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Central Intelligence Agency



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**DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE**

15 April 1988

**China: Tensions in Tibet Continue** [redacted]

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**Summary**

The upsurge of nationalism, especially among younger Tibetans, suggests that sporadic violence against Chinese in Tibet will continue. Tibetan exiles have sought to capitalize on recent unrest to win international sympathy and support for their cause, and may even be encouraging the violence. Beijing is likely to respond with a two-track approach. On the one hand, the authorities will crack down on dissidents and impose restrictions on the activities of monasteries. But Chinese leaders probably will also continue their liberal religious and minority policies toward Tibet to deflect international criticism and ultimately pacify the population. In our view, any prospect of defusing these tensions over the short term lies in a negotiated agreement between the Dalai Lama and Beijing, but such a settlement seems no nearer now than when unofficial talks between the two sides began in the late 1970s. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Office of East Asian Analysis. Information available as of 15 April 1988 was used in its preparation. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to the Chief, Political Assessments Branch, China Division, OEA, [redacted]

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**The Depths of Tibetan Discontent**

The recurring unrest in Tibet since last fall graphically illustrates that Tibetans remain fervently nationalistic and hostile toward the Chinese. The hostility is reinforced by continued Chinese dominance of the bureaucracy, the modern sectors of the economy, and higher education despite the fact that the Chinese make up only 5 percent of the population. [Redacted]

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Although Tibetan representation in the government and the party has steadily increased since 1980, many Tibetans view those in official positions as coopted by Beijing. This includes the Panchen Lama--second only to the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchy but considered by many Tibetans to be a Chinese puppet. We believe many Tibetans saw his trip to Tibet in January--which coincided with other moves by Beijing to pacify the population--as a thinly disguised attempt to legitimize Chinese actions in the province. As a consequence, his call during the visit for greater autonomy in Tibet and his admission that police had fired on rioters in October only increased Tibetan resentment. [Redacted]

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Tibetans continue to resent the restrictions placed on monks and the destruction of temples and monasteries during the Cultural Revolution. In a meeting with US State Department officials in December, Chinese officials acknowledged that Beijing has established a limit of roughly 10,000 monks for Tibet. Beijing claims limitations are necessary to ensure enough manpower to develop the region economically, and to keep the population from declining. To circumvent these quotas, many young Tibetans have little choice but to become "unofficial" monks, financially supported by their own families rather than the monasteries, further fueling resentment. In addition, although Beijing provides 80 percent of the funds for the restoration of temples and monasteries destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, only 234 out of some 2700 reportedly have been reopened. [Redacted]

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**Tibetan Opposition Activity**

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[Redacted] According to a contact of the US Embassy in Beijing, the Dalai Lama's security office had sent a few monks from India to each of the major monasteries in Lhasa last fall to encourage anti-Chinese activities. We do not know whether the Dalai Lama was aware of this. His security office has acted in the past without his knowledge--in January 1987, it sent four or five Tibetans to Lhasa to try to assassinate Tibet party leader Wu Jinghua, according to a State Department contact. [Redacted]

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**A Profile of the March Violence**

Rioting broke out in Lhasa on the morning of 5 March during the closing ceremony of the Great Prayer Festival, a holiday in which Tibetan monks traditionally reaffirm their authority over the secular government. The day before, Beijing admitted that a Tibetan dissident had died in prison last fall, and agitators may have suspected it would take little to spark mob violence in the large crowd. According to Western press and State reporting, several monks began shouting slogans in support of the Dalai Lama and calling for independence. They were joined by about 2,000 pilgrims from a crowd reportedly as large as 25,000. Monks pelted police with rocks from the rooftops of the Jokhang Temple, and, according to Chinese press reports, destroyed vehicles and attacked a police station and office of the state-run Buddhist Association. Police used tear gas to disperse the crowd and stormed the temple, arresting over 200 monks. Sporadic violence continued throughout that day and into the next. Although the Chinese press acknowledges only five deaths, unconfirmed press reports suggest as many as 16 monks may have died. [redacted]

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Lhasa authorities believe a majority of the populace supported the rioters and responded in force. Chinese police set up roadblocks around the city and carried out several sweeps of Lhasa's downtown and major monasteries, arresting perhaps 100 more Tibetans. To prevent further outbreaks of violence on the 10 March anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan uprising, authorities used Army troops dressed in police uniforms as reinforcements. [redacted]

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US Consulate sources in Lhasa report that the situation after the rioting was worse than even news reports indicated: [redacted]

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[redacted] Although tensions remain high, foreigners in Lhasa report normalcy is slowly returning and some tourists have been allowed to visit temples and monasteries. Unconfirmed reports from the Western press state many monks remain in hospitals and, as they recover, are being sent to prison. [redacted]

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The Dalai Lama and Tibetan exile leaders have clearly sought to capitalize on the unrest to attract international, including US Congressional attention, to the Tibetans' plight. Tibetans staged demonstrations in Washington, India, and several European capitals after the disturbances last October and again after the unrest in early March. In addition, they have fed a mix of fact and fiction to sympathetic Western political figures and journalists to turn public opinion against the Chinese and generate pressure on Beijing to make concessions (see appendix A). [redacted]

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[redacted]

Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama and Beijing have resumed their on-again, off-again dialogue, [redacted] The Dalai Lama's elder brother, Gyalo Thondup, has made at least two trips to China since the unrest last October. According to the US Consulate in Hong Kong, another new unofficial channel may be opening through T.C. Wu, a Chinese Communist in the colony. [redacted]

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[redacted] We believe the five-point peace plan the Dalai Lama publicly floated last fall is a ploy to garner international support for the Tibetan cause and put Beijing on the defensive. It may also be in response to Tibetan exiles' perceptions that Beijing has hardened its stance since the first official negotiations in 1982. The plan seems deliberately ambiguous on the key issue of Tibetan independence (see appendix B). [redacted]

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We cannot rule out that the exiles believe they can force Beijing to grant independence. But we think it more likely that they are seeking to prod Beijing into granting real autonomy in exchange for nominal Chinese sovereignty. Neither of the two official negotiating teams sent by the Dalai Lama in 1982 and 1984 demanded independence. They sought instead expansion of the Tibet Autonomous Region to include Tibetan areas of Sichuan, Qinghai, and Yunnan Provinces, and asked for an autonomous status similar to what Beijing has offered Taiwan. [redacted]

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Tibetan exile leaders, however, may be at odds over how far to push the independence issue. Some of the Dalai Lama's advisers apparently sympathize with Tibetans who favor total independence and oppose any negotiated settlement with Beijing. According to a contact of the US Embassy in Beijing, the Dalai Lama's cabinet is increasingly dominated by "fanatics" who will settle for no less than complete independence. In addition, the Tibetan Youth Congress, an exile group based in India, has periodically called on India to recognize that its own foreign policy interests demand an independent Tibet. One TYC member told a State officer last fall that "it might become necessary" to resume an armed struggle against the Chinese. [redacted]

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### **Beijing's Quandary**

Beijing has few, if any, satisfactory options for defusing tensions over the short run. Beijing has repeatedly offered to recognize the Dalai Lama as a religious leader and to appoint him as a vice chairman of China's National People's Congress--a government position, it said, requiring residence in Beijing. Recently, the Panchen Lama suggested the Dalai Lama could live in Tibet if he would return from exile. The Dalai Lama predictably has rejected the offer, probably believing--quite rightly--he would be discredited by his followers if he accepted--just as the Panchen Lama has compromised his standing in Tibet by cooperating with the Chinese. [redacted]

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In any case, the renewed unrest in March underscores the failure of Beijing to mollify the populace by restoring temples, granting more religious freedom, and building roads, schools, hospitals, and some industries. Chinese leaders probably see no alternative to continuing these policies if for no other reason than to show the outside

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[REDACTED]

world they are making a reasonable effort to accommodate the interests of the Tibetans and other ethnic minorities. They probably also hope these policies and the economic improvements weaken the loyalty of the Tibetan population to the Dalai Lama. [REDACTED]

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In the meantime, we expect the Chinese to increase repression to deter further violence. They have already arrested several hundred monks, according to press reports, and will probably impose even tighter restrictions on the operations of Buddhist monasteries. [REDACTED]

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### **The Future: More Negotiations, More Violence**

In our view, any success at defusing tensions in Tibet in the short term lies with a negotiated agreement between the Dalai Lama and Beijing. Without the support of the Dalai Lama, Beijing's rule over Tibet will not appear legitimate to the Tibetans. Such a settlement, however, is unlikely to be soon. The Dalai Lama has refused Beijing's offer to live in Tibet and has insisted that his five-point plan must form a basis for negotiations. Meanwhile, Beijing fears the Dalai Lama's visit to Europe this spring will generate greater popular support and is preparing a propaganda campaign to counter negative publicity. [REDACTED]

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We expect Beijing to continue overtures to the Dalai Lama, again partly to show the international community that it is willing to reach an accommodation. But because the gap between their positions is so wide, the two are unlikely to reach a compromise. Beijing is not prepared to grant anything approaching real autonomy to Tibet because:

- The Chinese military, which still regards the area as strategically vital and probably fears undue Soviet or Indian influence, would firmly oppose the move.
- Chinese leaders fear such an agreement would encourage not only the Tibetans to seek full independence but other minorities located in equally sensitive strategic areas along China's border with the Soviet Union to make similar demands.
- Reform leaders, the architects of the liberal minorities policy, feel vulnerable enough on economic issues and are not about to give their critics an opening by making concessions on Tibet. [REDACTED]

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Therefore, given the upsurge of Tibetan nationalism, especially among young monks, further sporadic outbreaks of violence seem inevitable. Although the heavy police presence and increased surveillance over the monasteries have restored an uneasy calm, several Tibetans have vowed to resume protests once the tourist season picks up later this month, according to state reporting. Chinese officials, meanwhile, fear monks have shifted their tactics to sabotage and assassination. Authorities were searching for two men believed to be on suicide missions in mid-March. [REDACTED]

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### Tibetan Ethnic Group in China



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## Appendix A

### The War of Distorted Facts

Both Beijing and the Tibetan exiles have published historical accounts and statistics supporting their claims. Given the lack of independent observers in Tibet, and the remoteness of the region, the gathering of objective data is nearly impossible. The problem is further complicated because the two sides often use different boundaries for Tibet and different time frames without providing any definitions. [REDACTED]

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For example, the Tibetan exiles claim there are 6 million Tibetans worldwide. However, China's 1982 census--performed under UN auspices--shows that China had 3.82 million ethnic Tibetans. In 1986, Chinese figures claim 4 million Tibetans, which we believe is fairly accurate. Tibetan exiles are estimated to be only 100,000 worldwide, making the claim of 6 million appear grossly inflated. [REDACTED]

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Tibetan exiles also demand an end to Han Chinese migration into Tibet, and allege that 1 million Chinese now live in the province. According to State reporting, there are only about 70,000 to 80,000 Chinese civilians in Tibet, and we estimate perhaps another 60,000 troops, most stationed near the Sino-Indian border. According to officials from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing sent between 150,000 and 200,000 Han to Tibet during the 1960s and 1970s. Partly out of the realization that a large Chinese presence in Tibetan cities contributes to Sino-Tibetan tension and partly because Chinese are unwilling to endure the hardships of life in Tibet, Beijing allowed at least 80,000 of these settlers to leave by 1981, which has caused a shortage of doctors, engineers, and other professionals. [REDACTED]

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We are unable to substantiate Tibetan exiles' accusations that over 1 million Tibetans have died under Chinese rule. According to Chinese statistics, the number of ethnic Tibetans in China decreased from 2,775,622 in 1953 to 2,501,174 in 1964, but in 1960-61 there was a serious famine in most of China, and the national population fell by 1.3 million. Given the fighting and emigration relating to the Dalai Lama's flight to India in 1959, the border war of 1962, and the famine, a decrease in Tibetan population of some 275,000 seems quite possible. But the claim that 1 million Tibetans died because of "political instability, imprisonment, and widescale famine," seems improbable. [REDACTED]

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We are unable to confirm or deny the charge that Beijing has used Tibet as a dumping ground for nuclear waste. We have no information on nuclear facilities in Tibet other than planned development of small and medium-scale electric reactors to increase Tibet's power production. [REDACTED]

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In our view, exile accusations that the Chinese are destroying Tibetan culture have some truth. China has built roads, schools, hospitals, power plants, office buildings, and hotels; improved transportation, agriculture, and education; and brought in some industry. But this modernization has been superimposed upon traditional Tibet, which was pastoral, agricultural, and intensely religious. Furthermore, China's university

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system is slanted toward the Chinese; learning Chinese and adapting to Han culture is necessary for Tibetans to move up within the system. The challenge that faces Tibetans, both within and outside China, is how to preserve their unique culture and traditions in the face of an ever-changing and modernizing world. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

## Appendix B

### Negotiations Between Beijing and the Dalai Lama

Communications between Beijing and the Dalai Lama opened in 1978 after a 20-year hiatus, when China agreed to allow a delegation of Tibetan exiles in India to visit Tibet. The move followed the Dalai Lama's announcement that he would give up demands for an independent Tibet if he were convinced Tibetans were happy under Chinese rule. During 1979 and 1980 the Dalai Lama sent four "fact finding" missions to Tibet and nearby provinces. Three of the missions contained members of the Dalai Lama's family, and the fourth, representatives of Tibetan exile communities outside India.

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In May 1982 the Dalai Lama sent the first of two official negotiating teams to Beijing. They met with the Panchen Lama and the Director of the United Front Work Department, as well as with other Chinese officials concerned with minority policies. According to Embassy reporting, the Tibetans laid out three conditions for the Dalai Lama's return to China:

- The Tibetan Autonomous Region must be enlarged to include the Tibetan minority groups in Sichuan, Qinghai, and Yunnan.
- Tibetans should be offered something similar to the nine-point proposal previously made to Taiwan.
- Tibet would accept Chinese sovereignty, but the area should be demilitarized and made into a zone of peace. [REDACTED]

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The Chinese indicated they would be willing to discuss the first condition, but predictably objected to the others. The United Front director asked the Tibetans to scale down their demands, but only offered in return to give the Dalai Lama an ambiguous position commensurate with his status. Beijing later publicized the visit, rejecting the first condition and not even mentioning the third. [REDACTED]

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In October 1984 a second Tibetan negotiating team visited Beijing. The Tibetans again tabled their three demands and raised new concerns, including the alleged arrest of 1,000 Tibetans during the anticrime campaign in 1983 and the Han migration into Tibet. This time, according to State reporting, the Chinese outlined a five-point policy publicly, which the Tibetans regarded as a hardening of their position. The Chinese insisted that:

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- The Dalai Lama must have confidence in China's political stability and its minorities policies.
- The Dalai Lama should forget about the events of 1959 and be "frank and sincere" in discussing Tibet's future.
- China would welcome the Dalai Lama's return to contribute to national unification and modernization.
- If the Dalai Lama returned to China, the Communist Party would recommend that he be elected a vice-chairman of the National People's Congress, and "it is suggested that he not go and live in Tibet"<sup>1</sup>
- When the Dalai Lama returned, he would issue a statement to the press.

The Chinese also hinted that a visit to Tibet by the Dalai Lama would be inappropriate.

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Beijing refused to allow another Tibetan fact-finding mission to visit Tibet in 1985. Although unofficial contacts between the two have continued, primarily through the Dalai Lama's elder brother Gyalo Thondup, we believe the Dalai Lama probably hopes to force Beijing back to the negotiating table officially. A representative of the Dalai Lama told State officers in 1985 that the Dalai Lama refused to let the issue of his own return eclipse the more important matter of the future of Tibet, and rejected Beijing's five conditions for his return. To pressure Beijing, the Dalai Lama tabled his own five point peace plan during his visit to Washington last September. It calls for:

- Transformation of Tibet into a zone of peace.
- Abandonment of China's population transfer policy, which threatens the existence of the Tibetans as a people.
- Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.
- Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.

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<sup>1</sup> Chinese press has been tougher on this point, implicitly stating the the Dalai Lama would not return to live in Tibet, and Chinese officials recently explained to a State Department officer that the Dalai Lama's residence in Beijing is indeed implied in this point. Speaking at a 4 April press conference, however, the Panchen Lama stated that the Dalai Lama could in fact reside in Tibet.

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- Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Although the plan does not call for Tibetan independence, and the Dalai Lama has avoided such an appeal in his public statements, Chinese officials have told State officers that it is clearly implied in his demands for the withdrawal of Chinese troops and the status of Tibet as a nonnuclear area. [REDACTED]

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During his visit to Beijing last October, Gyalo Thondup received a letter from Deng Xiaoping to deliver to the Dalai Lama, according to a contact of the US Embassy in Beijing. The letter was remarkably conciliatory, and in it Deng reaffirmed a 1979 pledge that all issues were negotiable except Tibetan independence. Deng also apologized for the lack of progress in negotiations. [REDACTED]

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Thondup returned to Beijing in late December with the Dalai Lama's response, but apparently no agreement was reached. An official of the United Front Work department told a State officer that no progress had been made on any outstanding issue and that there were no future formal or informal contacts. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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### Appendix C

#### Chronology of Selected Events Relating to Tibet

##### 1950s

- 7 Oct 50                      The Chinese Army enters eastern Tibet (Kham).
- 19 Dec 50                    The Dalai Lama flees to the Indian Border.
- 23 May 51                    17-point agreement between representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese signed in Beijing. Tibetan exiles contend the agreement was not legal.
- 17 Aug 51                    The Dalai Lama returns to Lhasa.
- 9 Sep 51                     The Chinese Army peacefully enters Lhasa.
- 53                             Tibetans in Kham begin guerrilla warfare campaign against the Chinese.
- 9 Mar 55                     Establishment of Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.
- 55-56                        Khampa tribesmen rebel against Chinese forces in eastern Tibet (Kham).
- 10 Mar 59                    Mass anti-Chinese uprising breaks out in Lhasa.
- 17 Mar 59                    Dalai Lama flees after Chinese shell Norbulingha.
- 23 Mar 59                    Chinese declare martial law in Tibet.

##### 1960s-70s

- 62                             Sino-Indian border war.
- Mar 64                        Panchen Lama arrested.
- 66-76                        Cultural Revolution; temples, monasteries burned; Buddhists persecuted.
- late 79                       Dalai Lama sends first fact-finding delegation, led by an older brother, to Tibet.

**1980s**

- 22 May-1 Jun 80 CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Vice Premier Wan Li visit Lhasa; admit mistakes made during Cultural Revolution.
- Jul-Aug 80 Visit of a five-member fact-finding delegation sent by Dalai Lama cut short when large crowds gather in Lhasa; third fact-finding delegation, led by Dalai Lama's sister, visits Qinghai Province and Tibet. Another brother of the Dalai Lama visits Tibet with his family.
- Apr 82 Agricultural communes in Tibet disbanded.
- May 82 Dalai Lama sends first official negotiating team to Beijing.
- 19-31 Aug 84 Secretariat member Hu Qili and Vice Premier Tian Jiyun visit Tibet; announce new economic policies.
- Oct 84 Dalai Lama sends second negotiating team to Beijing.
- Jun-Aug 85 Delegation from the Dalai Lama refused entry to Tibet.
- Jan 86 Traditional Tibetan Great Prayer Festival revived; had been banned since the Cultural Revolution.
- 1987**
- Jun Beijing refuses Dalai Lama's brother Thublen Norbu to visit China.
- 18 Jun US House of Representatives approves amendment on human rights violations in Tibet.
- 1 Sep Chinese Embassy in Washington protests Dalai Lama's upcoming US visit.
- 19-29 Sep The Dalai Lama visits United States.
- 21 Sep Dalai Lama proposes a "Five-Point Peace Plan" on the question of the status of Tibet at the House of Representatives Human Rights Subcommittee.



- The Chinese Embassy in Washington criticizes some members of the US Congress for interfering in China's internal affairs and for permitting the Dalai Lama to preach "independence for Tibet" before the House group.
- 22 Sep. Eight US Congressmen send a letter to Premier Zhao Ziyang in support of the Dalai Lama's plan.
- 24-25 Sep Two or three Tibetans executed in Lhasa, according to press reports.
- 27 Sep 26 people, including 21 monks from the Drepung Monastery, demonstrate in Lhasa for less than an hour and are arrested by police.
- 29 Sep 200 Tibetan exiles protest in New Delhi.
- 30 Sep Two representatives of US Congress call a press conference to protest the execution and imprisonment of Tibetans in China, and release the text of the letter to Zhao.
- Late Sep-Early Oct NBC broadcasts from China; televises prior interview with Dalai Lama.
- 1 Oct Monks from the Sera and Drepung Monasteries demonstrate around the Jokhang Temple in downtown Lhasa; call for the release of the 21 arrested monks; crowd swells to more than 1,000. There are also unconfirmed press reports of demonstrations in other cities.
- Chinese Embassy in Washington delivers demarche to State Department, warning that the United States is becoming the center for Tibetan independence activities.
- 2 Oct Lhasa placed under curfew.
- 3 Oct 300 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi; several hundred protest in Bern, Switzerland.
- The Dalai Lama appeals from India to human rights groups to persuade the Chinese Government to stop executions and imprisonment of Tibetans.



- [REDACTED]
- 4 Oct                   **The Dalai Lama's brother, Gyalo Thondup, arrives in Beijing.**
- 5 Oct                   **Spokesman of China's International Liaison Department holds news briefing on China's position on Tibet, charging that the support of some foreigners for Tibetan independence is a serious interference in China's internal affairs.**
- US State Department spokesman reiterates United States Government position that Tibet is a part of China.**
- Protests reported in Xigaze.**
- The Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies based in India writes a letter to Zhao Ziyang protesting the arrests of Tibetans in Lhasa.**
- 6 Oct                   **Dalai Lama's spokesman says hundreds of Tibetans have been arrested following the 1 October riot; says rally staged on 1 Oct to disrupt celebrations marking China's 38th National Day and because of recent executions and anger at the official propaganda campaign launched against the Dalai Lama.**
- US Senate passes amendment 98-0 on human rights violations in Tibet. Chinese Embassy in Washington expresses extreme indignation over the amendment.**
- About 90 monks arrested and later released.**
- 7 Oct                   **Dalai Lama holds a press conference from his home in India. Calls for continued peaceful demonstrations, and affirms he will continue to send delegations to China for consultations.**
- In New Delhi, police remove eight Tibetans from Chinese Embassy on hunger strike.**
- 50 protest in Ottawa.**
- 8 Oct                   **China calls on India to prevent Dalai Lama from making political statements.**



- 9 Oct A Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials delivers a strongly worded demarch to the US Ambassador to China.
- 10 Oct 150 people protest outside the Chinese Embassy in Paris calling for Tibetan independence.
- 12 Oct 350 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi; want to deliver a letter to the Chinese Embassy calling for an internationally supervised plebiscite to settle Tibet's future.
- 13 Oct The Dalai Lama gives interview in India; denies protests planned but says his US trip may have played a factor in the unrest.
- 14 Oct European Parliament adopts resolution on Tibet. NPC Vice Chairman Huang Hua cancelled plans to visit the Parliament in response.  
  
Individual travel by foreigners to Tibet banned.  
  
US Congressional hearing on human rights violations in Tibet.
- 15 Oct 1,200 Tibetans protest in New Delhi.
- 28 Oct 13 Tibetan protesters--including nine of the 21 monks arrested after the 27 September demonstrations--released from jail.
- mid-Nov 80 monks arrested after demonstrating against Chinese security presence at Ganden Monastery in Lhasa.
- 16 Nov 500 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi.
- 3 Dec US House-Senate conference committee adopts nonbinding amendment on Chinese human rights violations in Tibet.
- 10 Dec Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Zhu Qichen demarches US Ambassador to China on US Congressional amendment.  
  
700 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi.





- 19 Dec Several Tibetan nuns demonstrate near Jokhang Temple in Lhasa; they call for Tibetan independence and are arrested.
- 1988**
- 11 Jan The Panchen Lama arrives on month-long inspection tour of Tibet.
- 21 Jan Beijing releases 59 Tibetans detained since last fall.
- 19 Feb Chinese press carries statement by Panchen Lama admitting Chinese police fired on demonstrators during October riots.
- 25 Feb Traditional Tibetan prayer festival begins; continues through 6 March.
- 1 Mar China's official news service acknowledges 12 political prisoners are being held in Tibet.
- 4 Mar Beijing confirms that a Tibetan dissident died in prison last fall.
- 5 Mar Rioting breaks out during religious festival when several monks begin shouting slogans in support of the Dalai Lama. As many as 2,000 people may have participated in the riot. Hundreds arrested.
- 7 Mar Dalai Lama issues press statement stating that Tibetans "cannot be deceived by cosmetic changes." 500 Tibetan exiles demonstrate in New Delhi.
- 8 Mar Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian meets with US Secretary of State. Tibet is discussed.
- 9 Mar The Panchen Lama and Tibetan government leader Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme denounce March unrest and call for punishment of rioters.
- 10 Mar Tibetan National Day--anniversary of 1959 Tibetan uprising; 500 Tibetan exiles demonstrate in New Delhi.
- 20 Mar Date set by Chinese authorities by which all participants in 5 March riot must surrender.



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The Panchen Lama confirms that four people died in the 5 March rioting, and later increases the toll to five. Previously, Beijing acknowledged only one death.

4 Apr

The Panchen Lama says the Dalai Lama would be allowed to reside in Tibet; the Dalai Lama calls on Beijing to consider his five-point peace proposal.

The Dalai Lama arrives in London for a 10-day stay.



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**Subject: China: Tension in Tibet Continue**

**Distribution:**

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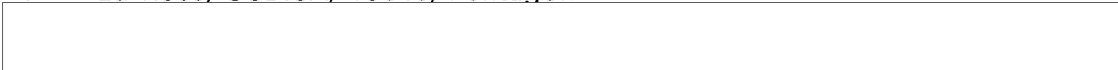
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- 1 - Dr. Karl Jackson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia, ISA, Room 4E817, Pentagon
- 1 - John J. Sloan, Defense Intelligence Officer, East Asia and Pacific, Pentagon, Room 2C238
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- 1 - Lieutenant Colonel Eden M. Woon, Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, China Plans and Policy, FESA J-5, Room 2E973, Pentagon



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- 1 - Major Ron Tom, China Staff Officer, Hq Dept. of the Army, DAMO-SSA, Room 3B516, Pentagon
- 1 - Major A. G. Yang, Office of the Army, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, DAMI-FII, Room 2A474, Pentagon



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- 1 - NIO/Econ, Room 7E47
- 1 - C/PES, Room 7F24
- 1 - DCI/COMPT, Room 7C28, [Redacted]
- 1 - CPAS/ISS, Room 7G50
- 1 - CPAS/ILS, Room 7G50
- 6 - CPAS/IMC/CB, Room 7G07
- 1 - CH/EA/CORR, Room 5D38
- 1 - [Redacted] Room 5D54 [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted] Room 5E18 [Redacted]
- 1 - [Redacted] Room 3D01
- 1 - D/OLL, Room 7B24
- 1 - D/LDA, Room 1H18
- 1 - C/LDA/CH, Room 1H18
- 1 - NESA/SO/S, Room 6G17
- 1 - [Redacted] [Redacted]
- 1 - OGI/FSIC/CMP, Room 3GT3
- 1 - Office of Congressional Affairs, Room 7B02
- 1 - FIURA/EE/NE, Room 6G31 [Redacted]

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- 2 - C/OEA/CH, Room 4G32
- 1 - C/OEA/NEA, Room 4G43
- 1 - C/OEA/SEA, Room 4F42
- 1 - C/OEA/CH [Redacted] Room 4G32
- 1 - C/OEA/CH [Redacted] Room 4G32
- 1 - C/OEA/CH [Redacted] Room 4G32
- 4 - C/OEA/CH [Redacted] Room 4G32

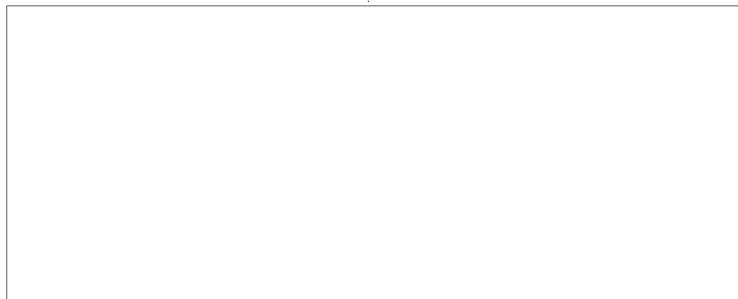
25X1

[Redacted]

25X1



25X1



25X1



25X1