



INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

ICT'S TIBET ROUNDUP — ISSUE 2

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ICT's Tibet Roundup is a twice-monthly compilation of curated news from various sources, including Chinese state media, official Chinese documents, briefings, information reported by Tibetans in Tibet and international commentary on Tibet. The roundup is organized in categories, including law, politics, culture, economics, climate and commentary. The focus is on presenting news and reports with limited analysis and editorializing.

POLITICS

1. Dingri reconstruction efforts raise concerns about cultural identity and government control

Chinese state media [Xinhua](#) reported on March 3 that the state-led reconstruction of eight villages in Dingri County that were severely affected by the January 7 earthquake, has begun. The report also revealed that 120,000 Tibetans have been living in temporary shelters since the earthquake and are expected to move into their new homes by the end of 2025. According to the plan, several villages in the earthquake belt or in areas prone to landslides or floods will be relocated away from their ancestral homes. This is in line with China's policies to displace Tibetans living at altitudes over 4,000 meters to lower regions, and often to populate international border areas. Reiterating the party-state rhetoric, state media carried quotes from the construction company mentioning key phrases like "ecological and environmental protection" and "providing employment opportunities for villagers." It is highly probable that the reconstructed homes will be built in Beijing's image, similar to the previous reconstruction after the 2010 earthquake in Kyegudo (Yushu).

A [key indication](#) of Beijing's plan was revealed by Wang Fanghong, a deputy to the National People's Congress and the mayor of Shigatse City, on March 6 at China's annual "two sessions." Wang outlined that the reconstruction plan will "adopt a combination of 'unified regulations and unified construction' and 'unified regulations and self-construction' to promote the construction of residential houses. In terms of design, they will draw on the essence of traditional Tibetan architecture, reserve space for production and living development, and avoid reconstructing villages that are 'same' and 'stereotyped.'"

2. Kanlho prefecture security conference call for proactive creation of stability

The officially designated Kanlho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture government [reported](#) that a security conference, chaired by Prefecture Party Secretary He Moubiao, was held in Hezou on March 4. During the meeting, the party secretary emphasized implementing General Secretary Xi Jinping's directives and the Party's strategy for governing Tibet. He called for tightening security controls, identifying risks, and reinforcing the "Security Network" to ensure stability. The meeting stressed the need for all levels of government to take responsibility for security, expand "Three Consciousnesses" education in Tibetan Buddhist communities, and implement the "Five Full Coverage of Mass Work." He Moubiao also emphasized cracking down on "illegal activities", strengthening religious affairs management, and solidifying national security measures.

3. Nation-state or state-nation?

As Xi Jinping Thought becomes increasingly entrenched in China's academic and political spheres, ostensibly for CCP regime security and party control, China's ethnology discipline is challenging the Westphalian nation-state theory on grounds of relativism.

Chinese academics, consistently instructed to align their work with Xi Jinping Thought to strengthen a sense of community for the Chinese nation, are now voicing challenges to the Western nation-state concept in favor of a Chinese ethnology-driven state-nation theory. This shift reflects the CCP's efforts to develop a theoretical framework to justify policies of assimilation and cultural suppression, particularly in regions like Xinjiang (which the Uyghurs know as East Turkistan) and Tibet, where the CCP has intensified efforts to reshape ethnic, cultural, and religious identities in line with state ideology.

China's [State Ethnic Affairs Commission](#) in a post on March 6 ostensibly showcasing compliance with General Secretary Xi Jinping's instructions at the National Conference on Commendation of National Unity and Progress held in September 2024 carried multiple quotes from state backed academics justifying Xi's requirement for theorization of Chinese nation community.

Zhang Jijiao, researcher at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences wrote "... some Chinese scholars actively transcend the Western "nation-state" theory and explore the construction of a Chinese-style "state-nation" theory that conforms to China's national conditions, proving that China is not a "nation-state" and that the Western "nation-state" theory is not applicable to China.

RELIGION

4. Senior Party Official instructs prioritization of security and stability at Samye Monastery in Lhoka

On March 3, 2025, Wang Haizhou, member of the Standing Committee of the officially designated Tibet Autonomous Region Party Committee and Minister of the Propaganda Department, led a work team to Samye Monastery in Lhoka City to oversee social stability, security, and religious affairs management, reported Chinese state media [Tibet Daily](#). Wang instructed prioritizing security and stability in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries as the year marks the 60th anniversary of the establishment of officially designated “Tibet autonomous region”. Wang instructed deepening of the “Chinese national community” and “Three Consciousnesses” among monks and believers “to guide everyone to love the communist party, love the motherland, and love the socialism...” He called for stricter daily supervision of religious affairs “by formulating detailed rectification lists, drawing lessons from the problems identified, and implementing effective measures to rectification, ensuring that the issues are resolved thoroughly and do not recur.”

COMMENTARY

5. The Dalai Lama's new book suggests successor may be born outside China

In his new book “Voice for the Voiceless”, released on March 11, 2025, and the accompanying opinion piece published in the [Washington Post](#), the Dalai Lama addresses the future of Tibet and continuation of his lineage. He emphasized the importance of traditional Tibetan Buddhist methods in recognizing his successor, urging Tibetans and Buddhists worldwide to reject any politically motivated candidate chosen by the Chinese government. He also unequivocally stated that the next Dalai Lama, if necessary, will be born in the free world to continue the traditional role of being a voice for universal compassion, a spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, and a symbol of Tibet embodying the aspirations of the Tibetan people.

In the opinion piece, the Dalai Lama shared his thoughts as

“...many Tibetans are concerned about what would happen to my people and homeland if no resolution is found during my life. Today, because any expression of Tibetan identity seems to be increasingly viewed as a threat by Beijing leadership, there is the danger that in the name of “stability” and “territorial integrity” attempts might be made to erase our civilization. Given that ours is a struggle of a people with a long history of distinct civilization, it will, if necessary, continue beyond my lifetime.”

Similarly, the Dalai Lama in his latest book states,

“In summing up my thoughts on the question of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama in that 2011 official statement, I urged that unless the recognition of the next Dalai Lama is done through traditional Tibetan Buddhist methods, no acceptance should be given by the Tibetan people and Tibetan Buddhists across the world to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People’s Republic of China. Now, since the purpose of a reincarnation is to carry on the work of the predecessor, the new Dalai Lama will be born in the free world so that the traditional mission of the Dalai Lama – that is, to be the voice for universal compassion, the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, and the symbol of Tibet embodying the aspirations of the Tibetan people – will continue.”

The Chinese [foreign ministry](#) in response to a journalist’s question on March 11 regarding the Dalai Lama’s statement reiterated the Chinese state approach to a religious issue. The spokesperson pointed to the Chinese government’s order no 5 issued in 2007 in stating, “The Chinese government issued Regulations on Religious Affairs and Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas...The reincarnation of Living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations ...and follow the process that consists of search and identification in China...”

We welcome your feedback! Send any thoughts about ICT’s Tibet Roundup and ideas for future changes to research@savetibet.org.



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