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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22386 01 OF 03 291045Z
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INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00
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 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BEIJING 22386

CINCPAC 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
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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 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

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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
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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 DELEGATION MET NOVEMBER 27 WITH YANG JINGREN, CHIEF OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT

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AND MINISTER IN CHARGE OF THE STATE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION. REPORTS OF THE MEETING WERE CARRIED ON CENTRAL TV RADIO, THE XINHUA NEWS SERVICE, AND THE FRONT PAGES OF THE PEOPLE'S DAILY AND THE CHINA DAILY.

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
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POLITICAL STABILITY, STEADY ECONOMIC GROWTH AND
RELATIONS OF UNITY AND MUTUAL HELP AMONG ALL
NATIONALITIES. THE DALAI LAMA AND HIS FOLLOWERS ARE
INTELLIGENT PEOPLE AND THEREFORE SHOULD HAVE CONFIDENCE
IN THIS. IF THEY ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THIS AND
WANT TO OBSERVE THINGS FOR A FEW MORE YEARS, THEY CAN
DO SO.

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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22386 02 OF 03 291046Z

--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 MODERNI-
ZATION.

--FOUR. IF THE DALAI LAMA COMES BACK TO LIVE, HE WILL
ENJOY THE SAME POLITICAL TREATMENT AND LIVING CON-
DITIONS AS HE DID BEFORE 1959. THE COMMUNIST PARTY
CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL RECOMMEND THAT HE BE ELECTED

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VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
STANDING COMMITTEE AND, THROUGH CONSULTATION, VICE-
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE

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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 HOPED TO
RETURN FOR A VISIT IN 1985. BUT YANG ALSO NOTED
THAT SOME OF THE DALAI LAMA'S FOLLOWERS ABROAD WERE

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ADVOCATING TIBETAN INDEPENDENCE. THIS ATTEMPT TO
RESTORE FEUDAL SERFDOM, HE SAID, WOULD NEVER SUCCEED

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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 REFERENCE IN THE PUBLISHED
REPORTS TO COMMENTS BY THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE MEETING WITH YANG. WE HAD REPORTED EARLIER
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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22386 03 OF 03 291046Z

(REFTEL) THAT THEY HAD FOUND THE CHINESE ATTITUDE
SOMEWHAT TOUGHER THAN ON PREVIOUS VISITS. THE PRESS
PLAY WOULD INDICATE THAT CHINA WANTS TO APPEAR FORTH-
COMING 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 PRE-1959,
BEING VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE NPC STANDING COMMITTEE IN
BEIJING IS NOT TO BE COMPARED WITH BEING A LIVING GOD
IN LHASA. HUMMEL

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