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RELEASED IN FULL

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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 INR-10 DODE-00 H-01 IO-15 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-08

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FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7472

INFO AMEMBASSY DHAKA

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AIT TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU POUCH

AMCONSUL SHANGHAI POUCH

AMCONSUL SHENYANG POUCH

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 17388

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: TIBET: RELAXATION AND LIBERALIZATION

1. (C) - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: EMBASSY OFFICERS WHO VISITED TIBET FROM SEPTEMBER 3 TO 11 WERE CONTINUALLY REMINDED OF THE DIVISIONS THERE BETWEEN A TRADITIONAL TIBETAN SOCIETY AND A MODERNIZING HAN CHINESE ELITE. THE HAN, AFTER YEARS OF ATTEMPTS TO STAMP OUT TIBETAN BUDDHISM AND SINICIZE THE REGION, ADOPTED MORE TOLERANT POLICIES AFTER HU YAOBANG'S VISIT IN 1980. THIS YEAR, THOSE CONFIDENTIAL

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POLICIES HAVE BEEN AMPLIFIED AMD CODIFIED IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE DOCUMENT NUMBER 6, WHICH IS WIDELY CITED IN LHASA AS THE UMDERPINNING OF CURRENT RELATIVELY LIBERAL POLICIES. THE DOCUMENT, REINFORCED BY LAST MONTH'S INSPECTION TRIP BY PARTY SECRETARIAT MEMBER HU QILI AND VICE PREMIER TIAN JIYUN, CALLS FOR RESPECT FOR AND DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN CULTURE, PROTECTION OF FREEDOM

OF RELIGION, AND ASSISTANCE TO THE POPULACE TO ALLOW THEM TO "GET RICH." THE NEW POLICIES IN PRACTICE HAVE MEANT REQUIREMENTS THAT THE 100,000 HAN CADRES IN TIBET RESPECT THE CULTURE AND LEARN THE LANGUAGE OF TIBET (A PROVISION WIDELY IGNORED), THE GOVERNMENT-FUNDED REHABILITATION AND REOPENING OF SOME 75 TEMPLES AND MONASTERIES SO FAR (OUT OF AN ESTIMATED 2,700 THAT ONCE EXISTED), AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LIBERALIZED ECONOMIC POLICIES THAT PERMIT ACCUMULATION OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH. AT THE SAME TIME, SO-CALLED "PATRIOTIC PERSONAGES", THAT IS, RECONCILED MEMBERS OF THE TRADITIONAL THEOCRACY HAVE BEEN REHABILITATED AND ARE BEING GIVEN PRESTIGIOUS POSITIONS, OFTEN LACKING REAL INFLUENCE.

- 3. SOME TIBETANS, HOWEVER, ARE TAKING POSITIONS OF POWER WITHIN TIBET. OF THOSE, SOME ARE TIBETANS WHO GREW UP AND WERE EDUCATED IN THE NEIGHBORING PROVINCES OF SICHUAN, GANSU. QINGHAI, AND YUNNAN AND THUS ARE BICULTURAL. IN ADDITION TO THIS GROUP, THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS RAPIDLY TRAINING YOUNG TIBETANS AT UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTES THROUGHOUT CHINA FOR EVENTUAL TECHNICAL AND LEADERSHIP ROLES BACK HOME.
- 4. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THIS GROJING SINIFIED ELITE, THE GREAT MASS OF TIBETANS MAINTAIN THEIR TRADITIONAL CULTURE, PRACTICE THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS, FOLLOW CONFIDENTIAL

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ANOTHER CRIME CRACKDOWN MAY BE IN THE OFFING. HE EXPECTS UNCLASSIFIED THAT ARRESTS WILL BE ON CRIMINAL, NOT POLITICAL, CHARGES.

- 6. SEPTELS FOLLOW ON ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENTS IN TIBET. END SUMMARY.
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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 BEIJING 17388

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AIT TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY BERN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 BEIJING 17388

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: TIBET: RELAXATION AND LIBERALIZATION

EXACERBATE LONG-STANDING TENSIONS. BUT, IN LHASA, AT LEAST, 25 YEARS AFTER THE ABORTIVE TIBETAN REVOLT AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE DALAI LAMA, CHINESE CONTROL APPEARS TO BE ACCEPTED AS A FACT OF LIFE. WHILE LHASA IS TWO VERY DIFFERENT TOWNS -- ONE TIBETAN AND TRADITIONAL, THE OTHER HAN AND INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM OTHER DUSTY, CONCRETE CHINESE CITIES -- TIBETANS WANDER FREELY THROUGH OUT, AND PLA SOLDIERS ARE FREQUENT VISITORS TO THE OLD TOWN, WHERE THEY OGLE THE CROWDS OF WORSHIPPERS PROSTRACONFIDENTIAL

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TING THEMSELVES IN FRONT OF THE JOKHANG TEMPLE.

8. THE CHINESE ARE WELL AWARE OF THEIR STATUS AS OUTSIDERS IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY. IN RECENT YEARS. THE POLICIES OF THE DISASTROUS 1960'S AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WHICH AIMED AT THE VIRTUAL DESTRUCTION OF TIBETAN CULTURE AND RELIGION, HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY MORE ENLIGHTENED REGULATIONS DESIGNED TO FOSTER AND ENCOURAGE THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENSURING THAT POLITICAL CONTROL REMAINS FULLY IN THE HANDS OF THE HANS. WHILE THE OFFICIAL DATE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM THROUGHOUT THE REST OF CHINA IS THE FAMOUS "THIRD PLENUM" OF 1978, IN TIBET. PROGRESS IS MARKED FROM THE 1980 TIBETAN INSPECTION TOUR OF PARTY SECRETARY HU YAOBANG AND VICE PREMIER WAN LI. THE MORE LIBERAL POLICIES LAID DOWN THEN HAVE BEEN AMPLIFIED AND REINVIGORATED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARIAT'S "FORUM ON WORK IN TIBET" OF FEBRUARY 1984. THE DIRECTIVES COMING OUT OF THAT MEETING WERE SUMMARIZED IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE DOCUMENT NUMBER 6, THE UNOFFICIAL CHARTER UNDER WHICH TIBET IS NOW GOVERNED. ALTHOUGH THE DOCUMENT HAS NOT BEEN PUBLISHED, EMBOFFS IN TIBET IN EARLY SEPTEMBER HEARD ENOUGH OF ITS CONTENT TO GIVE AN IDEA OF ITS EMPHASES. ONE WATCHWORD IS THE "REAPPRAISAL" OF TIBET IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESULTS

OF THE PARTY SECRETARIAT FORUM. CADRES SHOULD RESPECT AND ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONALITIES IN TIBET AND THEIR CULTURE. EVERY HAN CADRE UNDER THE AGE OF 50 SHOULD BE ENGAGED IN THE STUDY OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE. (NOTE: IN EIGHT DAYS IN LHASA, EMBOFFS FOUND NO WORKING LEVEL HAN OFFICIALS FLUENT IN TIBETAN, EVEN THOSE WHO HAD BEEN THERE 25-PLUS YEARS.) FREEDOM OF RELIGION SHOULD BE PROTECTED AND "CARRIED FORWARD" CONFIDENTIAL

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IN TIBET. EMPHASIS IN TIBET, AS IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY, SHOULD BE ON ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION. "FLEXIBLE" POLICIES SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF TIBET TO GET RICH. EMPHASIS SHOULD ALSO BE PUT ON UNITED FRONT WORK, ALLOWING "PATRIOTIC PERSONAGES" (I.E., INFLUENTIAL NON-PARTY TIBETANS, MEMBERS OF THE DALAT LAMA'S FORMER GOVERNMENT, ETC.) TO TAKE POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT (AS OPPOSED TO POWERLESS POSITIONS THEY OFTEN HOLD). PARTY RECTIFICATION IN THE TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION SHOULD BE MORE LENIENT THAN IN THE REST OF CHINA. PARTY MEMBERS OF ZANG (TIGETAN) NATIONALITY WHO HAVE COMMITTED MISTAKES (AS MEMBERS OF THE "THREE KINDS OF PEOPLE" - THE WORST OFFENDERS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION) ARE NOT TO BE REMOVED FROM THE PARTY AS IS BEING DONE ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY, BUT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO ADMIT THEIR MISTAKES AND REMAIN. BECAUSE ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION IS PARAMOUNT, RECTIFICATION SHOULD BE COMPLETED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, ACCORDING TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE TIBETAN BRANCH OF THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES.

9. THIS MANDATED RESPECT FOR TIBET AND TIBETANS, AND OFFICIAL CONCERN FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT IS FAR FROM A DISINTERESTED POLICY. ALTHOUGH POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONTROL OF TIBET SEEMS SECURE AT LEAST FROM LHASA, THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES STILL REGARD THE REGION AS A SENSITIVE BORDER AREA, WHOSE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS IS A BLIGHT ON THEIR POLICY OF FOUR MODERNIZATIONS AND A SEVERE DRAIN ON THE STATE TREASURY. THUS THE NEW TIBETAN POLICIES SERVE SEVERAL PURPOSES. ONE IS TO ATTRACT THE SYMPATHY, RATHER THAN GRIM ACQUIESCENCE, OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE FOR RULE FROM BEIJING. ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION

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P 180330Z SEP 84

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 BEIJING 17388

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

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(SUBJECT OF SEPTEL) HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANT FOR A WIDE RANGE OF TIBETANS, WHOM A NEPALI RESIDENT RECALLS WERE "IN RAGS" FIVE YEARS AGO IN LHASA. RELIGIOUS REFORM HAS RESULTED IN THE REOPENING FOR WORSHIP OF 75 MONASTERIES (AND THE ONGOING REPAIR OF 125 MORE), WHERE THERE WERE AN ESTIMATED 2700 BEFORE, BY THE COUNT OF A BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OFFICIAL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS FUNDED THOSE REPAIRS, AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW BUDDHIST INSTITUTE, WHICH IS NOW TRAINING ONE HUNDRED CONFIDENTIAL

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MONKS. THE CONCENTRATION ON UNITED FRONT UORK HAS MEANT THE REHABILITATION OF MANY MEMBERS OF FORMER TIBETAN ARISTOCRATIC FAMILIES, WHOSE PROPERTY IS BEING RESTORED AND WHO ARE BEING GIVEN MOSTLY-POWERLESS POSITIONS IN THE TIBET GOVERNMENT. FOR INSTANCE, LHALU TSEWANG DORJE, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE DALAI LAMA'S CABINET AND GOVERNOR OF CHAMDO PROVINCE, SPENT 20 YEARS IN JAIL BUT HAS NOW BEEN MADE A VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE TIBET PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE. A REBEL WHO FLED WITH THE DALAI LAMA, A LEQUUNZE, HAS RECENTLY RETURNED FROM ABROAD

AND HAS BEEN NAMED A MEMBER OF THE CPPCC. MANY TIBETAN REFUGEES ARE REPORTEDLY RETURNING FROM INDIA, NEPAL, THE U.S., AND AUSTRALIA, EITHER TO VISIT RELATIVES OR TO SETTLE DOWN. SINCE 1979, TWO THOUSAND HAVE COME BACK TO VISIT AND 350 HAVE STAYED, ACCORDING TO THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S UNITED FRONT WORK DEPARTMENT IN LHASA, CHARGED WITH RECEIVING AND ASSISTING THEM.

10. ANOTHER ASPECT OF CHINESE POLICY IN TIBET IS THE INCREASING USE OF TIBETANS TO STAFF GOVERNMENT AND PARTY POSTS. UNLIKE THE NEWLY-RECRUITED "PATRIOTIC PERSONAGES, THERE ARE TIBETAN CADRES WITH SIGNIFICANT POWER. HOWEVER THEY DO NOT COME FROM THE TRADITIONAL POWER STRUCTURE OF TIBET. RATHER, MOST OF THEM HAVE COME FROM TIBETAN NATIONALITY AREAS IN NEIGHBORING PROVINCES, WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN RULED BY HANS. THUS, THEY HAVE GROWN UP UNDER CHINESE AUTHORITY AND ARE BOTH BI-LINGUAL AND BI-CULTURAL THESE SINIFIED TIBETANS PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN TIBET TODAY. THE CHAIRMAN, OR HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION, DUOJIE CAIDAN, IS A QINGHAI TIBETAN, WITH NO TIES TO THE TRADITIONAL POWER STRUCTURE OF TIBET OR A SIGNIFICANT POPULAR FOLLOWING. IN THE PARTY, CONFIDENTIAL

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ALTHOUGH FIRST SECRETARY YIN FATANG IS HAN, FOUR OF THE OTHER SECRETARIES ARE TIBETAN AND SEVERAL OF THESE ARE SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL PLAYERS. YANGLING DUOJIE, FOR INSTANCE, HAILS FROM SICHUAN, WHERE HE WORKED FOR ZHAO ZIYANG. HE IS AN ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND ACCORDING TO THE NEPALI CONSUL GENERAL IN LHASA, HE HAS HAD SOME SERIOUS DISAGREEMENTS WITH FIRST SECRETARY YIN FATANG THAT HAD TO BE RESOLVED IN BEIJING. THUS, WHEN BEIJING BOASTS OF STAFFING ITS GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE WITH TIBETANS, THE REFERENCE IS USUALLY TO TIBETANS BROUGHT IN FROM SICHUAN, QINGHAI, GANSU, AND YUNNAN TO BRIDGE THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL GAP BETWEEN THE HANS AND TIBETANS.

11. IN ADDITION TO THESE "OUTSIDER" TIBETANS, CHINA IS RAPIDLY TRAINING WHAT IT CALLS "NATIONALITY INTELLECT-UALS," WHO ARE BEGINNING TO PLAY A ROLE IN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION. THESE ARE TIBETANS WHO ARE EDUCATED IN LHASA IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE AND ARE THEN SENT TO THE CENTRAL NATIONALITIES INSTITUTE IN BEIJING AND OTHER INSTITUTES AND UNIVERSITIES THROUGHOUT CHINA FOR FURTHER EDUCATION. UPON THEIR GRADUATION, THEY ARE ASSIGNED TO TIBET IN GOVERNMENTAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE

POSTS. SOME 2000 TIBETANS ARE ENROLLED THIS YEAR IN UNIVERSITY AND SECONDARY TECHNICAL SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT CHINA (INCLUDING TIBET) ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL OFFICIAL IN LHASA. WITH THE OPENING NEXT YEAR OF TIBET UNIVERSITY THE NUMBER SHOULD BE INCREASED. THIS CLASS OF EDUCATED AND PRESUMABLY PRO-HAN YOUTH IS EXPECTED TO BE THE ADMINISTRATIVE ELITE OF THE FUTURE IN TIBET, PERHAPS ALLOWING A GRADUAL DECREASE IN THE 100,000 HAN CHINESE

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(APART FROM SOLDIERS) CURRENTLY ASSIGNED TO TIBET FOR PERIODS RANGING FROM TWO YEARS TO LIFE.

12. THIS SINIFIED ELITE IS ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF TIBET'S 1.9 MILLION POPULATION. THE GREAT MAJORITY WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD THEIR TRADITIONAL LIFE, SPEAKING ONLY TIBETAN, AND MAINTAINING THEIR OWN CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. PRESENT CHINESE POLICY IS TO ALLOW THESE PEOPLE TO DO JUST THAT. WITH TRADITION, OF COURSE, COME THE

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TRADITIONAL LEADERS, THE DALAI AND PANCHEN LAMAS, STILL WIDELY REVERED THROUGHOUT TIBET. PHOTOGRAPHS OF BOTH OF THEM ARE SOLD FREELY IN LHASA. THE PANCHEN LAMA, A PLIANT PATRIOTIC PERSONAGE LIVING IN BEIJING, RETURNED HOME BRIEFLY IN 1982 TO SCENES OF RIOTOUS ENTHUSIASM AND REVERENCE. SIGNIFICANTLY, HE MADE PUBLIC PILGRIMAGES TO THE DALAI LAMA'S PALACES AND CALLED FOR HIS RETURN. ALTHOUGH TIBET PARTY SECRETARY YIN FATANG HAS PUBLICLY CALLED THE DALAI LAMA A TRAITOR, IN THE SAME BREATH HE WELCOMES HIM BACK "IF HE IS WILLING TO ADMIT HIS MISTAKES." RECENT REMARKS BY HU YAOBANG (BEIJING 16653) INDICATE THAT CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE THE SAME ROLE IN MIND FOR THE DALAI LAMA AS THE PANCHEN PLAYS -- A PRESTIGIOUS TITLE AND A HOME IN BEIJING. CHINA WOULD TRULY WELCOME THE DALAI LAMA'S RETURN, AS A FINAL LEGITIMIZATION OF ITS CONTROL OF TIBET; OFFICIALS DESCRIBE THE ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS LIBERALIZATION POLICIES AS IN PART AN ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE DALAI LAMA TO COME HOME AND SEE FOR HIMSELF WHAT THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAVE DONE FOR TIBET. BUT, EVEN THOUGH A SENIOR DELEGATION FROM THE DALAI LAMA'S ENTOURAGE IS SCHEDULED TO BE RECEIVED HERE IN BEIJING, LHASA OFFICIALS ARE PRIVATELY PESSIMISTIC THAT HE WILL MAKE HIS TRIP HOME IN 1985. THEY ARE ALSO CAREFUL TO EXPRESS STUDIED UNCONCERN ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCH A VISIT. A PARTY OFFICIAL SAID FLATLY THAT THE DALAI LAMA, ALTHOUGH A SIGNIFICANT RELIGIOUS LEADER, IS BASICALLY NOT NECESSARY TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF TIBET.

13. ANOTHER CONCERN OF THE AUTHORITIES IS LOCAL CRIME AND THE IMPACT ON TIBET'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF CRIMINAL ROUNDUPS. THE FLURRY RESULTING FROM LAST FALL'S EXECUTIONS OF WHAT THE CHINESE AND OTHERS INSISTED WERE COMMON CONFIDENTIAL

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CRIMINALS (83 BEIJING 16579) HAS SENSITIZED TIBETAN AUTHORITIES TO THE INTERNATIONAL SIDE-EFFECTS OF THEIR ACTIONS. BUT ACCORDING TO THE NEPALESE CONSUL GENERAL IN LHASA, CRIME IS ONCE AGAIN ON THE INCREASE, PARTICULARLY AS PILGRIMS FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE AND OTHER PROVINCES FLOCK INTO THE CITY. ACCORDING TO BAZAAR RUMORS PICKED UP BY THE TIBETAN-SPEAKING CONSUL GENERAL, ANOTHER ROUND-UP MAY BE IN THE WORKS. EXECUTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN DROPPED AS A CRIMINAL PENALTY; THERE-WAS A DEATH PENALTY CARRIED

OUT ON A CONVICTED MURDERER IN LHASA ABOUT TWO MONTHS AGO. UNCLASSIFIED THE CONSUL GENERAL BELIEVES THAT IF THERE ARE FURTHER EXECUTIONS, THEY WILL BE ON CRIMINAL, NOT POLITICAL GROUNDS. TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ETHNIC FACTORS, THE TIBETAN GOVERNMENT HAS JUST PASSED NEW CRITINAL REGULA-TIONS REQUIRING THE USE OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE IN INVESTIGATIONS AND TRIALS AND REQUIRING AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF A DEFENDANT'S OWN NATIONALITY TO BE INVOLVED IN JUDGING HIM.

14. A FURTHER GOAL OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS TO INTEGRATE TIBET MORE FULLY WITH CHINA, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME OPENING UP THE REGION TO TRADE AND OTHER RELATION-SHIPS WITH NEPAL AND SOME OTHER NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. ROAD CONSTRUCTION, TOURISM DEVELOPMENT, AND THE EXCHANGE OF TRADE AND CULTURAL DELEGATIONS WITH NEPAL ARE STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION. BORDER TRADE IS BEING ENCOURAGED. THE NEPALESE CONSULATE GENERAL ISSUED 800 VISAS LAST YEAR TO TIBETANS TO TRAVEL TO NEPAL. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION, DUOJIE CAIDAN, HAS CALLED FOR OVERSEAS TIBETANS, CHINESE, AND FOREIGNERS TO SET UP BUSINESSES AND FARMS IN TIBET. INDIA, HOWEVER, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN CONSPICUOUSLY LEFT OUT OF TIBET'S REGIONAL OUTREACH SO

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FAR, PENDING BETTER SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS.

15. CONCLUSION. TIBET IS READY FOR SOCIAL STABILITY AFTER TUMULTUOUS YEARS OF THE 60'S AND 70'S. MANY LIVES WERE LOST AND MUCH OF TIBET'S CULTURAL HERITAGE WAS DESTROYED. RESENTMENT - AND PROBABLY HATRED - OF THE HANS IS STRONG. (A LAMA WHO HAD SPENT 22 YEARS IN PRISON TOLD OUR HAN GUIDE "YOU KILLED MANY OF US.") BY ACTIVELY REVERSING THEIR DISASTROUS POLICIES, ENCOURAGING TIBETAN LANGUAGE, CONFIDENTIAL

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CULTURE, AND RELIGION, AND PROMOTING MORE RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH, THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES HOPE TO MAKE THEIR RULE MORE PALATABLE. THE TIBETANS APPARENTLY WELCOMED THE NEW POLICIES; THEIR DOUBTS CONCERN WHETHER OR NOT THE POLICIES WILL LAST AND WILL BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED. THEY ARE RECONCILED TO THE FACT THAT THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE NOW LIES WITH BEIJING, BUT THE LAST DECADES HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY WILL NOT EASILY GIVE UP THEIR TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE, THEIR UNIQUE RELIGION, AND THEIR REVERENCE FOR THEIR RELIGIOUS LEADERS, UP TO AND INCLUDING THE DALAI LAMA.

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