

SECRET

RELEASED IN PART B6

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG
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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING

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E.O. RDS2&4 6/26/99 (BELLOCCHI, NATALE H.) OR-M
TAGS: PEPR, SREF, CH, UR, MG, IN
SUBJECT: CONTACT BETWEEN TIBETAN REFUGEES AND PRC

REF: (A) HONG KONG 5195, (B) HONG KONG 8577, (C) NEW DELHI
8946

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. AN ELDER BROTHER OF THE DALAI LAMA, GALO
THUNDOP, FLEW TO HONG KONG IN MID-MAY TO TELL PRC OFFICIALS
HERE THAT BEIJING SHOULD NOT OVERREACT IN CONDEMNING THE
DALAI LAMA'S TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION AND MONGOLIA. THUNDOP,
WHO HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN DEVELOPING CONTACT
BETWEEN THE TIBETAN REFUGEE COMMUNITY AND THE PRC LEADER-
SHIP, STRESSED THAT THE SOVIET TRIP SHOULD NOT MARK THE
END OF THE ECILES' DIALOGUE WITH BEIJING. AS TANGIBLE
EVIDENCE OF FUTURE PROSPECTS, THUNDOP TOLD THE PRC
OFFICIALS THE DALAI LAMA HAD APPROVED A TRIP TO
BEIJING IN JULY BY FIVE TIBETANS, LED BY ANOTHER BROTHER
OF HIS HOLINESS. BEIJING STILL HAS NOT APPROVED THIS

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PROPOSED TRIP, WHICH WOULD BE AFOLLOW-UP TO GALO THUNDOP'S
OWN VISIT TO BEIJING IN MARCH. THE DELAY COULD BE A
SIGN THAT THE CHINESE ARE NOT PREPARED TO FORGIVE AND
FORGET SO QUICKLY THE DALAI'S VISIT TO THE LAND OF THEIR
ARCHRIVALS. POLITUBRO MEMBER ULANHU TOLD [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THAT THE DALAI'S ULANDU TOLD [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] THAT THE DALAI'S SOVIET TRIP COULD DESTROY
ALL PROGRESS UP TO NOW IN IMPORVING RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE REFUGEES AND THE PRC. END SUMMARY.

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APPEALS PANEL ACTION: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RELEASED
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TIBET WHO PROVIDED US WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE UNPUBLICIZED TRIP TO BEIJING OF A BROTHER OF THE TIBETAN SPIRITUAL LEADER (REF A), THE DALAI LAMA, HAS RELATED TO US FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTACTS BETWEEN PRC OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TIBETAN REFUGEES IN INDIA. THE

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WHOM THE TIBETAN EXILE LEADERS HAVE MADE PRIVY TO THEIR DEALINGS WITH BEIJING. EXILE LEADERS WHO FAVOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH BEIJING ARE ATTEMPTING TO KEEP THEIR ACTIVITIES UNKNOWN TO RIVALS WHO OPPOSE CONTACT WITH THE CHINESE.

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4. GALO THUNDOP, WHO REPRESENTED HIS YOUNGER BROTHER, THE DALAI LAMA, IN TALKS WITH DENG XIAOPI G IN MARCH, I TOLD OUR SOURCE THAT HE RETURNED TO HONG KONG ABOUT MAY 21 TO ATTEMPT TO REASSURE PRC OFFICIALS HERE FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE DALAI LAMA PLANNED TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION AND MONGOLIA IN JUNE (REF B). THUNDOP TOLD HONG KONG NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY (NCNA) FIRST DIRECTOR WANG KWANG AND SECOND DIRECTOR LI ZHUSHENG (WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED THUNDOP DURING HIS

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TRIP TO BEIJING), THAT THE CHINESE SHOULD NOT OVERREACT TO HIS HOLINESS' PLANNED TRIP TO THE LAND OF THEIR ARCHRIVALS. HE STRESSED THAT A VIOLENT PRC REACTION WAS EXACTLY WHAT WAS DESIRED BY THE SOVIETS AND BY ANTI-PRC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE DALAI LAMA'S ENTOURAGE WHO HAD PERSUADED THE BUDDHIST LEADER TO MAKE THE SOVIET TRIP. THE NCNA OFFICIALS TOLD THUNDOP HE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE HIS BROTHER TO CANCEL THE TRIP, BUT THUNDOP REPLIED THAT AT THE MOMENT HIS INFLUENCE WAS LIMITED BECAUSE OF ANGER ABOUT IS OWN TRIP TO BEIJING ON THE PART OF RIVALS AT THE TIBETAN EXILE HEADQUARTERS IN DARAMSALA.

5. THUNDOP TOLD LI ZHUSHENG THAT HE HAD SOME GOOD NEWS FOR HIM -- THE DALAI LAMA HAD APPROVED A FOLLOW-UP TRIP TO BEIJING IN JULY BY FIVE TIBETANS. THIS FUTURE TRIP, LIKE THUNDOP'S IN MARCH, WOULD BE UNPUBLICIZED AND THE VISITORS WOULD ONLY GO TO BEIJING. THEY HOPED TO MEET AS MANY PRC LEADERS AS POSSIBLE BUT WOULD NOT BE EMPOWERED TO NEGOTIATE.

6. THUNDOP RETURNED TO INDIA IN LATE MAY BUT FLEW BACK TO HONG KONG ALMOST IMMEDIATELY IN RESPONSE TO ANOTHER EFFORT TO ENLIST HIS SUPPORT IN CANCELLING THE DALAI LAMA'S VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION. PRINCE PETER OF DENMARK AND GREECE, A NOTED TIBETOLOGIST WHO VISITED CHINA IN MARIH WAS ASKED BY POLITBURO MEMBER ULANDHUWN DIRECTOR OF THE CCP'S UNITED FRONG WORK DEPARTME T, TO INTERCEDE

WITH THE DALAI LAMA AND HIS FOLLOWERS TO DISSUADE THE DALAI FROM MAKING THE TRIP. ULANHU EMPHASIZED THAT BY DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS THE TIBETANS COULD DESTROY ALL PROGRESS WHICH HAD BEEN MADE IN IMPROVING THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. PRINCE PETER, RELUCTANT TO BECOME PERSONALLY INVOLVED, CABLED THUNDOP FROM HONG KONG TO REQUEST HIM TO COME HERE ON URGENT BUSINESS. ON THUNDOP'S RETURN TO HONG KONG IN EARLY JUNE HE SENT A CODED MESSAGE TO HIS BROTHER AND RECEIVED A REPLY STATING THAT IT WAS TOO

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LATE TO CHANGE PLANS.

7. DURING HIS JUNE VISIT HERE THUNDOP ALSO MET AGAIN WITH LI ZHUSHENG TO PRESENT HIM THE LIST OF TIBETANS WHO WOULD GO TO BEIJING IN JULY, HEADED BY ANOTHER BROTHER OF THE DALAI LAMA, LOZSANG SAMTEN. THE NCNA OFFICIALS PASSED THIS LIST TO BEIJING ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO AND GALO THUNDOP AND LOBSANG SAMTEN ARE NOW IN HONG KONG WAITING FOR A REPLY. THEY SPECULATE THAT THE DELAY IN RECEIVING PRC APPROVAL COULD BE DUE TO BEIJING'S ANNOYANCE AT THEIR BROTHER'S TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION OR SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE CHINESE LEADERS' PREOCCUPATION WITH THE ONGOING NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC), NOW ATTENDED BY THEIR PRINCIPAL CONTACT, LI ZHUSHENG.

8. HONG KONG NCNA HAS PASSED TO GALO THUNDOP ONE MESSAGE FROM BEIJING, AN ASSURANCE BY ULANDU THAT THE EIGHTEEN YOUNG EXILES WHOSE PLANNED TRIP TO TIBET HAS BEEN HELD UP BY INSISTENCE BY THE PRC EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI THAT THEIR VISAS MUST DECLARE THEY ARE "OVERSEAS CHINESE" (REF C) NOW CAN REAPPLY WITHOUT FEAR THAT THE SAME OBSTACLE WILL ARISE AGAIN. THUNDOP TOLD OUR SOURCE ULANDHU'S MESSAGE CORROBORATED HIS OWN IMPRESSION THAT THE CONDITIONS SET BY THE CHINESE IN NEW DELHI HAD NOT BEEN COORDINATED WITH BEIJING. HE RELAYED ULANHU'S MESSAGE BACK TO DARAMSALA BUT PRIVATELY EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE GROUP HAD BEEN SO INCENSED BY THE PRC CONDITIONS THAT THEY WOULD DELAY FOR SOME TIME BEFORE REAPPLYING AGAIN.
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