Lockdown Ruminations

Reflections on Tibet in the Time of COVID-19 Pandemic

A Selection of Commentaries by the Researchers of the Tibet Policy Institute

Tibet Policy Institute

Preface

When it was reported last year on the eve of Chinese New Year that an outbreak of a very infectious disease is spreading across China, one could have barely imagined the extent to which these globetrotting microbial strains would take hold of our lives. After initial months of panic and confusion, we are now coming to terms with living with it for a foreseeable future.

It is now clear to us that the Chinese state's reluctance to deal with the outbreak in a transparent fashion played a crucial part in the spread of COVID-19. Unctuous congratulatory remarks to Chinese leaders by people in influential positions are now coming under greater scrutiny. The ongoing investigation trying to ascertain its origin is conducted in a manner that leaves a lot to be desired. At the same time, debates surrounding the origin of the virus is turned into a matter of a politically-charged dispute. The pandemic has revealed to us the limits of our knowledge and pushed us in search of a vaccine that could restore a semblance of --for the want of a better word -- normalcy.

Amidst all that was unravelling, China's adventurism in India's frontier led to a nervous military posturing high in the pastoral lands in Ladakh. In a very unfortunate turn of events, a confrontation caused a loss of lives in a most tragic fashion of Indian personnel manning the border. The unmaking of Tibetan border and the making of India's contiguous border with the China-occupied Tibet has brought the question of Tibet into a sharper focus. Commended for its works in dealing with the world and other forums for decades, China is now facing more resistance to its extension of clout. China's influence is now questioned amidst pandemic in many parts of the world.

An hour before the 23rd anniversary of British handover of Hong Kong to China, a law came to effect this year that in essence contravenes the terms of agreement during the handover in 1997. This is quite telling of the nature of the party-state under the helmsman-ship of Xi Jinping.

On 24 March, 2020, India underwent a nationwide lockdown for 21 days to contain the spread. Confined within their respective domestic spaces, our researchers wrote a series of opinion pieces for various publications. Considering various themes explored in these articles, I have desisted from providing a thematic structure and categories to the draft.

It seems only appropriate to borrow from the title Love in the time of Cholera by one of the greatest writers of our time, Gabriel Garcia Marquez. It is a collection of reflections during a rapidly changing world quickened by the pandemic as seen by my colleagues. Hence the title of this slim volume – Lockdown Ruminations.

I thank my colleague, Tenzing Wangdak la for sourcing these articles published in various portals and putting them neatly together in a single word-processing file. And also for offering a light polish to minor grammatical slips. I also reserve my thanks to Ngawang Choekyi la for assisting in going through the text in Tibetan language and straightening the draft**.**

All the articles in this volume first appeared in digital format as commentaries with relevant hyperlinks attached to substantiate claims. This transition from digital to old-fashioned printed text necessitated an improvised in-text citation system. It might not be easy on the eyes for readers who are not given to reading and coming across such materials, but this could be easily averted by skipping wherever parentheses appear.

I thank my colleagues for writing these articles and pitching them for publication. I also thank them for authorizing republication of these materials. Disclaiming mantra should serve to alert our readers that the opinions expressed in this publication are that of the authors and doesn't reflect that of the Tibet Policy Institute.

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Xi Jinping and The Resurgence of Wuhan Originated Coronavirus in Beijing: An Analysis

Tenzin Tseten

As China enters its new 'normal', Beijing has been quietly struck by a resurgence of the Wuhan Coronavirus, after nearly two months of zero local cases. China confirmed the first of these local cases in Beijing's Xicheng district on June 11, prompting fear of a possible second wave. The resurgence has forced the city to go into a partial lockdown, with residents in high and medium risks areas prohibited from leaving the city. So far, the number of cases has crossed 300. The primary source of the new outbreak has still not been identified, but the cluster of infections have linked it to the Xinfadi wholesale food market in Fengtai district in Beijing, after traces of the virus were found on the chopping boards used for imported salmon. However, the World Health Organization has downplayed the veracity of this hypothesis.

Similarly, Chinese authorities linked the Wuhan outbreak to the Huanan seafood market. The origin theory put forward by China has been highly contested by the United State with President Donald Trump stating that the Coronavirus originated from a Wuhan laboratory (Singh, Davidson and Borger 2020). This has led to a conflict in origin theories amid hostile relationship between the two superpowers. However, one cannot overlook an interesting development of China trying to justify Wuhan's wet market narrative by tracing the source of the Beijing outbreak to the Xinfadi food market.

Since the outbreak, the virus has spread from Beijing to several provinces, including Liaoning, Sichuan, Zhejiang, Henan and Hebei, although the number of infections is minimal (Yee and Griffiths 2020). As a result of the latter, 200,000 people has visited Xinfadi

market (The Economic Times 2020) in just over two weeks since 30 May, which roughly accounts to 12,500 people each day.

Furthermore, China recently convened the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the National People's Congress dubbed, as "two sessions" at the end of May, despite the coronavirus specter in order to portray to the world that "everything" was under control. According to Chinese experts (Siqi 2020), the outbreak in Beijing may have occurred earlier than or during the month of May. If that was the case, then there would be a high risk of infection among people who have attended the political gatherings in Beijing last month. Given its close proximity, one would not miss the opportunity while in Beijing to get a glimpse of Asia's renowned wholesale food market in Xinfadi.

The resurgence of the Wuhan Coronavirus in Beijing has certainly become a major concern for Chinese leadership, namely of two reasons. Firstly, the Chinese government does not want Beijing, the political capital, to become another Wuhan. The safety of party elders in Beijing, including the likes of former presidents Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, remain the priority for the incumbent leadership under the helm of President Xi Jinping. Secondly, a genuine fear among Chinese experts is that a second wave may occur in China and the resurgence in Beijing could turn that fear into reality. However, China's testing capabilities (Xinhua 2020) combined with the lockdown measures and strict travel restrictions should certainly reduce the risk of Beijing turning into a new hotspot. Moreover, an intrusive yet result oriented digital surveillances (Wang 2020) used to combat the Wuhan Coronavirus in China further reduce that risk, yet these scenarios remain speculations. Figures and statistics in China are always questionable. And more importantly, China's leading respiratory expert Dr. Zhong Nanshan, who is popularly known as "SARS hero" in China for combating the severe acute respiratory syndrome epidemic in 2003, warned that China could still face the "big challenge" of a potential return of the virus and authorities shouldn't be complacent (Culver and Gan 2020).

On the political front, one could argue that the pandemic has strengthened Xi's power and strongman personality. However, we can't deny the fact that his initial response to the outbreak was deemed as incompetent and ineffective Significantly , he squandered two crucial weeks ahead of the decision to lockdown Wuhan on 23 January, let alone act on his cognizance of the first case detected on December 8 (Wee and Wang 2020). This is evident from a series of activities conducted in early and mid-January by Xi and other members of the Politburo Standing Committee (PBSC) (Pei 2020).

By the time the Party-state began to take full action after the PBSC meeting on January 25, the infection had not only spread to other cities in Hubei province that led to a complete shutdown of whole province, but all over China. This could have been prevented if Xi had taken swift action right after he was notified of the outbreak of the Wuhan coronavirus in early January.

Instead, Xi blamed Wuhan authorities after people started criticizing the government for covering up the outbreak (Kim 2020). The blame game was ensued by a purge of local authorities, including the Hubei and Wuhan Party Secretaries, Jiang Chaoliang and Ma Guoqiang, respectively, in order to pacify the mounting public anger (Zheng 2020). Unsurprisingly, Xi filled the posts with his close allies. Ying Yong (b.1957), former mayor of Shanghai, replaced Jiang as the new Party Secretary of Hubei and Wang Zhongling (b.1961), former party secretary of Jinan municipality in Shandong province, replaced Ma as the new Party Secretary of Wuhan. In addition, Gong Zheng (b.1960), a protégé of Xi, was promoted as the new mayor of Shanghai. Ying and Gong are known to be trusted protégés of Xi (Zhejiang connection), with both of them slated for important roles in the Politburo at the 20th Party Congress scheduled in 2022.

Having his trusted people in key positions, Xi would likely look towards further strengthening his power (Ping 2017). However, the resurgence of Wuhan Coronavirus in Beijing could damage Xi's powerbase ahead of the 20th Party Congress. In line with this, two officials have already been sacked due to the outbreak in less than a month (Outlook 2020). It remains to be seen whether the

gradual surge in the number of cases, despite claims that the virus is under control, could jeopardize the career of Xi's high-flying ally Cai Qi (b.1955), who is currently the Party Secretary of Beijing and a potential candidate in the PBSC.

This brings us to the pertinent question whether Xi will step down or reign beyond 2022. It is not too early, but it remains difficult to make a conclusive assessment on Xi's heir apparent given the ambiguity surrounding Beijing's inner politics. However, Xi's political maneuvers since the last Party Congress have at least suggested that he is not done yet (Buckley and Bradsher 2018).

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The Glow in the Dark: Beijing and its inability to control Freedom of Expression*

Tenzin Dalha

The recent outbreak of the novel coronavirus in Wuhan in the Hubei province, China has fueled concerns and fears worldwide. A fatal period of hesitation regarding information-sharing and action spawned anxiety, panic, fear, and widespread speculation and rumormongering across different online micro messaging sites in China.

New cases were increasingly recorded in China, raising the worldwide total to nearly 20,628 infected, according to the Chinese government and World Health Organization. The vast majority of the cases have occurred inside China with 98 cases having been confirmed in 26 Countries. The virus has killed more than 427 people in China (World Meter 2020) with the first death outside China being reported in the Philippines on February 2, 2020.

Many medical experts are openly criticizing the Chinese government's inaction which has been exacerbated by the absence of an effective response mechanism to the initial outbreak which contributed to the ongoing crisis. The authorities' response to the coronavirus outbreak was initially kept confidential, by the silencing of information from the public, underreporting cases of infection, downplaying the severity of the infection, and dismissing the likelihood of transmission between humans.

When SARS outbreak occurred in 2003 in China, a significantly smaller proportion of the Chinese population had internet access, and state media played an active role in curbing information on the

disease circulating on various electronic and print media platforms. The media blackout coupled with the government's slow response and bureaucratic hurdles had led to the initial official denial and inaction at that time. Seventeen years later China, instead of learning from its previous experiences, has chosen to repeat those same mistakes.

China today has the world's highest internet penetration rate with 854 million internet users (Internet World Stats 2020). When news about the outbreak were released, China's multitude of internet users rapidly consumed and disseminated the information. The state government's initial kneejerk reaction, as usual, was to heighten surveillance followed by monitoring and censorship of news about the disease outbreak. Only when the facts became impossible to cover, did the state came out of the garbs of confidentiality and started sharing information.

Since the outbreak occurred, Human Rights Watch (HRW) has reported that Chinese authorities have detained people for "rumor-mongering," censored online discussions of the epidemic, curbed media reporting (Human Rights Watch 2020), and failed to ensure appropriate access to medical care for those with viral symptoms and others with medical needs.

Few Chinese internet users from Wuhan were arrested for spreading news of the epidemic on online forums. What makes these arrests notable and disturbing is that they were preceded by emphatic official announcements by China's top leadership that the party would tighten its ideological control on the masses which were followed by a strong endorsement from China's legal authorities on the validity of prosecuting individuals for online rumor-mongering and defamation.

China's Firewall: Isolation in a Time of crisis

Authorities have censored numerous discussions on social media posts about the epidemic, including a cry of help for treatment from a patient who openly condemned the government's incapability of

handling the crisis and inadequacy of timely medical support.

Chinese netizens have expressed their indignation toward the stringent surveillance, screening and blocking of information related to the deadly disease. Tech savvy individuals have used softwares to penetrate the great firewall of China, with Virtue Private Networks (VPN) being the mainstay of activists and journalists in anonymously gaining unrestricted access to the internet and securely spreading information that would otherwise have been censored.

Whistle-blowers came forward to discuss the silencing of criticism online with one netizen saying, "Rather than accepting deserved criticism, the Chinese government is acting like a petulant child and spreading outright lies about its poor response to a coronavirus epidemic."

Another Chinese netizen boldly expressed concern over the severe internet latency in China and appealed to all overseas Chinese to help disseminate the message to create public pressure on the Chinese Government. He explicitly noted that Chinese netizens were not brainwashed and wished to browse the internet without the use of VPN. While further adding that the current situation in Wuhan is hopeless and helpless, he made a plea for help on behalf of the voiceless to the international community to create pressure and awareness regarding the coronavirus epidemic.

Moreover, Chinese netizens have also begun using images, and memes in particular, to spread information on the outbreak and also to overcome China's highly advanced censorship regime which can ban the use of certain words and phrases. There has been a flood of photos, videos, and witness accounts from Wuhan hospitals that undermine the state's narrative of having the situation firmly under control.

The Tibet Connection

Tibet was the last region in China to report confirmed cases of coronavirus. The scattered Tibetan communities, separated by

oceans and mountains, yet thriving as a virtual global village with the help of internet and social media, anxiously waited for news and reports on the epidemic from inside Tibet.

In the midst of the outbreak, a group of Chinese Buddhists and devout followers of the Dalai Lama from mainland China sought his spiritual advice on ways to contain the spread of the disease. In response, the Dalai Lama observed that chanting the Tara mantra as much as possible could help contain the spread of the epidemic while sharing an audio file of the Tara mantra chant in his own voice.

The private office of the Dalai Lama also issued a public appeal, urging Tibetans worldwide to observe prayers aimed at overcoming the effects of the epidemic. This was followed by an appeal from the Department of Religion and Culture, CTA to all Tibetans to observe and chant the prescribed prayers as much as possible and collectively pray for the speedy resolution to the crisis and for the wellbeing of humanity. Many Tibetan lamas also reached out to their followers, which include Chinese in mainland China, and recommended chanting of specific mantras to prevent the spread of the virus.

In this moment of crisis and fear compounded by lack of information, Tibetans everywhere have been using the limited and highly censored internet space inside Tibet to try and connect and share these mantras and spiritual advice.

Conclusion

As the novel coronavirus outbreak continues to spread within and outside China, the World Health Organization declared the epidemic as a global health emergency. The Chinese government is preventing mass gatherings and mass travel to control the virus spread. In Tibet, major public gathering sites such as the Jokhang temple, the Potala palace and the Norbulingka have remain closed.

Freedom of expression has always been limited in China. Although social media platforms are allowing a democratic spread of information that has never previously been a phenomenon in

China, stringent internet censorship laws and heavy-handed tactics against state opposition is blunting the progress and jeopardizing the safety of netizens. Adding to this is China's state media which lacks plurality and regularly fails to report on public incidents fearing damage to the government's image.

As the world looks at how China manages and emerges from this crisis, China should realize that, 17 years since the outbreak of SARS, containing the spread of information could be as challenging yet equally unrewarding as containing the spread of virus. Rather than using the tools of secrecy and censorship to spawn this viral outbreak into an epidemic of fear, the Chinese government must embrace the voices of its people and engage with the civil society in overcoming this crisis.

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China and Corona: The Past, Present and Future of Surveillance

Tenzing Wangdak

Shoshana Zuboff, in her seminal paper "Big Other: Surveillance Capitalism and the prospects of an information civilization", writes:

… 'big data' is above all the foundational component in a deeply intentional and highly consequential new logic of accumulation that I call surveillance capitalism. This new form of capitalism aims to predict and modify human behavior as a means to produce revenue and market control (Zuboff 2015).

Furthermore, Xiao Qiang, the Director of Counter – Power Lab at the University of California – Berkeley, notes:

The Chinese Government has set up a series of mechanisms aimed at asserting its dominance in cyberspace. It has also increasingly combined an extensive physical infrastructure of surveillance and coercion with cutting – edge digital technologies (Qiang 2019, 53).

The above two statements provide an appropriate window into the primary argument of this article i.e. the surveillance network that has risen during this COVID–19 pandemic in China is a result of the nexus between the state and private sector, geared towards achieving the control and modification of people's behavior.

China and Big Data: A Brief Overview

There is no clear conceptual definition for 'Big Data', with answers ranging from it being seen as a technological object or capability or as proposed by scholars such as Zuboff, who grounds it in the social realm, one that can and is being for the commodification and

manipulation of social reality and behavior. It is beyond the scope and length of this article to discuss the theoretical implications of this concept but what is significant is the relationship the Communist Party of China has with this immense source of data and the intended use for its survival.

As human behavior further enters the digital realm, technological companies such as Google, Facebook as well as governments have been accused of intruding on individuals' privacy to collect data on their preferences, actions, etc. For corporations, this allows them the opportunity to modify individual's behavior for profit (Zuboff 2015) but for the State it takes on a much more sinister role of control. As technological tools of data gathering becomes more effective and intrusive, human beings are reduced to quantifiable commodities whose behavior patterns can be analyzed, predicted, and directed.

Xi Jinping ascended to the helm of China's affairs in 2012 and has prioritized control over the information sphere in a bid to forestall challenges to the CCP's legitimacy. The approach is not limited to remaining on the defensive against such threats but rather encompasses an active use of digital technologies to monitor and control Chinese society. Towards this purpose, the collection of data on its citizens allows the government to predict and stifle protests while molding public opinion in its favor (Aho and Duffield 2020, 193). Perhaps the most intrusive example of such policies is the nation-wide Social Credit System (SCS) that is supposed to be completed this year. This would allow the authorities to integrate the data it accumulates from various sources, whether it be the digital cyberspace or surveillance information, towards the assessment of the conduct of its citizens and then reward or punish behavior it deems as favorable or unfavorable (Lee 2019).

The digitization of Chinese economy has been rapid. According to official statistics, in 2019, there were 854 million internet users and 847 million mobile internet users in China, an increase of 25.98 million and 29.84 million from the previous year respectively (Xinhua 2019). Chinese consumers are responsible for 50 percent of all global e-commerce transactions (International Trade

Administration 2020). Additionally, the surveillance grid, known as the Great Firewall, in China has been part and parcel of the internet since its very inception in the country. China has the world's largest camera surveillance network equipped with facial recognition technology, with a reported 349 million CCTV cameras installed as of 2018 with estimates of the numbers rising to 567 million more by 2021 (Philippou 2019). Such statistics point towards the enormous data that is created by and on Chinese citizens. According to the 2012 country report by Open Net Initiative, China has, one of the most pervasive and sophisticated regimes of Internet filtering and information control in the world (OpenNet Initiative 2012).

An important reason behind China's dismal record in protecting the freedom of the use of internet lies in the absence of a general data protection law in the PRC. Privacy as a legal right appears in Chinese private law instead of public law because this facet of privacy protection is not related to restriction of government power (Wang 2017, 17). Within the purview of the country's legal framework, the online actions of its citizens are subject to the Government's control under the ambiguous ambit of "Guarding State Secrets", a law passed in 2010 (Wang 2017, 4).

Surveillance and COVID–19: The Past, Present and Future

Anthropologist James C. Scott argues that as human behavior becomes quantified and predictable, the authoritarian State provides the desire and determination to manipulate it through large scale social engineering (Scott 1998). In the case of China, such social engineering of human behavior has been made possible through the medium of Big Data Surveillance, with the compliance, forced or otherwise, of its private sector, a situation that is increasingly becoming the norm, particularly during this COVID–19 pandemic.

The Past

Various policies have been formulated in the past decade to control the digital cyberspace in China. For example, in 2012, it was mandated that users of social media accounts or mobile internet needed to provide their real names to internet providers (Branigan

2012). Concurrently, a year later, the Supreme People's Court and Supreme People's Procuratorate authorized prison terms up to three years for online posts that had been deemed "offensive" and were reposted more than five hundred times or viewed by five thousand people (BBC 2013). The 2016 Cybersecurity Law demanded that the internet companies facilitate state control and data access by increasing surveillance of their own networks, censor prohibited content and provide the government with data if required (Qiang 2019, 5). The past few years has seen an increase in meetings between internet companies and the government, known as "Yueten", where targeted companies are given directives as well as warnings to comply with government policies (Qiang 2019, 6). The infamous Great Firewall continues to be 'updated' to restrict digital content and serve as a tool for surveillance. According to Xiao Qiang, his research group, Counter – Power Lab at the University of California – Berkeley, found that a total of 1382 sites had been blocked in China (Xiao Qiang 2017) .

The pressure of the CCP is not limited only to its domestic corporations but extends also to those based outside of the country. In the Wuzhen World Internet Congress held in 2017, China attracted global tech giants such as Google, Apple and Cisco Systems (China Daily 2017). During that same year, Apple removed more than six hundred VPN applications from its App store's Chinese version (Financial Times 2017). In a 2016 New York Times article, it was revealed that Facebook has been working on software capable of ensuring its users in China would not come across certain posts in their news feed (Isaac 2016). The most recent well known occurrence was the now terminated Google's proposed project, Dragonfly, where its version in China would satisfy the Government's requirements of blocking search results that were unapproved by the latter (BBC 2019).

The Present

2020 saw this nexus between state and private sectors being revved up to new heights. As the world struggled with the COVID–19 pandemic, new forms of surveillance measures were introduced in

China on grounds of curbing the spread of the virus.

Since January, the Chinese State has ramped up its surveillance network. According to reports by New York Times (Mozur, Zhong and Krolik 2020), and Bloomberg (Banjo, Zhao and Schmidt 2020), 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. Similarly, 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" (Megvii 2020). Furthermore, 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 (Pollard 2020).

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 (Banjo, Zhao and Schmidt 2020), a term coined by the official news media. It is a venture launched by the State 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 (Mozur, Zhong and Krolik 2020).

Reports by the BBC notes that mobile networks too have been roped in this spree of surveillance upbuild (Jakhar 2020). 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 Future

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" (Kharpal 2020).

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 an interview with CNBC noted:

> The Party has increasingly treated 'stability maintenance' — a euphemism for social control — as an overarching priority … developing and implementing mass surveillance systems … 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 … used for other purposes including for fighting the coronavirus outbreak (Kharpal 2020).

Nigel Inkster, senior advisor at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, observed that 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. He further states that :

> 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 (Kharpal 2020).

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 tools 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 be 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 it 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 Uigyur 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 . Freedom House listed Tibet as the second least free region in the world in 2020 (Freedom House 2020). The Uigyur 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.

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COVID-19 Has Exposed a Chink in China's Cyber-Suppression Armour[*]

Tenzin Dalha

The novel coronavirus pandemic which has spread beyond the borders of mainland China has brought the world to a screeching standstill, with the global infection rate swelling to upwards of 11 million people and 532, 340 left dead (World Health Organization 2020). During the initial reports on the virus which emerged in China last year, the Government attempted to place a blanket cover on the flow of such information which has led to delaying the international response to the virus with the Chinese health officials declaring the outbreak as "preventable and under control" (China Daily 2020).

Only in January, when news of the epidemic could no longer be kept under wraps, Beijing admitted the existence of the coronavirus, which it had earlier described as being an "unusual pneumonia". Yet the censoring of information as well as the suppression of voices critical of the Government's policies continues to this day. The most indicting of events occurred in January when whistleblower, Dr. Li Wenliang (Mozur 2020) was interrogated by the authorities for posting about the COVID-19 pandemic in a private WeChat group. His subsequent death due to the virus has reignited outrage over the Communist Party's lack of transparency and accountability.

China's Propaganda Network

The Chinese government has one of the most comprehensive propaganda networks in the world, aggressively working to disseminate misinformation and influence how it is viewed outside and within its borders. Even in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing has moved from mask diplomacy to influencing

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the WHO to accusing Europe (Deccan Herald 2020) as the site of origin for the virus. Similarly, a month ago, Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson, Lijian Zhao, actively sought to push forward the unverified claim that the US military has actually brought the virus to the Wuhan region.

Ironically, even if Twitter is banned inside China, its foreign diplomats have been actively using it as a platform to vent the official narratives of the State, painting it in a positive light while accusing criticism levelled against it as "western driven propaganda" (Zheng 2020). Similarly, China's State controlled media networks such as Global Times, Xinhua, etc. have been persistently attempting to change public opinion on the State Policies and actions related to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Hence, China's propaganda serves both a domestic as well as an international purpose. Towards achieving its said purpose, Beijing employs the use of a vast network of surveillance technology to stifle any criticism for its as well as control its vast population.

Surveillance and Propaganda

An analysis by PropPublica shows that 170.000 Twitter accounts have been blocked by the Twitter for "spreading geopolitical narrative favorable to the Communist Party of China" (Kao 2020) including deceptive narratives around the Hong Kong protests, Covid-19 and other topics and were removed for violating its platform manipulation policies. Within the country, the state media and internet companies have eliminated numerous messages that pertained to spreading news about the pandemic.

One of the significant aspects of the recent State driven control of the internet in China has been the emergence of whistle-blowers like Dr. Li on social media platforms and the subsequent suppression that followed. Tencent, which owns WeChat, announced it had closed down 2,500 accounts for "misleading content" and shut another 20,000 accounts for fake news since the coronavirus outbreak began (Zhou 2020).

The dismal state of freedom of expression in China is represented by its position in the Reporters Without Borders' 2020 World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders 2020). A ranking of 177 out of 180 countries is evident of the near absence of freedom of expression in China with the RSF urging Beijing to free three defenders of press freedom who have been detained by the authorities. The 2016 Cyber Security Law of China effectively criminalizes all such forms of online dissent, based on the very ambiguous legal clause of "subversion of state power".

The 50 Cent Army

One of the lesser known entities responsible for maintaining the state's control over internet content has been the infamous '50 cent army' (Farell 2016). They are government employed internet propagandists, reportedly numbering from five hundred thousand to two million. They have been hired to post comments on the internet, praising the prestige and integrity of the CCP. They are employed across multiple government propaganda departments, private cooperations, and news outlets with the intention of fabricating facts as well as removing unfavorable contents. China fabricates approximately 488 million comments on social media annually (Bittner 2016). Unfortunately, China has long been denying this unscrupulous operation in the cyberspace. Recently the 50cent army are rumored to have been given a pay increase to 70 cent per word that they write or delete during this pandemic, the purpose supposedly being to cover up any posts that run counter to the State narrative on the COVID-19 pandemic as well as to bolster Xi's regime image as the savior of the country from the pandemic.

Recently the WHO has come under increasing global scrutiny for its tacit as well as explicit support for China's policies with regards to the COVID-19 pandemic. Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the WHO's Director General, visited China in January and met with Chinese President Xi Jinping, where he exclusively praised CCP's leadership for setting a new standard for outbreak response and hailing the regime's commitment to transparency (World Health Organization 2020). Ironically. Xi's centralized regime has been

accused of covering up the origin of the virus, its initial spread as well as intimidating other countries for demanding independent inquiries into the same, laying evidence of the success of China's propaganda efforts.

The Future is Beyond Beijing

Although China's control over the internet and its surveillance network is formidable, the outbreak of the COVID-19 saw an emergence of content, narratives, and expressions of online criticism against the government at a level never seen before. From media posts about the government's mismanagement of the pandemic to the lack of spaces for freedom of expression along with the state-led suppression of the same, netizens of China have come forward to vent their desires and frustrations.

Chinese human rights advocates boldly express concern over the severe internet latency in China and appealed to all overseas Chinese to help create public pressure on Beijing. Moreover, Chinese netizens have also begun using images, and memes in particular, to spread information about the outbreak and also to overcome China's highly advanced censorship regime. There has been a flood of photos, videos, and witness accounts from Wuhan hospitals that undermine the state's narrative of having the situation firmly under control.

The authority, equipped with the law and technological surveillance, have tried to tighten control over what citizens can see and say online. China guards its internet sovereignty through the largest and most rigorous IP blocking and content filtering system in the world. Many prominent scholars believe that the Chinese government sees the trends of the internet as a constant threat to the state and not as a potential resource. However, today in the age of social media with a global network of online supporters at disposal, protests are no longer 'local'. This fast and unpredictable reach of activists certainly has Beijing worried.

With the abundance of information and channels to disseminate it in society, people have the resources to access these sources of

information as well as verify Government's claims and policies. Subsequently, the digital media has provided pockets of spaces beyond State control for the voicing of the people's concerns and criticism. China and its citizens are no different and the COVID -19 pandemic along with its spillover effects remains a strong testimony of this "freedom".

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Wuhan Coronavirus: a growing concern for Tibetans inside Tibet*

Tenzin Tseten

Since the outbreak of the coronavirus in the Wuhan city of Hubei province, only one confirmed case of the infection is officially reported in Lhasa, the capital city of the Tibet (Nyima and Daqiong 2020). The infected person is a Chinese man, who has been discharged after undergoing treatment for 18 days (Tibet Online 2020). He arrived at Lhasa on January 24 via train from Wuchang station in the Hubei provincial capital. He escaped his virus-affected province on January 22, a day before the official lockdown of Wuhan on January 23 from 10 am in an attempt to quarantine the epicenter to contain the epidemic. Eventually, 12 other prefecture-level cities in Hubei province were also placed under lockdown. All the public transports, including buses, railways, flights, and ferry services were suspended. However, flights from Wuhan to Lhasa, Xining and Urumqi were not cancelled after the official shutdown of Wuhan (Thokmay 2020). This begets a simple question. Why is there always a discrepancy when it comes to Tibetans and Uighurs, who constitute the most significant minority nationalities in terms of conflict potential, even at the time of a serious health crisis?

Exiled Tibetan media, citing Tibetan sources inside Lhasa, have reported that seven among 1900 Tibetan students who were studying in various schools and colleges in Wuhan had returned to Lhasa on or before January 17, having contracted the disease (བོད་ ཀྱི་དུས་བབ། 2020). The infection is very likely considering the number of Tibetan returnees from Wuhan. As of January 28, nearly 150 confirmed cases have been reported in four Chinese provinces combined – Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan and Yunnan, where a large

* This article was published in tibetpolicy.net on 12 February, 2020

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number of Tibetan population reside (Radio Free Asia 2020). But an alarming situaion is that the rate of infections is still surging, which causes grave concern for the local authorities in their efforts in containing the spread of the disease. So far, most of the infected people in Tibetan areas are Chinese who have either returned from various Chinese cities or Wuhan residents who escaped the epicenter and traveled to less affected areas, including Tibet (Voice of America 2020). But the latest figure points towards the growing number of infection among Tibetans.

Among 36 confirmed cases in Karze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Karze TAP) in Sichuan province, 31 are believed to be Tibetans from Tawu county. One Tibetan from Luqu county in Kanlho Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Kanlho TAP) in Gansu province who is currently residing in Lingsha city is reported to be infected, but not counted in the Khanlo list. The number of infection in Tibetan areas in Xining (ཟི་ལིང་།) is not reported. It is likely that the number of infections among Tibetans will continue to rise mainly because of two reasons. Firstly, people keep moving into Tibetan areas from places with high rates of infection. Secondly, there is no sign of slowing down of infection in Tibetan areas (Radio Free Asia 2020).

Karze TAP (36)		Ngawa TAP	
Tawu county	31 (Tibetan)	Barkham county	1
Serta county	2		
Datsedo county	2		
Dabpa county	1		

Source: (the figures are taken from government-affiliated Weibo pages)

Beside the local government's efforts in containing the spread of the contagious disease (Tibet Daily 2020), groups of Tibetans inside Tibet are voluntarily disseminating information in the Tibetan language about the protection measures through micro-messaging platform We Chat and Weibo (Voice of America 2020). Some compose songs to spread awareness about the infectious disease and even produce homemade masks for public use in the time

of shortages of basic medical equipment in the market. Tibetan monasteries are reported to be helping Wuhan by making monetary donations (Xinhua 2020).

Meanwhile, the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Committee has set up a Leading Small Group with the purpose of containing the coronavirus. Wu Yingjie (Chinese) and Che Dalha (Tibetan), two top officials of "TAR" who are designated as chairmen of the group, have inspected food storage facilities in and around Lhasa to check whether sufficient amount of food items are in market and to ensure that there would be no overpricing during the epidemic. According to unverified information, food prices in Lhasa have already increased despite assurances from the highest level.

The "TAR" government has also announced pre-emptive measures to limit the spread of the infection. The measures include closure of public places, including monasteries, restaurants, and hotels except government-approved ones. In addition, the Lhasa authorities have arranged 517 isolated beds and 1100 medics, including doctors, nurses, and paramedics.

One could argue that these efforts will be of little help if complete travel restrictions are not in place until the virus is subdued (Tibet Online 2020). According to an anecdote shared by a Tibetan, who had travelled to Lhasa from Chengdu during the last week of January, no thermal screening was done before boarding the plane to check the passengers for fever. He complains that the lack of proper protective measures would jeopardize the lives of many people if there were any infected passengers on the plane. Ultimately, there would be an imminent danger of the spread of the infection in Lhasa and other parts of "TAR", where health experts warned that high altitude coupled with limited medical resources would exacerbate containment and treatment of the infection (Xinhua 2020).

The Chinese authorities have initially not only downplayed the severity of the disease, but also bluntly covered up the nature of its transmission between humans. In fact, several people in China

who warned others about the outbreak of the deadly coronavirus were arrested for "spreading rumors". This included Doctor Li Wenliang, whose death from the infection sparked widespread public grievances and anger (Yu 2020). The virus has so far killed more than 1,000 people and infected over 40,000 since it was first detected in Wuhan city in early December. However, medical experts have estimated that the rate of infection could be way higher than the official figures (Wu 2020).

It is not known why the Chines government announced during the epidemic that "TAR" and Amdo (Qinghai), the two most Tibetan populated areas on the Tibetan Plateau, had zero rate of infection. The announcement was perhaps a part of the early geographic projection of infection rate in China, but we cannot rule out the fact that the announcement had prompted many Chinese to come to "TAR" and other parts of Tibet from the affected provinces in China.

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The Other 'Pandemic': Marginalization of Tibetan culture*

Karma Tenzin

The year 2020 will be remembered as one of the most disturbing times in human history. The COVID-19 virus that had its origin in the Wuhan region of China has devastated lives, crippled economies, and brought the world to a screeching standstill.

In December 2019, the news emerged of the first human infection with this coronavirus, with the World Health Organization basing its claims of the origin and spread of the virus on Beijing's narrative on the same (World Health Organization 2020).

The Chinese regime under President Xi Jinping has come under intense global scrutiny for its actions during this pandemic, which ranged from covering up key information about the virus to suppressing citizens (Leung 2929) who dared to speak about the pandemic, right up to threatening governments such as those in the European Union (Satter, Emmott and Stubbs 2020) and Australia (Aljazeera 2020) that sought an independent inquiry into the origins and spread of the virus.

The relationship between Tibet and Beijing has been defined by the latter's hardline policies that have been on the rise since the annexation of the former by the People's Liberation Army. The Cultural Revolution was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Tibetans and the destruction of countless monasteries in Tibet. The Communist Party-led regime has not only pressed hard on the people of Tibet but has sought to mold the land into its image of "China's Tibet."

Tibet remains a region with one of the worst human-rights situations in the world due to China's hardline policies (Freedom House 2020). In particular, education and preservation of the Tibetan language have suffered under those policies.

China is not on the same page as the rest of the world when it comes to educating younger generations. The Communist Party of China's education policy has two doors that have led to two different realities. The first reality has been the education of the Han Chinese youth, which has significantly contributed to the economic development of the country as a whole. The second reality, which is a grim one, has been for the ethnic minorities, Tibetan youth in particular, as the education setup that they are pushed into by the government serves as an effective propaganda tool to mold their opinions while tearing away the fabric of their own culture and language.

As the world came to focus on dealing with the pandemic, China continued its oppressive policies on the Tibetan people. In April, the local government in Ngawa (in Chinese Aba), Sichuan province, announced a new policy that mandated Mandarin to be used as the medium of instruction for all the subjects in the region's schools except while teaching the Tibetan language (Radio Free Asia 2020). This contravenes the Chinese constitution itself, which includes articles protecting minority languages. However, the rule of law has always given way to rule by law in China. This policy has precedence in past state directives. For example, a similar law was announced in Rebkong (aka Tenrong, Qinghai) in 2010, leading to thousands of students marching in the streets in protest against the government (Gaphel 2014).

The population of Tibet continues to rise but the reason is attributed largely to the movement of a large number of Han Chinese into the region, due to the encouragement of Beijing, either as migrants seeking employment or as tourists. Furthermore, many of these people later are able to receive permanent residence in Tibet, the cumulative effect of this being that Tibetans are under threat of becoming minorities in their own land while their language and culture come under increasing pressure of assimilation and becoming

irrelevant. In the Tibet Autonomous Region alone, 20 million to 25 million inland tourist visits have been recorded annually (Xinhua 2019), putting immense pressure on the Tibetan population to speak a language that is not their own and thereby further marginalizing the use of their native tongue.

Despite such tremendous pressure from local and state governments, the Tibetan people have resisted. The large-scale protests in 2008 during the Beijing Olympics remain a vivid testimony of their resistance (CNN 2012), while the 2010 student protests in Tibet reveal the dissatisfaction of Tibetans across generations with the Chinese policies aimed at marginalizing and assimilating their unique language and culture.

These incidents show that the policies implemented in Tibet are not being accepted by the younger or elder generations who have lived through the discriminating education policies of the CPC. It is high time to revise the education policies to cater to the legitimate needs of the Tibetans, a policy that benefits them, their future, and their cultural heritage.

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China is Utilizing the Coronavirus Pandemic to Further Subdue the Tibetan People

Military personnel in Tibet to combat the pandemic could remain even after the pandemic ends.

Dechen Palmo

Coronavirus has bought the world in a race to bring the pandemic under control. Many countries are deploying various form of surveillance tools as a means to exert social control and to tackle the outbreak. Countries like Singapore, Russia, Israel, Iran, and Taiwan have all adopted some degrees of China's methods of surveillance to contain the spread of the virus. China has already faced constant criticism over having the most sophisticated and controversial surveillance system to check on its people.

With the coronavirus pandemic, this gives the Beijing the excuse to exert new forms surveillance over the country and Tibet in particular. When we talk about Tibet, it consists of three provinces: U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. The latter two are now divided and incorporated into the Chinese province of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan. When China talks about Tibet, it refers to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), which is only the U-Tsang part of Tibet. There has been an increase in the number of military personnel in all parts of Tibet, with reports that state that there are more militarily personnel than the health workers to control the outbreak of the virus in Tibet.

Adam Schwartz, a senior lawyer at the Electronic Frontier Foundation, stated:

> There is a great concern that when the government gets new powers in crisis, governments never give the powers away even when the crisis ends. (Marlow 2020).

This power grabbing behavior of the Chinese Communist party creates a sense of panic among Tibetans who are already under scrutiny. As Adam mentions, there is a real possibility that these new forms of surveillance and control over the Tibetan areas would remain even after the outbreak ends and that the people would be compelled to accept them on grounds that they are for their apparent well-being.

The spread of the Coronavirus was first reported in Wuhan, the capital of China's Hubei province, and eventually spread across the globe. Cases of the diseases have risen rapidly with no cure. According to data compiled by Johns Hopkins University , as of 22 June, the pandemic has killed about 521,355 people and infected more than 10,874,146 people so far across the world (John Hopkins University 2020).

The rapid spread of the virus has been blamed on the Chinese government's heavy censorship of information/ news and delay in the national emergency response to the virus outbreak. Dr. Li Wenliang, accused of "spreading rumors" and silenced after sounding the alarm over the coronavirus outbreak in Wuhan, also died from the coronavirus. On 30 December Dr. Li Wenliang had raised alarms over seven patients in Wuhan showing symptoms of viral pneumonia due to unknown causes. Since then the cases of such pneumonia kept increasing in Wuhan. Subsequently, China reported a cluster of pneumonia related cases to the World Health Organization (WHO) country office in China on December 31, 2019. However, the outbreak was declared a public health emergency of international concern on January 30, 2020, and on February 11, 2020, WHO termed the virus as COVID-19(World Health Organization 2020). .

On January 11, China reported its first death from the disease in Wuhan. The Hubei province was kept under lockdown from January 23 until April 8, 2020, for 76 days. But the mayor of Wuhan Zhou Xiawang revealed that about 5 million residents left Wuhan before the lockdown, which accelerated the spread of the virus to other parts of the country.

The total confirmed COVID-19 cases in China is 84,830, with the death of 4,641 of its citizens (John Hopkins University 2020). But there remains skepticism over the veracity of these numbers as there are growing concerns that China is not being entirely honest about the extent of its infection and deaths.

Larry Kudlow, the director of President Donald Trump's Economic council, told the reporters that the U.S. is disappointed over not being invited in the medical operations and over the lack of transparency on the part of China over the coronavirus outbreak (South China Morning Post 2020).

Coronavirus cases inside Tibet

Tibet has not remained immune to the pandemic as the virus has also reached the world's highest plateau, the Tibetan plateau.

According to the Central Tibetan Administration, based in Dharamshala, India, there were 107 confirmed cases in Tibet (Central Tibetan Administration 2020). The data shows that the diseases had also spread across the Tibetan areas and the hardest hit province was Sichuan with 79 confirmed cases. Within the province, Tawu County has the greatest number of confirmed cases at 73 while Gansu province registered 8 cases and Qinghai had 19. The data also showed the Tibetan Autonomous Region has only 1 confirmed case of the virus. Other areas such as Yunnan Dechen's prefecture were said to have no confirmed cases.

Region	Confirmed Cases	Active Cases	Recovered Cases	Deceased Cases
Tibet Autonomous Region	1	-	1	-
Qinghai	19	-	19	-
Sichuan	79	-	79	-
Gansu	8	-	8	-
Yunnan	-	-	-	-
Total	107	-	107	-

Source: Central Tibetan Administration

All of the cases have been reported as having recovered, yet however there is no accurate information on how many of the infected individuals are Tibetans. But according to Tenzin Phenthok, a researcher at the Tibet Policy Institute, "out of 107, at least 72 Tibetan were confirmed of having been infected with the disease."

The Condition of Tibetans Inside Tibet

The circumstances that ensued following the Covid-19 emergency have additionally deteriorated the condition of Tibetans. Chinese officials have significantly increased the security forces across Tibet amidst of Coronavirus pandemic. Kardze, the eastern part of Tibet, has been a prominent site for self-immolation as symbols of protests against Chinese control and suppression of Tibetan culture. The region which is already under strict control by the Chinese government had to face stricter regulation at the times of the pandemic. Subsequently, the region has the greatest number of COVID 19 cases as compared to other regions of Tibet.

American photographer Eleanor Moseman had documented the lives of Tibetans during the pandemic. She noted that, "there were military tents were lining the road to Garze's airport, guarding village entrance." (Moseman and Su 2020).

Additionally, she contrasted the conditions of those she observed to Shanghai where it was much different. People in Shanghai did have their temperature checked and masks were made compulsory but there was much less security and police presence. She further stated that Garze (Kardze) felt even more like a police state than usual.

Alongside increasing surveillance, arrest, crackdown, and religious repression were also used as mechanisms to control the Tibetan people.

The Chinese government, as part of its strategic attempts to cover up the COVID-19 casualties, warned people to refrain from spreading any "rumors" about the coronavirus. There were many cases of Tibetans being punished and imprisoned even for small incidents

such as forwarding a particular prayer believed to protect against the coronavirus or by posting news that people from mainland China were secretly arriving in the county. According to Radio Free Asia, seven people in Chamdo were punished with administrative detention of seven days (Radio Free Asia 2020). Chinese officials blame such incidents for spreading rumors which causes security challenges to the state. Moreover, Chamdo is a part of Tibet where the crackdown has been extremely severe, described by the Chinese communist party as the "frontline" and "combat-ready" in the political "struggle against separatism".

In their campaign against the virus, Chinese propaganda in Tibet has highlighted the role of police and security enforcement officers more than that of medical personnel who are on the frontline of the epidemic. Despite the major health problem caused by the coronavirus, China is using this as an opportunity to bring in more military to control the region. The Tibet Daily on January 24 reported that officials went ahead with a new political campaign described as a "million police entering 10 million homes," which includes "visiting the people, resolving people's concerns, resolving conflicts, preventing risks, investigating problems and controlling chaos" (Tibet Daily 2020)

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The Shadow of the COVID-19 Pandemic Over China – EU Relations: An Analysis

Tenzin Lhadon

Prior to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the nature of China-EU relations took a shift after EU labeled Beijing as an "economic competitor and a systemic rival promoting alternative models of governance". It was EU's most critical response for Beijing issued in early 2019. The Joint Communication by the European Commission sets out a 10-point action plan to establish a more balanced relationship with China (European Commission 2019).

Beijing's growing presence, political influence, and its global ambition to lead, has been seen as causing a rift between China and the EU as reflected in the Joint Communication. The relationship continues to suffer after the outbreak of the COVID-19 and has exposed some fundamental differences between the two. In fact, EU's Foreign Affairs Chief, Josep Borrell, pointed out that the current relations between Brussels and Beijing weren't always based on trust, transparency and reciprocity (South China Morning Post 2020).

Not only did the current pandemic mark a paradigm shift in the EU-China relationship, but the question arises on whether EU has been always treated as a replacement for China's declining relation with the US or has it been seen by both China and the US as a litmus test for their respective strategic influence. Wang Yiming, researcher at Renmin University argues that the stability of US-Europe-China triangle has changed pertaining to the current conflicts between US and China, pressuring EU to adjust its perception of China, and thus resulting in a more assertive Europe (Institut Montaigne 2020).

Many Western governments have demanded an independent investigation into the origin of the virus, an idea supported by the EU as well. China's response to these inquiries has primarily been to sidestep these demands. But recently, it seems to have adopted a much aggressive role, attempting to change the question itself. For instance, recently, Yang Peng, a researcher from the Beijing Center for Diseases Prevention and Control (Beijing CDC) claims that the Genome sequencing showed that the coronavirus came from Europe (Global Times 2020). Experts based in Beijing said that imported seafood that was contaminated by the coronavirus in Europe, before being delivered to China, caused the pandemic (Caiyu and Hui 2020). Earlier, a Chinese diplomat accused the American army for exporting the virus to China (Siddiqui 2020). The diplomatic tensions over the origin of the pandemic will nevertheless add to the rift between China and the EU.

While the diplomatic relationship between China and the EU deteriorated during and due to the COVID-19, there are various issues raised from "wolf warrior diplomacy" adopted by several Chinese officials (Zhu 2020) to popular perception that China is responsible for the COVID-19 pandemic to issues surrounding "mask diplomacy" (Zhou 2020). These all point towards what John Seaman of the French Institute describes as China's public diplomacy going into overdrive, one which appears well coordinated, with varying degrees of dogmatism, divisiveness and moderation (Dettmer 2020).

The significance of China-EU partnership entails cooperation at various levels, with President Xi Jinping noting that the EU has been China's largest trading partner for 14 years in a row and China as the EU's second largest trading partner. Developing a sound relationship with the EU has long been a foreign policy priority for China that was recently highlighted by Zhang Ming, head of the Chinese Mission to the EU (Xinhua 2020). Celebrating the 45th anniversary of the establishment of China-EU diplomatic ties on May 6, Zhang noted the damage the Covid-19 caused for the international community. However, his statement lacks any acknowledgment of how the pandemic pose unprecedented challenges for China's political

system.

In one revealing case, as reported by Matt Apuzzo of The New York Times, the Chinese government threatened the EU officials for documenting the government's push for disinformation about Covid-19 pandemic (Apuzzo 2020). Beijing's threat not only proved effective but more importantly, it was successful in quickly blocking the release of the document. Matt further reported that the Chinese diplomat, Zhang Ming, denied China being engaged in any sort of actions to spread disinformation and outright dismissed using the pandemic to play politics.

It is not surprising to witness Beijing flexing its diplomatic muscles in trying to divert global scrutiny over the origin of the virus, or how it has been handled poorly at the beginning or defied any accusations towards its governance. The Chinese concern and their great challenge is seemingly in guarding its international image or convey a moral upright and ethical China to a global community using both covert and overt tactics (Apuzzo 2020). China used the pandemic to display its normative power while the government has been suspected of engaging in a systematic propaganda and disinformation campaign (Lau 2020). In fact, the EU Foreign Policy Chief accused China for trying to create differences among the EU members (Lau 2020). The European chief has explicitly shared the view that publicity and politicization of Covid-19 pandemic campaign should be avoided.

However, the Global Times claim that China's achievement in the COVID-19 fight has questioned Western democratic decision-making mechanisms and their belief in human rights (Global Times 2020)but without providing any substantial explanation for its claims. The question still remains, does Beijing intend to make its advancement at the expense of creating differences and division among the EU member countries?

If Beijing's efforts to divide and rule in EU is in all sense real and applied, the EU leadership might need to reconsider its partnership with Beijing and assess the 'Chinese threat' in order to safeguard

EU's unity and stability or as far as its existence as an independent entity is concerned. Interestingly, China has increasingly attempted to divert the attention of the EU from its role in influencing the decision-making process of the EU towards the management of the global pandemic. It is clear from both sides that competition will increase in the post-pandemic era, but it is the question of whether the competition exceeds cooperation and how it will change the dynamics of China-EU relations.

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Coronavirus pandemic : a Chinese Trojan horse to global hegemony*

Tsewang Gyalpo Arya

The Coronavirus pandemic, which originated from the Wuhan city of China last year, has affected and disturbed the world greatly. It has created a war-like situation in public health, economy, and politics and in international relations around the world. Many theories have been sprouted with regards to the origin of the Coronavirus from the Wuhan wet market to an accident in a bio-warfare laboratory. Whatever the theories, one undeniable fact is that the virus originated from Wuhan, and China deliberately prevented the information from spreading at the cost of a global pandemic.

The international community has unanimously condemned China's mishandling of the outbreak and it has to be held accountable for the devastation it wrecked around the world (Westphsea 2020). The pandemic has exposed the ruthless nature of Xi Jinping's leadership and the insidious conspiracy of China to take the helm of world power at whatever cost. The world leaders are not happy with what China has done and how it is still bullying around with impunity (Westphsea 2020).

Had China taken action and attended to the warnings the Chinese doctor Li Wenliang (BBC 2020) and others (Biao 2020) gave at the early stages of the virus outbreak, this pandemic could have been contained and so many lives in China and around the world could have been saved. Unfortunately, the leadership silenced the voice of these sincere doctors and citizens who tried to warn the people of the incubating epidemic in the region (The Jerusalem Post 2020).

As of now, more than two hundred thousand people have died and

more than three million positive cases are reported, and the figures are still moving uphill. But instead of apologizing and taking moral responsibility for the chaos it has created around the world, China has tried to put the blame first on the US army (Winter 2020), then on Italy (Wallace 2020) and Kazakhstan, lately on the black community in China . Both the US and Italy are undergoing great difficulty and suffering due to the Coronavirus with rising unemployment in these two countries. Yet, China continues to claim that the virus originated from the US and Italy. Taking the opportunity presented by the circumstances surrounding the pandemic, China claimed Kazakhstan as historically being a part of China, and to further confuse the situation, it said the Coronavirus originated from the land (Kusainov 2020).

The black community from the African nations, who have helped sustain Chinese economy in various sectors, and whose countries welcomed Xi's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Chinese people to Africa, are now being made a scapegoat to fit China's narrative that the virus was of foreign origin (Hong Kong Free Press 2020).

When the Olympic Committee conferred China the honor to host the 2008 Olympic, China promised to improve and amend its notorious record on human rights, press and religious freedom. The international community expected China to open up and subscribe to the international norms and democratic values after the Olympics. But China took the 2008 Olympic more as an acknowledgement by the world of its growing military and economic power, and endorsement of its policies. In Tibet, human rights and religious freedom deteriorated greatly after the Olympic, restriction and surveillance became extremely severe that the number of Tibetan refugees crossing the border has gone down to almost zero since then. Today, the Tibetan plateau which His Holiness the Dalai Lama once dreamt of as a Zone of Peace has become a highly militarized zone in the world today.

Amid all the chaos and pandemic China has created, it has attempted to assert its global position and taken advantage of the devastation it has engineered. China continues to suppress information and its

total Covid-19 cases remained stagnant at 82,000+ and the death at 4000+ since March, whereas the actual casualty and fatality count is said to be much higher . Diplomatically, China supplied medical kits worth millions of dollars to combat the Coronavirus disease in the US, Canada, Italy, India, Nepal and some other countries. But much of these kits were found faulty and were returned (Kuo 2020).

The world has continued to struggle against the effects of this pandemic yet China has stuck on to its aggressive border policy, sending naval warships to Japan, South China seas (Zhen 2020), and the Indian Ocean (Mcgleenon 2020). It arrested Martin Lee along with some 14 prominent democratic advocates (Lee 2020) in Hong Kong and has threatened to bomb Taiwan into submission (Peck 2020). Yet, its White Paper on Defense states "China will never seek hegemony and sphere of influence" (Arya 2019). The Chinese Ambassador to India has reiterated the official position yet (Weidong 2020) Chinese cartographers are busy altering the map of Indian frontiers (Business Insider 2020).

China is known for its violation of human rights, press and religious freedom, yet it has been granted a seat in the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) (Fleetwood 2020). China has, through its Belt and Road Initiative, plunged many developing countries into debt, and in the process gaining substantial influence in these nations' domestic and foreign policy (Fernholz 2018). The World Health Organization (WHO), under its Director General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, has been accused of softening criticism against China, while building stronger relationships with Beijing (Collins 2020). Recently, China pressured the European Union (EU) to soften its report on the CCP disinformation tactics related to the Covid-19 (Apuzzo 2020). These aggressive and heavy-handed tactics used by China are indicative of a foreign policy designed to alter the current status quo and governance system.

More than 154 Tibetans have committed self-immolation since 2009 to protest the Chinese atrocities and to draw the attention of the international community to the injustice and human rights abuses that Tibetans are subjected to. The Coronavirus pandemic

has revealed the dangers of the Chinese dictatorial regime, if left unaccountable, to global peace, stability and democracy. Whatever the cause of the virus, China has used it as its Trojan horse to claim its goal of global hegemony.

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China's Diplomatic Clout and its Soft Power Projection Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic*

Tenzin Lhadon

A bespectacled leader of Taiwan was sworn in for her second term as President of the island nation a few days ago. President Tsai remains one of the few world leaders showcasing effective leadership in tackling the COVID–19 pandemic, and belongs to a select group of female leaders in particular to do so. Yet her presidency, the first and now the upcoming second term, has been one defined by an antagonist relationship with Beijing, as the latter continues to aggressively further its cause of having Taiwan join the PRC as part of its "one country, two system" policy.

Beijing countering Taiwan or aggressively promoting its soft power has raised numerous questions regarding its intention, transparency, integrity and its approach. While its "medical diplomacy" might have succeeded in promoting its soft power in few targeted regions, others interpret the new confrontational approach as the "wolf-warrior diplomacy" (Zhu 2020).

The highlight of President Tsai inauguration speech was her rebuttal against Beijing's "one country, two systems", a system that is facing tremendous pressure of being dismantled in Hong Kong . She rejected Beijing's proposal for the second time and instead stuck to the Republic of China's (ROC) constitution and persisted with the demand to maintain of the cross-strait status quo (Creery 2020). While President Tsai intends to strengthen ties with U.S., Japan, Europe and other like-minded countries, Beijing continues to pressure and manipulate countries around the world into adhering to its "One China" policy in an attempt to weaken Taiwan (Creery 2020).

The island country is not only concerned with the dwindling number of diplomatic allies (leaving it with only 15 nations that it has formal ties with (Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Republic of China (Taiwan)), but more importantly, Taiwan has been denied access to a number of international fora which it was previously able to participate in (Creery 2020). It has been able to maintain full membership in only 38 intergovernmental organizations (IGO), observerships in 15, and other forms of official participation (i.e. associate member, cooperating non-member, etc.) in another 4.

Recently, Taiwan was excluded from participating in the World Health Assembly despite Taiwan's impressive containment of the pandemic within its borders (U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Geneva 2020). With a population of 23 million, Taiwan has less than 450 confirmed cases of people affected with corona virus despite its territorial proximity with China (Creery 2020).

Due to China's economic and political leverage, the international community has increasingly aligned itself with China in their attempt to isolate Taiwan. Bonnie S Glaser claims that after the pandemic outbreak, the World Health Organization (WHO) did not share information about the disease with Taiwan since the island nation is excluded from the organization's alert and response network. The director general of WHO, Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus in particular, has been accused of being too deferential to China (Hernandez 2020).

Moreover the senior advisor at the World Health Organization, Bruce Aylward increasingly dodged a question on Taiwan's response to the coronavirus pandemic and then repeatedly referred to it as China (Davidson 2020). The senior advisor in an interview with Hong Kong's RTHK repeatedly and deliberately avoided answering any questions about Taiwan's response to the pandemic and its membership in the WHO.

Clearly Beijing's diplomacy through strong arming those around it has reached unprecedented heights. Above all, the ethical standard of an international organization like the WHO seems to have suffered

after rejecting Taiwan's bid to serve as an observer. Taking these into consideration, it is apt to ask whether Beijing's approach to the global political, economic and cultural matters is a new normal for international relations or should China's aggressive expansion of its diplomatic muscle be checked.

Beijing's increasingly image – conscious efforts seen during the COVID-19 pandemic has given the impression that the mastery of global image through various means is an important aspect in the process of being seen a powerful and benign country. China's remarkable achievement in reducing its poverty level from 100 million in 2012 to 16.6 million in late 2018 effectively played vital role in rebuilding its economy internally (Omoruyi 2019). In fact, President Xi Jinping reiterated its target to eradicate poverty by 2020 (Omoruyi 2019). Externally, China replaced Japan as the second largest economy in the world, it is the largest contributor of peacekeeping forces among the five permanent members of UN Security Council and provided generous economic and humanitarian aid to regions in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia has nonetheless laid the foundation for China's international image or at least improved its global standing.

Following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing quickly moved aggressively towards securing its image both internationally and domestically. China responded with sending its medical teams to Iran, Iraq, Italy, Serbia and Cambodia, claiming that the government has provided 83 countries and international organizations with emergency assistance to tackle the pandemic (Kuo 2020). Through such goodwill, Beijing not only hopes to garner positive responses to its global image, but strategically influence the emotions of the people of these countries. Italy in particular has been severely hit by the pandemic and Beijing was quick to seize the opportunity to downplay the role of EU and European countries. In fact, the Chinese propaganda machine quickly made a video of Italians praising Chinese generosity (Fallon 2020). The positive perception that China has gained much grounds in creating i.e. one defined by generosity, benevolence, friendly, goodhearted and sympathetic during the COVID-19 pandemic has been coupled with asserting

strong diplomatic influence at the international level. .

On the other hand, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, nonetheless, has increased global attention and scrutiny over China's policies. Using both overt and covert tactics, Beijing was able to bully and threaten foreign officials whose opinions went against its policies. Beijing seems adamant to use the pandemic as a platform to exhibit its diplomatic muscle, particularly its soft power diplomacy. These incidents might have increased China's leverage, but they do not necessarily translate into favorable perceptions because there are limitations to China's soft power and rising skepticism from world leaders and communities on China's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In a fund-raising effort spearheaded by the EU that brought many countries around the world to pledge their contributions in an effort to develop a vaccine to stop the virus (Stevis-Gridneff and Jakes 2020), China has made no financial pledge despite the fact that the pandemic that spread from Wuhan has brought immense disaster around the world. China's lack of transparency (Kuo 2020), suspicious death toll rate (Kuo, Coronavirus outbreak: senior US official accuses China of lack of transparency 2020), refusing to allow in international experts, blocking Chinese scientists from probing the origin of the disease (Apuzzo 2020), threatening officials for documenting the Chinese governments push in spreading disinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic (Apuzzo 2020) and its hardline approach towards cutting Taiwan off from the World Health Assembly as an observer has added to the global suspicion. Several countries now want an inquiry into the roles of both WHO and China with being increasing belligerent in its response to such demands (Chellaney 2020).

2019 saw China being put under pressure and questioned for its internal policies towards its ethnic minority communities in Tibet and Xinjiang while the large scale protests in Hong Kong revealed the insecurity of Beijing with regards to its "One country, Two System" arrangement. Similarly China's BRI initiative as well as border issues with India, Japan and the rest of South East Asia saw it being flanked

on multiple sides. The COVID-19 pandemic brought an immediate blanket cover on all these issues and the global world shifted its entire focus on dealing with the situation, so much so that China received positive adulation from WHO and even President Trump for its role during the initial spread of the disease. The present situation, five months after China closed down the Wuhan region, is very different. The US is increasingly turning antagonistic towards Beijing while a large section of the global community has started to view Xi's policies with great apprehension. Furthermore, the Hong Kong protests has picked up steam again due to China new proposed legislation that threatens to strip away at the already failing Hong Kong autonomy (Kuo 2020) while its coercive stance towards Taiwan has brought the Cross – Strait relations under rising pressure (Tan 2020). 2020 may have started off well for China's foreign policy and as a shield for its internal maneuvers but it seems that the magic has worn off, revealing the foundational ruptures between Beijing's propagandist claims and the reality that it attempts to hide from the rest of the world.

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Propaganda in the Time of Corona*

Tenzing Wangdak

On April 27, 2020, Global Times published an article titled "Exiled Tibetans eye return to China for fear of virus" (Jie and Yuwei 2020) which claimed that Tibetans living in India and Nepal "recognized the measures taken in the past months in Southwest China's Tibet Autonomous Region and even expressed the wish to return to China". The Global Times is a subsidiary of the Communist Party of China's primary mouthpiece, the People's Daily and along with the Xinhua, CGTN (the international wing of CCTV) has been on the forefront of the CCP's belligerent defense of its policies during this COVID-19 pandemic (Yuan 2020). Therefore, it is not surprising to see such an article surface on its website and should be seen as nothing more than another jingoistic propaganda based on unfounded assumptions and nonexistent sources.

The article in question asserts that Dharamsala, which is demographically and politically the center of the Tibetan exile community, is plagued with the pandemic and unable to cope up with it due to the lack of proper medical facilities, quoting a single foreign tourist and Ling Yinghua, an associate research fellow at the Beijing Tibetan Hospital of China Tibetology Research Center, as evidence of its claims. Notwithstanding the legitimacy of these sources, it is a far-fetched assumption to make based on two individual accounts with no specific data to support it. As the article itself claims, there has been 41 COVID-19 related cases in Himachal Pradesh, yet the only affected Tibetan entered India from the United States. At the time of writing this article, no new positive cases of COVID-19 in the state has been reported in the past five days, while 25 have recovered leaving only 10 under treatment in hospitals (Bodh 2020). Furthermore the primary hospital in Kangra district (Dharamsala

falls under it) designated for the treatment of COVID-19 patients is the Dr. Rajendra Prasad Medical College which houses more than 800 beds, significantly larger than the 20 – 30 bed hospital that Ling Yinghua claims as the "western hospital" of Dharamsala. The authority of Ling Yinghua's statements is further thrown into doubt since the article states that Ling studied Tibetan medicine in India but according to the Tibetan Medical and Astro Institute, the principal center for the study of Tibetan medicine in exile, he was never associated with the Institute (Arya 2020).

The Central Tibetan Administration has taken numerous preemptive steps towards the prevention of the spread of the pandemic among the Tibetan communities in exile. Like everywhere else in the world, Tibetans are vulnerable to the virus but in a diasporic population of more than 94000 people, the absence of even a single domestic case speaks to the positive efforts of the Indian central and states governments as well as the Central Tibetan Administration which moved swiftly in March to close down the Tibetan schools, offices and settlements to prevent the spread of the disease as well as keep the public informed about safety measures and data related to the pandemic. In contrast, the first COVID-19 cases emerged in China in early December but the CCP suppressed public knowledge about the infection until the end of December when images and posts about it were leaked online (Aljazeera 2020). It was only in late January that the Government informed the people that the virus could spread by human contact and placed the Wuhan region under lockdown on January 23, 2020 but by then about 5 million had already left the city for Chinese New Year Holidays (The Economic Times 2020), the global effects of which is still being ascertained. Wuhan has reopened and at the present moment the CCP claims credit for the apparent successful flattening of the pandemic curve in the country. Such claims needs to be analyzed within the background of China's continued suppression of free press in the country, as seen in March with the expulsion of journalists from the New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal as well as clamping down on its own domestic media and medical professionals who stray away from the official State narrative (Stevenson and Ramzy 2020). The spread of the pandemic on a global scale should be

attributed to the CCP's handling of the issue, from silencing the matter when it arose in December to its denial and then shirking responsibility for it.

According to official Chinese authorities, there has been one confirmed COVID-19 patient in the so called 'Tibet Autonomous Region'. Based on this statistic, the Global Times article alludes that Tibetans have a desire to return to Tibet, describing them as "Overseas Tibetans". Yet such ambiguous description conceal the reality that Tibetans living outside their home country are victims of tragic circumstances, the perpetrator of which is the CCP. Ten Tibetans were arrested on 12 March on the pretext of spreading "rumors" related to the pandemic (Radio Free Asia 2020) while the Government continues to intensify its surveillance grid in Tibet as well as throughout China. Numerous analysts have argued that the surveillance network intensification for tackling the pandemic in China will become a permanent part of the larger State apparatus (Kharpal 2020), used to further clamp down on civil liberties. Outside of the 'TAR', other regions of Tibet incorporated into the larger provinces of Qinghai, Sichuan and Gansu reported more than 70 cases on February 15 (Jackson 2020), highlighting the severity of the situation inside Tibet. The deterioration of the Tibetan language in Tibet due to China's bilingual education policy (Human Rights Watch 2020), the continued suppression of the Tibetan Buddhist faith (Freedom House 2017) and culture as well as the political crackdown on Tibetans during this pandemic (Saunders 2020) speaks volumes for the disassociation of the Global Times article's claims from the reality that continues to plague the Tibetan population in Tibet.

The article in question concludes by drawing an idyllic image of a Tibetan women in Nepal imagining herself back in Tibet surrounded by her family, safe and secure. The stark reality of the situation is that most Tibetans in exile would like to go back to their homeland and reconnect with loved ones and family yet they are unable to do so due to the six decades of CCP's rule over the region. The CCP's propaganda machine is a formidable one, both in reach and power, yet Tibetans continue to resist the Chinese State as it is unable to

cloud the objective truth, despite there being a pandemic that it can and has employed to great effect for its own designs.

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China's Interference in the Indo-Tibetan Relations Based on Covid - 19 False Facts*

Tsewang Dorji

The Global Times, China's English language mouthpiece, published an article on April 27, 2020 entitled "Exiled Tibetans eye to return to China for fear of virus" (Jie and Yuwei 2020). It distorted the current status of exile Tibetans living in India and Nepal during the coronavirus crisis.The recently published article attempts to undermine the Indian public healthcare system by suggesting that exile Tibetans wished to return to Tibet because of the accelerating coronavirus crisis in India. The report is an attempt to exert China's hugger-mugger geopolitical strategy for pulling India timely into its own power equation when India blocked China's FDI at the time of the coronavirus pandemic.

The said article is attributed to the personal accounts of Liu Yinghua's India visit and Yangzom's supposed struggle in Nepal. Based on these two individual's personal accounts, the Global Times has falsely reported on the ground reality of exile Tibetans in India and Nepal. Moreover, the sources of the report have no actual facts and figures. In fact, the two witnesses of the report are based on falsity and duplicity. The Global Times picked the case of 69-year old deceased Mr. Tenzin Choephel's positive result of COVID-19 as evidence to falsely show the dented public health system in Dharamshala in Himachal Pradesh. However, on the contrary, none of Tibetan residents in South Asia have been infected with the coronavirus so far. The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and its agencies have gone one step ahead in terms of preventive measures against the coronavirus in Tibetan communities across India, Nepal and Bhutan since its outbreak in South Asia.

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Dharamsala is the residence of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. It is also considered the exile Tibetan capital of the world, where the Central Tibetan Administration is established. Liu Yinghua, a prime witness of the Global Times' report stated that "Dharamshala also has a western hospital with about 20 to 30 beds and can hardly handle urgent or severe patients". And also, an anonymous source revealed that "we saw small clinics in Dharamshala, both quite shabby. People there do not have a habit of hygiene yet". These disparaging statements do not match the actual health infrastructure developments and facilities in Dharamshala.

Dharamshala is the second largest city in Himachal Pradesh, which is currently under the Smart City Mission Project of the Government of India (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs 2019). According to assessment of livability indices of the Ministry of Urban Development, the Government of India, Dharamshala is listed as one of the most livable cities in India. Today, it is one of the most popular Himalayan hill stations in India for tourists, travelers, artists, academicians, spiritualists and Tibetologists. They freely enjoy its fresh air, clean water and the majestic view of snow-capped mountains.

In terms of health infrastructures and facilities, Dharamshala city has sufficient health services in accordance with its demographic size. Both Zonal Hospital and Government Medical College at Tanda give free medical services and facilities to the people. As per 2015 demographic survey done by Dharamshala Nagar Nigam, Dharamshala city's population is 53543 (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs 2019).

With the reference to the Census of India 2011, "the city has one Zonal Hospital with an In -patient capacity of 300 beds, one Hospital Alternative Medicine with capacity of 20 beds, one Dispensary/ Health Centre, one Family Welfare Centre, one Maternity and Child Welfare Centre, one Maternity Home, one T.B. Hospital/ Clinic,

one Nursing Home, one Veterinary Hospital and a Mobile Health Clinic (Government of Himachal Pradesh 2017)". The census has not included Dr. Rajendra Prasad Government Medical College at Tanda and rest of private hospitals in the city.

According to the official website of Delek Hospital, a hospital run by the Central Tibetan Administration, it has "an In-Patient capacity of 45 beds with other facilities available within the in- Patient service include an operating theatre for relatively simple procedures, a delivery room, ECG facility, cardiac monitoring and a wide range of laboratory services".

At the height of the coronavirus pandemic, China has attempted to wreck the Indo-Tibet friendship by trying to mesh Tibetans into China's geopolitical ambitions in India and Nepal. The fact is that Tibetans across South Asia always feel a sense of gratitude towards their host nations. For example, the Central Tibetan Administration and Tibetan public across the world marked 2018 as the year of "Thank You India".

Under the benevolent guidance of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration, exiled Tibetans have no livelihood problems, and their relationship with host countries are robust. Tibetans have been exiled for 61 years since China's invasion and occupation of Tibet in 1951. The ultimate goal of the exiled Tibetans is to happily return to Tibet when China frees Tibet.

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Tibetans in exile amid the coronavirus pandemic

Tashi Choedon

The Coronavirus pandemic has had the whole world reeling; it has sent shockwaves of uncertainty to the global economy, impairing social functioning and halting business engagements. People's sense of normalcy has been significantly disturbed considering the nature of the virus which limits social mobility and physical interaction. Countries across the globe have, in the meantime, tried to salvage the deteriorating situation with the imposition or/and extension of lockdowns and encouraging social isolation, and other hygienic guidelines which are the most plausible and effective measures to combat the spread of the coronavirus. Similarly, Tibetans in exile and across the diaspora have been taking measures in battling the spread of the virus in their community as well as making sense of what the spread of the pandemic entails, and what how it could affect Tibet and its future political status.

The virus originated in the Wuhan city of Hubei province in China in the late month of 2019 (Readfearn 2020). However, its swift spread across other countries since then has evoked much concern around the question of its origin and the public health system. It also elicited a lot of discussion around China's accountability and culpability in the rapid spread of the virus across the globe in a few months since it originated in Wuhan. In India, the virus soon spread across the country with the first of its cases reported in Kerala. The Modi-led government, on March 23rd, 2020, issued an order for a complete nationwide lockdown starting March 24 for 21 days to combat the spread of the virus (Hebbar 2020). The second stage of a nationwide lockdown began from 15 April to 3 May, 2020. On 3rd May the lockdown was further extended to two weeks to strictly contain the transmission of the virus in the country. On May 17th, the lockdown was further extended till 31st May.

India is also the country where the largest number of the Tibetan exile population is located[1]. Most of the Tibetan population in India resides in refugee settlements in different states which are directly headed by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). As the first few cases of the virus have been reported in Kerala, CTA, under the directives of the Central Government of India, passed a series of protocols to help raise awareness and prevent the spread of the virus within its exile Tibetan population residing in various parts of India, Nepal and Bhutan.

Relief measures by Tibetans in exile

Following the announcement of the first nationwide lockdown by Prime Minister Modi, the Lobsang Sangay led-Kashag Secretariat issued a series of statements on the preventive measures to curtail the transmission of the virus in the Tibetan community. The CTA established the Covid-19 relief task force on 11 March after the World Health Organization (WHO) affirmed the coronavirus as a pandemic (COVID - 19 Introduction 2020). The Kashag issued statements urging the exile Tibetans to maintain social distancing, follow the orders of Central government and state governments, and issuing orders to close down various Tibetan educational institutions, monasteries and offices around the country (Tenchoe 2020). On 23 March CTA announced alternative working hours and 50 percent office occupancy for its staff till 23 May (Central Tibetan Administration 2020).

Along with the sanitization of the CTA offices, sanitization initiative of various Tibetan settlements began at their regions under the supervision of the CTA's Health department. Due to the mounting rise in anxiety and fear surrounding the deadly nature of the COVID-19, the Health Department announced emergency relief work on mental health counselling for Tibetans. As elderly people and people with underlying health conditions are at a greater risk of infecting the virus, on 2 June CTA announced free distribution of immune-

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1   According to Tibet.net there are total 237 Tibetans who are infected with the virus and 10 death and 178 recovered cases from Bhutan, Nepal, India and abroad https://tibet.net/covid-19/

boosting *Sorig* across 21 settlements for people that are quarantined and for 285 elderly people who are above the age 65 as well (Central Tibetan Administration 2020). According to its website, there are 83 quarantine centers which have 519 rooms and 1598 bedclothes. CTA and Tibetan Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been distributing essential food items to 3184 destitute Tibetans across various Tibetan refugee settlements (Central Tibetan Administration 2020) . Tibetans in exile, both at individual and organization level, took part in various relief measures in their respective regions across India, distributing medical supplies and Personal Protection Equipment (PPE) and essential food items (Tenchoe, Tibetans continues to undertake various relief measures 2020). The first death case from coronavirus in the Tibetan community was reported in Dharamsala on 23 March (The Tribune 2020). Following the orders of Himachal Pradesh government, the administration arranged a quarantine room at Tibetan Reception Center for the deceased's family (Central Tibetan Administration 2020). As several Tibetans were infected with the virus, some of them took to social media to share about their experiences to offer guidelines to prevent and fight the virus. However, during the initial stage of the lockdown, as many institutions had closed down across India, many Tibetans who could not return home got stranded in their respective institutions.

During the lockdown, many Tibetan college students did not have access to any mode of transportation due to the nationwide lockdown across India. On April 24, the Department of Education under CTA stated that it was providing 5000 rupees each to 200 students who were standard across various colleges and institutions (Central Tibetan Administration 2020). Tibetan individuals, healthcare workers and organizations initiated many relief measures to help the Tibetan as well as the local community in order to minimize the burden faced by them during the lockdown.

Tibetans' views regarding the coronavirus pandemic: online discussion

While the Tibetans in exile are battling the virus by taking preventive measures and guidelines to counteract the spread of the virus in their community, there have also been a lot of discussions on how

the pandemic could pave way for political impacts. During the lockdowns across the globe, many Tibetans in the diaspora took part in virtual debates across various social media platforms to discuss subjects ranging from their perception regarding the virus, changing global politics, Tibet's political future status to the status of Tibetans in Tibet in the times of coronavirus[2]. As I scoured through the discussion taking place across social media platforms, one section of the discussion focused on China's handling of the virus in its initial stage, which had sparked anger and debates about its political system. When the Wuhan-based doctor initially warned about the virus in late December 2019, he was allegedly pressurized by the police for creating "rumors". He later died a few weeks after contracting the virus (BBC 2020). It is suggestive of the suppression of information by the Chinese government that has led to a serious health crisis around the world. Some Tibetans remarked about the familiarity of the Chinese government suppression of the virus during its initial spread in Wuhan, given the CCP's treatment of Tibetans in Tibet for over several decades. It is revealing that hiding the information of the virus from the beginning is a larger reflection of the CCP's control over information across every domain which is achieved through their massive propaganda.

Apart from the political aspects of the pandemic, there is also discussion on combating the virus through a Buddhist perspective. Coronavirus has accelerated the mental health crisis around the world. With the lockdown, many people have faced pressures about earning livelihood coupled with general anxiety around infecting with coronavirus. Tibetan Buddhist practitioners, Rinpoches and lamas, took part to discuss online how to handle the pandemic from a Buddhist viewpoint. Many Buddhist practitioners, through the online platform of Tibet TV, pointed out that adhering to Buddhist philosophy of pragmatism is the key. Inculcating Buddhist principles of compassion and kindness and at the same time practically minding the safety measures to prevent the virus from spreading further is

2   There were many online discussion organized by NGOs and comments by individual Tibetans. I have summarized what they have pointed out in their talk. Social media platforms i.e , Facebook, Instagram, etc.

an important solution. They talked about the importance of self-introspection and incorporating resiliency into our lives through meditation and compassion. Most of all, they stressed on the importance of adhering to guidelines issued by health practitioners.

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How Real is the Natural Environment's Revival during the Global Coronavirus Lockdown?*

Tempa Gyaltsen Zamlha

Introduction

There has been numerous stories and media reports about wild animals entering urban areas, clear blue sky re-appearing over smog filled cities, milder summer temperature in some places as a result of better environmental conditions during the global lockdown. But so far, there are very few scientific and academic research studies on the particular subject to verify if the reported environmental improvement during the lockdown is supported by scientific data or not.

Henceforth, this paper will try to examine such public views and news reports, with available research papers and scientific data, to ascertain if there is a real positive impact on the natural environment from the COVID-19 induced global lockdowns.

Scale of the Lockdown

Understanding the scale of the lockdown is paramount while examining its possible impact on the environment in general and carbon emission in particular.

The health crisis, unfortunately, has spread to every corner of the world except for a few islands in the pacific.[3] The humongous scale of the spread was further evident as more than 250 countries and territories were dealing with the infection as per a Situation Report published on 20 April 2020 by World Health Organization (World

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*This article appeared in tibetpolicy.net on 28 May, 2020

3 Pacific Islands – Kiribati island, Marshall Islands, Micronesia

Health Organization 2020). This represents more than the total number of 197 countries recognized by the United Nations.

Based on data provided by World Health Organization on its official website, which was accessed on 20 May 2020 and analyzed by the author. The first 15 countries[4] with the largest number of COVID-19 infections were mostly part of a group of seven richest (G7) countries in the world,[5] those belonging to the organization of the largest petroleum exporting countries (OPEC),[6] and the five fastest growing economies (BRICS).[7] These are basically the wealthiest group of nations on earth with the highest rate of carbon emission (Union of Concerned Scientist 2020). Therefore, a collective lockdown of these fifteen countries, either partial or total, should have naturally contributed to a massive decline in carbon emission.

Carbon Reduction and the Global Health Benefits

The 'Global Energy Review 2020,' a report published by the International Energy Agency on April 2020, at the peak of coronavirus crisis, clearly forewarned that the economic restrictions due to the ongoing global lockdown and changes in weather could reduce greenhouse gas emissions by almost 8% in 2020, which is the largest decline in 70 years (International Energy Agency 2020). Such a drastic fall in carbon emission, though under unfortunate circumstances, is a welcome shift as outdoor air pollution kills 4.2 million people every year as per WHO report (World Health Organization). This is more than 13 times the reported death from COVID-19 as of 21 May 2020.[8] While the toll from air pollution were greater in the developing countries (World Health Organization n.d.), the impact of COVID-19 has, surprisingly, been more serious

4 USA, Russia, Brazil, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Turkey, Iran, China, Canada, Saudi Arabia, India, Peru

5 G7 – United States, United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Germany, France, and Canada.

6 OPEC Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran, UAE, Kuwait etc.

7 BRICS - Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

8 As the data provided by WHO on its official website regarding the number of deaths from COVID-19 is constantly changing or increasing, the number referred in the paper is relevant only up to the date mentioned.

in the countries with better economic conditions.

There has been numerous news reports about clear sky re-appearing over some cities after decades of smog filled atmosphere as a result of carbon reduction during the global lockdown (Economic Times 2020). The clearing sky gave people in the Indian subcontinent a rare glimpse of the famous Himalayan peaks, such as Mt Everest from Kathmandu (Gautam 2020), Kangchenjunga from Siliguri (Dharni 2020) and Dhauladhar ranges from Jalandhar (Sengupta 2020), after more than 30 years. Some of the cities are located as far as 200 km away from the mountains.

Such a drastic shift in air quality has significant impact on the health of millions of people in the region. According to World Health Organization, outdoor air pollution contributed to 7.6% of all deaths worldwide in 2016 (World Health Organization) as around 91% of the world's population live in places where air quality exceeds its guideline limits (World Health Organization).

India

The positive impact of the lockdown on air pollution has been much more visible in India. Delhi, one of the most polluted cities in the world, has seen a stark shift in recent months with less pollutants flowing into the Yamuna River and a 49% reduction in air pollution, as per Air Quality Index of 2020 (Broom 2020). The residents, habituated with a layer of smog blanketing over the city for decades, were elated to see clear blue sky for days in April 2020 (Dixit 2020). After a manual calculation and analysis of Delhi's weather conditions of the same period for the last five years based on data records produced by Weather Online[9], it is found ,as per the understanding of this author, that the city experienced a much cooler weather condition for the first 10 days of the May 2020 compared to the same period since 2016. The drastic reduction in air pollution as well as a noticeable dip in temperature is a great relief for Delhi, as no successive governments has been able to achieve such a reduction in air pollution despite initiating numerous policies and regulations

9 The Weather Online Ltd, a Meteorological Services is a registered company in UK

in the city.

The decline in carbon emission means fewer deaths worldwide, particularly in India. According to the State of Global Air 2019 Report published by Health Effects Institute (2019), air pollution killed over 1.2 million in India in 2017 (Health Effects Institute 2019).

So, could the world's largest lockdown ordered by Prime Minister Modi to contain the spread of COVID-19, contributed to a better air quality and natural environment?

The enormity of the exercise in its scale: A complete shutdown of flights, vehicle movements, functioning of factories, shops, restaurant etc., logically has to have a tangible impact on the natural environment. The nationwide lockdown in India completely halted the economic engine of the world's fifth largest economy as it restricted the movement of 1.39 billion[10] people for two months to counter the menace of COVID-19. India is not only home to 18 percent of the world population but also a major source of carbon emission. As per an analysis of Indian government data by Carbon Brief, the carbon emission in India fell by an estimate of 15 percent during the month of March and likely 30 percent decline for the month of April. Such a decline is recorded for first time in four decades (Myllyvirta and Dahiya 2020).

The positive impacts on the environment were not only restricted in the cities but also felt in the non-urban areas. About 500km away from Delhi, the hill-station of Dharamshala has experienced a cold and unusual summer with constantly fluctuating weather condition. Local residents have alluded the over-extended winter to reduced carbon emission during the lockdown. However, according to the Monthly Weather Summary report by Government of India's Ministry of Earth Science), the milder summer in much of north and central India is partly linked to a very high western disturbance activity occurring in 2020 (Ministry of Earth Science of

10 United Nations Population: China-1.44 billion, India-1.39 billion, 61% of world population live in Asia

Governemnt of India 2020). As per the observation by this writer, while comparing the temperature records of the hill-station based on weather record produced by Weather Online, the first ten days of May 2020 has been the coldest in five years.

China

China, the first country to enforce lockdowns, also saw a decline in air pollution. According to Cole, Elliott and Liu, the lockdown in the Chinese city of Wuhan, from where the virus infection first originated, saw 63% reduction in air pollution (Cole, Ellitot and Liu 2020). Such a reduction, the paper states, could have prevented "10,822 death in China as a whole", which is twice more than the reported COVID-19 deaths in the country. China being the largest emitter of carbon dioxide in the world, even a slightest decline could have major impact on the environment both within and beyond its boundary.

Tibet

The lockdown across China had a huge impact on Tibet's tourism industry[11]. As per Chinese official sources, the so called 'Tibet Autonomous Region' was visited by 40 million tourist in 2019, with the TAR government projected to attract 47 million in 2020 (Xinhua 2020). Unlike previous years, the lack of reports coming out of China on the number of tourists who visited Tibet in 2020 is a clear indication of a massive drop in their numbers. Qinghai Province, another province comprising of Tibetan areas separately government by China, received 42.4 million tourists in 2018 (Linwan 2019). Other Tibetan areas of Karze and Ngawa in Sichuan Province, Dechen in Yunnan Province and Kanlho in Gansu Province were also visited by millions of tourists. Therefore, more than 100 million tourists visit Tibet every year, putting immense pressure on the fragile ecosystem to cope with a massive carbon footprint.

11 China occupied Tibet in 1949 and divided Tibetan areas into 5 separate territories- Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, Karze and Ngawa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture incorporated with Sichuan Province, Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture incorporated with Yunnan Province, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture incorporated with Gansu Province.

The apparent decrease in number of tourists visiting the Tibetan areas results in fewer air flights and road trips into the region, which naturally reduces the prime source of air and ground pollution. The most visible impact, though, would be the absence of an 'enormous consumption waste', often generated by visiting tourists. Even though the main tourist season in Tibet is during the three months (May, June and July) of summer, a general sense of fear as well as frequent reports of the reoccurrence of COVID-19 cases in China will restrain movement of tourists into Tibet.

The littering problem in Tibet, due to massive influx of tourists, was highlighted by this author as a reflection of local concerns (Zamlha 2017). Surprisingly, even the Global Times (Han 2018), an official mouth piece of Chinese government, has acknowledged the problem of littering by tourists, seemingly to both acknowledge the existence of the problem as a whole but also to repudiate the lack of governance on garbage management.

A global health crisis of even greater proportion could emerge unless we take strong measures to protect the ecological wellbeing of the natural environment, particularly of the Tibetan Plateau. Scientists have recently discovered 28 unknown ancient viruses frozen under the glaciers of the Tibetan Plateau, but glaciers are quickly receding due to global warming. Scientist fear that, as glaciers melt, the ancient viruses frozen beneath snow for 15,000 years, could come back to life and cause other health problems (Zhong and Solonenko 2020).

How we mitigate impending risks depend on how the world move forward, post the lockdown period.

Conclusion

The post lockdown could open up two serious environmental risks, a huge amount of medical waste and a revenge consumption. The Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has appropriately forewarned its member states of the risk of increased waste necessitated by the medical response to the health crisis (Andersen 2020).

The world leaders took bold decisions to save thousands of lives from the pandemic wave despite a massive economic fallout. A hasty economic revival post lockdown with massive stimulus packages could negate the enormous environmental gains made for the first time in decades. As envisioned in the 17 Sustainable development goals[12] set by the United Nations (2015 September) to eradicate poverty and provide a healthy environment by 2030 (United Nations 2015), the world must learn from the coronavirus catastrophe to strive for a more sustainable economic structure to prevent an impending climate crisis.

However, the crisis has shown to the world that an unimaginable rate of carbon reduction could be achieved in a short period, if the leaders are willing.

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12 United Nations' 17 Sustainable Development Goals. 1). No Poverty, 2) Zero Hunger, 3). Good Health and Well-being, 4). Quality Education, 5). Gender Equality, 6). Clean Water and Sanitation, 7). Affordable and Clean Energy, 8). Decent Work and Economic Growth, 9). Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure, 10). Reduced Inequality, 11) Sustainable Cities and Communities, 12). Responsible Consumption and Production, 13). Climate Action, 14). Life Below Water, 15). Life on Land, 16). Peace and Justice Strong Institutions, 17). Partnerships to Achieve the Goal.

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རྒྱ་ནག་སྐུ་ཚབ་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ནང་ཆོག་དངུལ་བྱིངས་ནད་དུག་ཕོག་མར་ཁྲབ་གདལ་བྱུང་བ་དང་
རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གི་གདོང་ལེན་བྱེད་ཚུལ།

པན་ཕྱོགས།

རྒྱ་ནག་གི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་སྐུ་ཚན་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་ཏོག་དབྱིབས་ནད་དུག་ནད་
ཡམས་དེ་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་པོད་མ་ཟད་མཛོམ་སྐྱིང་ཉིལ་པོར་མ་ཆེན་ནས་བཟོད་
མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་འཕྲད་དང་འཕྲད་བཞིན་ཡོད།   དེ་ཡང་སྐུ་
ཚན་ནང་ནད་པ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༩ ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༠ ཉིན་ཐོན་ཡོད་ཅིང་།

དེ་ནས་ཟླ་ ༡༢ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་སྐུ་ཚན་ཏོ་ནན་མཚོ་ཐམས་ཁྲོམ་རའི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་
ནད་པ་ཁ་ཤས་སྐུ་ཚན་ཕྲེ་གནས་སྐྲན་ཁང་དུ་སྨན་བཅོས་བྱེད་པར་སྦྱེབས། ཟླ་ ༡༢
ཚེས་ ༣༩ ཉིན་སྐུ་ཚན་གྲུང་ལུན་བྲུང་འབྲེལ་སྨན་ཁང་ནས་མི་བདུན་ལ་ནད་དུག་
འགོས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གོང་རིམ་ལ་སྨན་གསེང་ཞུས་འདུག   ཝོན་ཀྱང་དེ་དུས་སྐུ་
ཚན་དང་དབུས་གཞུང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་འཛུགས་བསྐྱང་ལྟན་ཁང་གཉིས་ནས་ནད་
དུག་དེ་མི་ནས་མི་དབར་འགོས་ཀྱི་མེད་པ་བརྟ་ཁྱབ་བྱས་འདུག ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༧ ཉིན་
རྒྱ་ནག་དབུས་ཆབ་སྲིད་ལྷུན་ཁང་གིས་ནད་ཡམས་དེའི་ཆེད་དམིགས་བསལ་
ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་སྐྱོང་ཚོགས་གནང་ནས་ཕྱིར་བསྒྲགས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་ཐག་ཆོད་བྱུང་
འདུག དེ་ནས་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་ནད་དུག་དེའི་ཀྱེན་ཀྱིས་ནད་པ་འདས་གྲོངས་
ཕོག་མ་དེ་བྱུང་ཡོད།   གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་ཕོན་སྐབས་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྨན་བཅོས་ཆེད་
ལས་མཁས་པ་ཚོས་སྐུ་ཚན་གྱི་གནས་སྟངས་ཐོག་སྟོན་འགོག་དང་ཚོད་འཛིན་
བྱེད་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པར་བརྗོད་འདུག ཉོན་དངོས་ཕོག་དེ་དུས་ནས་ནང་བརྒང་ནད་ཡམས་
ཁྱབ་གདལ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གཞུང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བཀད་སྡངས་ཀྱི་ཀྱེན་པས་མི་
དམངས་ཀྱིས་དོགས་ཟོན་མ་བྱས་པ་དང་།   དེ་བཞིན་ཁོ་ཚོས་བྱེད་སྒོ་དང་འགྲོ་འོང་

རྒྱུན་གཏན་ལྟར་འགྲོག་སྡུང་བྱེད་ཐབས་གང་ཡང་སྟེལ་མིན་འདུག

དེ་མ་ཐད་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༡ ནས་ཚེས་ ༡༢ ཉིན་དབར་ཏུ་པེ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་
ཚོགས་ཆེན་གཉིས་མི་དམངས་འཕྲུས་མི་ཚོགས་ཆེན་དང་སྲིད་གྲོས་ཚོགས་
ཆེན་ལྷུ་ཏུན་དུ་སྤྱོང་ཚོགས་གནང་སྐབས་ལྷུ་ཏུན་གྱི་སྤྱོ་ནན་ནན་དུག་པོག་པའི་
གྲངས་ཕོ་འབར་མེད་པར་བརྟེན་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནད་ཡམས་དེར་ཚོད་འཛིན་བྱེད་
ཐུབ་པ་དེད་ཅེས་ཏོས་འཛིན་བྱས་འདུག   ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༣ ཉིན་ལྷུ་ཏུན་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་
ས་མཚམས་སྒོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཉིན་བཞིའི་སྤྱོན་ལ་ལྷུ་ཏུན་ནང་གསོལ་ཚོགས་ཤིག་
སྤྱོང་ཚོགས་གནང་འདུག་པས།   དེར་མི་གྲངས་ཁྲི་བརྒྱལ་བ་བཅར་མཁན་བྱུང་ཡོད་
པ་མ་ཟད་ཕྱིས་སུ་གསོལ་སྤྱོན་དེར་བཅར་མཁན་མི་གྲངས་པོན་ཆེ་བ་ལ་ནད་གཏན་
བྱུང་འདུག   སྐབས་དེར་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཞི་ཅིན་ཕིན་སྐྱོ་ཨེ་ཤེ་ཡའི་རྒྱལ་
ཁབ་ཁ་ཤས་ནང་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ཕྱོགས་ཕེབས་གནང་བའི་དུས་སུ་འཁེལ་བ་དང་
ཕྱི་ལོ་གསར་པའི་དུས་ཆེན་སྐྲིབས་ལ་ཉེ་བས་གཞུང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལོ་འཁོར་ལས་
བསྡོམས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་དང་དུས་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་ལེ་གས་པོར་མཚོན་ཆེད་ཅུང་
མཐར་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལྷག་རིང་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤྲས་གསང་བྱས་པས་མི་མང་པོར་གོ་མེད་
ཚོར་མེད་དང་ནད་དུག་འགོས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་བྱུང་ཡོད།

དེ་ཡང་ཟླ་ ༡༢ ཚེས་ ༣༠ ཉིན་ལྷུ་ཏུན་ཕྱེ་གནས་སྨན་ཁང་གི་མིག་ནད་ཚན་པའི་
སྨན་པ་ལི་ཝན་ལན་གྱིས་སྐད་འཕྲིན་ཚོགས་པའི་ནང་ཏོ་ནན་མཚོ་ཟས་ཁྲིམ་རའི་
འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་བདུན་བྱུར་བཀག་བཞག་ཡོད་པའི་སྐོར་བརྗོད་པར་བརྟེན་ཁོང་ལ་
སྨན་ཁང་དབུ་འཛིན་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བཀྱོན་དང་ངོས་ལེན་ཡི་གེ་བྲིར་བཅུག་པ་མ་ཚད་ཟླ་
༡ ཚེས་ ༣ ཉིན་ཁོང་ཆུང་པའི་སྨན་པ་བརྒྱད་ལ་ལྷུ་ཏུན་ཉེས་རྟོག་པས་ཉེས་རྟོག་ཁང་
དུ་བོས་ནས་སྤོབ་གསོ་སྤྱང་འདུག

སྨན་པ་ལི་ཕྲན་ལན་ཁོང་ཡང་དེ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ཆེས་ ༡ ཉིན་ནས་བ་ཟུང་ནད་ཐགས་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བླ་ ༢ ཆེས་ ༣༡ ཉིན་ནད་གཞི་གཏན་འཁེལ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ནས་མཐའ་མ་བླ་ ༣ ཆེས་ ༦ ཉིན་འདས་གྲོངས་སུ་ཕྱིན་འདུག མ་ ༧ ཆེས་ ༧ ཉིན་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐོན་པར་ལྷུ་ཏུན་ནད་གི་དཕོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ཕྱི་ལོག་ལ་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་པའི་ཉེས་པའི་ལོག་རྒྱུ་ནག་གི་སྲི་དབངས་གསར་འགོད་པ་དང་བྲིམས་ཚོད་པ་ཁྲན་ཆུའུ་ཏི་དང་ཆེད་ལས་གསར་འགོད་པ་བྱུར་པ་ལི་ཇའཱ་ཏའོ། པང་པིང་། གྲན་སེ་མིང་། གོའི་ཝེ་སོགས་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཐག་བཏད་འདུག

དརླྭ་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གྱིས་ནད་ཡམས་ཚོད་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཐུབ་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་བསྟན་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ལས་གནས་སྣང་གསོ་བྱེད་བཅུག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱུན་ནད་ལོག་ལ་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ཚོད་དཔག་བྱེད་དགའ་ཞིག་ཕྱི་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་བྱེད་ཚུལ་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་མེད་པ་མཚོན་གསལ་རེད།

དེ་ཡང་ནད་ཡམས་དེ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་དགེ་བའི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་དང་ཞིང་ཆེན་བཞི་ཡི་ཁམས་དང་ཨམ་མདོའི་ས་ཁུལ་ནང་ཁྱབ་གདལ་དང་གནོད་ཆེ་བྱུང་ཚུལ།

ལྷུ་ཏུན་ས་མཚམས་སྐོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཉིན་གཅིག་གོང་དུས་མིན་སྔང་ཡིན་པ་ལྷུ་ཏུན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མོ་ཞིག་ལྷ་སར་སྟེབས་ནས་སྲི་ཚོགས་དུ་རྒྱའི་ནང་བརྟན་བྱུང་སྟེལ་ནས་བོད་དུ་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ལ་དངངས་ཚབ་ཆེན་པོ་བཟོས་པ་དང་དེ་མ་ཉིད་དུ་བོད་ནང་གི་བོད་མི་ཚོས་ངོ་རྟོལ་ཕྱགས་ཆེན་བྱས་པར་བརྟེན་ཕྱི་མི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནང་འཛུལ་བར་དམ་དྲགས་ཕྱགས་ཆེན་བྱེད་འགོ་བཙུགས།

དེ་ནས་བླ་ ༡ ཆེས་ ༡༧ ཉིན་ཕྱི་རྟོང་དུས་མིང་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པའི་ལྷུ་ཏུན་རྒྱ་པོ་ཞིག་ལྷ་སའི་ནང་སྟེབས་རྗེས་ཆེས་ ༣༥ ཉིན་ནད་ཐགས་གཏན་ཁེལ་བྱུང་བ་དང

དེ་རྗེས་ཀྱང་གི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་ ༡༢ ཟུར་བཀག་བཤགས་འདུག རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྲབ་
བསྒྲགས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནང་ནང་ལ་གཉིག་པོ་དེ་ལས་མེད་ཟེར་
སྒྲ་ ༣ ཅེས་ ༡ ཉིན་ཀྱང་གི་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་ ༣༣ཟུར་བཀག་ལས་གྲོལ་བ་དང་ཅེས་
༡༣ ཉིན་ནད་པ་ཁོ་ཡང་དུག་སྨྱེས་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྲབ་བསྒྲགས་བྱུས་སོང་།

རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་ནས་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནང་ཁྲི་མི་འཛུལ་ལུགས་དམ་
དགས་དུས་ཐོག་བྱུང་ཡང་སྲུ་ཕྱི་བར་གསུམ་དུ་གནས་ཚུལ་ཁ་གསལ་མེད་པ་དང་
དམ་དགས་ཤུགས་ཆེན་བྱས་པས་མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་དགྲོག་གཏུན་སྦྱེལ་
བའི་ཉེས་མེད་འོག་ཁྲིམས་ཆད་བཏད་འདུག། སྒྲ་ ༡ ཅེས་ ༣༠ ཉིན་ནོར་ལྷེ་
བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུང་འཕྲིན་ཁང་ལ་བོད་ནས་གསར་འགྱུར་མཁོ་སྤྲོད་བྱུང་བར་ལྔ་སར་དགོས་
ཡོད་ཅན་ ༼ ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་སྲས་གསང་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་བརྗོད་འདུག

ཡང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་དབྱེ་བའི་ནེ་ཐིན་ཞིང་ཆེན་དཀར་མཛེས་བོད་རིགས་
རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ད་བར་ནད་པ་གྲངས་ ༼༡ སྒོན་པ་དང་ཁྲབ་བསྒྲགས་
ལ་གཞིགས་ན་ཆང་མ་དགས་སྨྱེས་བྱུང་ནས་སྨན་ཁང་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བྱུང་འདུག
དེའི་ནང་ནས་དར་ཚེ་མདོ་ནད་ནད་ལ་ ༣ དང་གསེར་རྟའི་ནས་མི་ ༣ འདབ་
པ་རྟོང་ནས་མི་ ༡ ཕྱད་ནད་པ་གཞན་ ༼༣ ཆང་མ་ཏུ་རྟོང་ནས་རེད།
དདུང་དེའི་ནང་ནས་མི་གཉིག་ཕྱད་ཆང་མ་བོད་པ་རེད་འདུག   ཏུ
ནད་གི་བོད་པ་ནད་པ་ཐོག་མ་དེ་སྒྲ་ ༡ ཅེས་ ༣༼ ཉིན་ཐོན་ཡོད་ཅིང
རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་ཐོག་མར་རང་ལོ་ ༼༡ ཡིན་འདུག ཐུ་ནང་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་
གི་མོ་ཞིག་ལ་ནད་གཏུན་བྱུང་བས་གསང་ཐབས་བྱས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེ་རྗེས་ནད་
པ་མང་པོ་ཐོན་པའི་རྒྱེན་སྟབས་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ཆགས་ནས་ནད་ཡམས་ཐོག་པའི་
རྒྱ་ཆེ་གི་མོ་དེ་དག་ཐུ་ནས་ཡིན་པ་བཤད་དགོས་བྱུང་ཡོང་།

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ཡང་ཏུ་ཀུ་ནང་གི་ནང་པ་ཁང་པོ་ཞིག་སྟོན་ལ་ནད་ཐུགས་མེད་པར་ནད་
གཏན་འཕེལ་བ་དང་དེ་རྗེས་ནད་ཐུགས་ཐོན་ཡོད་པས་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་
འགྲོ་བསྟེན་སྨན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱིག་སྲོལ་དང་འགལ་ནས་ནད་ཐུགས་མེད་པར་
ནད་གཏན་འཕེལ་བ་རྣམས་གྲངས་བོ་ནང་བརྗི་ཡི་མེད་པ་མཛིན་གསལ་རེད། དོན་
དངོས་ཐུ་ཀུ་ནང་གི་ནད་པ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྲབ་བསྒྲགས་བྱས་པའི་གྲངས་བོ་ལས་མང་
བ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དེ་མ་ཟད་ཁོ་ཚོས་ནད་གྲངས་གཅང་བརྗོ་དང་ལས་གནས་སྨྱུར་གསོ་ཆེད་
ནད་པ་ཁང་པོ་ཞིག་མགྱོགས་སྨྱུར་ནད་གཞི་དྲག་སྨྱེས་བྱུང་བའི་མིང་ཐོག་ནས་
སྨན་ཁང་ནས་ཕོག་བཏང་ཡོད། ཐུ་ནང་སུ་ཡི་ཁྲིན་སྨོམ་མི་ལྭ་བཀྱུར་ཇེ་བ་བྱུར་
བཀག་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་དེའི་ནང་ཆུང་ཤོས་ལྔ་གསུམ་ཅན་གྱི་བྱི་པ་དང་ལྭ་
བཀྱུད་འགྱོར་བའི་སྐྱམ་མ། ད་དུང་དགོང་ལོ་ ༡༣ ལ་ཕེབས་པའི་རྒྱན་པོ་
བཅས་ཡོད་པས་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྲབ་སྦྱགས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་དཀའ་བ་
ཞིག་རེད། ད་དུང་ཪ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ནད་པ་གཅིག་དང་མཚོ་སྦྱོན་
ཞིང་ཆེན་ནང་ནད་པ་ ༡༥ བྱུང་ཡོད།

དེའི་ནང་ནས་མཚོ་བྱུང་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་ནད་པ་གསུམ། གཞན་
སྐྱོ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་གཅོད་གྲོང་འཕྱེར་ནང་ནད་པ་ ༡ ཐོན་ཡོད། ད་
དུང་ཪ་ཆུའི་བུད་མེད་ཞིག་ས་ཆ་གཞན་དུ་ནད་གཏན་འཕེལ་བ་བཅས་རྒྱ་
གཞུང་གིས་ཁྲབ་བསྒྲགས་བྱས་པའི་བོད་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་ནད་པའི་གྲངས་ཚོ་ ནང་ཡོད་
པའི་ནད་པ་ཆ་ཚང་ད་ལྟ་ཚང་མ་དྲག་སྨྱེས་བྱུང་འདུག

རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་ནད་ཡམས་འབྱེལ་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་
གསང་བ་རེད་ཅེས་དྲགས་ཕུགས་ཆེན་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལྷ ༡ ཆེས ༣
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ཉིན་ཀན་སྐྱོ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་གྱི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་ལས་ཁུངས་ཁག་ལ་གསང་བ་སྲུང་དགོས་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་བཏང་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་དོན་ཆེན་དང་པོ་དང་གཉིས་པ་གཉིས་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་རེད་འདུག དོན་ཚན་དེའི་ནང་གསལ་གསང་བའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁྲིམས་དུ་འཁྱེར་བ་དང་ཁྲིམས་ཆང་ནང་གསང་འབྲེལ་སྐྱེང་མི་ཆོག་པ། དདུང་དྲུ་རྒྱ་དངཁ་པར་སོགས་བརྒྱུད་ནས་གསང་བ་ཕྱིར་བཤད་མི་ཆོག་པ་བཅས་སོ།

བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཁུལ་ཁག་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ལྷུ་ཏན་གྱི་སྐྱོ་ནད་ནད་དུག་ཁྱབ་གདལ་བྱུང་བ་ནས་ད་བར་བོད་མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་དགྱོག་གཏུམ་སྤྱེལ་བའི་ཉེས་མིང་འོག་ཁྲིམས་ཆད་པོག་འདུག དེའི་ནང་དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་དུ་རྒྱའི་བདེ་འཇགས་ཉེན་རྟོག་པས་རྒྱ་དངཔོ་ཁོ་ནར་དུ་རྒྱའི་པོག་དགྱོག་གཏུམ་སྤྱེལ་མཁན་ ༣༩ ལ་སྐྱོབ་གསོ་བཏང་བཟལ་བཀག་ཉར་བྱས་འདུག

ཡང་དགྱོག་གཏུམ་སྤྱེལ་བའི་ཉེས་མིང་འོག་ཁྲིམས་ཆད་པོག་མཁན་ཟ་བའི་ནང་གི་ནད་པ་དང་པོ་དེ་ཕོན་རྗེས་ཁུལ་དེའི་ནང་ཡོད་པའི་གཉེ་ཚ་སྟེ་དགུའི་བྱད་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་གཉེ་ཚ་སྟེ་དགུ་མི་ཞིག་ནད་པ་དེ་དང་ཕྲག་འཁྲད་བྱུང་བའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ནྲར་བཀག་བཤག་འདུག་ཅེས་སྐད་འཁྲིན་ནང་བསྐྱུར་བས་མོ་རང་ལ་ཉེས་རྟོག་པས་ཉིན་ ༡༠ བཀག་ཉར་བྱས་འདུག

ཆོན་ཀུང་དེ་རྗེས་ཟ་བ་རྟིང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ཆན་པའི་ཁྲབ་བསྐྱགས་ནང་གཉེ་ཚ་སྟེ་དགུའི་མི་ཞིག་ནྲར་བཀག་ཏུ་བཞག་ཡོད་པར་སྟོང་བྱུང་འདུག

ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ནང་ལོག་ཡིག་ཆ་གཞིགས་ན་ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༣ ནས་ད་བར་བོད་ལ་གཞུང་ཞབས་པ་དང་གུང་ཁྲན་ཏང་མི་བརྒྱུད་ཚམ་ལས་གནས་ཕོག་བཟོད་མ་ཕུབ་པའི

སྤྱུག་ལ་ལོག་འདས་གྲོངས་སུ་ཕྱིན་འདུག ད་ལའི་ནང་ཀླུ་༣་ཆེས་༡༠་ཉིན་གཤེ་ཀ་རྩེ་
ནས་པོ་མེད་ཕྱུན་ཚོགས་ཚེ་རིང་། ཀླུ་༣་ཆེས་༡༣་ཉིན་ཡུན་ནན་བདེ་ཆེན་བོད་
རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཁུལ་ནང་པོ་མེད་བུའི་ཚུང་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག །དཀར་མཛེས་ནང་ཆེས་༡༤
ཉིན་པོ་མེད་སྒ་སྐྱབས་དང་ཀླུ་༣་ཆེས་༥་ཉིན་པོ་མེད་ཡང་གྲགས་པ། ཆེས་༧་
ཉིན་བློ་རྡུང་ཡེ་ཤེས།

ཀླུ་༣་ཆེས་༡༥་ཉིན་ཇ་བའི་ནང་པོ་མེད་ཨ་སྟོན་ལྷུན་སྒྲུབ་ཟེར་བ། ཡང་དུས་ཚོད་
དེས་མེད་ཞིག་ལ་ནག་ཆུ་ནས་སྟེན་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཅས་འདས་གྲོངས་ཕྱིན་འདུག།

ཡང་ནང་ཡམས་དེས་ཀྱེན་པས་རྒྱག་ནག་ཙམ་མ་ཟད་བོད་ནང་ནས་རིགས་དང་
དམིགས་གསལ་ཁ་རས་ཀྱི་རིན་གོང་ལྤུན་མང་པོ་པར་བ་མ་ཟད་ཁ་རས་མདགས་
ཏེ་བྱེད་མ་ཐུབ་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་འཕྲད་འདུག །སྤྱག་པར་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཁག་ནང་ཞོར་ལས་
ལས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་འཚོ་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་ངལ་ཡང་འཕྲད་འདུག

ཟ་འབྲུ་དང་སྨན་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཆས་མ་ཐུབ་རྒྱེན་མ་འདང་བའི་གནས་སྟངས་དེ་བོད་ཁྱུལ་
ཁག་ཚང་མའི་ནང་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སྤྱག་པར་ནད་ཡམས་ཁྱབ་གདལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱེན་ཆེ་
གོས་བྱུང་བའི་ཧྲུ་ཇྲོང་ནང་སྨན་བཅོས་ཆ་རྒྱེན་ཞན་པས་མི་དམངས་ལ་དཀའ་ངལ་
ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་འཕྲད་འདུག

དེ་ཡང་ཀླུ་དང་པོའི་ནང་དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་དུ་ནད་པ་ཁ་ཤས་ལས་ཐོན་མེད་པའི་དུས་
སུ་དཀར་མཛེས་མི་དམངས་སྨན་ཁང་ནས་སྨན་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཆས་མེད་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་
འདུག་པའི་ཕྱོགས་གང་ས་ནས་ཞལ་འདེབས་གནང་བའི་འབོད་སྐུལ་ཞུས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་
ཉིན་ཁ་ཤས་རྗེས་ཞལ་འདེབས་མི་དགོས་པ་གསལ་བསྒྲགས་གནང་སོང་།

དེ་རྗེས་ཧྲུ་ཇྲོང་ནང་ནད་པ་མང་པོ་ནད་གཅན་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་དངོས་ཡོད་སྨན་
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བཅོས་ཆ་རྐྱེན་གང་འདུ་ཡོང་མེད་སེམས་ཚབ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་རེད། སྔག་པར་
དུ་ཧཙུ་ནང་གི་རང་ཁྲིམས་དུ་ལོག་པའི་མཐོ་རིས་སྤྱོབ་མའི་དང་ལྔངས་ཞབས་ལུ་
ཚོགས་པ་ཞིག་གིས་གནས་ཆུལ་སྤྱེལ་བར་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་སྨན་བཅོས་དང་རོགས་སྐྱོར་
དྲོས་རོག་ཚང་མ་སྨན་པ་ཁོ་ནའི་ཆེད་དུ་ལས་མི་དམངས་ལ་རོགས་རམ་གང་ཡང་
མ་བྱུང་ནས་མི་དམངས་ཚོ་ལ་དགའ་ངལ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕྲད་པ་དང་དང་ཞབས་ཚོགས་
པས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཟ་འབྲུ་དང་ཁ་རས་སྤྲད་པ་བཏོད་འདུག

ཉེ་ཆར་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་སྤྱེལ་བའི་གྲངས་ཐོར་གཞིགས་ན་ལོ་འདིར་རྒྱ་ནག་
ནང་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་སྤྱོབ་མ་མི་གྲངས་ 116530 ཡོད་པ་དང་སྐྱ་
2 ཚེས་ 15 ཉིན་བར་མི་ 63007 རང་ཁྲིམས་དུ་ལོག་པ་དང་ད་དུང་མི་ 35593
ཞིག་སུ་མ་ཕུད་རྒྱ་ནག་ནང་ལུས་འདུག

དེ་ནི་ལྷ་ཧུན་ས་མཚམས་སྟོ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་གོང་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་འདིའི་ནང་སྤྱོབ་སྤོང་བྱེད་
བཞིན་པའི་བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་སྤོབ་སྤོབ་མ་ཞིག་སྤོང་དགུ་རྒྱ་ཙམ་ཞིག་
རང་ཁྲིམས་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བྱུང་འདུག དེའི་ནང་ནས་མི་ 9 ཙམ་ཆམ་པ་དང་ཚ་བ་འབར་
བའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་རྣར་བཀགགག་ཏུ་བཞག་འདུག ད་དུང་ལྷ་ཧུན་གྲོང་འཁྱེར་ནང་སྤོབ་མ་
ཁྲི་ 100 ཙམ་དང་ལྷ་ཧུན་དུ་སྦྲ་གུ་ཕུག་འཕྲད་ཅེད་ཡོད་བའི་ཁྲིམ་བདག 63 ཙམ་
ལུས་ཡོད། ཡང་གནས་ཆུལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ལ་བོད་པའི་སྤོབ་ཕུག་ཚོས་གནས་མཐོ་པོ་
ནས་དུ་ལམ་སྤོབ་ཆན་ཉན་དགོས་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་བྱུང་འདུག སྤྱིར་ལོ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་ནག་
སྤྱི་གསར་དུས་ཆེན་རྗེས་སུ་སྤོབ་དུས་གསར་འགོ་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ད་རེས་
ནད་ཡམས་རྐྱེན་པས་གུང་སེང་དུས་འགྱངས་བྱེད་དགོས་བྱུང་ཡོད། ཡིན་ནའང་
སྤོབ་བླ་ཁག་གིས་བསྟུད་མར་དུ་ལམ་སྤོབ་ཚན་གོ་སྒྲིག་བྱས་པ་བཟང་སྟེ་
བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཁུལ་ཁུག་ཀྱིག་ཁག་ཏུ་གནས་པའི་འགྲོག་པའི་སྦྲ་གུ་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་དུ
རྒྱའི་བརྗ་ཧྲགས་ཏ་ཅང་ཉན་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་འཕྲད་འདུག

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བོད་ནང་གི་བོད་མི་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་སྐྱི་ཚོགས་དུ་ལས་སྟེང་བོད་སྤྱུག་ཚོས་གནས་མཐོ་པོ་གྲང་ངར་ཁྲོད་ནས་སྤོབ་ཚན་ཉུན་བཞིན་པའི་བརྩོན་པར་མང་པོ་བརྐྱུད་བསྐྱར་བྱས་འདུག

རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་ཁྲབ་བསྐྱགས་ནང་དཀར་ཤོག་ཚོགས་པས་བོད་ཐོག་འཛིན་རབས་རྒྱང་རྒྱང་བཀོད་པ་ལས་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་འདྲ་ཟབ་ནས་མེན། བོད་མི་ཚོ་ལ་ཁ་ཡོད་ལག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རོགས་རམ་བྱེད་མཁན་ནི་བོད་མི་ཁོ་ན་རེད།

ད་ལེན་ནད་ཡམས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་སྤྲུག་པོད་ཏུའུ་ཚམ་མ་ཟད་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ལྷ་ས་དང་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ། སྤྲོ་ཀ་ནག་ཆུ་ ཉིང་ཁྲིའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་པའི་དང་བླངས་ཚོགས་པས་ནད་ཡམས་ཐོག་གོ་རྟོགས་སྤེལ་བ་དང་རིན་མེད་ཁ་རས་སྤྲོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལས་འགུལ་འདུ་མིན་སྤེལ་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཁ་ཡོད་ལག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཕན་པ་སྐྱེན་འདུག མདོར་ན་ནད་ཡམས་དེའི་བོད་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་ནང་ཁུལ་ཙམ་མིན་པར་བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཁུལ་ཁག་དུ་ཡང་གཏམ་བརྗོད་དང་གསར་འགོད་རང་དབང་ལ་རྟོག་རོལ་སུ་མ་ཕྱད་བཏང་བ་བཅས་མཐའ་ན་གཞི་རྩའི་སྨན་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཆས་ཀྱང་འདང་ངེས་མེད་པའི་ཡང་བའི་གནས་སུ་བསྐྱལ།།