



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

[www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov)

AUG 5 2015

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the Secretary, I am transmitting to you the attached 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 you find this information helpful. Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Julia Frifield".

Julia Frifield  
Assistant Secretary  
Legislative Affairs

Enclosure:

As stated.

The Honorable  
Bob Corker, Chairman,  
Committee on Foreign Relations,  
United States Senate.

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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 continuing tensions in Tibetan areas. The Dalai Lama's views are widely reflected within Tibetan society and he represents the views of the vast majority of Tibetans. His consistent advocacy of non-violence is an important factor in reaching a lasting solution. Chinese government engagement with the Dalai Lama or his representatives to resolve problems facing Tibetans is in the interest 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, as well as continue to be a stumbling block to fuller political and economic engagement with the United States.

**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 did not bear concrete results. The United States believes a resumption of dialogue and steps to redress Tibetan grievances are critical to reducing the continuing high tensions between Tibetans and Chinese authorities.

We are concerned Chinese officials continue to insist the Dalai Lama meet unattainable conditions in order for China to resume dialogue. We consider this position counter-productive and contrary to the expectations of the United States and the international community. We support dialogue without preconditions.

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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 Tibetan areas; and to fully respect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Chinese citizens. We also have expressed to Chinese and Tibetans our hope the tragic acts of self-immolation end.

Details on human rights and religious freedom conditions in, and the level of journalist and diplomatic access to, Tibet can be found in the Department of State's annual Human Rights and International Religious Freedom Reports.

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 has instead said he seeks for China to preserve Tibetan culture, religion, and its fragile environment through genuine autonomy. The U.S. government does not recognize Tibet as an independent state and therefore 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, India, 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 as a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate.

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

President Obama continues to call for substantive dialogue between the Dalai Lama's representatives and the Chinese government to resolve long-standing issues, and stresses a dialogue that produces results would be positive for China and Tibetans. He last met with the Dalai Lama February 21, 2014, when he commended the Dalai Lama's commitment to nonviolence, dialogue, and the "Middle Way" approach. The President acknowledged the Dalai Lama's attendance at the National Prayer Breakfast February 5, 2015, whom he lauded as "a powerful example of what it means to practice compassion," and someone "who inspires us to speak up for the freedom and dignity of all human beings." In a joint press conference with President Xi Jinping in Beijing November 12, 2014, the

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President said, “we did encourage Chinese authorities to take steps to preserve the unique cultural, religious, and linguistic identity of the Tibetan people.”

Secretary Kerry consistently raised Tibet in meetings with his Chinese counterparts, including during two visits to China and in meetings with Chinese counterparts in the United States and elsewhere during the reporting period, and in public speeches. He consistently called for the protection of human rights in Tibetan areas and for a resumption of dialogue.

Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights Sarah Sewall has been designated by Secretary Kerry to serve concurrently as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. In accordance with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, Under Secretary Sewall coordinates U.S. policy on Tibet to promote substantive dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama, as well as policies that seek to preserve the distinct cultural, religious, and linguistic heritage of Tibetans. The Special Coordinator also coordinates programs implemented by the Department’s Bureaus of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA), Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), and Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), and by USAID that promote activities to preserve cultural traditions; enhance sustainable development; expand economic opportunities; and support environmental conservation, health care, education, and livelihoods within Tibetan communities inside the People’s Republic of China, and for Tibetans in India, Nepal, and elsewhere.

Under Secretary Sewall met with the Dalai Lama twice during the reporting period. On November 15-16, 2014, she traveled to Dharamsala to meet with Tibetan refugees and discuss U.S. government humanitarian and development programming in Tibetan communities. During her visit, she met with the Dalai Lama and spoke about nonviolent approaches to conflict resolution and questions of preserving Tibetan culture, religion, and education. The two also met February 6, 2015 in Washington, D.C.

The Office of the Special Coordinator maintained close contact with religious, cultural, and political representatives of the Tibetan people. Under Secretary Sewall met with Sikyong Lobsang Sangay twice during the reporting period on humanitarian issues in the Tibetan community. On April 15, 2015, she met with Ogyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th Karmapa, in Washington, D.C. Other senior department officials met with leaders of the Central Tibetan Administration, including Kaydor Aukatsang, representative of the Dalai Lama to the Americas, on humanitarian assistance programs in India and Nepal, as well as key civil society

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leaders active on Tibetan issues. Under Secretary Sewall coordinated with like-minded governments on Tibetan issues, both in Washington and during her travels to Europe.

On November 24, 2014, Under Secretary Sewall briefed the press on her trip to India and Nepal, and her interaction with Tibetans who had recently left China. She said, "Their assessment of the situation tracks very much with the State Department's assessment of the situation, as recorded in our human rights reporting – that there is not a degree of freedom for Tibetans within China that we think is consistent with international human rights standards."

On December 11, Under Secretary Sewall spoke at a Department screening of the film "Leaving Fear Behind" by Dhondup Wangchen, a Tibetan prisoner of conscience who completed a six-year prison sentence in China, but has not been allowed to travel. She called on Chinese authorities to allow Dhondup Wangchen to be reunited with his family.

At the 27th Session of the United Nations Human Rights Council September 16, 2014, David Sullivan, Legal Advisor to the United States Mission to Geneva, delivered a statement saying in part, "China has restricted the freedom of movement of released prisoners of conscience Gao Zhisheng and Dhondup Wangchen." At the 28th Council session March 17, 2015, the U.S. delegation said in a statement, "We remain concerned about human rights in China, including Tibetan and Uighur areas. This includes increased arrests, detentions, and forced disappearances of human rights activists, lawyers, journalists, academics, and others who peacefully question government policies."

In an opinion piece published in the Washington Post June 3, 2014, Assistant Secretary of State Tom Malinowski wrote, "The respect for the rights of minorities that China's Tibetan and Uighur activists champion would prevent instability that could spill across China's borders."

U.S. Ambassador to China Max Baucus regularly engaged the Chinese government on Tibet-related issues. In a December 10, 2014 statement on the occasion of International Human Rights Day (posted in Tibetan, Uighur, Mandarin Chinese and English on the U.S. Embassy web site), Ambassador Baucus said, "We urge China's leaders to engage in constructive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives to reduce tension in Tibetan areas. In May 2015, Ambassador Baucus led the first official U.S. delegation to the TAR in almost five years. He saw many religious and cultural sites in and near Lhasa. He also

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met with TAR Party Secretary Chen Quanguo and several other senior local leaders, during which he expressed concerns about the human rights situation for Tibetans and pressed for greater access to the TAR. 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.

Travel by U.S. diplomats and journalists to the TAR and other Tibetan areas remained restricted during the reporting period. Permission to travel to the TAR is routinely denied; from May 2011 to May 2015, 35 trips to the TAR were denied out of 39 requests by U.S. Embassy and consular officials. While a Consulate Chengdu consular officer was able to visit Lhasa in December 2014 and Yading in Sichuan Province in April 2015, the level of consular access provided to Tibetan areas has fallen short of China's obligations under the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and the U.S.-China Consular Convention. As recently as October 2013, the Chinese government delayed consular access to the TAR for over 48 hours despite an emergency situation involving a bus accident that resulted in the deaths of three U.S. citizens and several dozen others being injured. During the reporting period, dozens of U.S. citizens were also left stranded in the TAR after the April 25 Nepal earthquake severely damaged roads and communication infrastructure in the region. TAR officials were unable to provide Consulate General Chengdu with an accurate accounting for the U.S. citizens affected. The status of the restrictions on U.S. citizens' travel to Tibetan areas is updated at [travel.state.gov](http://travel.state.gov).

#### **IV. Status of Discussions between China 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.

#### **V. History of Discussions between China and the Dalai Lama's Representatives**

The last three and a half decades have seen intermittent efforts by the Dalai Lama and China to resolve concerns and differences through dialogue. For a detailed history of such efforts, please refer to the Department of State's 2010 Report on Tibet Negotiations.