



United States Department of State

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SENATE COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN RELATIONS

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the Secretary, I am transmitting to you the enclosed report regarding "Tibet Negotiations," as required by Section 613 (b) of the Tibet Policy Act of 2002 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act Fiscal Year 2003 (P.L. 107-228).

We hope this information is helpful to you and to other Members of Congress. Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Thomas B. Gibbons
Acting Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

Enclosure:

As stated.

The Honorable
Robert Menendez, Chairman,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.

Report on Tibet Negotiations
P.L. 107-228 Section 613(b), of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of
Fiscal Year 2003

I. Executive Summary

The Dalai Lama's representatives and Chinese officials from the United Front Work Department have not met directly since the ninth round of dialogue in January 2010. The United States continues to encourage both sides to engage in a substantive discussion that will work to achieve concrete results.

The U.S. government believes the Dalai Lama or his representatives can be constructive partners for China as it deals with the challenge of overcoming continuing tensions in Tibetan areas. The Dalai Lama's views are widely reflected within Tibetan society and command the respect of the vast majority of Tibetans. His consistent advocacy of non-violence is an important factor in reaching an eventual lasting solution. Chinese government engagement with the Dalai Lama or his representatives to resolve problems facing Tibetans is in the interests of the Chinese government and the Tibetan people. Failure to address these problems will lead to greater tensions inside China and will be an impediment to China's social and economic development.

II. Tibet Policy

Promoting substantive dialogue between Beijing and the Dalai Lama or his representatives is an important U.S. foreign policy objective. We continue to encourage representatives of both the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama to hold direct and substantive discussions, without preconditions, aimed at resolving differences. Such a dialogue provides the best hope for alleviating tensions in Tibetan areas and would contribute to the overall stability of China. We are very concerned there has been no dialogue since early 2010 and talks prior to that time have not borne concrete results. Effective June 1, 2012, the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, and Envoy, Kelsang Gyaltsen, resigned their positions, noting the deteriorating situation in Tibetan areas and expressing deep frustration over the lack of positive response from the Chinese side in their nearly 10-year dialogue. The United States believes that a resumption of dialogue and steps to redress Tibetan grievances are critical to reducing the continuing high tensions between Tibetans and Chinese authorities.

During the reporting period, the Chinese government's respect for, and

protection of, human rights in Tibetan areas deteriorated markedly. More than 80 Tibetans self-immolated during the reporting period. Chinese authorities responded to these tragic incidents with measures that tightened already strict controls on freedoms of religion, expression, assembly and association of Tibetans, and targeted the family, friends and associates of those who self-immolated. Official rhetoric denigrating the Tibetan language, the Dalai Lama, and those who self-immolated further increased tensions. We consistently urge China to address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions; to respect the distinct religious, linguistic, and cultural identity of the Tibetan people; to permit Tibetans to express their grievances freely, publicly, peacefully, and without fear of retribution; to allow journalists, diplomats and other observers unrestricted access to China's Tibetan areas; to hold direct and substantive discussions with the Dalai or his representatives, without preconditions; and to fully respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Chinese citizens. We also have urged Tibetans not to self-immolate.

The United States recognizes the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties in other provinces as part of the People's Republic of China. The Dalai Lama repeatedly has disclaimed any intention to seek sovereignty or independence for Tibet and said he seeks for China to preserve Tibetan culture and religion, and its fragile environment through genuine autonomy. The U.S. government does not recognize Tibet as an independent state and so does not conduct official diplomatic relations with the Central Tibetan Administration, an organization based in Dharamsala, India.

The Department of State maintains contact with a wide range of religious, cultural, political and other Tibet-related groups and individuals, including Tibetans in the United States, China, and around the world. U.S. officials have met with the Dalai Lama in his capacity as an internationally revered religious and cultural leader and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate.

III. Steps Taken by the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary of State

The President continues to call for substantive dialogue between the Dalai Lama's representatives and the Chinese government to resolve long-standing issues. Senior U.S. officials continue to reiterate strong U.S. support for the preservation of the distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic traditions of Tibet and the Tibetan people throughout the world, and the importance of the protection of human rights of Tibetans in China. The President has commended the Dalai

Lama's commitment to nonviolence, dialogue and the "Middle Way" approach, including in his July 2011 and February 2010 meetings with the Dalai Lama. The President continues to encourage direct dialogue to resolve long-standing differences and that a dialogue that produces results would be positive for China and Tibetans.

The Vice President held extensive discussions with China's then-Vice President Xi Jinping during Xi's February 2012 visit to the United States, candidly discussing concerns about China's protection of human rights situation, including specific cases of concern and self-immolations in Tibetan areas.

Former Secretary Clinton consistently raised Tibet in meetings with her Chinese counterparts and in public speeches. She consistently called for the protection of human rights in Tibetan areas and for a resumption of dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

Other senior officials in the Administration and at the Department of State repeatedly have stressed U.S. concerns about the need to respect the distinct religious, linguistic, and cultural identity of the Tibetan people, raised cases of Tibetan political prisoners, and urged Chinese officials to resume dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues and Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights Maria Otero promoted substantive dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, coordinated U.S. government programs and projects concerning Tibet, and promoted the policy of seeking to assist the preservation of the distinct cultural, religious, and linguistic heritage of Tibetans.

Under Secretary Otero met with the Dalai Lama six times during her tenure, most recently in October 2012. During the reporting period, Under Secretary Otero, assistant secretaries and other senior officials met regularly and frequently with the Dalai Lama's now-retired Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, to discuss a wide range of Tibet-related issues. Under Secretary Otero also met with leaders of the Central Tibetan Administration to discuss humanitarian assistance programs in India and Nepal, and with Lobsang Nyandak, representative of the Dalai Lama to the Americas. In addition, she regularly met with key civil society leaders active on Tibetan issues and coordinated with like-minded governments on Tibetan issues. Under Secretary Otero traveled to India in February 2012 and met with the Dalai Lama's representative in New Delhi. She traveled to Europe in October

2012, met with the representative of the Dalai Lama to Europe, and discussed with government officials the deteriorating human rights situation in Tibetan areas and the need for greater multilateral coordination. She traveled to Nepal in November 2012, discussed Tibetan issues in high level meetings and met with social, cultural and religious leaders in the Tibetan community, and with representatives of like-minded governments. Under Secretary Otero also traveled to China with Secretary Clinton in September 2012, and senior staff of the Office of the Special Coordinator traveled to Tibetan areas of China in April 2012 to assess political and economic conditions in monastic and lay communities. As required by the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, the Office of the Special Coordinator maintained close contact with religious, cultural and political representatives of the Tibetan people.

Under Secretary Otero formally called on China to address the deteriorating human rights conditions in Tibetan areas in multilateral fora, including in her March 2, 2012, remarks before the 19th Session of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland, and in December 11, 2012, remarks to the EU Mission to the United States. During the July 2012 U.S.-China Human Rights Dialogue, Under Secretary Otero called for the resumption of dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives. In a December 5, 2012 public statement on Tibet, she noted that “we call on the Chinese government to permit Tibetans to express their grievances freely, publicly, peacefully, and without fear of retribution. We hope that the tragic acts of self-immolation end. We call on China’s leaders to allow journalists, diplomats and other observers unrestricted access to China’s Tibetan areas. We call on the Chinese government to engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives without preconditions.”

Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) Michael H. Posner and Deputy Assistant Secretary Daniel Baer raised U.S. government concerns about China’s policies in Tibetan areas during the July 2012 U.S.-China Human Rights Dialogue. They expressed U.S. government concern in specific cases of Tibetan prisoners. In November 2012, Assistant Secretary Posner met with the families of Tibetans who had self-immolated. In December 2012 he discussed Tibetan issues with the media during the Forum on Business and Human Rights in Geneva, and discussed the deteriorating human rights situation in Tibetan areas with like-minded governments, urging greater international coordination of advocacy efforts. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom Suzan Johnson Cook publicly raised the repression of Tibetans and Tibetan Buddhist religious practices in her July 2012 remarks on the release of the International Religious Freedom Report. For World Press Freedom Day 2012, the State

Department highlighted U.S. government concerns about the case of Tibetan filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen on both April 20 and May 30, 2012.

U.S. Ambassador to China Gary Locke has regularly engaged the Chinese government on Tibet-related issues. In September 2012, he visited Aba Prefecture in Sichuan province; met with a number of ethnic Tibetans; and visited Tibetan villages and monasteries. In a December 10, 2012 statement on the occasion of International Human Rights Day (posted in Tibetan, Uighur, Mandarin Chinese and English on the U.S. Embassy web site), he noted the Chinese government's constraints on the religious freedom and practices of Tibetans and the increasing frequency of self-immolations by Tibetans. The U.S. Embassy and the U.S. Consulate General in Chengdu have consistently raised U.S. concerns about human rights and religious freedom in Tibetan areas with Chinese officials. U.S. diplomats' travel to the TAR remained restricted during the reporting period, but officials made several trips to Tibetan areas in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan provinces to meet with Tibetan monks and lay persons to assess political and economic conditions. However, access to many Tibetan areas remains limited, and permission to travel to the TAR routinely is denied. In meetings with Chinese counterparts, U.S. officials consistently have called on the Chinese government to allow access to Tibetan areas for journalists, diplomats and other observers and to resume substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions.

The State Department Spokesperson made a number of statements on Tibet during the reporting period, including on March 28, April 5, July 12, August 27, October 24, November 16 and 29, and December 1, 2012, and February 1 and 7, and March 1, 2013. These statements repeatedly urged the Chinese government to address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions and threatened the distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic identity of the Tibetan people. These statements also urged the Chinese government to engage in constructive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions.

IV. Status of Discussions between PRC and the Dalai Lama's Representatives

Representatives of the Dalai Lama and Chinese officials from the United Front Work Department have not met directly since the ninth round of dialogue in January 2010. The United States continues to encourage both sides to engage in a substantive discussion that will work to achieve concrete results.

History of Discussions between PRC and the Dalai Lama's Representatives

The last three decades have seen intermittent efforts by the Dalai Lama and

the People's Republic of China to resolve concerns and differences through dialogue. For a detailed history of such efforts, please refer to the State Department's 2010 Report on Tibet Negotiations.