This is precisely what evinces the isolated, individual character of anguish. There can be anguish only from a personal, *particular* point of view that is radically opposed to the *general* point of view based on the exuberance of living matter as a whole. Anguish is meaningless for someone who overflows with life, and for life as a whole, which is an overflowing by its very nature.⁸⁰

Energetic poverty and lack are realities for life on earth. But they are always felt by particular beings at particular times; energetic lack is not our general or basic condition. And yet the more we separate ourselves from exuberant life energies in attempts to gain dominion over them, the more liable we are to experience lack; we progressively remove ourselves from nature's overflow.

Bataille was interested in nurturing a sovereign—rather than servile—human encounter with existence: "The sovereignty I speak of has

little to do with the sovereignty of states... I speak in general of an aspect that is opposed to the servile and the subordinate.”⁸¹ Viewing humans as agents of life’s exuberance, Bataille saw sovereignty as humanity’s “primordial condition.”⁸² We are regal and rich from birth. But this sovereignty is tarnished when we cower before ourselves and the teeming life energies we issue from, return to, and are animated by.

For Trungpa, sitting meditation is a way to embody the sovereignty that Bataille argued for: “Meditation practice begins by sitting down and assuming your seat cross-legged on the ground... You realize that you are capable of sitting like a king or queen on a throne. The regality of that situation shows you the dignity that comes from being still and simple.”⁸³ Sitting meditation is a glorious expenditure of energy; it is a way of touching into and affirming nature’s basic richness and overflow.

Bataille’s account of earthly richness resonates strongly with Trungpa’s analysis of basic goodness. What Bataille adds is a robust biophysical account of energetic richness, one focused on the fact of surplus solar energy. This material reality helps ground the idea of basic goodness. I have personally found Bataille’s work helpful in making sense of my meditation practice, the primary technique taught by Trungpa for experiencing our basic goodness. When people sit, let go of conceptual thought, and connect to the ephemeral present, feelings of impressive intensity often arise. For me, the intensity of these feelings compels countless efforts to escape, and I regularly reach for the protection of conceptual and egoic thought. But understanding these feelings as emblematic of the fundamental exuberance of earthly life has helped me gradually befriend them. I have come to see meditation as a form of “intensity training”: I am slowly learning to be with the exuberance of the world. Joining Bataille’s analysis of solar lavishness with Trungpa’s account of basic goodness has helped with my intensity training. The rawness I experience during meditation, while still intense, is less overwhelming than it used to be. It has actually come to feel good—an opportunity to ride life’s effusion, life’s goodness. Marcus Boon hypothesizes that “Bataille’s own theories of excess and general economy are themselves the product of, and if you like, profit from, his meditation practice. Meditation, a practice of sovereignty, of the ‘non-useful,’ was precisely used by Bataille as a secret source of the theory of sovereignty.”⁸⁴

Bataille’s theoretical work was partly inspired by Buddhist praxis, but can be looped back to help conceptualize the experience of medita-

tion. Going beyond discursive thought is a Buddhist aim, but access to good concepts can help with the process of letting go of our conceptual resistances to the existential real. Bataille's account of earthly richness, coupled with Trungpa's contemplative instructions for feeling and embodying that richness, are helpful tools in the vital cultural struggle against existential resentment.

Conclusion: Theorizing Existential Resentment to Strengthen Social Movements

Georges Bataille and Chögyam Trungpa help us theorize the use of mind-body practices in transformative social movements. They both add a powerful rationale to those already deployed by activists. If there are existential drivers behind systemic dominations like colonialism, capitalist exploitation, white supremacy, and hetero-patriarchy, then existential micropolitics like meditation become central to addressing the causes of injustice, not only their effects. The accounts provided by both Bataille and Trungpa clarify how efforts to integrate mind-body practices into social movements are vital, more than peripheral, to the political success of the Left.

Increasing opportunities for activists to feel their basic richness will help transform dominative and controlling impulses that can arise in everyone, even those of us committed to social justice. As both Trungpa and Bataille argue, it is easy for humans to feel small in the face of finitude, and compensate with controlling behavior. By cultivating the capacity to experience the richness of earthly life through meditative technique, social movements can forestall the effects of existential resentment within their ranks—effects like oppressions that are replicated among activists themselves.⁸⁵ This will make movements more cohesive and capable of achieving social, ecological, and economic justice.⁸⁶

Cultivating a deep affirmation of earthly life—including its finitude—can help activists “be the change” in radical and embodied ways, ensuring that their subjectivities are fertile ground for the generosity, solidarity, and equity that are the emotional building blocks for more just societies. Similarly, a sociality among activists rooted in the mutual experience of basic goodness can serve as a vital prefiguration of enlightened and egalitarian societies. Social movements provide vital experimental ground for new social and cultural relations that can then be spread to the larger society.

Given the material force of systems like capitalism, however, it would be naïve to think that more affirmative accounts of earthly reality—and practices for embodying them—will by themselves vanquish systemic injustice. The interlocking systems of settler colonialism, capitalism, hetero-patriarchy, and white supremacy have common roots in existential fear, but they each have their own relatively autonomous logics that need to be targeted directly through direct action, state action, and community organizing.

Buddhist praxis, and the alleviation of existential resentment it can enable, does not automatically generate anti-racist and socialist institutions. Tibet before the Chinese invasion, while a relatively equitable society, was still marked by feudal and patriarchal hierarchies, hence the current Dalai Lama's interest in socialism and feminism.⁸⁷ The relationship between social forces (i.e. systemic logics like the capitalist profit motive) and the existential resentment that shapes them still requires more robust theorization. This theorizing will help social movements strike the right balance between existential micropolitics and more traditional forms of political engagement. The political force of existential resentment, however, has yet to receive the attention it deserves from the political left. Taking it seriously promises to help activists dig down to the roots of injustice, prying them from the soils of history, and composting them into a rich humus that can feed the shoots of collective liberation.

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NOTES

1. James K. Rowe, "Zen and the Art of Social Movement Maintenance," *Waging Nonviolence* (March, 2015), accessed June 10, 2016, <http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/mindfulness-and-the-art-of-social-movement-maintenance>.
2. Ongoing indigenous resistances to colonization, for example, have regularly integrated political and ceremonial practice. See Michael Yellowbird, "Decolonizing the Mind: Healing Through Neurodecolonization and Mindfulness," (February 11, 2014), accessed June 10, 2016, <http://www.indigenousfoodsystems.org/content/decolonizing-mind-talk-dr-michael-yellowbird>.
3. Jeff Wilson, *Mindful America: The Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014).
4. Jon Kabat-Zinn, *Wherever You Go, There You Are* (New York: Hyperion, 1994), p. 4.
5. Sarah Sharma, *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).
6. William Davies, *The Happiness Industry* (New York: Verso, 2015); Ron Purser and Edwin Ng, "Corporate Mindfulness is Bullsh*t," *Salon*, (September 27, 2015), accessed June 10, 2016, http://www.salon.com/2015/09/27/corporate_mindfulness_is_bullsh_tzen_or_no_zen_youre_working_harder_and_being_paid_less/.
7. Ron Purser and David Loy, "Beyond McM mindfulness," *The Huffington Post*, (July 1, 2013), accessed June 10, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ron-purser/beyond-mcmindfulness_b_3519289.html.
8. Ibid.
9. James K. Rowe, "Micropolitics and Collective Liberation: Mind/Body Practices and Left Social Movements," *New Political Science*, 38, no. 2 (2016): 206-225.
10. Adam Lobel, "Practicing Society: Practices of Self, Society, and Time on the Way to Personal and Societal Transformation," *The Arrow: A Journal of Wakeful Society, Culture, and Politics* 1, no. 1 (2014): 1-45, accessed June 5, 2015, <http://arrow-journal.org/practicing-society>.
11. Marcus Boon, "To Live in a Glass House is a Revolutionary Virtue Par Excellence: Marxism, Buddhism, and the Politics of Nonalignment," in *Nothing: Three Inquiries into Buddhism*, ed. Marcus Boon, Eric Cazdyn, and Timothy Morton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 43.
12. Alan Foljambe, *An Intimate Destruction: Tantric Buddhism, Desire and the Body in Surrealism and Georges Bataille* (PhD Dissertation, University of Manchester, 2008) 132, 134. Bataille's engagement with Tibet was extensive enough that it led a recent commentator to intelligibly (but incorrectly) claim that Bataille had travelled there "to further his study of Buddhism"; see William Pawlett, *Georges Bataille: The Sacred and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2016), xii.
13. My particular use of "existential resentment" is rooted in the work of post-Nietzschean political philosopher William Connolly. See *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), xviii.
14. Chögyam Trungpa, *Great Eastern Sun: The Wisdom of Shambhala* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999), 18.
15. Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volumes II and III* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 91.
16. Chögyam Trungpa, *Shambhala: The Sacred Path of the Warrior* (Boston: Shambhala, 1995), 9.

17. *Ibid.*, 37.
18. See, for example, Georges Bataille, “Method of Meditation,” in *The Unfinished System of Nonknowledge*, ed. Stuart Kendall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). Bataille argues that his approach in this particular text is “closer to the teachings of the yogis than to that of the professors” (93). And yet the text offers very little contemplative guidance. It includes helpful conceptual clarification of Bataille’s theory of sovereignty (unpacked below), and poignant prose like “poetry is the power of words to evoke effusion” (95). But the meditative value of the text is not clear. In his short text, “The Practice of Joy before Death,” Bataille notes how “these writings represent... less exercises strictly speaking than simple descriptions of a contemplative state or of an ecstatic contemplation” (236). Bataille may have developed more robust meditations for private use, but he did not put them to paper. Georges Bataille, “The Practice of Joy before Death,” in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927-1939*, ed. Allan Stoekl (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 236.
19. Robyn Marasco, *The Highway of Despair: Critical Theory after Hegel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 18–19.
20. Bataille joins thinkers like Nietzsche and Schopenhauer who explicitly integrated Buddhism into their work. Moreover, in his recent book *Greek Buddha*, Christopher Beckwith convincingly demonstrates that early Buddhism directly influenced ancient Greek thought, and has thus been woven into “Western” philosophy from its beginnings. Beckwith’s book centers on the figure of Pyrrho (355–265 BC) who joined Alexander the Great on his imperial conquests into Asia. Beckwith describes how Pyrrho engaged with Indic and Iranian philosophers during his travels, which explains an uncanny resemblance between his thought and early Buddhism. Pyrrho is regarded as a founder of skepticism in Greek thought. More modern philosophers like Hume and Nietzsche have cited Pyrrhonism as an influence. This would suggest that the resonances between Buddhism and much of the “postmodern” thought influenced by Nietzsche and Hume is not coincidental. As Beckwith notes, “Pyrrho’s journey to Central Asia and India with Alexander thus had an outcome for the future of philosophy that has lasted down to the present.” See Christopher I. Beckwith, *Greek Buddha: Pyrrho’s Encounter with Early Buddhism in Central Asia* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 21. See also Jessica N. Berry, “Nietzsche and the Greeks,” *The Oxford Handbook of Nietzsche*, ed. John Richardson and Ken Gemes (London: Oxford University Press, 2013), 83–107.
21. By “Left” I mean social movements focused on achieving social, ecological, and economic justice.
22. See Michel Surya, *Georges Bataille: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: Verso, 2002); and Stuart Kendall, *Georges Bataille* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007). Some might argue that orgiastic debauchery, under the right conditions, could be rather enlivening for all involved. It is harder to make such a case for necrophilia and human sacrifice.
23. Shannon Winnubst, “Introduction” in *Reading Bataille Now*, ed. Shannon Winnubst (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 2.
24. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volumes II & III*, 62.
25. Nietzsche’s analysis of existential resentment is an important influence for Bataille. As Nietzsche observed in the *Genealogy of Morals*: “The certain prospect of death could sweeten every life with a precious and fragrant drop of levity—and now you strange apothecary souls have turned it into an ill-tasting drop of poison that makes the whole of life repulsive.” (New York: Vintage, 1969), 185. One of Bataille’s important contributions in the history of philosophy was to effectively challenge conservative appropriations of Ni-

- etzsche, declaring him as “on the side of those who give... his thought cannot be isolated from the movement that tried to promote a resumption of life in the moment, in opposition to the bourgeoisie, which accumulates.” Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volumes II & III*, 370–371. Bataille’s claiming of Nietzsche as a thinker for the Left was an important precedent for subsequent work by Foucault, Deleuze, Derrida, Butler, and Connolly.
26. There are resonances between Bataille’s philosophy and the work of Ernest Becker. See Ernest Becker, *Escape From Evil* (New York: The Free Press, 1975). While Becker also figures existential resentment as central to systems of domination, he positions this resentment as unshakeable, surpassed only through illusion and fantasy. Bataille and Becker are kindred thinkers, but the former offers a more affirmative account of earthly life, one that is less dripping with the very resentment it diagnoses. See James Rowe, “Is a Fear of Death at the Heart of Capitalism?” *The Arrow: A Journal of Wakeful Society, Culture, and Politics* (April 2016), accessed November 7, 2016, <http://arrow-journal.org/is-a-fear-of-death-at-the-heart-of-capitalism>.
 27. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volumes II & III*, 62.
 28. *Ibid.*, 69.
 29. “Anticipating the ‘affective turn’ in recent social and political theory,” writes Robyn Marasco, “[Bataille’s] analysis tracks the psychic energies that constitute military and religious orders, showing how these energies circulate to produce and maintain systems of hierarchy, domination, and control.” *Highway of Despair*, 116.
 30. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volumes II & III*, 61.
 31. Marcus Boon, “To Live in a Glass House is a Revolutionary Virtue Par Excellence: Marxism, Buddhism, and the Politics of Nonalignment,” in *Nothing: Three Inquiries into Buddhism*, ed. Marcus Boon, Eric Cazdyn, and Timothy Morton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 38.
 32. Bataille, *The Accursed Share*, 105.
 33. *Ibid.*, 109.
 34. Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 176.
 35. *Ibid.*, 284.
 36. Anup Dhar, Anjan Chakrabarti and Serap Kayatekin, “Crossing Materialism and Religion: An Interview on Marxism and Spirituality with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama,” *Rethinking Marxism*, 28, no. 3-4, 2016: 584-598.
 37. As Marcus Boon helpfully asks, “What kinds of Buddhist socialism, Marxism, or anarchism were generated in the twentieth century, in Asian or non-Asian societies?” Boon, “To Live in a Glass House,” 91. In his chapter, Boon points to helpful sources like B.R. Ambedkar and U Nu, but his question is prompted by the relative dearth of scholarly work on the theoretical and practical integrations of Buddhism and socialism.
 38. Kapstein, *The Tibetans*, 182. Diana Mukpo, wife of Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, reports in her biography that her husband was frustrated by the level of corruption in monastic Tibet. See Diana J. Mukpo, *Dragon Thunder: My Life with Chögyam Trungpa* (Boston: Shambhala, 2006), 70. The list of challenges goes on. Tibet, for example, was a patriarchal society. Mukpo reports that, according to Trungpa, “it was normal for Tibetan men to beat their wives,” 86.
 39. Foljambe, *An Intimate Destruction*, 41.
 40. Donald, S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 202.
 41. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume II & III*, 427.

42. Georges Bataille, "Method of Meditation," in *The Unfinished System of Nonknowledge*, eds. Michelle and Stuart Kendall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 93.
43. See "Shambhala Training" (accessed June 10, 2016), <http://shambhala.org/about-shambhala/the-shambhala-path/shambhala-training>. I completed the trainings, which are composed of multiple weekend workshops, in 2015.
44. Chögyam Trungpa, *Smile at Fear: Awakening the True Heart of Bravery* (Boston: Shambhala, 2009), 123.
45. For more on the limits of Bataille's meditative offerings, see note 18.
46. Chögyam Trungpa, *Born in Tibet* (Boston: Shambhala, 1995).
47. Judith Simmer-Brown, "Creating Enlightened Society: Compassion in the Shambhala Tradition," *The Arrow: A Journal of Wakeful Society, Culture, and Politics* 1, no. 1 (2014): 1–24, (accessed June 5, 2016), <http://arrow-journal.org/creating-enlightened-society>.
48. Trungpa, *Shambhala*, 24.
49. Trungpa, *Great Eastern Sun*, 18.
50. Trungpa, *Shambhala*, 40–41.
51. Jeremy Hayward, *Warrior-King of Shambhala: Remembering Chögyam Trungpa* (Boston: Wisdom, 2008), 149–150.
52. Trungpa, *Great Eastern Sun*, 18.
53. Trungpa, *Shambhala*, 69.
54. *Ibid.*, 38.
55. *Ibid.*, 46.
56. Chögyam Trungpa, *Smile at Fear*, 58.
57. See Sakyong Mipham on the "survival of the good" in *The Shambhala Principle: Discovering Humanity's Hidden Treasure* (New York: Harmony, 2013), 48.
58. Gaylon Ferguson, *Natural Bravery: Fear and Fearlessness as a Direct Path of Awakening* (Boston: Shambhala, 2016), 82.
59. Trungpa, *Smile at Fear*, 85.
60. Trungpa, *Shambhala*, 85.
61. *Ibid.*, 37.
62. *Ibid.*, 10.
63. *Ibid.*, 9.
64. Trungpa, *Great Eastern Sun*, 134–135.
65. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume I*, 28. Bataille's analysis of solar largesse can be read as an elaboration of Nietzsche's insistence that "in nature it is not conditions of distress that are dominant but overflow and squandering, even to the point of absurdity." *The Gay Science* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 292.
66. Oliver Morton, "Solar Energy: A New Day Dawning?" *Nature: International Weekly Journal of Science* 443 (2006): 19.
67. Chögyam Trungpa, *The Collected Works of Chögyam Trungpa: Volume III*, ed. Carolyn Rose Gimian (Boston: Shambhala, 2003), 541.
68. I experienced a flash of the sensations Trungpa describes the first time I meditated—the genuine heart of sadness—but it took years of practice before these sensations became common to the meditative experience.
69. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume I*, 28.
70. *Ibid.*, 23.
71. *Ibid.*, 21.
72. *Ibid.*

73. Bruce Bagemihl, *Biological Exuberance: Animal Homosexuality and Natural Diversity* (London: Profile Books, 1999), 78.
74. *Ibid.*, 195.
75. *Ibid.*, 215.
76. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume I*, 34.
77. Georges Bataille, *Erotism: Death & Sensuality* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986), 59.
78. Chögyam Trungpa, *The Collected Works of Chögyam Trungpa: Volume II*, ed. Carolyn Rose Gimian (Boston: Shambhala, 2003), 186.
79. The bodily resentment woven into the Euro-American beauty industry is exemplary. See Geoffrey Jones, *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011).
80. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume I*, 38–39.
81. Bataille, *The Accursed Share: Volume II & III*, 197.
82. *Ibid.*, 284.
83. Trungpa, *Shambhala*, 29–30.
84. Boon, “To Live in a Glass House,” 45.
85. Rowe, “Micropolitics and Collective Liberation,” 217.
86. *Ibid.*, 220.
87. For an account of ongoing debates about the extent of the Dalai Lama’s feminism see Tibetan Feminist Collective, “Yes, The Dalai Lama is Still a Feminist” (accessed online June 15, 2016). <http://www.tibetanfeministcollective.org/2015/09/23/yes-his-holiness-the-dalai-lama-is-still-a-feminist/>.