

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 27637 01 OF 02 120337Z  
 ACTION NEA-11

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
 NSC-01 NSAE-00 EAP-00 PA-01 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01  
 /027 W

-----230470 120425Z /60

R 120321Z DEC 84  
 FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8820  
 INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
 AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
 AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NEW DELHI 27637

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, CH, PINR, IN  
 SUBJECT: TIBET AND CHINA: DALAI LAMA'S SECRETARIAT  
 DISPUTES CHINESE PRESS REPORTS

REF: BEIJING 22077

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE SECRETARIAT OF THE DALAI LAMA IN DELHI ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE DECEMBER 3 DISPUTING CHINESE PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE VISIT OF THE DALAI LAMA'S THREE REPRESENTATIVES TO CHINA. THE STATEMENT SAYS THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE VISIT WAS NOT RPT NOT TO DISCUSS THE RETURN OF THE DALAI LAMA TO TIBET, AS CHINESE PRESS REPORTS IMPLIED, BUT TO DISCUSS THE CULTURAL ASPIRATIONS OF TIBETANS. THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVE IN DELHI TOLD EMBOFF THAT IN EMPHASIZING THE RETURN ISSUE THE CHINESE WERE TRYING TO DIRECT THE FOCUS OF THE VISIT AWAY FROM THE REAL PROBLEM OF TIBET'S STATUS. ACCORDING TO THE NEW DELHI REPRESENTATIVE THEIR DELEGATION WAS DUE TO LEAVE CHINA DECEMBER 7 FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 27637 01 OF 02 120337Z

RETURN TO DELHI. ONLY THEN WILL THE SECRETARIAT KNOW WHAT ACTUALLY TRANSPIRED DURING THE VISIT, AS THEY HAVE NOT HAD ANY COMMUNICATION WITH THEIR DELEGATION SINCE ITS INITIAL DEPARTURE FOR CHINA. END SUMMARY.

UNCLASSIFIED

3. SECRETARIAT DISPUTES CHINESE PRESS REPORTS:

EMBOFF DECEMBER 6 VISITED THE BUREAU OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA IN DELHI (THE OFFICIAL SECRETARIAT OF THE DALAI LAMA) IN ORDER TO GET A READ-OUT ON THE RECENT VISIT OF THE DALAI LAMA'S THREE REPRESENTATIVES TO CHINA. THE CHIEF RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE, TASHI WANGDI, PRESENTED EMBOFF WITH A PRESS RELEASE DATED 3 DECEMBER WHICH DISPUTES CHINESE PRESS REPORTS ON THE VISIT. SUCH REPORTS HAD APPEARED IN THE DELHI PRESS HEADLINING CHINESE CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF THE DALAI LAMA TO TIBET.

4. TEXT OF DALAI LAMA'S PRESS RELEASE:

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY HAS RECENTLY PUBLISHED A STATEMENT BY YANG JINGREN OUTLINING FIVE CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA. HOWEVER, THE PURPOSE OF SENDING THE TIBETAN DELEGATION TO BEIJING FOR THE SECOND TIME RECENTLY WAS TO MAINTAIN OUR DIALOGUE WITH CHINESE AUTHORITIES AND MAINLY TO DISCUSS ABOUT THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE SIX MILLION TIBETAN PEOPLE AND NOT ABOUT THE RETURN OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA. MANY TIMES IN THE PAST HIS HOLINESS HAS CATEGORICALLY STATED THAT THE ISSUE OF TIBET IS NOT JUST THE QUESTION OF HIS HOLINESS' RETURN AS THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES REPEATEDLY IMPLIED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 27637 01 OF 02 120337Z

DATE: DECEMBER 3, 1984 BY (TASHI WANGDI) KALON AND REPRESENTATIVE, BUREAU OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA, NEW DELHI, INDIA.

5. FOLLOW-UP:

IN FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION, WANGDI NOTED THAT THE THREE REPRESENTATIVES WERE DUE TO DEPART CHINA FOR DELHI 7 DECEMBER. ONLY UPON THEIR RETURN WOULD THE SECRETARIAT KNOW OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT TOOK PLACE, SINCE THERE WAS NO COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND THE DELEGATION FOR THE ENTIRE ONE AND A HALF MONTH VISIT. HE SAID THAT THE SECRETARIAT'S PRESS RELEASE WAS NECESSARY SINCE THE CHINESE WERE OBVIOUSLY USING THE PRESS TO REDIRECT THE FOCUS OF

UNCLASSIFIED

THE DISCUSSIONS AWAY FROM THE COMPLICATED, DELICATE ISSUE OF THE STATUS OF TIBET. HE SAID THAT HE WOULD GIVE EMBOFF A READOUT OF THE VISIT ONCE THE DELEGATION HAS BRIEFED THE SECRETARIAT. WANGDI ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH DURING THEIR STAY IN CHINA THE DELEGATION HAD VISITED A NUMBER OF CHINESE CITIES, TIBET WAS LEFT OUT OF THEIR ITINERARY.

6. BACKGROUND:

WANGDI WENT ON TO GIVE EMBOFF SOME BACKGROUND ON THE TALKS. IN 1979 THE SECRETARIAT SENT ITS FIRST FACT-FINDING DELEGATION TO TIBET AFTER CHINA, UNDER DENG XAO PING, LIFTED ITS BAN ON SUCH VISITS. IN 1980 TWO MORE DELEGATIONS WERE SENT. A THIRD WAS SET TO GO THAT SAME YEAR BUT THE CHINESE REIMPOSED THEIR BAN, ON THE BASIS THAT BAD ROAD CONDITIONS AND INADEQUATE FACILITIES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 27637 02 OF 02 120339Z  
ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSC-01 NSAE-00 EAP-00 PA-01 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01  
/027 W

-----231027 120426Z /60

R 120321Z DEC 84  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8821  
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, CH, PINR, IN

SUBJECT: TIBET AND CHINA: DALAI LAMA'S SECRETARIAT

WOULD MAKE THE VISIT IMPOSSIBLE. WANGDI OPINED THAT THE CHINESE HAD BEEN CAUGHT OFF-GUARD BY THE ENTHUSIASM WITH WHICH TIBETANS HAD GREETED THE PREVIOUS DELEGATIONS, AND THEREFORE SOUGHT TO PREVENT FURTHER EMBARRASSING OUTBURSTS. SINCE 1980 THE CHINESE HAVE DENIED ENTRANCE TO ALL TIBETAN FACT-FINDING MISSIONS, USING THE SAME ARGUMENT OF POOR TRAVEL CONDITIONS. IN 1982, THE CHINESE ACCEPTED A SECRETARIAT DELEGATION TO BEIJING, WHICH BEGAN PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS OF THE WHOLE TIBETAN PROBLEM. THE RESULTS WERE INCONCLUSIVE. HOWEVER, THE CHINESE AGREED TO A SECOND MEETING -- THE CURRENT ONE -- TO TAKE PLACE IN 1984.

7. CONDITIONS IN TIBET:

WANGDI GAVE EMBOFF A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN TIBET GAINED FROM SECRETARIAT SOURCES. HE SAID THAT ACCESS TO TIBET IS OPEN. TIBETANS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 27637 02 OF 02 120339Z

CURRENTLY LIVING IN INDIA FACE NO PROBLEMS VISITING RELATIVES IN TIBET, NOR ARE TIBETANS HINDERED FROM TRAVELLING TO INDIA. ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN TIBET, HE SAID ARE BAD. EVEN THE CHINESE ADMIT TO THIS. THE ECONOMIC REFORMS HAVE WROUGHT HAVOC. LARGE NUMBERS OF CHINESE ARE FLOWING INTO TIBET ON THE CREST OF A HOTEL CONSTRUCTION BOOM, BRINGING FAMILIES AND BUSINESSES. THE RESULT HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN INFLATION, AND UNEMPLOYMENT FOR THE NATIVE TIBETANS. TIBETAN CITY-DWELLERS UNABLE TO FIND WORK DUE TO JOB DISCRIMINATION IN FAVOR OF CHINESE CANNOT LEAVE THE CITIES FOR THE COUNTRY-SIDE, FOR TO DO SO WOULD DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR RATION PRIVILEGES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CHINESE HAVE TAKEN SOME POSITIVE MEASURES, SUCH AS PERMITTING THE USE OF TIBETAN LANGUAGE IN SOME OFFICIAL DISCOURSE AND PRESERVING TIBETAN CULTURAL MONUMENTS.

8. TIBETAN AND CHINESE ATTITUDES:

WANGDI DESCRIBED THE OVERALL CHINESE ATTITUDE AS HISTORICALLY OBTUSE, REQUIRING GREAT PATIENCE FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE CHINESE, HE SAID, FEEL THAT TIME WILL PROBABLY BURY THE TIBETAN ISSUE. THUS THEY CAN AFFORD TO WAIT. ACCORDING TO WANGDI, THE DALAI LAMA AND HIS SECRETARIAT RECOGNIZE CHINA'S OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE AND PRESENCE IN RELATION TO TIBET. ALTHOUGH TIBETANS CONSIDER THEMSELVES MORE CULTURALLY ATTACHED TO INDIA THAN TO CHINA, THEY REALIZE THAT TIBET'S PHYSICAL POSITION DEMANDS AN ATTACHMENT TO CHINA. THE DALAI LAMA'S MAIN CONCERN IS TO PRESERVE TIBETAN CULTURE. HIS GREATEST FEAR IS ITS ERADICATION ESPECIALLY AS CHINA HAS ALREADY BROKEN UP HISTORIC TIBET AND ATTACHED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 27637 02 OF 02 120339Z

PARTS OF IT TO VARIOUS CHINESE PROVINCES. THESE CONCERNS, WANGDI SAID, FORMED THE BASIS OF THE RECENT DELEGATION'S DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES.

9. INDO-TIBETAN RELATIONS:

WANGDI NOTED THAT DESPITE THE DALAI LAMA'S PRESENCE IN INDIA, INDIAN HOSPITALITY, AND THE GOI'S PERMISSION FOR THE SECRETARIAT TO OPERATE IN DELHI UNDER SEMI-DIPLOMATIC STATUS, THE GOI DOES NOT OFFICIALLY SUPPORT THE SECRETARIAT'S POSITIONS VIS-A-VIS CHINA. INDIA, HE SAID, RECOGNIZES CHINESE SUZERAINITY OVER TIBET, THOUGH NOT ITS SOVEREIGNTY (A SMALL CONSOLATION FOR THE TIBETANS).

10. COMMENT:

WHILE THE CHINESE HAVE NOT BEEN RESPONSIVE TO THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR CONCERNS, THE SECRETARIAT NONETHELESS FINDS THE VERY FACT THAT THE CHINESE HAVE MET WITH THE DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT ALL A POSITIVE SIGN AFTER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF EXILE.

BARNES