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 FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0887
 INFO AMEMBASSY DHAKA PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BEIJING 22077

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, PNAT, PGOV, CH, IN
 SUBJECT: DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUE THEIR
 - TALKS IN CHINA

REF: BEIJING 16653

1. CONFIDENTIAL--ENTIRE TEXT.
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2. SUMMARY. THREE REPRESENTAIVES OF THE DALAI LAMA,
 IN CHINA SINCE OCTOBER 21, HAVE BEEN PROMISED MEETINGS
 THIS WEEK WITH THE MINISTER IN CHARGE OF THE STATE

NATIONALITIES COMMISSION AND "A STATE LEADER," AFTER WHICH THEY WILL RETURN TO INDIA TO REPORT TO THE DALAI LAMA. THEIR TALKS SO FAR HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE

CHINESE ARE IN NO HURRY TO WOO THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN UNDER ANYTHING OTHER THAN CHINESE CONDITIONS. THE PANCHEN LAMA EXPRESSED HIS "OPINION" TO THE VISITORS THAT IT WAS NOT ADVISABLE FOR THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN IN 1985. THE CHINESE TOLD THE TIBETANS BLUNTLY TO GIVE UP THEIR CALLS FOR A SEPARATE STATE AND CRITICIZED "IRRESPONSIBLE" COMMENTS OF TIBETAN LEADERS IN INDIA. THE TIBETANS' IMPRESSION OF THEIR VISIT SO FAR IS THAT THE CHINESE ATTITUDE HAS HARDENED SOMEWHAT SINCE THEIR 1982 TRIP, BUT THEY SEE SOME DIVERGENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES IN BEIJING AND THOSE IN LHASA (WHO ARE EVEN LESS INCLINED TO WANT THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN). OUR EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE DALAI LAMA WILL REMAIN IN EXILE FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

3. [REDACTED] BRIEFED POLOFFS NOVEMBER 23 ON THE CURRENT VISIT TO CHINA OF THE DALAI LAMA'S THREE REPRESENTATIVES, JUGHEN THUBPEN NAMGYAL, PHUNTSOK TAKLA, AND LODI GYARI. THEY ARRIVED OCTOBER 21, HAD TWO MEETINGS OCTOBER 24 AND 26 WITH THE VICE-MINISTER IN CHARGE OF THE STATE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION, MET INFORMALLY WITH THE PANCHEN LAMA AND NGAWANG JIGME (BOTH NPC STANDING COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMEN), AND THEN EMBARKED ON A TOUR OF EASTERN CHINA, MARKING TIME UNTIL THE RETURN FROM ABROAD OF YANG

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JINGREN, MINISTER IN CHARGE OF THE STATE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION, AND THE HEAD OF THE PARTY'S UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT. THE MEETING WITH YANG AND A PROMISED MEETING WITH "A STATE LEADER" WILL END THEIR LONGER-THAN-EXPECTED VISIT TO CHINA. THEY HAVE ASKED TO SEE PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY HU YAOBANG BUT THEY MIGHT MEET INSTEAD VICE-PREMIER TIAN JIYUN OR PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBER HU QILI, BOTH OF WHOM MADE AN INSPECTION TOUR OF TIBET LAST AUGUST.

4. THE TIBETANS DID NOT EXPLICITLY REPEAT THE PROPOSALS THEY MADE--AND THE CHINESE REJECTED--IN 1982, BUT THEY REFERRED TO THEM, TO LEAVE THEM ON THE TABLE. THOSE PROPOSALS WERE FOR A POLICY TOWARD TIBET SIMILAR TO THAT OUTLINED IN THE NINE-POINT PROPOSAL FOR TAIWAN.

A RESTORATION OF "GREATER TIBET," TO INCLUDE PORTIONS OF SICHUAN, GANSU, AND QINGHAI PROVINCES OCCUPIED BY

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PEOPLE OF TIBETAN NATIONALITY, AND A WITHDRAWAL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY FROM TIBET. NEW ISSUES THAT THE DELEGATION RAISED DURING THIS VISIT WERE: (1) THE REFERENCE BY TIBET PARTY FIRST SECRETARY YIN FATANG TO THE DALAI LAMA AS A "TRAITOR" AND STATEMENTS BY OTHER SENIOR PRC LEADERS IN TIBET THAT THE DALAI LAMA NO LONGER HAS A ROLE TO PLAY IN TIBET; (2) THE ALLEGED ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE CHINESE IN THE PAST YEAR, INCLUDING THE ALLEGED ARREST OF ONE THOUSAND TIBETAN RELIGIOUS FIGURES AND "NATIONALISTS" DURING THE ANTI-CRIME CAMPAIGN OF FALL 1983, AND THE SUPPOSED PLA ACTION AGAINST THE GADAN MONASTERY TO EVICT NON-RESIDENTS OF THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION AND TO ARREST THE HIGH PRIEST; (3) THE INTRODUCTION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF HAN (NON-TIBETAN) CHINESE INTO TIBET THIS YEAR; AND (4) THE

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FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BEIJING 22077

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 12356: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PNAT, PGOV, CH, IN

SUBJECT: DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUE THEIR

INCREASE IN PLA TROOP STRENGTH IN TIBET.

5. THE REPLY OF THE STATE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION VICE MINISTER ADDRESSED SOME, BUT NOT ALL, OF THESE ISSUES.
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HE STRESSED THAT IF THE TIBETANS CONTINUED TO TALK OF INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-DETERMINATION, THERE WOULD BE NO GROUNDS FOR FUTURE DIALOGUE. IN LINE WITH NATIONAL MINORITIES POLICY, BEIJING HAS ALREADY GIVEN TIBET A GREAT DEAL OF AUTONOMY, HE SAID. THE DALAI LAMA IS WELCOME FOR A VISIT OR FOR A PROLONGED STAY AND HE COULD BE MADE A VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLES CONGRESS OR THE CHINESE PEOPLES' POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE (NOTE: STATUS EQUAL TO THAT NOW ACCORDED THE PANCHEN LAMA). AS FOR THE TIBETAN CLAIMS OF ARRESTS AND EXECUTIONS, THE VICE MINISTER SAID THEY ARE COMPLETELY WRONG. THERE WERE ABOUT FIVE PERSONS EXECUTED LAST FALL, ALL ON CRIMINAL CHARGES. THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME CASES OF WRONGFUL INCARCERATION, HE ADMITTED, BUT THEY WERE QUICKLY REDRESSED. ON THE QUESTION OF HAN PEOPLES BEING SENT TO TIBET, THE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION AGREED THAT SOME 25,000 HANS HAD BEEN SENT TO TIBET IN THE PAST YEAR, BUT AS TEMPORARY LABORERS TO COMPLETE THE TURNKEY PROJECTS TO WHICH INDIVIDUAL CHINESE PROVINCES HAD

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COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO HELP DEVELOP TIBET. THE LABORERS WOULD NOT BE REMAINING ONCE THE PROJECTS WERE FINISHED. AS FOR SETTLERS, ALL PRC CITIZENS HAVE THE RIGHT TO MOVE TO TIBET, IF THEY WISH. THE VICE-MINISTER DID NOT REFER TO THE TIBETAN ALLEGATIONS OF INCREASED CHINESE TROOP STRENGTH IN THE REGION.

6. AT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING, NATIONALITIES COMMISSION OFFICIALS GAVE THE TIBETANS A DOCUMENT WHICH MADE SOME FURTHER CHINESE ARGUMENTS. THE PAPER REVIEWED THE POST-1979 HISTORY OF CHINA'S ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP TIBET AND TO REVIVE TIBETAN CULTURE, CONDEMNED "IRRESPONSIBLE" STATEMENTS BY TIBETAN EXILES IN INDIA, INSISTED THAT TIBETANS SHOULD GIVE UP THEIR CALL FOR INDEPENDENCE,
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STRESSED TIBET'S HISTORICAL LINKS TO CHINA, AND QUESTIONED WHETHER THE DALAI LAMA WAS REALLY INTERESTED IN COMING TO CHINA. ON THE ISSUE OF A "GREATER TIBET" INCORPORATING ADJOINING REGIONS, THE CHINESE PAPER ARGUED THAT THE VISITORS HAD O LOCUS STANDI TO DISCUSS IT, SINCE THEY WERE FROM OUTSIDE. THE PAPER SUGGESTED THE ISSUE WAS NEGOTIABLE IF IT WERE RAISED BY PEOPLE WITHIN TIBET, BUT POINTED OUT THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND MANAGEMENT RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENT SIZE OF THE TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION.

7. THE TIBETAN DELEGATION HAD AN "INFORMAL" MEETING WITH THE PANCHEN LAMA AND WITH NGAPOI HGAWANG JIGME. THE PANCHEN LAMA OFFERED HIS "OPINION" THAT A VISIT TO TIBET BY THE DALAI LAMA IN 1985 WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR THREE REASONS: (1) 1985 MARKS THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION; (2) IT WOULD BE HARD TO CONTROL THE CROWDS THAT WOULD COME OUT TO GREET HIM (THE PANCHEN LAMA RECALLED HIS OWN TUMULTUOUS RETURN IN 1982); AND (3) THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF CONSTRUCTION ON ROADS AND INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WOULD NOT BE COMPLETED BY NEXT YEAR.

8. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] WHO TALKED TO THE DELEGATION, THE TIBETANS BELIEVE THAT THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE DALAI LAMA AND TOWARD HIS RETURN HAS HARDENED SINCE THE LAST MEETINGS IN 1982, WHEN THE CHINESE SEEMED EAGER FOR HIS RETURN. THIS TIME THEY SEEMED MUCH COOLER TOWARD THE IDEA. IN ADDITION,

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THE TIBETANS SEE A DIFFERENCE IN ATTITUDE BETWEEN THE
CENTRAL AUTHORITIES WHOM THEY MET AND GOVERNMENT AND
PARTY LEADERS IN LHASA, WHO ARE EVEN LESS EAGER TO SEE
THE DALAI LAMA RETURN. THEY BELIEVE THE LHASA LEADER-

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TAGS: PREL, PNAT, PGOV, CH, IN

SUBJECT: DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUE THEIR

SHIP IS INTENT ON MAKING THE DALAI LAMA BASICALLY
IRRELEVANT TO TIBETAN CULTURE OVER THE LONG RUN.

9. COMMENT. AFTER THE INITIAL ANNOUNCEMENT, THERE HAS
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BEEN NO PRESS COVERAGE OF THE TIBETAN DELEGATION'S
VISIT. THIS SERVES TO DOWNPLAY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE
TALKS WITH WHAT THE CHINESE CONSIDER A REBEL FACTION.
IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT, WHILE CHINA WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE
DALAI LAMA RETURN AND PUBLICLY RECONCILE HIMSELF TO
CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER TIBET, CHINA'S POSITION RE-
MAINS, AS PARTY SECRETARY HU YAOBANG REITERATED IT TO
JAPANESE JOURNALISTS SEPTEMBER 3, THAT HE CAN COME BACK
OR NOT, AS HE PLEASES, BUT HE WILL RETURN AS A RELIGIOUS
PERSONAGE, AND NOT AS A GOVERNING LEADER (REFTEL).
GIVEN THE UNCOMPROMISING CHINESE ATTITUDE REFLECTED
DURING THIS VISIT, IF THE DALAI LAMA DOES RETURN IN THE
NEAR FUTURE, IT WILL HAVE TO BE ON BEIJING'S TERMS. FOR
THAT REASON, WE BELIEVE THE DALAI LAMA WILL NOT BE RE-
TURNING FROM EXILE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. HUMMEL

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