

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BEIJIN 15728 01 OF 02 170839Z

RELEASED IN FULL

ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03
 PM-09 AIT-02 PA-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SPRS-01 /079 W
 -----341646 172006Z /53

R 170819Z NOV 82
 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9414
 INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
 AMCONSUL HONG KONG
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
 AMEMBASSY SEOUL
 AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
 AIT TAIPEI
 CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
 AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
 AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BEIJING 15728

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356;DECL:OADR
 TAGS: CH, SHUM, PINT, SCUL, SOCI
 SUBJ: CHINESE RESTATE POLICY TOWARD DALAI LAMA

REF: BEIJING 6604

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN THE WAKE OF THE DALAI LAMA'S VISIT
 TO EUROPE, DURING WHICH HE CALLED UPON OFFICIALS
 IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, THE BEIJING REVIEW HAS
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BEIJIN 15728 01 OF 02 170839Z

PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE CRITICIZING SUCH MEETINGS,
 CALLING THE DALAI LAMA A POLITICAL AS WELL AS A
 RELIGIOUS FIGURE. THE ARTICLE REVEALED MAJOR
 ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE DALAI LAMA'S

REPRESENTATIVES ON THEIR VISIT TO THE PRC EARLIER THIS YEAR, AND EXPLAINED THE REASONS FOR CHINESE REJECTION OF THEM. MEANWHILE, THE PANCHEN LAMA TOLD A SICHUAN AUDIENCE THAT RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS SHOULD LOVE THE PARTY, COUNTRY, AND SOCIALISM IF THEY WANT TO BE GOOD RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. PROMPTED BY THE RECENT VISIT OF THE DALAI LAMA TO FRANCE, ITALY, AND THE SOVIET UNION, WHERE HE WAS RECEIVED BY VARIOUS LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, THE BEIJING REVIEW HAS PUBLISHED A DEFENSE OF CHINESE POLICIES TOWARD TIBET, AND A CRITICISM OF THE DALAI LAMA. REPRINTED IN THE NOV. 16 CHINA DAILY, THE ARTICLE BY AN ZHIGUO DESCRIBES THE DALAI LAMA AS NOT SIMPLY A RELIGIOUS BUT A POLITICAL FIGURE. IT NOTES THAT THE PRC CANNOT AGREE WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS RECEIVING HIM, AND IT HAS SO INFORMED FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE DONE SO.

4. THE ARTICLE REVEALS SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS EARLIER THIS YEAR BETWEEN THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PRC GOVERNMENT. THE ACCOUNT GIVEN IN THE ARTICLE CONFIRMS IN LARGE MEASURE A PREVIOUS PRIVATE VERSION GIVEN THE EMBASSY IN JUNE (REFTEL). THE ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT THE DALAI LAMA'S
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BEIJIN 15728 01 OF 02 170839Z

REPRESENTATIVES MADE TWO UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS: THAT THE YE JIANYING 9-POINT PROGRAM FOR TAIWAN BE APPLIED TO TIBET, AND THAT ALL AREAS INHABITED BY TIBETANS IN SICHUAN, QINGHAI, GANSU. AND YUNNAN BE INCORPORATED INTO TIBET.

5. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO CRITICIZE FOREIGN OBSERVERS WHO ASSERT THE "INDEPENDENCE" OF TIBET. IT SAYS THAT THESE "SEPARATISTS AND OTHERS WITH ULTERIOR MOTIVES" HAVE EXAGGERATED THE WELCOME GIVEN TO VISITING DELEGATIONS FROM THE DALAI LAMA, CONFUSING THE CONTINUING RELIGIOSITY OF THE TIBETAN BUDDHISTS WITH POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS. BALANCING OUT THESE STATEMENTS OF FIRM PRINCIPLE AND HOSTILE WORDS ABOUT THE DALAI LAMA'S ALLEGED POLITICAL

UNCLASSIFIED

PRETENSIONS IS A REITERATION OF CHINESE FLEXIBILITY:
THE DALAI LAMA AND HIS FOLLOWERS "ARE WELCOME TO
RETURN TO CHINA," "APPROPRIATE POLITICAL AND
PERSONAL ARRANGEMENTS" WILL BE MADE FOR THEM,
AND THERE SHOULD BE NO "REHASHING" OF THE HISTORICAL
ISSUES REVOLVING AROUND THE 1959 CIVIL DISTURBANCES
WHEN THE PLA MARCHED IN.

UNCLASSIFIED

6. MEANWHILE, TIBETAN BUDDHISM'S NUMBER 2 LAMA,
THE PANCHEN LAMA, TOLD A SICHUAN AUDIENCE THAT
RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS SHOULD "FIRST BE CITIZENS
OF THE PRC LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND NEXT
BE BELIEVERS; THEY MUST FIRST LOVE THE PARTY,
LOVE THE COUNTRY, AND LOVE SOCIALISM AND BECOME GOOD
CITIZENS AND ONLY THEN ARE THEY GOOD
RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS WHO LOVE RELIGION" (THE
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHINA DAILY, AIMED AT A FOREIGN
AUDIENCE AND MORE ATTUNED TO FOREIGN SENSITIVITIES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BEIJIN 15728 02 OF 02 170841Z
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-12 SS-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03
PM-09 AIT-02 PA-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SPRS-01 /079 W
-----341750 172009Z /53

R 170819Z NOV 82
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9415
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AIT TAIPEI
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BEIJING 15728

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

THAN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY, OMITTED THE REFERENCE TO THE NEED TO LOVE THE PARTY). WHILE PRAISING THE LIBERALIZATION POLICY TOWARD RELIGION OF THE PARTY SINCE THE 3RD PLENUM, HE WARNED THAT RELIGION SHOULD ADAPT TO THE NEEDS OF SOCIALISM, AND MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO RESTORE THE ABOLISHED FEUDAL OPPRESSION OF THE PAST.

7. COMMENT: THE UNUSUAL DECISION TO REVEAL DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE DALAI LAMA'S DELEGATION WAS PROBABLY TRIGGERED BY PRC IRRITATION OVER THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BEIJIN 15728 02 OF 02 170841Z

DALAI LAMA'S RECEPTION BY OFFICIALS IN EUROPE. THE STATEMENT OF POLICY IN THE ARTICLE SEEMS TO BE A HARDENING OF THE PRC POSITION TAKEN IN THE TALKS IN JUNE, WHEN ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE THE CHINESE INDICATED POSSIBLE FLEXIBILITY ON THE QUESTION OF ENLARGEMENT OF TIBET TO INCLUDE AREAS OF OTHER PROVINCES. THE PANCHEN LAMA COMMENTS SEEM EXCESSIVELY SERVILE, AND WILL NOT ENHANCE HIS REPUTATION AMONG TIBETAN BUDDHISTS AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THEIR CAUSE. THEY SERVE TO UNDERLINE THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES' FEARS OF THE DANGERS OF RELIGION BECOMING AN ANTI-NATIONAL, ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCE, AND THE NECESSITY TO KEEP RELIGION AND PATRIOTISM TOGETHER IN HARNESS. HUMMEL

UNCLASSIFIED