

# ཟླ་གསུམ་ལོ་དག་གནས་དབྱེད་ཡིག།

## TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF

Volume: 2 | Issue: 01 | January - March 2020



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TIBET POLICY INSTITUTE

Central Tibetan Administration, Gangchen Kyishong  
Dharamshala, Distt Kangra, H.P. India 176215  
Phone +91-1892-223556, 222403

E-mail: [communication@tibetpolicy.net](mailto:communication@tibetpolicy.net) | Web: [tibetpolicy.net](http://tibetpolicy.net)

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# NEWS FROM TIBET

## Human Rights and Surveillance in Tibet

**2 January 2020:** Sam-Ki-Shing-Kham, the digital news forum in Tibet, released a report in its website titled "Relocated more than 2900 Tibetan Nomads Successfully". A report states that Chinese authority has successfully relocated more than 2900 Tibetan nomads from three village units of Tso-Nyi district which comes under the jurisdiction of Nachu county of the Tibet Autonomous Region. These three village units of Nachu county are Kar-Tso-Shing, Tso-Diel-Jang-Ma-Shing and Yak-Chu-Shing. A word "Shing" is the Chinese terminology, which refers to the lowest political administrative level in Tibet. Authority has allocated their living accommodations in Gongkar district of Lhoka county, which is situated at the southern bank of the Yalung-Tsangpo. This relocation of the Tibetan nomads is one of the largest mass resettlement trips since the beginning of this project implementation in Tibet.

It is primarily targeted to eradicate the traditional livelihood of Tibetan nomads. In this case, Chinese authority could systemically eradicate the traditional Tibetan nomad's way of life. The Tibetan nomadic life-system is one of the backbones of Tibetan culture and tradition. Constricting Tibetan nomads in concrete building makes them miserable, which also deprives them of their natural rights to freely access the Tibetan Plateau.

**2 January 2020:** According to the Centre for China Analysis and Strategy, a prominent abbot of Larung Gar, Khenpo Sodargye, is reportedly said to have announced the closure of the Buddhist Centers of Compassion and Wisdom all around the world. Khenpo Sodargye is an important Khenpo of Larung Gar and a prominent translator of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

**6 January 2020:** International Campaign for Tibet has released a report titled "More than 30 Tibetans imprisoned after protests in Sershul". A report says that "more than 30 Tibetan monks and laypeople were imprisoned for two weeks in a harsh crackdown in Sershul (Chinese: Shiqu) in eastern Tibet following the arrest of seven Tibetans there for protests in November."

Jampa Yonten, a former monk from Dza Wonpo monastery has informed that "more than 30 local people were held in the town detention center from around November 21 to December 12 2020". According to the same source, "the detained Tibetans had fallen under suspicion of the police for such reasons as keeping images of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, having contacts with Tibetans outside Tibet, or demonstrating an uncooperative attitude toward officials. Conditions in detention were harsh, and the Tibetans were given only tsampa (roasted barley flour) to eat".

Sershul protest against the Chinese authority is due to the continuous imposition of Chinese communist ideological education in Dza Wonpo monastery, which goes against the fundamental principal of the traditional Tibetan Buddhist monastic learning and practice. And also, Chinese troops held intimidating military drills in its town, which is administrated under Kardze (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province.

According to the detailed accounts of sources whom have informed International Campaign for Tibet, "local people's homes were searched and their cellphones checked by authorities, with an unknown number interrogated by police and public security officials. Tibetans in the town were also warned by

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officials that they would not be allowed to participate in the future in any “political” activities—a term the officials can define as they wish.”

Chinese authority forced to resettle nomads from the Sersshul region, aiming to destroy the livestock of Tibetan nomads in the region. At the same time, local Chinese authority has put pressure on Sersshul Tibetan residents to pay homage to the Chinese Communist Party and its ideology. Ironically, Chinese police and public security officers have threatened Tibetans on displaying images of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Instead of that, security personals have forced Tibetans to display photos of the Chinese communist leaders in their houses.

**12 January 2020:** Bitter Winter, an online journal for monitoring Human Rights and Religious Rights in China, reported that Chinese authority has sent more 200 Chinese cadres for monitoring the daily activities of monks in Gonling-Gon Jampaling Monastery. The monastery is one of the four greatest monasteries of Gelung sect of the Tibetan Buddhism in Tibet. It is situated in Amdo province of Tibet. The prime objective of this Chinese vigilance committee is to monitoring social and religious interaction between monks and Tibetan visitors in its campus. The committee members are also taking classes for teaching Chinese patriotic education in the monastery which aims to indoctrinating monks to follow the path of Chinese communist ideology. This act of Chinese policy is totally against the fundamental principle of the Tibetan Buddhist monastic education system.

**22 January 2020:** Tibet Time released a report title “Chinese authority has forcefully controlling the birth fidelity of both Tibetan male and female in Tibet”. Chinese authorities have strictly imposed China’s three child policy campaign in Tibet. As per guideline of this policy, Chinese authority has forcefully imposed the birth control measures across the Tibetan Plateau. Since the beginning of year 2020, Chinese security force has enforced on both Tibetan males and females to engage with and enroll in this campaign. This campaign is forcefully implemented in towns and villages across Tibet.

As per procedure of birth control measurement, Chinese medical staffs have forcefully inserted a metal such like aluminum into Tibetan female’s private part for controlling their birth fidelity. They also cut male’s fidelity nerves for blocking productive cells.

Tibet Time has corresponded with a reliable informer from Tibet for getting detailed accounts on China’s imposition of birth control policy campaign in Tibet. According to a source, since the beginning of this year, Chinese authorities have stringently implemented its birth control policy in Lithang and Nangchu.

Chinese law enforcement agency has sent an official circulation of notice to those Tibetans who are having three or more children to be report at local Chinese offices for following up on its birth control law. Authority has fixed 1600 Yuan as a penalty those Tibetans who fail to report on the due date.

In fact, the size of Tibetan territory is 2.5 square million kms while the Tibetan population is just above six million. As per universal human development index, Tibetan population is very less in accordance with the sheer size of the territory. Therefore, China has to encourage Tibetans for produce more children rather than controlling their population.

**22 January 2020:** The Pandemic Covid-19 has left the world in a limbo. The anxiety behind residents in Tibet and outside Tibet has increased due to several issues. Tibetans inside Tibet are worried that the possible spread of the infectious virus will increase with the visitors being allowed to travel from China to Tibet. In a great dismay, while all the flights from Wuhan to other Chinese cities are closed except the flights to Tibet, Xinjiang and Xining, many were critical and enraged about this arrangement, noting a

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sense of negligence and prejudice. In fact, this is the first time ever that, Barkor street in Lhasa, an ancient street surrounding the Jokhang Temple, apparently the holiest temple in Tibetan Buddhist area has been deserted for the past few days. The holiest Temple and the busiest street in Tibet was without any people circumambulating for the fear that the infectious virus might take a hold inside Tibet. Legitimacy and trust in Chinese rule over Tibet has been an issue since the PRC took over Tibet. China is a rising power for no doubt, and it is increasingly a nation under construction in terms of building its image on a global stage. The fact that China hid the first cases of Coronavirus outbreak reveals that Beijing places its national interest before its citizen's interest, a typical feature of a Chinese communist country. Therefore, human rights do not always appear in their agenda. For China, defending its national interest and its image has been the ultimate state priority. China is highly conscious of how it presents itself to the world and for fear of losing its face, Beijing went to extreme lengths in blacklisting whistleblowers (most of whom are renowned doctors) who first spread the news about Coronavirus despite government crackdown. It is not surprising that the top CCP leaders refuse to provide any official comments on the status of widespread Coronavirus, especially the people living in Wuhan. In fact, when first Coronavirus patient has been admitted to hospital in Tibet, it was written that the expert and not the authority urged the public not to enter Tibet since Tibet has limited medical resources, reported the Global Times. So much for Chinese muscle power and economic development in Tibet that China always glorifies!

This is definitely not the first time an epidemic emerged from China and more interestingly, there is a strong resemblance between Coronavirus and SARS which hit China last time that took millions of lives. The question is what China has learned from the past epidemic and what measures did they took to prevent Coronavirus.

There are few lessons from this incident. Although Chinese government should be responsible for the rapidly spreading disease, it is time for the Chinese authorities to put their economic power at its disposal and provide for its own people whatever it could. China has been successful outside its country for creating an image for itself, while it is another issue to see how China handles the situation within its country. Instead of the rising apprehension, China should provide all the assistance it could to the residents of Wuhan, provide all the medical care, food supplies, taking all the necessary assistance from the outside nation. While on a more positive note, several Tibetan monasteries participated in donating funds to the residents in Wuhan, the epicenter of the Corona Virus outbreak. The RFA reported that in Lhasa, major public gathering sites such as the Jokhang temple, the Potala Palace, and the Norbulingka—summer home of exiled Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama—were closed on Monday.

**25 January 2020:** According to the Centre for China Analysis and Strategy, the 11th TAR People's Congress passed new resolution in the third session. The committee decided that a "National Unity Affairs Office" will be established in TAR to regulate the progress of unity in the region. The office requires all levels of the community from government, companies, villages, schools, to military groups and religious organization to be involved for the work of "ethnic unity" in the TAR region.

The regulation also targets monasteries, monks and nuns. The regulation clearly dictates that they monks and nuns should adhere to the new regulation and implement the regulation of prioritizing national unity in the region. They were further told that "national unity" should be their personal objective and should work towards maintaining it.

Rinchen Sangmo a nun and Deputy Director of the Ani Tsankhung Nunnery said: "Monastic institutions are an important part of the Tibetan society, and the Regulations are a great tool to protect unity amongst

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the Tibetans in particular and of all other ethnic groups in general.” She reportedly said she would want to implement the new regulations in her nunnery. Eighty-three nuns also said have supported the new regulation.

**7 February 2020:** According to PB Potter, the relationship between religion and state power in China has long been contested because religion was a significant sources of resistance against authorities in imperial period and a potential source of threat to the present regime in China. The foreseeable threat that the Chinese leader anticipated is not only because most of the minority region in China are deeply devoted to their religion, but more importantly because their devotion and loyalty towards their religion unites them and define them. The CCP has issues with minorities and their religion because they do not prioritise their loyalty towards the Party over their faith in their religion. Therefore, China not only implements new policy regulations with regard to religious affairs but it stays firm in opposing any attempt to divide the country using religion. According to Tibet Daily, a new regulation is passed by the Tibet People’s Congress requiring all levels of government, companies, community organisations, villages, schools, military groups and religious activity centres be responsible for work on ethnic unity. The regulation to strengthen ethnic unity will take effect in May, a similar law introduced in Xinjiang four years earlier. The Global Times stated that it was the common responsibility for the people of all ethnic groups to safeguard national reunification, strengthen ethnic unity and take a clear-cut stand against separatism. The Chinese government’s obsession over national unity and social stability especially in the ethnic minority areas is quite evident in this new regulation. From Deng Xiaoping to the present leadership under Xi Jinping, religion in China has been treated as part of nationalist path that should contribute to the Party’s policy and China’s economic growth rather than treating religious freedom as an individual freedom of choice. In fact, Tibet is among the heaviest guarded region in China where people are deeply religious and devotees of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama is a spiritual leader, revered by Tibetans inside Tibet and outside who have been often deemed separatist by the Chinese government. In a recent turn of event, Tibetan students are barred from participating in any form of religious activity during their winter break. The International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) mentioned that a Dec. 31, 2019 directive sent by Lhasa Chengguan Haicheng Elementary School contained guidelines on winter break school tasks and projects, healthcare and forbidden behavior, including religious activities. This is clearly a violation against the principle of religious freedom stipulated in the constitution of PRC. However the constitution also states that the religious freedom stipulated in the constitution entails certain obligations and prohibit acts such as engaging in activities endangering national security, disturbing public order and any kind of crimes in the name of religion. The constitution, the new initiatives and the policies are regulation of religion, which are enforced through law, and administrative regulations. The Politburo Standing Committee member, the Politburo member in charge of propaganda, the Party’s United Front Work Department (UFWD), the State’s Council’s Religious Affairs Bureau, Public Security departments have all been distributed with responsibility to enforce regulations controlling religious activities or supervise over religious ceremonies.

**14 February 2020:** According to a report by Radio Free Asia, a Tibetan nun from Yachen Gar, who was expelled earlier in August 2019, has reportedly committed suicide in a detention camp. Reports say she was vocal against the political reeducation in the camp. It usually led to officials beating her. For many years Yachen Gar, an important Tibetan Buddhist Center, has been subjected to strict surveillance. Many nuns and monks have been expelled by the Chinese authorities and put in detention centers. Nuns and monks, those who were particularly from U-Tsang province ((TAR) were expelled and put into state-endorsed detention centers. The nun was critical of political re-education and expressed her disapproval



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which led to many officials disliking her. Last year, she was forcibly taken to the hospital without having health-related issues. She was called back ultimately to the detention center but because of great distress and torture by the officials in the detention centre, she ended her life by committing suicide.

**22 February 2020:** According to a Chinese state-run news channel, a Tibetan nurse from Qinghai province has volunteered to go and treat the COVID – 19 patients of Wuhan. The Tibetan nurse, Choegy Dolma, is the deputy nurse of the Hualong County Tibetan Medicine Hospital in Tsoshar prefecture. Choegy Dolma reportedly volunteered her service but another report by Radio Free Asia debunks this news. According to RFA’s source, the family members of the concerned nurse were unaware of her departure to Wuhan until she reached there. In the Hualong County Tibetan Medicine Hospital, there were discussions as to who should or willing to go. Since the Chinese nurses were unwilling to go, therefore, the Tibetan nurse was commanded to go to Wuhan.

**5 March 2020:** Since the beginning of the 21st century, a prominent development in the United States’ policy towards Tibet was seen in the form of enactment of a series of policies aimed to strengthen the U.S. stand on Tibet issue vis-a-vis China. The Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (TPA), for instance is a core legislative measure guiding U.S. policy toward Tibet and the Tibetan people. Its stated purpose is to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity. The changes in the U.S. approach to China, seen in the reciprocity in trade deals and especially in the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act that was signed by President Donald Trump into law in December 2018, was a strong response against China’s growing insensitivity and decades-long injustice. This was followed by yet another bill passed by the U.S. House of Representatives on January 28, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019. Zhang Tengjun of the Global Times alleged that these legislative measures have significantly questioned China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Notably, the U.S. concern over religious freedom in Tibet is by far a critical matter and a particular concern for Washington. Evidently, the above bill is significantly built on the issue of the Dalai Lama’s succession, calling Beijing to respect the Dalai Lama and his follower’s decision to select their own choice of successor. The bill goes as far as imposing sanctions and a visa ban on any Chinese officials who interferes in the selection of a successor to the Dalai Lama. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) Commissioner Gary Bauer highlights that this bill not only sends strong signal that the US support the role of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders in their selection of the next Dalai Lama but it will also consider any interference from the Chinese government as a violation of religious freedom. The USCIRF also documents China’s abuses against Christians, Uighur Muslims, Tibetan Buddhists, Falun Gong practitioners and others in its 2019 Annual Report calling the State Department to designate China as a country of ‘particular concern’ for its systematic violations of religious freedom since 1999. The Secretary of State Mike Pompeo singled out China, together with Iran, as the worst place in the world for those belonging to a minority religion, treating religious minorities as national security threats that require surveillance, imprisonment and sometimes death. Moreover, in the latest published report by Freedom House, which rated 210 countries and territories, in which and perhaps not surprisingly, Tibet was placed second on the list of least free country in the world after Syria for the fifth consecutive year. The report by the Freedom House revealed intensified pressure on civil liberties over the past few years, when censorship and surveillance reached new extremes. On a more revealing note, the Human Rights Watch on March 5, published a report on China’s bilingual education policy in Tibet, highlighting that the policy has accelerated the demise of Tibetan-medium instruction in primary schools in Tibetan areas. The report not only reveal the threats faced by the Tibetan language under the guise of improving access to education, but it also exposed the underneath state propaganda

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unleashed in the name of “strengthening the unity of nationalities.” Sophie Richardson, who heads the China section, concludes that China’s bilingual education policy is motivated by political imperatives rather than educational ones. She accuses the Chinese government for violating its international legal obligations to provide Tibetan-language instruction to Tibetans. The Tibetan language activist Tashi Wangchuk was also arrested in 2016 and charged with inciting separatism. Despite clear cases of human rights violation and growing religious persecution, the demolition of monasteries in Tibet still continues, while the rising number of self-immolations against the repressive policies endures. Under such circumstances, Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) President Lobsang Sangay and well known advocacy group, the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) in March, urged the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, to include Tibet in discussions with Chinese leaders ahead of her China visit. Bachelet announced her travel plans to China on Feb 27, including Xinjiang and requested “unfettered access” for her advance team to prepare for such a visit. The human rights violation in Tibet and Xinjiang are both troubling where UN should press the Chinese government for better access and more accountability on the ground to protect human rights. Although it is globally accepted that Tibet is part of China, the internationalisation of Tibetan cause, the far-reaching campaigns and the continuing advocacy of Tibet issue has sustained the struggle for a free Tibet, free from Chinese discrimination, subjugation and oppression.

**12 March 2020:** A source has quoted a statement from The Tibet Daily, a report dated on 12 March 2020, which stated that “the security bureau office in Lhasa is striking back against those social elements who go against the measures of containing and controlling the spread of COVID-19”.

A report further illustrated that "Lhasa police officially registered seven instances of people violating coronavirus prevention and control measures laid out by the government, with 10 people arrested. Additionally, police investigated 134 coronavirus related incidents and confiscated about 50,000 counterfeit face masks".

Officially, China declared that the Autonomous Region has no record of Coronavirus infected person. But, Chinese security bureau officials of Lhasa arrested ten Tibetans for violation of Coronavirus Protocol and investigated 134 local residences of Lhasa relating with Coronavirus crisis. This act of arresting and confiscating Coronavirus related matters has completely contradicted what Chinese state media’s reports regarding Coronavirus crisis in Lhasa city. As per guideline of the World Health Organization regarding the preventive measure of Coronavirus, social distancing and isolating in houses are the best precautions measures of preventing Coronavirus. Therefore, it is amply indicated that Chinese security personals were arresting Tibetans in guise of Coronavirus related incidents for evading international criticism for China’s violation of Human Rights in Tibet.

In the guise of Coronavirus protocol violation, Chinese security bureau officials have attempted to arrest Tibetans who are struggling for their basic human rights across Tibet. Chinese security force has considered the month of March a sensitive month for China’s national building and territorial integration. The commencement of 10th March 1959 Tibetan Uprising and 14th March 2014 Tibetan Resistance Movement are the two largest Tibetan freedom struggle movements against the China’s repression policy in Tibet.

**19 March 2020:** Radio Free Asia released a report titled "Authorities in Tibetan Capital Lhasa Arrest 10 for Breaching Coronavirus Protocol", which stated that Chinese law enforcement agency has arrested ten Tibetans for violating Coronavirus Protocol in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet. But international Human Rights advocate says that it is a guise of Chinese authority's political motive for harassing Tibetans who were engaged in the Tibetan freedom struggle movement.

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# COMMENTARIES

## US – China Relations: The normative clause of Tibet

- Tenzin Lhadon

Tibet remains a challenge for both U.S. and China because it is one of the most difficult issues in U.S.-China relations. The question is why is it so? In order to answer this query, it is important to make a sense of the historical trajectory of America's relation with Tibet and its involvement in Tibet issue vis-a-vis China. Why does Tibet matter and how does it affect U.S.-China relations? These questions are relevant because Tibet issue is still a continuing debate among the U.S. policymakers indicating that American interest in Tibet issue has not died out as many would like to believe. Although it is true that America's involvement in Tibet issue has reduced considerably in real politik sense, it is no doubt that the current political status of Tibet, the role of the Dalai Lama, the functions of the Tibet government in exile and the continuing activities in raising Tibet's profile internationally has prompted various U.S. lawmakers, congressmen and senators to extend their support for Tibet denouncing China's policies in Tibet.

It should be noted that there is a difference between American interest and American involvement in the Tibet question. The fascination over Tibet spurred by Hollywood movies such as the Seven Years in Tibet starring Brad Pitt and Martin Scorsece directed Kundun which is based on the Dalai Lama's own journey has left a strong impression on the Americans. The growing popularity and interest in Tibetan culture and religion further accentuated by famous Hollywood actors like Richard Gere's involvement has further internationalised the Tibet issue. The official U.S. involvement in the Tibet question has gone through different stages from maintaining a clandestine relations with Tibetan resistance group in the early 1960s to restrictions imposed on the Dalai Lama from visiting the U.S. after his exile, to publicly acknowledging the Tibet's cause. According to Dawa Norbu, Tibet was an instrumental means for the U.S. to regulate its relations with China during the Cold War period. The strategic value that he further noticed in the issue has rendered effective, several utilities for America's overall Asia strategy, although at the end, U.S. Tibet policy remained secondary to larger concerns in the region.

In the beginning, the U.S. had no coherent policy towards Tibet and provided no humanitarian or developmental assistance to the Tibetan people like it does now. In fact, Guangqiu Xu in his article, the United States and the Tibet Issue, adds that U.S. was largely not interested in Tibetan affairs until the Second World War, following which President Franklin Roosevelt send a letter and gifts to the present Dalai Lama with a purpose to build a supply route, thereby, establishing the first official U.S. contact with Tibet. Thenceforth, the U.S. stand on Tibet issue has undergone radical changes during the period of Reagan and Clinton administrations, while at the same time, the Tibet issue began to command the attention of both Congress and the White House. Today, from American Presidents to Cabinet members and Members of Congress, all have continuously encouraged the Chinese government to engage in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama's representatives. Indeed, President Bush became the first U.S. president to officially receive the Dalai Lama in Washington on April 1991 and his son, President G W Bush honoured the Dalai Lama with the highest civilian honour-the Congressional Gold Medal in September 2006, thereby recognising the Dalai Lama as a man of peace and reconciliation. Consequently and gradually, the Tibet issue started gaining prominence in the U.S. agenda, reinforcing American support through passing a historic comprehensive Tibet legislation- the Tibetan Policy Act (TPA) in 2002. Over



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the years, the legislature has passed a number of bills and resolutions to address human rights violations inside Tibet and put pressure on Beijing to change its treatment of the Tibetan people. China, on the other hand remains unchanged, and continues to condemn the U.S. for allegedly interfering in the internal affairs of China. In fact, the Global Times stated that such U.S. meddling in the domestic affairs will impede dialogue and mutual trust between the two countries, affecting their pragmatic cooperation and increasing the possibility of an all-out confrontation.

### **Internationalisation of Tibet issue: Changes and Directions**

Despite Tibet being a source of friction in the U.S.-China relationship, the Congress continues to show great interest in the issue, passing laws and resolutions related to Tibet and continue to pressure successive U.S. presidents on the affair. The international ascendance of the Dalai Lama, especially after the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, coupled with rising support from the Congress leading to internationalisation of Tibet issue, has been unprecedented and prevalent. However, with the inevitable global attention over Tibet, the metamorphosis from a strong political and sovereignty based issue to an exclusive cultural and religious affair was not envisaged for future Tibetan struggle by Tibetans. It is prejudiced to define and treat Tibet exclusively based on the prerogative of the global setting, one that is western - centric in nature, and more importantly, one that fails to address the entirety of Tibet issue without taking into all of its historical, political and social complexities.

With the internationalisation of the issue, the question that often arises is, has Tibet's political interest been constrained by its receding priority on the global stage and overshadowed by agendas set by the U.S. which do not necessarily resonate with the former. Considering how the issue is played out globally and internally, the implicit position of the Tibetan exile polity and stand on Tibetan struggle seems to be drawn according to how others (U.S. in particular) treat Tibet issue rather than acknowledging it as an independent entity. The problem lies in the fact that the internationalisation of Tibet issue was never meant to progress in a way that it became dependent on other's national interest, but rather remarkably began with the view that with the help of foreign governments' support and aid, Tibetans would raise the Tibet issue independently. The idea was to capitalise on the gains from internationalisation of the issue, not to develop on it and turn it into a subordinate one. However, this was not meant to emphasise or deemphasise the independence of Tibet as the struggle was based on the belief that it is seeking truth, and seeking to be treated with respect including its history, culture and identity.

However, the internationalisation of the Tibet issue consequently reduced it from a political issue (a statehood issue) to a mere human rights issue (social and cultural issue). Secondly, while the Tibet issue was discussed globally, it is also a fact that the issue has been victimised and sympathised rather than being recognize as the struggle of the Tibetans against Chinese atrocities, one which needs great amount of courage and sacrifice. The victimisation of the Tibetan struggle for nationhood is not only disempowering, it most often dissuade Tibetans from more active involvement in the struggle for freedom. And finally, while Tibetans welcome the world community's reciprocity and their concerns over Tibet issue, it is simultaneously true that with the internationalisation of the issue, it has become a dependent entity from an independent entity, defining the issue as one that solely relies on international support, making it vulnerable and facile. Despite the victimisation and the challenges, it is true at the same time that because Tibet issue could gain international concern and support, especially in the U.S. and in Europe, it tremendously helped the Tibetan struggle in many ways considering the Chinese intransigence on the issue of Tibet.

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## U.S. – Tibet – China: Recent developments

Since the beginning of the 21st century, a prominent development in the United States' policy towards Tibet was seen in the form of enactment of a series of policies aimed to strengthen the U.S. stand on Tibet issue vis-a-vis China. The Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (TPA), for instance is a core legislative measure guiding U.S. policy toward Tibet and the Tibetan people. Its stated purpose is to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity. The changes in the U.S. approach to China, seen in the reciprocity in trade deals and especially in the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act that was signed by President Donald Trump into law in December 2018, was a strong response against China's growing insensitivity and decades-long injustice. This was followed by yet another bill passed by the U.S. House of Representatives on January 28, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019. Zhang Tengjun of the Global Times alleged that these legislative measures have significantly questioned China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Notably, the U.S. concern over religious freedom in Tibet is by far a critical matter and a particular concern for Washington. Evidently, the above bill is significantly built on the issue of the Dalai Lama's succession, calling Beijing to respect the Dalai Lama and his follower's decision to select their own choice of successor. The bill goes as far as imposing sanctions and a visa ban on any Chinese officials who interferes in the selection of a successor to the Dalai Lama. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) Commissioner Gary Bauer highlights that this bill not only sends strong signal that the US support the role of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders in their selection of the next Dalai Lama but it will also consider any interference from the Chinese government as a violation of religious freedom. The USCIRF also documents China's abuses against Christians, Uighur Muslims, Tibetan Buddhists, Falun Gong practitioners and others in its 2019 Annual Report calling the State Department to designate China as a country of 'particular concern' for its systematic violations of religious freedom since 1999. The Secretary of State Mike Pompeo singled out China, together with Iran, as the worst place in the world for those belonging to a minority religion, treating religious minorities as national security threats that require surveillance, imprisonment and sometimes death. Moreover, in the latest published report by Freedom House, which rated 210 countries and territories, in which and perhaps not surprisingly, Tibet was placed second on the list of least free country in the world after Syria for the fifth consecutive year. The report by the Freedom House revealed intensified pressure on civil liberties over the past few years, when censorship and surveillance reached new extremes. On a more revealing note, the Human Rights Watch on March 5, published a report on China's bilingual education policy in Tibet, highlighting that the policy has accelerated the demise of Tibetan-medium instruction in primary schools in Tibetan areas. The report not only reveal the threats faced by the Tibetan language under the guise of improving access to education, but it also exposed the underneath state propaganda unleashed in the name of "strengthening the unity of nationalities." Sophie Richardson, who heads the China section, concludes that China's bilingual education policy is motivated by political imperatives rather than educational ones. She accuses the Chinese government for violating its international legal obligations to provide Tibetan-language instruction to Tibetans. The Tibetan language activist Tashi Wangchuk was also arrested in 2016 and charged with inciting separatism. Despite clear cases of human rights violation and growing religious persecution, the demolition of monasteries in Tibet still continues, while the rising number of self-immolations against the repressive policies endures. Although it is globally accepted that Tibet is part of China, the internationalisation of Tibetan cause, the far-reaching campaigns

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and the continuing advocacy of Tibet issue has sustained the struggle for a free Tibet, free from Chinese discrimination, subjugation and oppression.

### **Tibetan activism and advocacy in the West**

As Stephen Noaks rightfully noted, advocacy primarily rely on persuasion and issue-framing to socialise outsider states to the rules envisaged in their systems of belief which occasionally involves naming and shaming politicians or governments concerned for their reputations into changing their behavior. The Tibetan communities and NGOs in the U.S. and in Europe are actively involved in advocacy, lobbying and campaigning for Tibet. One of the most notable NGO, the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) has offices both in the U.S. and in Europe that advocates for Tibet's cause. ICT works with parliamentary bodies worldwide to generate support for Tibet and push for resolutions on the situation in Tibet. Other significant Tibet support groups, such as the well-known Students for a Free Tibet (SFT) that work for addressing Tibetans right to political freedom has more than 100 chapters with its headquarter in New York. There are number of Tibet Support Groups (TSG) in the U.S. where substantial number of Tibetans live. Julia Meredith Hess notes that the development of nationalist consciousness as well as diaspora consciousness may translate to activism, in case of internationalisation of Tibet issue, which has coincided with the development of Tibetan diaspora consciousness. Hess further points out that Tibetans in the West (U.S. and in Europe) are mostly seen adopting citizenship in these countries in order to become more effective transnational political actors and empower themselves by becoming a political agents for their own lost state. This was quite evident during the 2008 protest against the Beijing Olympic Games. Andreas Fuchs and Nils-Hendrik Klann notice that TSGs are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) formed voluntarily and maintained by private individuals with the aim of rallying regional, national, or international awareness of and support for the Tibet issue. They discovered that the larger the pro-Tibetan network in the Western country, the more inclined the political leader might be to receive the Dalai Lama in order to satisfy the demands of these pressure groups. The advocacy for Tibet has not only increased the visibility of Tibet issue, but more importantly, it has added to the construction and assessment of global normative values. With a western - centric global structure and the subsequent simplification of the issue, Tibet is nevertheless a strong case of how norms and values play a fundamental role in China's interaction with the U.S. The discrepancies in values and norms in the form of human rights and religious freedom, especially in the case of Tibet has played out significantly in U.S.-China relations. In such, Tibet issue has not only championed norms, but is the very embodiment of them if one defines the issue in terms of the present global setting. Hence, it can be positively concluded that as long as the normative differences between U.S. and China remains, and the Tibet issue continues to cultivate global interest, one can rightfully state that the future of U.S. policy toward the PRC is intrinsically bound to the American stand on and policy towards the Tibet Question.

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## China's Big Game: The Post-Corona Surveillance Network

- Tenzing Wangdak

The year 2020 will live in infamy in the memory of the global community, alongside the 1918 Influenza pandemic, the 2003 SARS epidemic, etc. The COVID – 19 virus, otherwise known as the Novel Corona Virus, has rapidly spread across the world, crippling economies and governments while there have been 827, 419 confirmed cases of infection across 206 countries / regions with the WHO estimates of 40,777 deaths being only those that have come to light. China alongside Italy, Spain and the United States have been the worst hit of all but all across the globe, countries have struggled to cope up with this pandemic and have employed various strategies from complete Lockdowns, restricting public movements, sealing off their national borders, etc. The Communist Party of China has been particularly aggressive in the employment of such measures, an effort that has been hailed to have been bearing fruits but subjected to much criticism for both statistical validity and excessive State intrusion. However, these measures needs to be analysed not just within the purview of preventing the spread COVID – 19 but rather in the background of an almost public sanctioned use of state surveillance that will remain permanently entrenched in the societal and institutional framework, instead of being only a temporary exception.

Michel Foucault in his treatise on state power and subject citizen asserts that governments' fundamental use of power towards 'governing' its citizens is geared towards framing the choices and actions of citizens in a single mold and that all forms of either coercion or consensus building methods fall within this objective. The world has undergone fundamental changes since then and with the introduction of digital landscapes in the introduction, there has been incremental rises in State control and its intrusion in the lives of people as well as societal regulations. China has been at the forefront of this phenomena, having employed and intensified its control over its ethnic populations, both in the Han dominated regions as well as in its ethnic minority communities in Tibet and East Turkistan / Xinjiang.

The discussion over China's regressive state control apparatuses and violation of human rights through its surveillance networks such as the Great Firewall, surveillance grids, etc. is an ongoing process, with many countries, international organizations and individuals expressing their concerns to almost no avail, as the CCP continues to tighten its grip over its 1.5 billion population. What is of concern in the present moment is as the global community remains immersed in the panic stricken atmosphere generated by the COVID – 19 pandemic, China's strengthening surveillance grid has been viewed in a positive light of viral prevention yet, as witnessed in the WHO's increasing pandering to China's policies, very little attention has been paid to the adverse effects on it population's rights to privacy as well as the freedom of its ethnic minorities.

Maya Wang, a China researcher for Human Rights Watch, remarked that "The coronavirus outbreak is proving to be one of those landmarks in the history of the spread of mass surveillance in China". Since January, the Chinese State has ramped up its surveillance network. According to reports by New York Times, and Bloomberg, Sense Time, an AI firm in China, is being deployed in multiple cities in order to identify people with elevated temperature, as well as those who aren't wearing face masks. Another company known as Megyii has rolled out a similar product in Beijing that, according to the company, serves as an "AI-enabled temperature detection solution that integrates body detection, face detection and dual sensing via infrared cameras and visible light." Similarly, on March 7, Hanwang Technology Ltd announced the completion of its software that could recognize people with elevated temperatures, drawing up data on the individual's personal identification.

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One of the most intrusive software that has been churned out due to this nexus between the State and private sector is the Alipay Health Code, a term coined by the official news media, a venture launched in collaboration with the tech giant Alibaba. The people are assigned a health code; green, yellow or red and the system is being rolled out nationally. The connection between law officials and personal data is unclear but according to China's state-run Xinhua news agency, law enforcement authorities were a crucial partner in the system's development. Reports indicate that the location of individuals are being sent or shared through their phone to local authorities. In many parts of China, it has become impossible to travel without receiving the green sign of being infection free.

Reports by the BBC notes that mobile networks too have been roped in this spree of surveillance upbuild. China Unicom and China Telecom -- both state-owned telco operators — are asking people to put in the last few digits of their ID or passport number, which will then be used to track a person's whereabouts. The state media channel Global Times released a video recently highlighting the novel use of drones to aid in this venture, tracking people and asking them to wear their masks.

The surveillance setup that has followed the COVID-19 outbreak has received support from the Chinese citizenry as well as International organizations such as the WHO. However, experts warn that these measures could be made permanent even after the pandemic has been placed under control. Maya Wang in the interview with CNBC notes:

The Party has increasingly treated 'stability maintenance' — a euphemism for social control — as an overarching priority, and devoted enormous resources to security agencies for monitoring dissidents, breaking up protests, censoring the internet, and developing and implementing mass surveillance systems," she wrote in a recent paper ... I think there are signs that the coronavirus outbreak, like these events above, serve as a catalyst and a boost for China's development in mass surveillance systems. Once these systems are in place, those involved in its developments — particularly companies with money to be made — argue for their expansion or their wider use, a phenomenon known as 'mission creep.' What initially started as a system to crack down on crime — which is already a dubious and vague enough justification to encompass political crimes in China — is now used for other purposes including for fighting the coronavirus outbreak

Nigel Inkster, senior advisor at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, notes the Chinese Communist Party will "double down on existing techniques for social control and narrative management," using the virus outbreak as a way of sharpening its surveillance tools. "To us this will seem like pathological learning, but to a regime focused above all on retaining power, it will appear logical. Once the dust has settled, reviews will be conducted and adjustments made. I don't think they will need more capabilities than what they already have but they will want to fine-tune them and work towards greater systems integration."

Many of these technologies require users to register with their name, national identification number and phone number. Authorities have also sourced data from phone carriers, health and transport agencies and state-owned firms. As there is a lack of transparency on how such huge amount of data is being used by the officials, fears of privacy violations and state intrusions remains paramount. Such examples among many are troubling for various reasons, primarily for a post COVID-19 future and the inclusion of such technologies and data gathering spools in the State's ongoing push to curtail and control the free flow of information as well as maintain a tight clampdown on all dissents. Last year's Hong Kong Protests were primarily conducted and gained a measure of success because the protestors were masked and could not



identified by police authorities. The face recognition technologies of Megyii and Hangwang Technology Ltd. Would effectively take away this sense of security from all future protests, leading to the strengthening of the State's hold on its authoritarian power. The implications of the Alipay Health Code for the people living in China and particularly its ethnic minorities is a matter of concern since the State could effectively track, mark and curtail the movements of any and all persons deemed as 'unfavorable' by the authorities. The Uyghur and Tibetan population have continued to suffer under such repressive conditions and the inclusion of technology would only serve to exacerbate the situation, which already has seen a massive rise in monitoring of the population by armed officials as well as a never ending cloud of security measures.

The CCP has invested billions of dollars in the upkeep and improvement of its surveillance grid, to the detriment of the people living under its control. Human Rights Watch recently listed Tibet as the second least free region in the world. The Uyghur population continues to face threats to their survival with mass detentions, heavy armed presence of the army and intrusion in their personal being recurring events. The COVID – 19 situation has been both a boon and a bane to the CCP but the former is of worrying concern since the development and aggressive introduction of surveillance technologies in society has received international and public sanction yet the far reaching consequences of such incidents needs to be analyzed in lieu of the regressive policies of the State vis – a- vis its authoritarian control over its population.

## བོད་ནང་ཉོག་དབྱིབས་ནད་དུག་གི་སྐོར་ ༢༠༢༠ ཕྱི་ཟླ་དང་ཕོ་ལོ་ནས་གསུམ་པ་བར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲིག

རྒྱ་ནག་ཚུ་ཉོག་མོང་འཕྲེར་ནང་ཉོག་དབྱིབས་ནད་དུག་ཐོག་མར་ཁྲབ་གདལ་བྱུང་བ་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གི་གཞི་ལེན་གྱི་ཚུལ།  
རྒྱ་ནག་གི་མོང་འཕྲེར་ཚུ་ཉོག་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་ཉོག་དབྱིབས་ནད་དུག་ནད་ཡམས་དེས་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་བོད་མ་ཟང་མཇུག་གི་ཕྱི་ལོ་མ་  
ཚེད་ནས་བརྗོད་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ཚེན་པོ་ཞིག་འཕྲད་དང་འཕྲད་བཞིན་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་ཚུ་ཉོག་ནད་ནད་པ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཕྱི་ལོ་  
༢༠༡༩ ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༧ ཉིན་ཐོན་ཡོད། དེ་ནས་ཟླ་ ༡༢ ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་ཚུ་ཉོག་ཉོན་མཚོ་ཟས་ཁྲོམ་རྩེ་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ནད་པ་ཁ་  
ཤས་ཚུ་ཉོག་སྟེ་གནས་སྐྱོན་ཁང་དུ་སྐྱབ་བཅོས་གྱིད་པར་སྐྱབས།  
ཟླ་ ༡༢ ཚེས་ ༢༩ ཉིན་ཚུ་ཉོག་གྲུབ་ལུ་བྱུང་འབྲེལ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་ནས་མི་བདུན་ལ་ནད་དུག་འགོས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གོང་མིམ་ལ་སྐྱབ་  
གསེང་ཞུས་འདུག། འོན་ཀྱང་དེ་དུས་ཚུ་ཉོག་དང་དབྱིབས་གཞུང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་འཇུགས་བསྐྱབ་སྐྱོན་ཁང་གཉིས་ནས་ནད་དུག་དེས་  
མི་ནས་མི་དབར་འགོས་ཀྱི་མེད་པ་བརྟུན་བྱས་འདུག།  
ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༢ ཉིན་རྒྱ་ནག་དབྱིབས་ཚབ་སྲིད་སྐྱོན་ཁང་གིས་ནད་ཡམས་དེའི་ཚེད་དམིགས་བསལ་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་སྐོར་ཚོགས་  
གནང་ནས་ཕྱི་བསྐྱབས་མི་གྱིད་པའི་ཐག་ཚོད་བྱུང་འདུག།  
དེ་ནས་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་ནད་དུག་དེས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ནད་པ་འདས་མོངས་ཐོག་མ་དེ་བྱུང་ཡོད།གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་ཐོན་སྐྱབས་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་  
གི་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ཚེད་ལས་མཁས་པ་ཚོས་ཚུ་ཉོག་གྱི་གནས་སྐྱོངས་སྟོན་འགོག་དང་ཚུད་འཛིན་གྱིད་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་བརྗོད་འདུག།  
དངོས་གསུམ་ཞུས་པར་དེ་དུས་ནས་བྱུང་ནད་ཡམས་ཁྲབ་གདལ་ཚེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གཞུང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བཤའ་སྐྱོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་  
པས་མི་དམངས་ནས་དོགས་ཐོན་མི་གྱིད་པ་ཚགས་ཁོ་ཚོས་གྱིད་སྐོར་དང་འགྲོ་འོང་རྒྱུན་གཏན་བཞིན་གྱིད་པ་འགོག་སྐྱོང་བྱ་ཐབས་གང་  
ཡང་སྐྱེལ་མེན་འདུག།

དེ་མ་ཟད་ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༡ ཉིན་ནས་ ༡༢ ཉིན་དབར་རྟོ་ལེ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཚོགས་ཆེན་གཉིས་མི་དམངས་འཕུས་མི་ཚོགས་ཆེན་དང་  
 སྲིད་གྲོས་ཚོགས་ཆེན་ལྷ་ཉན་རྩ་སྐོང་ཚོགས་གནང་སྐབས་ལྷ་ཉན་གྱི་སྐོན་པོ་དང་དུག་ལོག་པའི་སོ་གྲངས་འཕར་མེད་པར་བརྟེན་  
 མི་ཚམས་གྱི་ནད་ཡམས་དེར་ཚོད་འཛིན་གྱི་དྲུག་ལྷ་ཉན་ལེན་ཞེས་པའི་འཛིན་གྱི་དྲུག་གི་ཕྱི་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་  
 བཀའ་བཤམས་ས་མཚམས་སྐོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཉིན་བཞིའི་སྐོན་ལ་ལྷ་ཉན་ནད་མི་ཁྲི་འགའ་བའི་གསོལ་ཚོགས་སྐོང་ཚོགས་གནང་འདུག་  
 རྗེས་སུ་གྱེད་སྐོན་དེའི་ནད་མཉམ་བཞུགས་གནང་མཁའ་མི་འཕོན་ཆེན་ལ་ནད་གཏུག་བྱུང་འདུག ཡང་དེ་དུས་ཀྱི་ནད་གི་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཞི་  
 ཅིང་ཕྱིན་སྐོ་ཞེ་ཞེ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཁ་ཤས་ནད་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་སྲོགས་ལེབས་གནང་བའི་དུས་སྐབས་འཁེལ་བཤུག་དུང་སྤྱི་གསར་དུས་  
 ཆེན་སྐབས་ལ་ཉེ་བས་གཞུང་སྲོགས་ནས་ལོ་འདོམས་བྱུབ་འབྲས་དང་དུས་ཆེན་གྱི་ནམ་པ་ཚོར་ཆེད་ཉུང་མཐར་ལྷ་བ་གཅིག་ལྷག་  
 བར་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤྲས་གསང་བྱས་ནས་མི་མང་ལོར་གོ་མེད་ཚོར་མེད་རང་ནད་དུག་འགོས་པ་བྱུང་ཡོད།  
 དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་ ༡༣ ཚེས་ ༣༠ ཉིན་ལྷ་ཉན་སྤེ་གནས་སྤྲན་ཁང་གི་མིག་ནད་ཆོན་པའི་སྤྲན་པ་མི་མཐོང་གྱི་སྤྲན་འཕྲིན་ཚོགས་པའི་ནད་  
 ཉོན་མཚོ་ཟས་ཁྲིམ་རུའི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་བདུན་བྱུར་བཀའ་བཞག་བཞག་ཡོད་པའི་སྐོན་བརྗོད་པར་བརྟེན་ཁོང་ལ་སྤྲན་ཁང་དབུ་འཕྲིད་གྱི་  
 བཀའ་སྐོན་དང་དོས་ལེན་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་བཅུག་པ་མ་ཚད་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་ལྷ་ཉན་  
 ཉོག་ཁང་དུ་ལོས་ནས་སྐོན་གསོ་སྤྲད་འདུག།  
 སྤྲན་པ་མི་མཐོང་ཁོང་ཡང་དེ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་ནས་བཟུང་ནད་རྟགས་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༣༡ ཉིན་ནད་གཞི་གཏུག་  
 འཁེལ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ནས་མཐར་མ་ལྷ་ ༣ ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་འདས་གོངས་སུ་ཕྱིན་འདུག།  
 ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐོན་པར་ལྷ་ཉན་ནད་གི་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོག་ལ་གསལ་སྟོན་གྱི་པའི་དེས་པའི་ལོག་  
 རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྤྱི་དམངས་གསར་འགོད་པ་ཁྲིམས་ཚོད་པ་ཁྲན་ཚུལ་ཉི་དང་ཆེད་ལས་གསར་འགོད་པ་བྱུར་པ་མི་རྩོམ་ལོ་མང་མིང་།  
 གྲན་སེ་མིང་། ཀའོ་མེ་སོགས་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཐག་བཅད་འདུག།  
 ད་ལྟོ་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་ནས་ནད་ཡམས་ཚོད་འཛིན་གྱི་དྲུག་ལྷ་ཉན་ལེན་ཞེས་པའི་ཞིག་སྐོན་ནས་མི་ཚམས་ལ་ལས་གནས་སྤར་གསོ་གྱི་བཅུག་  
 ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ནག་ནད་ལོག་ལ་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ཚོད་དཔག་གྱི་དཀའ་ཞིང་གྱི་སྲོགས་ནས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་གྱེད་ཚུལ་ལ་  
 ཡིད་ཆེད་མེད་པ་མངོན་གསལ་ཡིད།

**དེ་ཡང་ནད་ཡམས་དེ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་དབྱེ་བའི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་དང་ཞིང་ཆེན་བཞི་ཡི་ཁམས་དང་ཨམ་མདོའི་ས་ཁུལ་ནད་སྐབས་གང་  
 ལ་དང་གཞོན་ཆེ་བྱུང་ཚུལ།**

ལྷ་ཉན་ས་མཚམས་སྐོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཉིན་གཅིག་གོང་དུས་མིང་མང་ཡིན་པ་ལྷ་ཉན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མོ་ཞིག་ལྷ་སར་སྤེབས་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དྲ་  
 རྒྱའི་ནད་བརྟན་གྱུང་སྤེལ་ནས་བོད་ཕྱི་ནད་གཉིས་ལ་དངངས་ཚབ་ཆེན་པོ་བཟོས་པ་དང་དེ་མ་ཉིད་དུ་བོད་ནད་གི་བོད་མི་ཚོས་ངོ་  
 འགོལ་ཤུགས་ཆེན་བྱས་པར་བརྟེན་གྱི་མི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནས་འཇུག་པར་དམ་དཔག་ཤུགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སྐོན་བཅུགས།  
 དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༣༤ ཉིན་གྱི་རྩོམ་རྩལ་མིང་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པའི་ལྷ་ཉན་རྒྱ་མོ་ཞིག་ལྷ་སའི་ནད་སྤེབས་རྗེས་ཚེས་ ༣༥ ཉིན་ནད་གཏུག་  
 བྱུང་བ། དེ་རྗེས་ཀྱང་ག་གོ་མེའི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་༡༣ བྱུར་བཀའ་བཞག་བཞག་འདུག རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་སྐབས་བསྐྱབས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་བོད་རང་  
 སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནད་ནད་པ་གཅིག་པོ་དེ་ལས་མེད་ཟེད། ལྷ་ ༣ ཚེས་ ༤ ཉིན་ཀྱང་ག་གོ་མོ་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་ ༣༣ བྱུར་བཀའ་བཞག་ལས་གྲོལ་བ་  
 དང་ཚེས་ ༡༣ ཉིན་ནད་པ་ཁོ་ཡང་དཔག་སྐྱེས་བྱུང་བའི་སྐབས་བསྐྱབས་བྱས་སོང་།  
 རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་ནས་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནད་ཕྱི་མི་འཇུག་ལ་ཞུགས་དམ་དཔག་དུས་ཐོག་བྱུང་ཡང་སྤྱི་བར་གསུམ་དུ་གནས་ཚུལ་

ཁ་གསལ་མེད་པ་དང་དམ་འཇགས་ལྷན་པུས་ཆེན་གྱི་པ་མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་དགོག་གཏམ་སྐྱེལ་བའི་ཉེས་མིང་འོག་གྲིམས་ཆད་གཏང་  
འདུག

ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༣༠ ཉེན་འཛིན་མེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་འབྲེལ་ཁང་ལ་བོད་ནས་གསར་འགྱུར་མཁོ་སྲོད་རྒྱུ་བར་ལྷ་སར་དོགས་ཡོད་ཅན་ལ་  
ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་སྐྱེས་གསར་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་བརྗོད་འདུག

ཡང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་དབྱེ་བའི་མི་ཚོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་དཀར་མཛེས་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ད་བར་ནད་པ་གངས་ལ་འཛོལ་བ་དང་ཁྱེད་  
བསྐྱབས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་ཆང་མ་དྲག་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་ནས་སྐྱེན་ཁང་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་རྒྱུ་འདུག དེའི་ནང་ནས་དར་ཅེ་མདོ་ནང་ནད་པ་འདད་  
གསེར་རྟེན་ནང་མི་༥༡ འདབ་པ་རྗོད་ནང་མི་༡༡ སྤྱད་ནད་པ་ལ་༥༣ ཆང་མ་རྟེན་རྗོད་ནད་དེའི་ནང་ནས་མི་གཅིག་སྤྱད་ཆང་མ་  
བོད་པ་རེད་འདུག རྟེན་ནང་གི་བོད་པ་ནད་པ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༥ ཉེན་འཛིན་ཡོད་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་ཐོག་མར་རང་ལོ་༥༡ ཡིན་  
པའི་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་རྟེན་ནང་རྒྱུ་བ་གསར་བ་བྱས་སོང་འོན་ཀྱང་དེ་རྗེས་ནད་པ་མང་པོ་ཐོན་པའི་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ཆགས་ནས་རྒྱ་  
གཞུང་གི་མོ་དེ་རྟེན་ནང་ཡིན་པ་བཤད་དགོས་རྒྱུ་ཡོད།

ཡང་རྟེན་ནང་གི་ནད་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་སྡོད་ལ་ནད་རྟགས་མེད་པར་ནད་གཏན་འཁེལ་བ་དང་དེ་རྗེས་ནད་རྟགས་དོན་པ་ཡིན། དེར་  
བརྟེན་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་གསལ་ནས་འགའ་ནས་ནད་རྟགས་མེད་པར་ནད་གཏན་འཁེལ་བ་  
རྣམས་གངས་ཐོན་སྡེ་གི་མེད་པ་སྡོད་གསལ་རེད། དེ་དང་མཉམ་ནས་རྟེན་ནང་གི་ནད་པ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྱེད་བསྐྱབས་བྱས་པའི་  
གངས་ཐོན་སྡེ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་རེད། དེ་མ་ཟད་ཁོ་ཚོས་ནད་གངས་གཅོད་བཟོ་དང་ལས་གནས་སྐྱར་གསོ་ཆེད་ནད་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་  
མགོ་གསུམ་སྤྱར་ནད་གཞི་དྲག་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་བའི་མིང་ཐོག་ནས་སྐྱེན་ཁང་ནས་ལོག་གཏང་ཡོད། རྟེན་ནང་སྤྱི་ཚོན་སྡོད་མི་ལྔ་བརྒྱའི་  
ཉེ་བ་རྒྱུར་བཀག་བཞག་ཡོད་དེའི་ནང་རྒྱུ་ལོས་ཟླ་གསུམ་གྱི་གྱི་པ་དང་ཟླ་བརྒྱུད་འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱེལ་མ། ད་དུང་དགོང་ལོ་༤༧ ལ་  
ཕེབས་པའི་རྒྱ་ཁོག་བཅས་ཡོད་པས་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྱེད་བསྐྱབས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེད་དཀའ་བ་ཞིག་རེད།

ད་དུང་རྗེ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ནད་པ་གཅིག་མཚོ་སྡོད་ཞིང་ཆེན་ནང་ནད་པ་༡༩ རྒྱུང་ཡོད། དེའི་ནང་ནས་མཚོ་རྒྱུང་བོད་  
རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ནད་པ་མི་གསུམ་ཀུན་གྱི་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་གཙོ་བོར་འབྲེལ་ནང་ནད་པ་འཛོལ་ཡོད། ད་དུང་མ་  
རྟེན་གྱི་སྤྱད་མེད་ཞིག་ས་ཆ་གཞན་དུ་ནད་གཏན་འཁེལ་བ་བཅས་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྱེད་བསྐྱབས་བྱས་པའི་བོད་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ནང་གི་  
གངས་ཐོན་ཆེན་ཆེད་ཞིག་ད་བར་ཆང་མ་དྲག་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་འདུག

རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་ནད་ཡམས་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་གསང་བ་རེད་ཞེས་དམ་འཇགས་ལྷན་པུས་ཆེན་གྱི་བཞེད་ཡོད།  
ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༣ ཉེན་འཛིན་མེ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ལས་ཁུངས་ཁག་ལ་གསང་བ་སྤྱད་དགོས་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་  
གཏང་ཡོད་པ་དང་དེའི་ནང་དོན་ཚན་དང་པོ་གཉིས་པ་གཉིས་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་རེད་འདུག ནད་དོན་ནི་གསང་བའི་ཡིག་ཆ་གྲིམ་དུ་འབྲེལ་  
བ་དང་གྲིམ་ཆང་ནང་གསང་འབྲེལ་སྤེལ་མི་ཚོག་ ད་དུང་བརྒྱ་དང་ཁ་པར་སོགས་བརྒྱུད་ནས་གསང་བ་ཕྱིར་བཤད་མི་ཚོག་བ་བཅས་  
སོ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་ཁག་ནང་རྒྱ་ནག་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་གྱི་སྡོད་ནད་དུག་ཁྱེད་བསྐྱབས་བྱས་པ་ནས་ད་བར་བོད་མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་དགོག་གཏམ་སྐྱེལ་  
བའི་ཉེས་མིང་འོག་གྲིམས་ཆད་ཐོག་འདུག དེའི་ནང་དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་དུ་རྒྱུ་བའི་འཇགས་ཉེན་རྟོག་པས་ཟླ་དང་པོ་ཁོ་ནར་བརྒྱུ་  
ཐོག་དགོག་གཏམ་སྐྱེལ་མཁུན་༥༧ ལ་བསྐྱབས་བྱ་གཏང་བའམ་བཀག་ཉར་བྱས་འདུག

ཡང་དགོག་གཏམ་སྐྱེལ་བའི་ཉེས་མིང་འོག་གྲིམས་ཆད་ཐོག་པའི་ནད་རྗེས་དེའི་ནད་གི་ནད་པ་དང་པོ་དེ་ཐོན་རྗེས་ཁུལ་དའི་ནད་ཡོད་པའི་  
གཟེ་ཆ་སྤེད་པའི་བོད་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་གཟེ་ཆ་སྤེད་པའི་ཞིག་ནད་པ་དེ་དང་ཐུག་འབྲེལ་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་རྒྱུར་བཀག་བཞག་འདུག

ཞེས་སྐད་འཕྲིན་ནང་བསྐྱབ་བས་མོ་རང་ལ་ཉེས་ཚུགས་པས་ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ལྟར་བྱས་འདུག་ འོན་ཀྱང་དེ་རྗེས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་འཕྲིན་བརྒྱུ་  
ཚོན་པའི་ཁྱབ་བསྐྱེད་འདུག་པའི་གཞི་ཚུ་སྡེ་དགུ་འི་མི་ཞིག་ལྷན་དུ་བཞག་ཏུ་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་རྒྱུ་ལྟར་འདུག  
ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ནང་ཁུལ་ཡིག་ཆར་གཞིགས་ན་ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཉེན་ཉེ་བར་བོད་པ་གཞུང་ཞབས་པ་དང་གྲུང་ཁུངས་རང་མི་བརྒྱུད་  
ཅན་ལས་གནས་ཐོག་བཟོད་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་ལྷག་པར་འོག་འདས་གྲོངས་སུ་ཕྱིན་འདུག  
དེའི་ནང་ཟླ་ ༡༠ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་གཞི་གཙོ་ནས་ཕོ་མིང་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་ལྷན་ནུབ་བཟོད་ཚོན་བོད་རིགས་རང་  
སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ཕོ་མིང་གྲུང་ཁུངས་ཐེང་བ་ཞིག་དཀར་མཛེས་ནང་ཚེས་ ༡༢ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་འགྲུབས་དང་ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་འཕང་  
གྲགས་པ། ཚེས་ ༢ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་ནང་ཕོ་མིང་ཨ་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་སྐྱབ་ཐེང་བ། ཡང་དུས་ཚོད་དེས་  
མེད་ཞིག་ལ་ནག་ཚུན་སྡེན་པ་བཟུ་ལེས་བཅས་འདས་གྲོངས་ཕྱིན་འདུག  
ཡང་ནང་ཡམས་དེས་རྒྱུན་པས་རྒྱག་ནག་ཅན་མ་ཐང་བོད་ནང་བཟུ་རིགས་དང་དམིགས་གསལ་ཁ་རས་ཀྱི་རིན་གོང་འདབ་གྲངས་  
མང་པོ་པར་བ་མ་ཐང་ཁ་རས་མངག་ཉི་བྱེད་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བྱུང་འདུག ལྷག་པར་གྲོང་འབྲེར་ཁག་ནང་ཞོར་ལས་  
ལས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་འཚོ་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་ངལ་ཡང་འཕྲད་འདུག  
བཟུ་འབྲུ་དང་སྐྱེན་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཆད་མ་ཐུན་རྒྱུན་མ་འདང་བའི་གནས་སྟངས་དེ་བོད་ཁུལ་ཁག་ཚང་མའི་ནང་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པར་  
ནང་ཡམས་ཁྱབ་གདལ་ལྷགས་རྒྱུན་ཆེ་བོས་བྱུང་བའི་རྟུ་རྫོང་ནང་སྐྱེན་བཅོས་ཆག་རྒྱུན་གཞན་པས་མི་དམངས་ལ་དཀའ་ངལ་  
ཚོན་པོ་ཞིག་འཕྲད་འདུག  
དེ་ཡང་ཟླ་དང་པོའི་ནང་དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་ནང་ནད་པ་ཁ་ཤས་ལས་ཐོན་མེད་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་དཀར་མཛེས་མི་དམངས་སྐྱོན་ཁང་  
ནས་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཆད་མེད་པའི་སྐྱབ་སྐྱོན་ནས་སྐྱོན་གང་ས་ནས་གནས་ཞལ་འདབས་གནང་བའི་འབྲུལ་སྐྱུལ་གནང་སོང་  
འོན་ཀྱང་ཉེན་ཉེ་བའི་ཁ་ཤས་རྗེས་ཞལ་འདབས་མི་དགོས་པ་གསལ་སྐྱབས་གནང་སོང་།  
དེ་རྗེས་རྟུ་རྫོང་ནང་ནད་པ་མང་པོ་ནད་གཏན་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་དངོས་ཡོད་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ཆ་རྒྱུན་གང་འདྲ་ཡོད་མེད་སེམས་ཚབས་བྱེད་  
དགོས་པ་ཞིག་རེད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྟུ་ནང་གི་རང་བྱིས་དུ་ལོག་པའི་མ་ཐོ་རིམ་སློབ་མའི་དང་ཡངས་ཞབས་ཞུ་ཚོགས་པ་ཞིག་གི་  
གནས་ཚུལ་སྟེལ་བར་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་དང་རོགས་སྐྱོར་དངོས་ཐོག་ཚང་མ་སྐྱོན་པ་ཁོ་ནའི་ཆེད་དུ་ལས་མི་དམངས་ལ་རོགས་  
རམ་གང་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་ནས་མི་དམངས་ཚོ་ལ་དཀའ་ངལ་ཚོན་པོ་འཕྲད་པ་དང་དང་ཞབས་ཚོགས་པ་དེས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་བཟུ་འབྲུ་དང་  
ཁ་རས་སྐྱོད་པ་བརྒྱུད་འདུག  
ཉེ་ཆར་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་སྟེལ་བའི་གྲངས་ཐོར་བཞིག་ན་ལོ་འདྲིར་རྒྱ་ནག་ནང་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་སློབ་མ་མི་གྲངས་  
༤༤༥༥ རྣམས་དང་ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཉེན་ཉེ་བར་མི་ ༦༥༥༥ རྣམས་བྱིས་དུ་ལོག་པ་དང་དུང་མི་ ༥༥༥༥ རྣམས་སུ་འབྲུད་རྒྱ་ནག་ནང་  
ལུས་འདུག  
དེའི་ནང་ནས་སུ་ཉན་ས་མཚམས་སློབ་རྒྱུ་བའི་གོང་གོང་འབྲེར་འདྲིའི་ནང་སློབ་སློབ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་གི་མཐོ་སློབ་སློབ་  
མ་ཚོགས་སློང་དགུ་རྒྱ་ཅན་ཞིག་རང་བྱིས་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བྱུང་འདུག དེའི་ནང་ནས་མི་ ༤༥༥ ཚེས་པ་དང་ཚུ་བ་འབར་བའི་རྒྱུན་གྱི་རྒྱར་  
བཞག་ཏུ་བཞག་འདུག དུང་སུ་ཉན་གོང་འབྲེར་ནང་སློབ་མ་ཁྱོན་ ༤༥༥ ཚེས་དང་སུ་ཉན་དུ་སྐྱབ་ལྷག་འཕྲད་ཆེད་ཡོང་བའི་བྱིས་  
བདག་ ༤༥ ཞིག་ལུས་ཡོད།  
ཡང་གནས་ཚུལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་བོད་པའི་སློབ་སྐྱེད་ཚོ་གངས་རིའི་ཅེ་མོར་བྲ་ལམ་སློབ་ཚན་ཉན་དགོས་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་བྱུང་འདུག  
མ་གཞི་བྱས་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱ་ནག་སྐྱི་གསར་དུས་ཚོན་རྗེས་སུ་སློབ་དུས་གསར་སྐོ་བཅུ་གས་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེས་ནང་ཡམས་དེས་

