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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1130
INFO AMBASSADOR DHAKA PRIORITY
AMBASSADOR ISLAMABAD PRIORITY
AMBASSADOR KATHMANDU PRIORITY
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 BEIJING 22386

CINC PAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PNAT, PGOV, CH, IN
SUBJECT: CHINA OUTLINES POLICY TO DALAI LAMA'S
- REPRESENTATIVES

REF: BEIJING 22077

1. (U) SUMMARY. AFTER FIVE WEEKS OUT OF THE PUBLIC EYE, THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES MET NOVEMBER 27 WITH THE HEAD OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S UNITED FRONT WORLD DEPARTMENT (UFWD) AND RECEIVED COVERAGE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BEIJING 22386 01 OF 03 291045Z

IN ALL MAJOR LOCAL MEDIA. THE UFWD CHIEF YANG JINGREN OUTLINED FOR THEM AND FOR THE CHINESE PUBLIC A FIVE-POINT POLICY APPARENTLY ENUNCIATED TO THE DALAI LAMA'S BROTHER IN 1981, BUT ONLY NOW BEING MADE PUBLIC. THE
POINTS ARE: (1) THE DALAI LAMA SHOULD HAVE CONFIDENCE IN CHINA’S POLITICAL STABILITY AND ITS MINORITIES POLICY; (2) FORGET ABOUT THE EVENTS OF 1959 (I.E., THE TIBETAN REVOLT) AND DISCUSS THE FUTURE FRANKLY AND SINCERELY; (3) CHINA WOULD WELCOME THE DALAI LAMA’S RETURN TO CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL UNIFICATION AND MODERNIZATION; (4) IF THE DALAI LAMA RETURNS TO LIVE, HE WILL HAVE HIS PRE-1959 STATUS; "IT IS SUGGESTED" HE NOT RETURN TO TIBET TO LIVE, BUT RATHER ONLY FOR VISITS (NOTE: BUT THE PEOPLE’S DAILY CHINESE TEXT IS TOUGHER, SAYING "HE SHOULD NOT GO BACK" TO TIBET.); AND (5) THE DALAI LAMA CAN MAKE HIS OWN STATEMENT ABOUT HIS RETURN AND WILL BE WELCOMED APPROPRIATELY. YANG ALSO POINTEDLY STRESSED TO THE DELEGATION THAT TIBETAN "INDEPENDENCE" WAS NOT AN ISSUE AND CALLS FROM ABROAD ADVOCATING INDEPENDENCE RAN COUNTER TO THE DALAI LAMA’S STATED WISH TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. HE PRaised THE DALAI LAMA’S RECENT COMMENT THAT THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF CHINA WERE TRUSTWORTHY. THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MEETING CARRIED NO COMMENTS FROM THE DALAI LAMA’S DELEGATION.

2. (C) THE PRESS COVERAGE LAVISHED ON THE MEETING WITH YANG WOULD INDICATE THAT THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE GONE RELATIVELY WELL FROM THE CHINESE POINT OF VIEW. THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS FOR THE DALAI LAMA’S RETURN SEEM SIMILAR OR SLIGHTLY MORE GENEROUS THAN THOSE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, BUT MAKE NO CONCESSIONS TO HIS REPORTED CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BEIJIN 22386 01 OF 03 291045Z

DEMands (REFTel). Although the chinese want to appear forthcoming in public, it is fairly clear the dalai lama will not be allowed to return to Tibet to live and that the status and role China is willing to grant him would be severely limited. Yang’s comments would seem to indicate that one unstated quid pro quo for the Dalai Lama’s return would be a disavowal of the idea of tibetan independence and a disassociation of the Dalai Lama from those who advocate it. end summary.

3. (U) after being here for five weeks without a mention in the chinese press, the Dalai Lama’s delega- tion met November 27 with Yang Jingren, Chief of the CCP Central Committee United front Work Department

4. (U) YANG TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE TO THE DELEGATION WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S FIVE-POINT POLICY TOWARD THE DALAI LAMA, AS OUTLINED IN 1981 BY CCP GENERAL SECRETARY HU YAOBANG TO THE DALAI LAMA'S BROTHER, GYALO THONDUP. ACCORDING TO XINHUA. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THE POLICY HAS BEEN MADE PUBLIC. THE XINHUA TRANSLATION OF THE FIVE POINTS IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE:

--ONE. CHINA HAS NOW ENTERED A NEW STAGE OF LONG-TERM

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22386 02 OF 03 291046Z

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NEA-06 NSC-01 NSAE-00 HA-08 L-03 PM-10 AIT-02 PA-01 OMB-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 FRS-01 SPD-02 /065 W

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P 291038Z NOV 84

FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1131

INFO AMEMBASSY DHAKA PRIORITY

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--TWO. THE DALAI LAMA AND THE PEOPLE HE SENDS TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE FRANK AND SINCERE AND SHOULD NOT BEAT AROUND THE BUSH OR LOOK FOR A BARGAIN. THERE SHOULD BE NO MORE ARGUING OVER THE EVENTS IN 1959. IT'S BETTER TO FORGET IT.

--THREE. THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES SINCERELY WELCOME THE DALAI LAMA AND HIS FOLLOWERS TO COME BACK TO LIVE. THIS IS BASED ON THE HOPE THAT THE DALAI LAMA WILL CONTRIBUTE TO SAFEGUARDING CHINA'S UNIFICATION, TO PROMOTING Unity BETWEEN THE HAN AND TIBETAN NATIONALITIES IN THE COUNTRY AND TO CHINA'S MODERNIZATION.

--FOUR. IF THE DALAI LAMA COMES BACK TO LIVE, HE WILL ENJOY THE SAME POLITICAL TREATMENT AND LIVING CONDITIONS AS HE DID BEFORE 1959. THE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL RECOMMEND THAT HE BE ELECTED
VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
STANDING COMMITTEE AND, THROUGH CONSULTATION, VICE-
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE
PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE. HIS LIVING
CONDITIONS WILL REMAIN AS BEFORE. IT IS SUGGESTED
HE NOT GO TO LIVE IN TIBET AND HOLD LOCAL POSTS
THERE BECAUSE YOUNG PEOPLE IN TIBET HAVE BEEN PROMOTED
TO LEADING POSTS AND ARE DOING VERY WELL. OF COURSE,
HE CAN GO BACK TO TIBET FROM TIME TO TIME. PROPER
ARRANGEMENTS WILL ALSO BE MADE FOR THE PLACEMENT OF
HIS FOLLOWERS. THEY DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT JOBS
AND LIVING CONDITIONS. THESE WILL ONLY BE BETTER
THAN IN THE PAST BECAUSE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN
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PAGE 03  BEIJIN  22386  02 OF 03  291046Z

THE COUNTRY.

--FIVE. WHEN THE DALAI LAMA DECIDES TO COME BACK, HE
CAN ISSUE A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE PRESS. IT'S UP TO
HIM TO DECIDE WHAT HE WOULD SAY IN THE STATEMENT. HE
IS EXPECTED TO INFORM THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES OF THE
DATE OF HIS RETURN. IF HE COMES TO GUANGZHOU VIA
HONG KONG, THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES WILL SEND SOMEONE
WITH MINISTERIAL RANK AND SOME OTHER OFFICIALS TO MEET
HIM AT THE BORDER. A NEWS STORY TO THIS EFFECT WILL
BE RELEASED. IF HE COMES BACK BY AIR, A PROPER WEL-
COMING CEREMONY WILL BE ARRANGED FOR HIM AND A NEWS
STORY ABOUT IT WILL BE PUBLISHED.

5. (LOU) THE CHINESE TEXT SEEMS VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL,
EXCEPT FOR POINT FOUR'S REFERENCE TO HIS RETURN TO
LIVE IN TIBET. THE CHINESE TEXT CAN BE READ "AS FOR
TIBET, HE SHOULD NOT RETURN (TO LIVE), HE SHOULD NOT
TAKE UP WORK THERE." (ZHI YU XIZANG, TA JIU BU YAO
HUI QULE. XIZANG DE ZHIWU JIU BU YAO JIANLE.)

6. (U) IN HIS OTHER PUBLISHED REMARKS, YANG PRAISED
THE DALAI LAMA'S REFERENCE TO CHINA'S LEADERS AS
TRUSTWORTHY AND COMMENTED ON THE INCREASING RETURN
OF EXILED TIBETANS TO VISIT AND LIVE, AS WELL AS THE
SERIES OF VISITS TO CHINA BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
DALAI LAMA. HE REVEALED THAT THE CURRENT DELEGATION
HAD TOLD THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE DALAI LAMA HOPES TO
RETURN FOR A VISIT IN 1985. BUT YANG ALSO NOTED
THAT SOME OF THE DALAI LAMA'S FOLLOWERS ABROAD WERE
ADVOCATING TIBETAN INDEPENDENCE. THIS ATTEMPT TO RESTORE FEUDAL SERFDOM, HE SAID, WOULD NEVER SUCCEED

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22386 03 OF 03 291046Z

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 03 BEIJING 22386

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E.O. 12356: OADR

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AND RAN COUNTER TO THE DALAI LAMA'S WISH TO IMPROVE HIS RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

7. (C) COMMENT. THERE WAS NO REFERNCE IN THE PUBLISHED REPORTS TO COMMENTS BY THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE MEETING WITH YANG. WE HAD REPORTED EARLIER CONFIDENTIAL

(REFTEL) THAT THEY HAD FOUND THE CHINESE ATTITUDE SOMewhat TOUGHER THAN ON PREVIOUS VISITS. THE PRESS PLAY WOULD INDICATE THAT CHINA WANTS TO APPEAR FORTHCOMING AND WELCOMING, AND THE FIVE POINTS ARE AT LEAST AS GENEROUS, PERHAPS A LITTLE MORE SO, THAN PREVIOUS PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY CHINESE LEADERS. BUT THE POLICY STATEMENT DOES NOT YIELD ON ANY SIGNIFICANT DEMAND OF THE DALAI LAMA (REFTEL). THE NEPALESE DCM HERE BELIEVES THAT THE CHINESE ANNOUNCEMENT IS PRIMARILY FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. WE TEND TO AGREE, AND BELIEVE THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE CHINESE ARE WILLING TO REACH A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE DALAI LAMA ON ANYTHING OTHER THAN THEIR OWN TERMS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THEY WANT AN END TO OVERSEAS TIBETANS' DEMANDS FOR INDEPENDENCE. AND, ALTHOUGH THE CHINESE PROMISE EQUIVALENT TREATMENT FOR THE DALAI LAMA AS PRI-1959, BEING VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE IN BEIJING IS NOT TO BE COMPARED WITH BEING A LIVING GOD IN LHASA. HUMMEL