

## V. Tibet

### *Findings*

- The Commission did not observe any interest or progress on the part of Chinese Communist Party and government officials in resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama's representatives. The negotiations have been stalled since the ninth round of negotiations was held in January 2010.
- The Party and government continued to use legal and policy measures to manage and shape the religious practices of Tibetans. Tibetan Buddhism is one of five state-recognized religions, and falls under the formal jurisdiction of the state-controlled Buddhist Association of China, which this year issued two revised measures governing the credentialing of Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel and the hiring of monastic leaders at Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions.
- Officials in Tibetan areas of China continued to enforce restrictions on religious observance and expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays. Authorities in Sichuan province continued to carry out evictions of monks and nuns and demolition of monastic residences at the Yachen Gar Tibetan Buddhist complex.
- The Chinese government and Communist Party continued to assert control over the processes of selection and recognition of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnated teachers, including the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhist leaders outside China maintained that the decision to reincarnate, or not, belongs to the individual in question and members of the Tibetan Buddhist religious community.
- The frequency of Tibetan self-immolation continued to decline. The Commission observed reports of only one Tibetan self-immolation, bringing the total number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reportedly focusing on political or religious issues to 150. Yonten, a 24-year-old nomad and former monk, fatally self-immolated in November 2019.
- The Tibet Autonomous Region government passed regulations on "ethnic unity" that mandate acceptance and promotion of Party and government ethnic and religious policy across a wide variety of social sectors and at multiple levels of society. The regulations include vague language providing for criminal sanctions for those who have "irresolute stances and attitudes in the fight against separatism."
- In contravention of international human rights standards, security officials continued to punish residents of Tibetan areas of China for the exercise of their protected rights, including expression of religious belief, protest against or criticism of government or Party policies, and free expression.

*Recommendations*

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Enact the Tibetan Policy and Support Act (H.R. 4331/S. 2539) to reaffirm U.S. support for the protection of human rights and religious freedom in Tibet and the preservation of Tibet's distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic identity; to promote interagency coordination on Tibetan issues; and to confirm as U.S. policy that the question of succession or reincarnation for the 14th Dalai Lama is a matter solely reserved for the Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people.
- The Administration should appoint a high-level official, at or above the rank of Under Secretary of State, to the position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues.
- Encourage the Chinese government and Communist Party to respect, as a matter of the right to religious freedom and as recognized under Chinese and international law, that it is the right of Tibetan Buddhists to identify and educate all religious teachers, including the Dalai Lama, in a manner consistent with Tibetan Buddhist practices and traditions. Urge the Chinese government to cease treating the Dalai Lama as a security threat, and encourage the resumption of genuine dialogue, without preconditions, between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.
- In interactions with Chinese officials, call for the release of Tibetan political prisoners currently detained or imprisoned for the peaceful exercise of their human rights. The records of detained Tibetans in the Commission's Political Prisoner Database provide a useful resource for such advocacy. Urge the Chinese government and its law enforcement and security forces to end the use of arbitrary detention, disappearance, beatings, torture, and intimidation to suppress and punish Tibetans' peaceful exercise of their rights.
- Urge the Chinese government to invite a representative of an international organization to meet with **Gedun Choekyi Nyima**, whom the Dalai Lama recognized as the 11th Panchen Lama, and his parents, all three of whom disappeared shortly after his recognition as Panchen Lama in 1995.

## TIBET

### *Status of Negotiations Between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama or His Representatives*

During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, the Commission did not observe any interest on the part of Chinese Communist Party and government officials in resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama's representatives, which have been stalled since the ninth round of negotiations was held in January 2010. Chinese government and Party officials denounced the Dalai Lama and his representatives in public statements.<sup>1</sup>

### *Religious Freedom for Tibetans*

The Party and government continued to use national-level laws and regulations, in conjunction with provincial- and local-level legal measures, in attempts to manage and shape the religious practices of Tibetans, particularly practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism. International observers and rights advocacy groups expressed concern that Chinese religious policy and its implementation continue to violate international human rights standards, including the right to freely worship and to choose one's own religion.<sup>2</sup> Several national measures deal with Tibetan Buddhism specifically, with the management of Tibetan Buddhism formally under the jurisdiction of the Buddhist Association of China, one of five state-controlled religious organizations. [For more information on religion in China, see Section II—Freedom of Religion.]

During the 2020 reporting year, several national-level measures governing Tibetan Buddhism were passed or came into effect:

In July 2019, the Buddhist Association of China revised two measures regulating the credentialing of all Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel, namely monks and nuns, and including "living Buddhas" (*huofo*),<sup>3</sup> and regulating the hiring of monastic leaders at Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions.<sup>4</sup> Both revised measures retained identical provisions requiring that Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel support the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and government, including opposing "separatism" and supporting the Party's leaders.<sup>5</sup> The revised measures added language requiring support from religious personnel for the Party's policy goal of "the sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism."<sup>6</sup>

Both measures also kept provisions establishing punishments, including suspension or cancellation of religious credentials and suspension or removal from one's religious post, for religious personnel who violate certain guidelines.<sup>7</sup> The Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel prohibit behavior that harms ethnic unity or social stability or promotes separatism,<sup>8</sup> and include a new provision punishing religious personnel who organize or conduct unauthorized religious activities.<sup>9</sup> The Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries contain similar provisions prohibiting monastic leaders from engaging in "separatist activities" and activities that "harm ethnic unity and social stability" and "separatist activities,"<sup>10</sup> and from "receiving the support of overseas organizations and individuals."<sup>11</sup>

## Tibet

In November 2019, the National Religious Affairs Administration passed the Measures for the Management of Religious Groups as part of the implementation of the 2018 Regulations on Religious Affairs.<sup>12</sup> The Measures, which took effect in February 2020, require religious organizations to support the Communist Party's political leadership of China and the policy of "sinicizing religion"<sup>13</sup> and subordination of religious organizations to supervision and oversight by governmental religious affairs bureaus.<sup>14</sup> Under the Measures, religious organizations are also required to publicize Communist Party religious policies and national laws and regulations on religion to both religious leaders and believers.<sup>15</sup> [For more information on the Measures, see Section II—Freedom of Religion.]

Authorities in Tibetan areas of China also enforced restrictions on religious observance and expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays. A Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Committee document obtained by Human Rights Watch in summer 2019 ordered local offices to collect information on retired government workers who performed the Tibetan devotional practice of *kora*, or circumambulation at sacred places and religious sites.<sup>16</sup> The document also requested that local offices recommend punishments for those found to be performing the *kora*.<sup>17</sup> In December 2019, authorities in Lhasa municipality, TAR, reportedly banned students, school officials, and government workers from celebrating Ganden Ngachoe, a Tibetan Buddhist religious festival.<sup>18</sup> In May 2020, TAR officials prohibited Party cadres, retirees, and students from participating in religious events during the holy month of Saga Dawa.<sup>19</sup>

Authorities in Baiyu (Palyul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, continued extensive evictions and demolition work, begun in 2016,<sup>20</sup> at Yachen Gar, a Buddhist institute and monastic complex in Baiyu. In summer 2019, authorities restricted entry to and exit from the complex to only those with travel authorization from a local monastery's management committee,<sup>21</sup> and by July expelled from the complex at least 3,600 monks and nuns.<sup>22</sup> By the end of August, authorities demolished the homes of 3,000 nuns,<sup>23</sup> and by October demolished between 5,000 and 6,000 homes for monks and nuns.<sup>24</sup> Authorities reportedly held 70 expelled nuns in detention for two to three months and forced them to undergo "patriotic education."<sup>25</sup> In early 2020, reports emerged that a nun expelled in May 2019 and held for a period in detention had committed suicide to avoid undergoing further "patriotic education."<sup>26</sup>

### THE DALAI LAMA AND REINCARNATION

A policy priority for the Chinese Communist Party and government is exercising control over the selection and recognition of reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist religious figures. Chief among them is the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, who in July 2020 reached the age of 85, and who has lived in India since fleeing into exile in 1959.<sup>27</sup> Chinese officials regularly describe the Dalai Lama and his followers as "separatists" seeking to "split the motherland."<sup>28</sup>

Chinese officials claim legal authority to recognize and select reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist teachers, including the Dalai Lama,

## Tibet

through the 2007 Measures on the Management of Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>29</sup> The Dalai Lama issued a statement in September 2011 describing the religious foundations of reincarnation and the historical context of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnation, and outlining his own plans for reincarnating, stressing that how and even whether to reincarnate is a decision for the individual in question, in consultation with the religious community of Tibetan Buddhists, not the Chinese Communist Party or government.<sup>30</sup> In the statement, the Dalai Lama explicitly rejected the Chinese government's claim that it has authority over the recognition and validation of reincarnate teachers.<sup>31</sup> In October 2019, the Dalai Lama reportedly suggested that the tradition of reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism should end.<sup>32</sup>

Chinese authorities continued to penalize Tibetans for expressions of reverence for the Dalai Lama through criminal and other punishments. Reports emerged in the 2020 reporting year on two cases of Tibetans detained in connection with expressing devotion to the Dalai Lama. In March 2019, authorities in Rikaze (Shigatse) municipality, TAR, detained **Wangchug**, a businessman and resident of Nielamu (Nyalam) county, Rikaze, reportedly for sharing the Dalai Lama's teachings and a book written by the Dalai Lama's brother over the social media platform WeChat.<sup>33</sup> Local officials reportedly later canceled Wangchug's family members' welfare benefits and restricted their ability to travel.<sup>34</sup> In May 2019, police in Gangcha (Kangtsa) county, Haibei (Tsojang) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, detained **Thubten Pema Lhundrub** after he prayed to the Dalai Lama.<sup>35</sup>

Detentions during the 2020 reporting year included the following:

- In July 2019, police in Ruo'ergai (Dzoege) county, Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, held **Rinso**, a Tibetan resident of Ruo'ergai, in detention for 10 days after he reportedly shared a photo of the Dalai Lama on WeChat to celebrate the Dalai Lama's birthday on July 6.<sup>36</sup>
- On various dates in 2019,<sup>37</sup> authorities in parts of Sichuan province searched Tibetans' homes for images of the Dalai Lama. Police in Baiyu (Palyul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, reportedly beat Tibetans in possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama and detained those who prayed for his long life.<sup>38</sup>
- In late September, police in Shiqu (Sershul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, detained monk **Sonam Yonten**, of Shiqu's Bummying Monastery, reportedly for possession of a banned image of the Dalai Lama.<sup>39</sup> Local authorities heightened security measures around October 1, 2019, the 70th observance of China's National Day, with armed police conducting searches of pedestrians.<sup>40</sup>
- In late December 2019, police in Zuogong (Dzogang) county, Changdu (Chamdo) municipality, TAR, detained **Jampal Dorje** and his son **Tsewang Gyurme** after they used their mobile phones to listen to the Dalai Lama's teachings and to call their family members in India.<sup>41</sup> After obtaining their relatives' phone numbers, authorities made the two men sign a document promising not to call their family or listen to the Dalai Lama's teachings and released them with a warning.<sup>42</sup>

## Tibet

Chinese authorities have also required opposition to the Dalai Lama as a condition for public employment. In an October 2019 public examination announcement seeking university graduates for government positions by the TAR Human Resources and Social Security (HRSS) Department, applicants were required not only to support the Communist Party's political leadership, but also to have a "resolute stance on . . . exposing and criticizing the Dalai Lama."<sup>43</sup> Provisions containing identical language appeared in other hiring announcements seeking applicants from the TAR, including an August 2019 announcement seeking TAR graduates to work in Zhejiang province<sup>44</sup> and an October announcement from the Guangdong province and Linzhi (Nyingchi) municipality, TAR, HRSS Departments seeking ethnic minority university graduates.<sup>45</sup>

### The 11th Panchen Lama

In September 2019, a Chinese representative to the United Nations reiterated the Chinese government's position that the Dalai Lama's May 1995 recognition of **Gedun Choekyi Nyima** as the 11th Panchen Lama was "illegal and ineffective."<sup>46</sup> Three days after the Dalai Lama announced the recognition, Chinese authorities detained Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his parents, and have held them incommunicado at an unknown location or locations since.<sup>47</sup> During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, Chinese government officials maintained that Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his parents did not want to be contacted<sup>48</sup> and that he was employed and "living [ . . . ] a normal life."<sup>49</sup>

### *Tibetan Self-Immolation*

In its 2020 reporting year, the Commission observed reports of one self-immolation in Tibetan areas of China, bringing to 150 the number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reported to focus on political or religious issues.<sup>50</sup> On November 26, 2019, Yonten, a 24-year-old Tibetan nomad and former Kirti Monastery monk, carried out a fatal self-immolation in Mai'erma (Me'uruma) town, Aba (Ngaba) county, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.<sup>51</sup> Reports characterized Yonten's self-immolation as a protest against the Chinese government and its policies in Tibetan areas.<sup>52</sup> Local police reportedly held his relatives for questioning before returning his remains to them.<sup>53</sup>

### *Governance and Policy*

#### ETHNIC UNITY REGULATIONS

On January 11, 2020, the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) People's Congress passed the TAR Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress,<sup>54</sup> which mandate acceptance and promotion of Communist Party and government ethnic and religious policy across a wide variety of social sectors and at multiple levels, including prefectural and local governmental agencies,<sup>55</sup> businesses,<sup>56</sup> religious organizations,<sup>57</sup> and individual families.<sup>58</sup> Provisions enlisting organizations or individuals to promote ethnic unity work include:

## Tibet

- **“Sinicizing religion.”** The Regulations require religious bodies and educational institutions to “persevere on the path of sinicizing religions in this country,”<sup>59</sup> and mandate that religious affairs bureaus guide religious organizations in propaganda education on ethnic unity thought, laws and regulations, and ethnic and religious policy.<sup>60</sup>
- **Media and press.** The Regulations order media enterprises including television broadcasters, publishers, and internet service providers to cooperate with ethnic unity propaganda work, including by participating in celebrations of a yearly “ethnic unity propaganda activities month” in September and Serfs Emancipation Day, celebrated in March since 2009.<sup>61</sup>
- **Education.** The Regulations mandate that educational institutions and cultural enterprises such as museums include educational content on ethnic unity in their curricula or programming.<sup>62</sup>
- **Criminalizing expression.** Article 46 of the Regulations provides for criminal sanctions for those who disseminate speech or spread information harmful to ethnic unity and progress,<sup>63</sup> or those who “[harm] national security and unity with irresolute stances and attitudes in the fight against separatism.”<sup>64</sup>

Similar ethnic unity regulations have been passed in previous years in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region<sup>65</sup> and Qinghai<sup>66</sup> and Yunnan<sup>67</sup> provinces, the latter two of which contain Tibetan autonomous areas. [For more on ethnic policy, see Section II—Ethnic Minority Rights.]

### *Control of Expression and the Free Flow of Information*

#### CONTROL OF EXPRESSION

Authorities in Tibetan areas of China sought to regulate and control speech critical of the Chinese government and Communist Party or their policies in Tibetan areas, and to compel expressions of gratitude or appreciation for the government and Party. Officials in various parts of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) compelled residents to participate in celebrations of China’s National Day (October 1).<sup>68</sup> In September 2019, police in Daqian (Tarchen) township, Seni district, Naqu (Nagchu) municipality, TAR, detained six Tibetan men because they did not comply with orders for residents to display Chinese flags and learn songs praising the Communist Party in advance of National Day.<sup>69</sup> Authorities reportedly forced the men to attend political education sessions and dispatched armed police to the home village of one of the detainees.<sup>70</sup>

**Dza Bonpo crackdown.** In November 2019, police in Shiqu (Sershul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, detained four monks from Shiqu’s Dza Bonpo Monastery after they staged a pro-independence protest at local government offices.<sup>71</sup> Authorities later detained the monks’ teacher in connection with their protest,<sup>72</sup> as well as a 15-year-old monk who expressed support for the protest online.<sup>73</sup> Police also detained two laypersons who protested for Tibetan independence and in support of the detained monks at a local police station later that month.<sup>74</sup> Following the protests, authorities sent additional secu-

rity personnel to the area<sup>75</sup> and detained at least 30 local residents for sending information of the protests outside China.<sup>76</sup>

In March 2020, Party-controlled media reported on new measures, effective in September 2019, aimed at controlling illegal and unauthorized media and publishing in the TAR. The Measures for Rewarding Reporting on “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, jointly issued by four TAR agencies,<sup>77</sup> provide for monetary rewards<sup>78</sup> for individuals who report the publication or broadcast of banned content to one of the issuing agencies, the TAR “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work Small Leading Group.<sup>79</sup> The Measures include provisions regarding copyright infringement,<sup>80</sup> obscenity and pornography,<sup>81</sup> and publishing or broadcasting without official authorization,<sup>82</sup> in addition to a list of banned political content types.<sup>83</sup> An international rights advocacy organization criticized the Measures for “criminaliz[ing] any legitimate criticism”<sup>84</sup> of Chinese authorities by banning the publication of content critical of the Chinese government or political system<sup>85</sup> and content that promotes a “high degree of autonomy”<sup>86</sup> or the “Middle Way.”<sup>87</sup>

#### FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Chinese authorities continued to monitor or restrict contact between Tibetans in China and individuals or groups outside China, including by detaining those found to have contact with Tibetans in exile in India. Beginning in April 2020, authorities in Dingri county, Rikaze (Shigatse) municipality, TAR, investigated between 4,000 and 5,000 families who had relatives living in India or Nepal, recording their personal information, including social media accounts.<sup>88</sup> Examples of detentions from this reporting year included:

- **Lhadar:** detained in Seni district, Naqu (Nagchu) municipality, TAR, in October 2019, reportedly for “leaking state secrets” by sending information abroad.<sup>89</sup>
- **Lubum Dorje and Tsegan:** detained in Xiahe (Sangchu) county, Gannan (Kanlho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu province, in December 2019 in apparent connection with using WeChat to contact people outside China.<sup>90</sup>

#### *Language Rights*

Although China’s Constitution and laws contain provisions affirming the freedom of ethnic minorities to “use and develop”<sup>91</sup> their languages, developments in the 2020 reporting year indicate that authorities continue to threaten minority linguistic rights, including through policies of neglect. Chinese ethnic policy ignores unrecognized linguistic communities, including in Tibetan areas of China,<sup>92</sup> and users of languages without official recognition lack access to official support in education and other government services.<sup>93</sup>

During the Commission’s 2020 reporting year, authorities in Tibetan areas of China continued to increase the role of Mandarin and decrease the role of Tibetan and other languages in educational settings.<sup>94</sup> A March 2020 Human Rights Watch report on recent developments in educational language policy in the Tibet Autonomous Region described a policy of “cultivated ambiguity” in



## Tibet

which formally bilingual education in reality prioritizes instruction in Mandarin.<sup>95</sup> In Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP), Sichuan province, officials announced that Mandarin would become the language of instruction for all subjects except Tibetan-language class beginning in summer 2020.<sup>96</sup> Tibetans in Aba expressed concerns over the policy change, saying that it violated legal protections for linguistic and cultural rights and would harm educational outcomes for students.<sup>97</sup> International rights groups have criticized this shift for threatening Tibetans' right to mother-tongue education.<sup>98</sup>

In some cases, authorities have punished residents of Tibetan areas of China who have expressed criticism of or dissatisfaction with Chinese language or cultural policies. During the 2020 reporting year, information emerged about at least two such cases:

- **Sichuan province.** On September 19, 2019, police in Aba (Ngaba) county, Aba T&QAP, Sichuan, detained **Sonam Palden**, a 22-year-old monk at Aba county's Kirti Monastery.<sup>99</sup> Sources told foreign journalists and rights groups that his detention was connected with his posts to the social media platform WeChat.<sup>100</sup> In a post dated September 18, Sonam Palden expressed concern over the status of the Tibetan language and the negative effects of Chinese government language policy on Tibetan culture.<sup>101</sup>
- **Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).** In December 2019 and January 2020, human rights advocacy groups reported on the case of **Tsering Dorje**, whom authorities in Lazi (Lhatse) county, Rikaze (Shigatse) prefecture, TAR, took into custody in February 2019, after he spoke by phone with his brother in India about the importance of Tibetan-language education.<sup>102</sup> Public security officials at the Dingri County PSB Detention Center in Rikaze reportedly beat him, and released him around a month later after warning him not to discuss his detention with others.<sup>103</sup>

### *Coronavirus in Tibetan Areas*

In response to the novel coronavirus pandemic that began in Wuhan municipality, Hubei province, at the end of 2019, authorities in Tibetan areas of China ordered public health measures such as restrictions on travel, bans on public events and gatherings, and closure of public establishments.<sup>104</sup> The height of the pandemic at its epicenter in Wuhan in late February 2020 coincided with the Tibetan New Year (*Losar*) on February 24, prompting the cancellation of New Year's festivities in Lhasa municipality.<sup>105</sup> Officially as part of the response to the pandemic, authorities in Tibetan areas also punished individuals for "spreading disinformation" or "rumors" related to the virus.<sup>106</sup> Authorities warned, fined, or ordered individuals to serve terms of administrative detention, and ordered online discussion groups closed.<sup>107</sup> International observers and rights advocacy organizations expressed concern that officials violated citizens' rights to expression by conflating protected speech with misinformation harmful to public health.<sup>108</sup> [For more on COVID-19, see Section II—Public Health.]

*Development and the Environment*

The Commission observed no evidence during its 2020 reporting year that Chinese Communist Party or government authorities solicited systematic or representative input from the Tibetan population on economic development or environmental protection in Tibetan areas of China. Official media described developmental policies as beneficial in terms of both economic development and environmental protection.<sup>109</sup> Ongoing resettlement of nomadic Tibetan populations was similarly portrayed as a measure meant to improve the resettled nomads' livelihoods and quality of life.<sup>110</sup> While climate change remained a major threat to the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods in Tibetan areas of China,<sup>111</sup> economic development projects reportedly also presented a threat, including some projects meant for environmental protection or sustainable development.<sup>112</sup>

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reported in September 2019 that the effects of climate change on the world's cryosphere could have continuing serious effects on the Tibetan Plateau, including altered precipitation and weather patterns, increased melting of glacial and other ice deposits, and deterioration of permafrost.<sup>113</sup> These climatic changes have had further detrimental effects on water quality, groundwater availability, and civil infrastructure.<sup>114</sup>

Chinese authorities in Tibetan areas continued to punish Tibetan expressions of dissatisfaction over developmental initiatives and environmental policy.<sup>115</sup> In one high-profile case during this reporting year, in December 2019, authorities in Gande (Gade) county, Guoluo (Golog) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, sentenced Tibetan anticorruption advocate **Anya Sengdra**<sup>116</sup> to seven years in prison on the charges of "picking quarrels and provoking trouble"<sup>117</sup> and "gathering a crowd to disturb social order."<sup>118</sup> Upon Anya Sengdra's initial detention in 2018, his wife wrote that authorities detained him in retaliation for his allegations that local officials in Jiangqian (Kyangche) township, Gande, had embezzled or misused poverty alleviation funds allocated to assist resettled nomads.<sup>119</sup> The Gande procuratorate noted as criminal behavior his management of several WeChat discussion groups in which he discussed official malfeasance and local environmental issues.<sup>120</sup> Information emerged in September 2019 that authorities detained nine other Tibetans<sup>121</sup> connected with Anya Sengdra's case;<sup>122</sup> the Gande court sentenced eight of them to unknown prison terms in December (the other detainee, Anya Sengdra's brother **Jamtri**, died in late 2019 before sentencing).<sup>123</sup>

## Notes to Section V—Tibet

<sup>1</sup>Central People's Government, "Xinwen ban jiu Xizang Zizhiqu 'jiaqiang minzu tuanjie jianshe meili Xizang' juxing fabu hui" [Information office holds press conference on Tibet Autonomous Region's "strengthen ethnic unity, build a beautiful Tibet"], September 12, 2019; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "2019 nian 10 yue 29 ri Waijiaobu fayanren Geng Shuang zhuchi lixing jizhehui" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson Geng Shuang holds regular press conference on October 29, 2019], October 29, 2019. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson referred to the Dalai Lama as "a political exile who has long used the guise of religion to carry out separatist anti-China activities abroad."

<sup>2</sup>Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, art. 18; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019. For the previous version of the Measures, see Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], passed May 8, 2009, issued and effective January 10, 2010.

<sup>4</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019. For the previous version of the Measures, see Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel at Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], passed September 22, 2011, issued and effective November 3, 2011.

<sup>5</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(1); Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(2).

<sup>6</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(1); Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(2).

<sup>7</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 11; Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 10.

<sup>8</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 11(1, 7).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 11(8).

<sup>10</sup>Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 10(1).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 10(2).

<sup>12</sup>State Council, *Zongjiao Shiwu Tiaoli* [Regulations on Religious Affairs], issued November 30, 2004, revised June 14, 2017, effective February 1, 2018; National Religious Affairs Administration, *Zongjiao Tuanti Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of Religious Groups], passed November 1, 2019, effective February 1, 2020.

<sup>13</sup>National Religious Affairs Administration, *Zongjiao Tuanti Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of Religious Groups], passed November 1, 2019, effective February 1, 2020, art. 5.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 6.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 17.

<sup>16</sup>Human Rights Watch, "China: Ban on Tibet Religious Activity Toughened," September 11, 2019.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>"China Sets New Restrictions on Tibetan Religious Festival in Lhasa," *Radio Free Asia*, December 20, 2019.

<sup>19</sup>Nima, "Fojiao 'Saga Dawa' qjian, Zhonggong jinzhi jingnei Zangren canyu zhuanjing lifo deng zongjiao huodong" [During Buddhist month of Saga Dawa, Communist Party bans Tibetans in country from participating in kora and other religious activities], *Voice of Tibet*, May 28, 2020.

<sup>20</sup>Human Rights Watch, "China: 1,000 Evictions from Tibetan Buddhist Centers," September 14, 2016. For previous reporting on evictions and demolitions at Yachen Gar and Larung Gar, see CECC, *2017 Annual Report*, October 5, 2017, 303–4; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, 292–3. Larung Gar is another Tibetan Buddhist monastic complex, located in Seda (Serthar) county, Ganzi.

<sup>21</sup>"Travel Restrictions Imposed on Sichuan's Yachen Gar Buddhist Center," *Radio Free Asia*, July 15, 2019.

<sup>22</sup>Free Tibet, "Further Evictions and Repression at Yachen Gar," July 8, 2019; "Thousands More Expelled from Sichuan's Yachen Gar Buddhist Center," *Radio Free Asia*, July 18, 2019.

<sup>23</sup>“Photo Shows Dramatic Demolition of Yachen Gar Buddhist Complex,” *Radio Free Asia*, August 28, 2019; Free Tibet, “China Has Destroyed Large Areas of One of Tibet’s Biggest Buddhist Sites, Satellite Images Reveal,” September 30, 2019.

<sup>24</sup>“Yachen Gar Demolition Has Displaced as Many as 6,000 Monks and Nuns,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 1, 2019.

<sup>25</sup>Free Tibet, “Further Evictions and Repression at Yarchen Gar,” July 8, 2019.

<sup>26</sup>Duanyun, “Xizang Yaqing Si yi nishi bei quzhu hou you zao qiangpo jiaoyu zhong ziyi er wang” [After expulsion from Tibet’s Yachen Gar, nun also forced into education, ends up hanging herself], *Voice of Tibet*, February 12, 2020; “Tibetan Nun Expelled from Buddhist Center Commits Suicide in Internment Camp,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 14, 2020.

<sup>27</sup>Office of the Dalai Lama, “Brief Biography,” accessed May 9, 2020.

<sup>28</sup>See, e.g., State Council, “Xinwen ban jiu Xizang Zizhiqu ‘jiaqiang minzu tuanjie jianshe meili Xizang’ juxing fabuhui” [Information office holds press conference on Tibet Autonomous Region’s “strengthen ethnic unity, build a beautiful Tibet”], September 12, 2019.

<sup>29</sup>State Administration for Religious Affairs, *Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism], issued July 18, 2007, effective September 1, 2007.

<sup>30</sup>Office of the Dalai Lama, “Reincarnation,” September 24, 2011.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Shri Puri, “Reincarnation Feudal, Should End Now: Dalai Lama amid Successor Row with China,” *Times of India*, October 26, 2019.

<sup>33</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Man Sentenced to Prison for Sharing Books on WeChat,” November 7, 2019; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Yi Zangren yin Weixin fenxiang shuji bei pan ruyi” [Tibetan sentenced and imprisoned because of sharing books on WeChat], November 7, 2019; Gyalo Thondup and Anne F. Thurston, *The Noodle Maker of Kalimpong: The Untold Story of My Struggle for Tibet* (New York: Public Affairs, 2015). For more information on Wangchug, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00533.

<sup>34</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Man Sentenced to Prison for Sharing Books on WeChat,” November 7, 2019; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Yi Zangren yin Weixin fenxiang shuji bei pan ruyi” [Tibetan sentenced and imprisoned because of sharing books on WeChat], November 7, 2019.

<sup>35</sup>“Tibetan Man Detained after Praying to Dalai Lama,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 29, 2019. For more information on Thubten Pema Lhundrub, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00511.

<sup>36</sup>“Weixin chuanda Dalai Lama faxiang yi Zangren zao ju” [Tibetan detained for sharing image of Dalai Lama on WeChat], *Radio Free Asia*, August 28, 2019. For more information on Rinso, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00399.

<sup>37</sup>“Tibetans Beaten, Detained in Kardze over Dalai Lama Photos,” *Radio Free Asia*, July 29, 2019; “China Launches New Push against Dalai Lama Photos in Ngaba,” *Radio Free Asia*, September 18, 2019.

<sup>38</sup>“Tibetans Beaten, Detained in Kardze over Dalai Lama Photos,” *Radio Free Asia*, July 29, 2019.

<sup>39</sup>“Sichuan Shiqu xian yi seng bei bu” [Monk detained in Serzhul county, Sichuan], *Radio Free Asia*, October 4, 2019; David Thomas, “China Detains a Buddhist Monk in Tibet on Unknown Charges,” *Tibet Post International*, October 4, 2019. For more information on Sonam Yonten, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00515.

<sup>40</sup>“Sichuan Shiqu xian yi seng bei bu” [Monk detained in Serzhul county, Sichuan], *Radio Free Asia*, October 4, 2019.

<sup>41</sup>“Tibetan Father, Son Detained for Listening to Dalai Lama Teachings,” *Radio Free Asia*, March 30, 2020; Daojie, “Jingnei Zangren fuzi yin shouting Dalai Lama fahui bei Zhonggong jubu” [Tibetan father and son in China detained by Chinese Communist Party for listening to Dalai Lama’s teaching], *Voice of Tibet*, March 31, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2020-00141 on Jampal Dorje and 2020-00142 on Tsewang Gyurme.

<sup>42</sup>“Tibetan Father, Son Detained for Listening to Dalai Lama Teachings,” *Radio Free Asia*, March 30, 2020; Daojie, “Jingnei Zangren fuzi yin shouting Dalai Lama fahui bei Zhonggong jubu” [Tibetan father and son in China detained by Chinese Communist Party for listening to Dalai Lama’s teaching], *Voice of Tibet*, March 31, 2020.

<sup>43</sup>Tibet Autonomous Region Human Resources and Social Security Department, “Xizang Zizhiqu 2019 nian gaoxiao biyesheng disi pi gongkai zhaokao gonggao” [Fourth public examination announcement for 2019 higher education graduates in the Tibet Autonomous Region], October 6, 2019, reprinted in Shannan Municipal People’s Government, October 8, 2019, 3(1).

<sup>44</sup>Tibet Autonomous Region Employment to Aid Tibet Office, “2019 nian jiuyue yuan Zang Zhejiang sheng shiye danwei mianxiang Xizang shengyuan shaoshu minzu gaoxiao biyesheng zhaopin gonggao” [2019 employment to aid Tibet recruitment announcement for Zhejiang province businesses for ethnic minority higher education graduates from Tibet], August 20, 2019, reprinted in TAR Human Resources and Social Security Department, 2(1.1).

<sup>45</sup>Guangdong Province Human Resources and Social Security Department and Linzhi Municipality Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, “2019 nian Guangdong sheng shiye danwei gongkai zhaopin Xizang ji shaoshu minzu gaoxiao biyesheng gonggao” [2019 Guangdong province employment announcement for recruiting ethnic minority higher education graduates from Tibet], October 31, 2019, 3.3.

<sup>46</sup>“Clustered ID: IE on Older Persons & SR on Right to Development—9th Meeting, 42nd Regular Session Human Rights Council” [Webcast], *United Nations Web TV*, September 11, 2019, 1:52:43; Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva and Other International Organizations in Switzerland, “Zhongguo daibiaotuan fu daibiao Zhao Xing guanyu ‘Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa’ deng wenti de

## Tibet

dabian” [China delegation vice delegate Zhao Xing’s reply to questions on “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism”], September 14, 2007.

<sup>47</sup>For more information on the Panchen Lama and his parents, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2004-00835 on Gedun Choekyi Nyima, 2004-01274 on Dechen Choedron, and 2004-01336 on Konchog Phuntsog.

<sup>48</sup>“China Says Boy Picked by Dalai Lama Now a College Graduate,” *Associated Press*, May 19, 2020.

<sup>49</sup>“Clustered ID: IE on Older Persons & SR on Right to Development—9th Meeting, 42nd Regular Session Human Rights Council” [Webcast], *United Nations Web TV*, September 11, 2019, 1:52:43.

<sup>50</sup>This cumulative total does not include six deaths by self-immolation of Tibetans in 2012 and 2013, four of which were reportedly property-related protests, and two of which were initially reported as accidental and later as self-immolations. “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, updated January 10, 2017; CECC, *2017 Annual Report*, October 5, 2017, 301–2; CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 294–95; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 295. See also International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolations,” December 2, 2019.

<sup>51</sup>“Former Tibetan Monk Stages Fatal Self-Immolation Protest in Ngaba,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 28, 2019; “Tibetan Self-Immolator’s Family Are Held by Police for Questioning,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 5, 2019; “Xizang Aba Yundan zifen, liuwang Zangren wei ta qidao he aidao” [Yonten self-immolates in Ngaba, Tibet, exiled Tibetans pray and mourn for him], *Tibet Post International*, December 3, 2019.

<sup>52</sup>“Former Tibetan Monk Stages Fatal Self-Immolation Protest in Ngaba,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 28, 2019; “Tibetan Self-Immolator’s Family Are Held by Police for Questioning,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 5, 2019; “Xizang Aba Yundan zifen, liuwang Zangren wei ta qidao he aidao” [Yonten self-immolates in Ngaba, Tibet, exiled Tibetans pray and mourn for him], *Tibet Post International*, December 3, 2019.

<sup>53</sup>“Tibetan Self-Immolator’s Family Are Held by Police for Questioning,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 5, 2019.

<sup>54</sup>For analyses of recent developments in Chinese ethnic policy, see, e.g., Jessica Batke, “Party All the Time: Governance and Society in the New Era,” *China Leadership Monitor*, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, no. 55 (Winter 2018), January 23, 2018, 7–8; James Leibold, “Planting the Seed: Ethnic Policy in Xi Jinping’s New Era of Cultural Nationalism,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, December 31, 2019, 9–14.

<sup>55</sup>*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 9, 12, 31, 39, 40, 41. Article 9 requires the regional government to oversee implementation of the measures as planned by county-level jurisdictions and carried out by township-level jurisdictions. Article 31 of the Regulations provides for the governmental recognition of model governments, work units, corporations, and individuals. Article 12 requires governments at all levels to “comprehensively strengthen education in the language and script used commonly in the nation,” referring to standard Mandarin. See also *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Tongyong Yuyan Wenzhi Fa* [PRC Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language], passed October 31, 2000, effective January 1, 2001, art. 2.

<sup>56</sup>*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 20, 21.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, arts. 19, 30.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 24.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 19.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 30.

<sup>61</sup>*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 25, 27; Laba Ciren and Gama Duoje, “Sheli ‘Xizang Baiwan Nongnu Jiefang Jinian Ri’ jielu jiu Xizang nongnu zhidu de fandong yu he’an” [Establishment of “Tibetan Serfs Emancipation Day” exposes reactionary and dark nature of old Tibet’s system of serfdom], *Xinhua*, January 19, 2009, reprinted in CCTV.

<sup>62</sup>*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, art. 28.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 46(1), (2).

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 46(4).

<sup>65</sup>*Xinjiang Weiwu’er Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Gongzuo Tiaoli* [Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Regulations on Ethnic Unity and Progress Work], passed December 29, 2015, effective January 1, 2016.

<sup>66</sup>*Qinghai Sheng Cujin Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Tiaoli* [Qinghai Province Regulations on Promoting Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed March 22, 2019, effective May 1, 2019.

<sup>67</sup>*Yunnan Sheng Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Shifan Qu Jianshe Tiaoli* [Yunnan Province Regulations on Building a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 31, 2019, issued May 1, 2019.

<sup>68</sup>Free Tibet, “Hundreds of Tibetan Monks Instructed to Praise Chinese Communist Party in Choreographed Video,” September 26, 2019; “National Day Arrests, Forced Singing of China’s Praises Rankle Tibetans,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 3, 2019; “Zang sheng chu ruoshi diwei Lasa shimin bei bi aiguo” [Tibetan students put at disadvantage, Lhasa residents forced [to be] patriotic], *Radio Free Asia*, October 23, 2019.

<sup>69</sup>“Ju peihe choubei Zhonggong Guoqing huodong, Xizang Naqu liu ming Zangren bei juya” [For refusing to cooperate in preparing for Communist Party’s National Day activities, six Tibet-

ans in Nagchu, Tibet, detained], *Voice of Tibet*, September 28, 2019; Free Tibet, “Six Arrested after Refusing to Participate in CCP Celebrations,” September 30, 2019. For more information, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2019-00517 on Tsegyal, 2019-00518 on Yangphel, 2019-00519 on Sithar Wanggyal, 2019-00520 on Dudul Lhagye, 2019-00521 on Shewang Namgyal, and 2019-00522 on Norzang.

<sup>70</sup>Ju peihe choubei Zhonggong Guoqing huodong, Xizang Naqu liu ming Zangren bei juya” [For refusing to cooperate in preparing for Communist Party’s National Day activities, six Tibetans in Nagchu, Tibet, detained], *Voice of Tibet*, September 28, 2019; “Jujue ‘Guoqing’ Xizang Naqu yi beibu Zangren ren shizong” [One Tibetan detained in Nagchu, Tibet, for rejecting “National Day” still missing], *Radio Free Asia*, October 15, 2019.

<sup>71</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod rang btsan gyi shog dril gtor mkhan Bod mi 5 ‘dzin bzung byas ‘dug” [5 Tibetans who demonstrated for Tibetan independence detained], *Tibet Times*, November 18, 2019; “Four Tibetan Monks Are Detained after Calling for Tibet’s Independence,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 19, 2019. For more information on the monks, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2019-00539 on Kunsal, 2019-00544 on Tsultrim, 2019-00545 on Tame, and 2019-00546 on Sota.

<sup>72</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod rang btsan gyi shog dril gtor mkhan Bod mi 5 ‘dzin bzung byas ‘dug” [5 Tibetans who demonstrated for Tibetan independence detained], *Tibet Times*, November 18, 2019; “Four Tibetan Monks Are Detained after Calling for Tibet’s Independence,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 19, 2019. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00547 on Shergyam.

<sup>73</sup>David Thomas, “China Detains Six Tibetans over Distributing Leaflets Calling Tibet’s Independence,” *Tibet Post International*, November 20, 2019. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00548 on Nyime (or Nyimi).

<sup>74</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Rdza dbon po nas yang bskyar Bod mi gnyis ‘dzin bzung byas” [Two more Tibetans from Dza Bonpo detained], *Tibet Times*, November 21, 2019; David Thomas, “Two Detained in Tibet over Peaceful Protest Calling Independence from China,” *Tibet Post International*, November 22, 2019. For more information, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2019-00554 on Yonten and 2019-00555 on Lhagyal (or Choegyal).

<sup>75</sup>“Chinese Police Swarm Tibetan Township after Independence Protests,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 25, 2019.

<sup>76</sup>Free Tibet, “Authorities Arrest Over 30 Tibetans in Government Clampdown,” January 7, 2020.

<sup>77</sup>TAR Office of the Leading Small Group of “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, TAR Finance Department, TAR Press Publications Bureau, and TAR Copyright Bureau, *Xizang Zizhiqu “Saohuang Dafei” Gongzuo Jubao Jiangli Banfa* [Tibet Autonomous Region Measures for Rewarding Reporting on “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]”], effective September 12, 2019, reprinted in *Tibet Daily*, March 27, 2020. The four issuing agencies are the TAR Office of the Leading Small Group of “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, the TAR Finance Department, the TAR Press Publications Bureau, and the TAR Copyright Bureau.

<sup>78</sup>TAR Office of the Leading Small Group of “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, TAR Finance Department, TAR Press Publications Bureau, and TAR Copyright Bureau, *Xizang Zizhiqu “Saohuang Dafei” Gongzuo Jubao Jiangli Banfa* [Tibet Autonomous Region Measures for Rewarding Reporting on “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]”], effective September 12, 2019, reprinted in *Tibet Daily*, March 27, 2020, art. 7.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 8.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(3, 4).

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(2, 9).

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(4).

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(1).

<sup>84</sup>International Campaign for Tibet, “Anti-Porn Measures Criminalize Discussion of Tibetan Autonomy,” April 6, 2020.

<sup>85</sup>TAR Office of the Leading Small Group of “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, TAR Finance Department, TAR Press Publications Bureau, and TAR Copyright Bureau, *Xizang Zizhiqu “Saohuang Dafei” Gongzuo Jubao Jiangli Banfa* [Tibet Autonomous Region Measures for Rewarding Reporting on “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]”], effective September 12, 2019, reprinted in *Tibet Daily*, March 27, 2020, art. 4(1.1, 1.2).

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(1.2).

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 4(1.2).

<sup>88</sup>Free Tibet, “Authorities Investigate over 4,000 Households in Tibet with Ties outside the Country,” May 6, 2020.

<sup>89</sup>“Xizang Naqu you yi Zangren bei bu shizong” [In Nagchu, Tibet, another Tibetan detained and disappeared], *Radio Free Asia*, November 5, 2019. For more information on Lhadar, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00526.

<sup>90</sup>International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetans Detained Prior to Dalai Lama Nobel Prize Anniversary in Apparent WeChat Crackdown,” December 17, 2019; “Rgan gya nas Bod mi gsum gyis phyi phyogs su ‘brel ba byas tshul gyis ‘dzin bzung byas ‘dug” [Three Tibetans from Gangya detained for foreign contacts], *Radio Free Asia*, December 18, 2019. Authorities also detained a third individual whose name was not reported. For more information on the detainees, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2020-00008 on Lubum Dorje and 2020-00009 on Tsegan.

<sup>91</sup>PRC Constitution, passed and effective December 4, 1982 (amended March 11, 2018), art. 4; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Minzu Quyu Zizhi Fa* [PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law], passed May 31, 1984, effective October 1, 1984, amended February 28, 2001, art. 10; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Tongyong Yuyan Wenzhi Fa* [PRC Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language], passed October 31, 2000, effective January 1, 2001, art. 8.

## Tibet

<sup>92</sup>See, e.g., State Council Information Office, “Minzu Quyu Zizhi Zhidu zai Xizang de Chenggong Shijian” [Successful Practice of Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet], September 6, 2015, sec. 6. The State Council White Paper on the ethnic autonomy system in the Tibet Autonomous Region notes bilingual education policy in Tibetan and Chinese, but does not mention use of any other languages in schools or any other context.

<sup>93</sup>Gerald Roche, “Articulating Language Oppression: Colonialism, Coloniality and the Erasure of Tibet’s Minority Languages,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 53, no. 5 (2019): 498.

<sup>94</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Bilingual Education Policy in Tibet: The Systematic Replacement of Tibetan Language with Mandarin Chinese,” April 14, 2017, 85–89; Human Rights Watch, “China’s ‘Bilingual Education’ Policy in Tibet: Tibetan-Medium Schooling under Threat,” March 4, 2020.

<sup>95</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China’s ‘Bilingual Education’ Policy in Tibet: Tibetan-Medium Schooling under Threat,” March 4, 2020, 37–38.

<sup>96</sup>“Classroom Instruction Switch from Tibetan to Chinese in Ngaba Sparks Worry, Anger,” *Radio Free Asia*, April 9, 2020. See also “Tibetan Schoolchildren Lose Fluency in Native Languages as Schools Switch to Mandarin,” *Radio Free Asia*, April 16, 2020.

<sup>97</sup>“Classroom Instruction Switch from Tibetan to Chinese in Ngaba Sparks Worry, Anger,” *Radio Free Asia*, April 9, 2020; “Nomads Appeal Plan to Make Tibetan Schools in Ngaba Teach in Chinese,” *Radio Free Asia*, April 23, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Ngaba Highlights Erosion of Tibetan Language Instruction,” April 28, 2020. See also UN Human Rights Council, Education, Language and the Human Rights of Minorities: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, A/HRC/43/47, January 9, 2020, paras. 50, 52. In a report on minority rights to mother-tongue education, the UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues described the advantages accruing to students taught in their native language.

<sup>98</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China’s ‘Bilingual Education’ Policy in Tibet: Tibetan-Medium Schooling under Threat,” March 4, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Ngaba Highlights Erosion of Tibetan Language Instruction,” April 28, 2020. See also UN Human Rights Council, Education, Language and the Human Rights of Minorities: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, A/HRC/43/47, January 9, 2020; Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of November 20, 1989, entry into force September 2, 1990, art. 30; United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, accessed May 31, 2020. Article 30 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which China has signed and ratified, protects cultural, religious, and linguistic rights of minority children.

<sup>99</sup>“Tibetan Monk Arrested by Chinese Police Last Month Remains Missing,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 4, 2019; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Detained for Criticising China’s Policy on Tibetan Language at High Risk of Torture,” November 11, 2019. For more information on Sonam Palden, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2019-00416.

<sup>100</sup>“Tibetan Monk Arrested by Chinese Police Last Month Remains Missing,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 4, 2019; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Detained for Criticising China’s Policy on Tibetan Language at High Risk of Torture,” November 11, 2019.

<sup>101</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Detained for Criticising China’s Policy on Tibetan Language at High Risk of Torture,” November 11, 2019.

<sup>102</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Man Criminally Detained for Phone Conversation about Tibetan Language Education,” December 20, 2019; Tibet Watch, “Tibetan Man Detained in a ‘Re-education Centre’ over Phone Conversation,” January 8, 2020.

<sup>103</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Man Criminally Detained for Phone Conversation about Tibetan Language Education,” December 20, 2019; Tibet Watch, “Tibetan Man Detained in a ‘Re-education Centre’ over Phone Conversation,” January 8, 2020.

<sup>104</sup>See, e.g., Sonam Lhundrop, “The ‘Wounded Weanling’: An Introduction to Daofu, the Epicenter of the Coronavirus Epidemic in the Tibetan Regions of China,” University of Westminster, Contemporary China Centre Blog, March 6, 2020; “Tibetans Cautious as Virus Restrictions Ease in Some Areas,” *Radio Free Asia*, March 31, 2020.

<sup>105</sup>“Tibetan New Year in Lhasa Celebrated at Home amid Virus Fears,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 26, 2020.

<sup>106</sup>Zhamo and Daojie, “Zhonggong zai Xizang dongbu Daofu xian fabu tonggao jinzhi chuanbo yu yiqing youguan de xunxi” [Communist Party in eastern Tibet’s Daofu county issues notice banning spreading of information about epidemic], *Voice of Tibet*, February 11, 2020; Tibet Autonomous Region Internet Information Office and Tibet Autonomous Region Public Security Department, *Guanyu Yanli Daji Wangluo Feifa Huodong de Tonggao* [Announcement on Striking Hard against Illegal Online Activities], February 4, 2020.

<sup>107</sup>“Xizang yi wangmin fabu yiqing yaoyan, bei yifa juliu 8 tian” [Tibetan netizen sends epidemic rumor, detained 8 days in accordance with law], *Tibet Commercial Daily*, February 5, 2020, reprinted in *Naqu Tibet News*; “Seven Detained in Tibet For ‘Spreading Rumors’ on the Coronavirus Threat,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 10, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Coronavirus Response in Tibet: Arrests, Crackdown, Religious Repression,” February 13, 2020; Free Tibet, “Three Tibetans Detained for Spreading ‘Rumours’ about Coronavirus,” April 3, 2020. See also Tibet Watch, “Crackdown on Communications in Areas of Tibet amidst Coronavirus Crisis,” March 19, 2020.

<sup>108</sup>International Campaign for Tibet, “Coronavirus Response in Tibet: Arrests, Crackdown, Religious Repression,” February 13, 2020; “Authorities in Tibetan Capital Lhasa Arrest 10 for Breaching Coronavirus Protocol,” *Radio Free Asia*, March 19, 2020. See also Tibet Watch, “Crackdown on Communications in Areas of Tibet amidst Coronavirus Crisis,” March 19, 2020.

<sup>109</sup>See, e.g., Wang Yamei, “Living Environment of Relocated People Improved in Tibet, China,” *Xinhua*, January 22, 2020; Wang Chao, “Xizang jianding buyi tuijin shengtai wenming jianshe: rang luse chengwei zui mei di se” [Tibet unswervingly carries forward with the con-

struction of ecological civilization: making green become the most beautiful color], *China Tibet News*, May 18, 2020.

<sup>110</sup>See, e.g., Zhou Tingting, “Zai yixian ganshou Xizang Changdu shi yidi fupin banqian gongzuo: youjia youye you xingfu” [Experiencing poverty alleviation resettlement work on the front line in Changdu, Tibet: with a home and job comes happiness], *Tibet Daily*, May 10, 2020; Wang Chao, “Xizang jiangding buyi tuijin shengtai wenming jianshe: rang luse chengwei zui mei di se” [Tibet unswervingly carries forward with the construction of ecological civilization: making green become the most beautiful color], *China Tibet News*, May 18, 2020.

<sup>111</sup>Priyadarshi R. Shukla et al. (eds.), “Climate Change and Land: An IPCC Special Report on Climate Change, Desertification, Land Degradation, Sustainable Land Management, Food Security, and Greenhouse Gas Fluxes in Terrestrial Ecosystems,” Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2019, 456; Hans-Otto Pörtner et al. (eds.), “Chapter 2: High Mountain Asia,” in *Special Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2019, 54; Gabriel Lafitte, “Tibet: Nomads Caught between Climate Change and Government ‘Conservation,’” *Minority and Indigenous Trends 2019*, Minority Rights Group International, June 2019, 124–27.

<sup>112</sup>Ryan Woo, “As China Forges Ecological Future, Tibetans Relinquish Nomadic Past,” *Reuters*, September 26, 2019; Dechen Palmo, “Tibet’s Rivers Will Determine Asia’s Future,” *The Diplomat*, November 1, 2019; Jianjun Cao et al., “Grassland Degradation on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau: Reevaluation of Causative Factors,” *Rangeland Ecology & Management* 72, no. 6 (November 2019): 988–95; Gabriel Lafitte, “Tibet: Nomads Caught between Climate Change and Government ‘Conservation,’” *Minority and Indigenous Trends 2019*, Minority Rights Group International, June 2019, 124–27. See also Christina Larson and Emily Wang, “China Aims to Build Its Own Yellowstone on Tibetan Plateau,” *Associated Press*, November 12, 2019.

<sup>113</sup>Hans-Otto Pörtner et al. (eds.), “Chapter 2: High Mountain Asia,” in *Special Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate*, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2019, 11, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, 29, 30, 48, 49.

<sup>115</sup>See, e.g., CECC, *2016 Annual Report*, October 6, 2016, 307–8; CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 208–9, 299; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 299.

<sup>116</sup>Free Tibet, “Tibetan Activist Handed Seven Year Prison Sentence,” December 6, 2019; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China: Tibetan Anti-Graft Campaigners Sentenced on Bogus Charges in a Show Trial,” December 16, 2019. For more information on Anya Sengdra, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00353.

<sup>117</sup>*Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Xing Fa* [PRC Criminal Law], passed July 1, 1979, revised March 14, 1997, amended and effective November 4, 2017, art. 293.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, art. 290.

<sup>119</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Detains Tibetan Anti-Corruption Activist on Politicised Charge of ‘Provoking Trouble,’” December 20, 2018.

<sup>120</sup>Tibet Watch, “Eight Tibetans Detained for ‘Organising a Mob to Disturb Social Order,’” September 3, 2019.

<sup>121</sup>For information on the detainees, see the following records in the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database: 2020-00015 on Sodung, 2020-00016 on Jamtri, 2020-00017 on Ashol, 2020-00018 on Dosang, 2020-00019 on Wanggyal, 2020-00020 on Gyaltzen, 2020-00021 on Ngobe, 2020-00022 on Orgyen Tsering, and 2020-00023 on Wangchen.

<sup>122</sup>Tibet Watch, “Eight Tibetans Detained for ‘Organising a Mob to Disturb Social Order,’” September 3, 2019.

<sup>123</sup>Free Tibet, “Tibetan Activist Handed Seven Year Prison Sentence,” December 6, 2019; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Anti-Corruption Campaigner to Appeal 7-Year Prison Sentence,” December 20, 2019.