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E.O. 12065: GDS 6/9/86 (BURGHARDT, RAYMOND F.) OR-P TAGS: CH, PINT, PGOV, PINS, SOCI SUBJ: CHINA'S TIBETAN POLICY

REF: HONG KONG 8462

1. (LOU) PEOPLE'S DAILY JUNE 8 IN A PROMINENT PAGE ONE STORY REPORTED ON THE BRIEF MAY 31 STOPOVER OF PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY HU YAOBANG AND (SECRETARIAT) SECRETARY/ VICE MINISTER WAN LI IN QINGHAI PROVINCE ON THEIR WAY BACK TO BEIJING FROM TIBET. DURING THE STOPOVER, HU ANNOUNCED THAT THE PARTY'S NEW LIBERAL POLICY GUIDELINES FOR TIBET SHOULD ALSO BE ADOPTED FOR WORK IN QINGHAI'S AUTONOMOUS AREAS. WE NOTE THAT HISTORICALLY A LARGE PORTION OF QINGHAI CONSTITUTED THE AMDO PROVINCE OF TIBET, AN ETHNIC CONFIDENTIAL

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Charles Lahiguera, Senior Reviewer

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TIBETAN AREA WHERE BOTH THE DALAI AND PANCHEN LAMAS WERE BORN. IT WOULD SEEM, THEREFORE, THAT FOR THE TIME BEING HU'S LIBERAL POLICIES TOWARD TIBET WOULD ONLY APPLY TO TIBETAN NATIONALITY AREAS. THERE IS, HOWEVER, THE POSSIBILITY THAT LIBERAL POLICIES FORMULATED FOR TIBET WILL LATER BE APPLIED MORE BROADLY TO OTHER NATIONAL MINORITY AUTONOMOUS AREAS AND REGIONS.

2. (C) IN CLARIFICATION OF POLICY GUIDANCE GIVEN TO TIBET (REFTEL), HONG KONG LEFTIST MEDIA SOURCES ACTIVE IN UNITED

FRONT WORK HAVE TOLD US THAT PARTY LEADERS IN TIBET WILL BE ABLE TO SET ASIDE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE CENTER ALL BUT THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL CENTRAL PARTY DIRECTIVES IF THESE ARE DEEMED INAPPROPRIATE TO LOCAL CONDITIONS. ON QUESTIONS INVOLVING FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF PARTY POLICY, THE TIBETAN AUTHORITIES WILL BE ABLE TO APPEAL TO THE CENTER TO DELAY OR STOP IMPLEMENTATION IN TIBET.

3. (C) THE DALAI LAMA'S SISTER (ALSO A QINGHAI NATIVE) WILL SOON BE PASSING THROUGH QINGHAI LEADING A DELEGATION OF TIBETAN EXILES. HU'S EXTENSIONS OF LIBERAL POLICY GUIDELINES TO THAT AREA DOUBTLESS IS IN PART DESIGNED TO IMPRESS THE EXILES. TIBETANS BOTH IN THEIR NATIVE LANDS AND IN EXILE CAN BE EXPECTED TO VIEW THIS INITIATIVE WITH SOME SKEPTICISM ON THE BASIS OF PAST EXPERIENCE. NEARLY IDENTICAL GUIDELINES WERE ISSUED IN 1957 IN A SUCCESSFUL BID TO PERSUADE THE DALAI LAMA TO RETURN FROM A VISIT TO INDIA BUT THEN FORGOTTEN DURING THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD. THE SAME GUIDELINES WERE PROMULGATED AGAIN IN 1961 TO QUIET DISSATISFACTION WITH LAND REFORM PROGRAMS BUT WERE SOON IGNORED IN THE WAKE OF THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS PRECEDING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. **BELLOCCHI** CONFIDENTIAL

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