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# TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF

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# **ब्रामसुअभे राममस्यान्धराधिम**

#### **TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF**

श्री वितः हैं संश्वीताता हा नः के ने ना

**ईंअ:क्वेग:या** गुरु:५माद:क्वाय:सळंदा

रेगार्श्वेवरळे रेटरवससम्बन्

हुशःस्वेदिन्य गुवः न्वादः कुषः सर्वत्

**चरःश्चरःग्रेन्:अन्त्रा** वेन्:ग्रे:श्चेन्:ग्रुअ:१अअ:बेन:विन्

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# รุกราชส

# ब्रें क्व न्दरमें वेंदर्भनाद्य न्हें व्यापन

<u> न्तुश्याबुद्धान्यद्याक्ष्याक्</u>
१, सम्प्रादेन : के : क्रुप्त : के : भूग : क्रुप्त : क्रु
१ समा हिन संस्वा के कि से प्राची का सम्बद्धा के से प्राची का सम्बद्धा के समा सम्बद्धा के समा सम्बद्धा के समा स इस मा कि समा
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१४४ विनायानभूत वहें ताके नहतान्ता। १४४ विनायारे वार्श्वेत के सेटानस्यासुना
র্বিদ্বদ্দ্বিশ্র্মিক্স্রিক্স্রিক্স্র্র্ব্র্র্য্
व्ययाः वियामा अपा
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ष्ठमशःविनःमःतुरःकेः<u>त्त</u>ःनःकेःरेरः।

९,स.स.च्नि.स.द्रेम्।क्रेंद्र.कें.देर.नस्स.मुत्रःग्रेस.नक्षुर

৩৩ | तिँ रस्राया (Trump) धिश्राश्चित्र प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद स्था सुर्थ हुँ वे हुँ किं प्राय हुँ विष्य सुर्थ प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद प्रवाद स्था सुर्थ हुँ विष्य सुर्थ हुँ विष्य सुर्थ हुँ विषय सुर्थ हुँ विष

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## यिवत क्वि.वयाचीयायत्व.क्वियःक्कियःक्वीयःत्रः स्त्रीत्रःवयः सूर्यः स्त्रायः

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चल्चा-सन्द्री-दिन्त्वुच-ची-त्वूभ-ची-लून् (च्रि-चक्र्यून) (च्रि-चक्र्यून) व्याप्त्री-दिन्त्वुच-ची-त्वूभ-ची-लून् (च्रि-चक्र्यून) व्याप्त्री-स्वाप्त्री क्राय्यून व्याप्त्री क्राय्यून क्रायून क्राय्यून क्राय्यून क्राय्यून क्राय्यून क्रायून क्

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यञ्चरत्रायम् वर्षात्रम् द्राप्ताक्षः स्वाकृत्यास्त्रम् स्वाकृत्यास्त्रम् स्वाकृत्यास्त्रम् स्वाकृत्यास्य स्वाकृत्य स्वत्य स्वाकृत्य स्वाकृत्य

विगानिध्यत्रभास्त्रीत्। क्रीत्वनान्त्रमः स्विनानिध्यक्त्वनाः स्वान्त्रभास्त्रमः स्विनानिध्यक्ष्यः स्वान्त्रभास् त्रम्भास्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रमः स्विनानिध्यक्ष्याः स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्

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वश क्वित्वनानी में त्या स्वित्व क्षेत्र महित्य क्ष

१ (शुदे:कुव:रनमःवमःर्वेट:शुट्राची:श्रेट्रख्यमः)श्रवट:व्रवेचमःर्केवाःर्वी ।

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}$ 

# माशुम्रा क्षेत्रमार्केन् क्षेत्रभान्त्रमानुमा हुन उद्यति नर्दद महिद्द मेगान्माय न विमाधिदा

यवशक्षिताक्री, तचीर क्षेत्र, त्राच्या श्राचा सूची श्राच्या योष्ट्र सुच्या सुच्या सुच्या सुच्या सुच्या सुच्या स्वा सुच्या स्व सुच्या सु

### यद्यी वि. वर् ११ की अ. की तावर वाद्या रिया ताया सीवाया विश्व मी अ. की वर्षा रियर की साम वर्षा वर्षा राज्य वर्ष

इट. त्रिया क्रिंग्यं क्

<sup>,</sup> नि'5व' (契丹,Khitan) बेर'न'त्रे'गात्रव'र्नेवे'नुअ'शु'नेर'गी'ग्रे'ऑग्'क्कुव'।पन'न्र'कु'त्र्य'ग्रुर'श्रर'आकर'गात्रेश'क्याश'र्षे'गार्नेर'अवे'र्सेव'र्सेय।'रेग्य' भैग'धेत'र्ते| विर्वे'व्युर'कुं'अकत्।

यूश्चर् भूका चिश्वाचा श्रुवाचा विकास सूचिता स्त्रीत स

वता वैदानपुर क्षेत्र स्वर्ग स्वर्ग स्वर्ग स्वर्ग स्वर्ग स्वर्ण स्वर्ग स्वर्वर

यत्रस्थान्त्रस्य स्वात्रस्य स्वात्यस्य स्वत

## या नवर्र्न्व क्री विक्रूर इन्ते श्रेन नवर नत्न तुन हुन उद श्लेन नहिंद क्रीन परि नवर श्लून व्याप्त न

त्राचिताः द्वेचः व्वचः क्री क्री ट्वंचः क्षी स्वाकृष्टं म्हीट्रायद्वः चित्रायाः क्षी स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषाः क्षी स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृष्टः स्वाकृषः स्वाकृ

याद्यात्राच्यात्र्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्यात

तृत्यारक्तां वर्षा स्त्राची से प्रस्थाया वर्षेत् स्क्रीं वर्षेत्र पर्वे प्रस्ति वर्षेत् स्वे प्रस्ति स्वे प्रस्ति

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#### <u>न्द्रिवे में न्वन्ने ख्रन्थे न्द्रिय न्ये वे दिया प्रत्रिय प्रत्रिय क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र क</u>

क्रमभावीन'मा भूमार्चे मानसून प्रहेत मने ख़्ता

यार्श्वामा विन्नपिन्न्यायो स्वार्थित स्वर्थित स्वार्थित स्वार्थित

देर-वहेद-वन्नाचीश-वह्रश्रद-दिश्चेत्-वन्क्कात्-वन्नाचीश-श्रेत्य-विद्य-वि

"ઋ气可含和蓋石可利" चेर्न्स्यान्य स्वानि विद्यान्य स्वानि स्वानि

\_\_\_\_\_\_ दर्ने :बुन:नक्कुन:ग्रथन:श्चेत्य:क्वेब:सॅं:न्ट:श्व:न्ट:पीवा

५ ''पाहेर्द'वर्क्टवं कः श्चेष''हेश प्रदेशीन श्चेर प्राप्त सहिद श्चेष श्चेर श्चेर श्चेर प्राप्त सहिद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श्चेष श्चेद श

देर-वहेद-क्व-द्वा-वाबुर-वीश्व-देवाश-शासुय-दु-श्वेय-ववेद-ववे-"भ्रद-विश्व-श्वेय-वाशे-"वेश-ववे-"सुवा सर्वे नगल दशाही पारळें राम "विं दारेन्। यदे राम बुराख मशर्चे माम पार दे निक्त अना महिशा धेवा विंदा सार ૡਗ਼ૡૺ૱ૹ૽ૣૼૼૼૢ૱ઌ૾૽ઌ૽૽ૹૣ૾ૣૼૼ૱ઌૣૹૼૺ૾ૣ૽ૼ૱૽૽ૢ૽ૺૢૼ૱ૡ૽ૺ૱ઌ૽૽૱૽૾ૹ૽૽ઌ૽ૹ૽૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼઌઌ૽૽૽૽૱૱૱ૢ૽ઌ૽૽૱૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ र्वेन्ॱब्रेंन्सःग्रेःसःग्रद्धःसंदेरेक्षेत्रःकुन्नोद्धयःवस्थानस्वर्गसन्देर्दस्यसःयसःग्रदःवेन्।सन्देन्।सन्देन्। "कुयः <u> २२.ज.२वाव.व.२८.भिज.भी.जु.जु.चु.जू.ची.जी. ही.से२.वु.ह्यू.च.र.वु.से२.लु.वा.लु.व.त्या ही.से२.वय८.हू.व्या क.२.हेव.वी.लु.</u> वो प्रदेश र्रेवाम "देश वार मर सर्वेर कुः र्षेत्। यदे वे वें वातम वें र भ्रूत दे भ्रूत ये भ्रूत र रे वाम वें र पेवा कर ब्दाची थी नो यार्रे अपदे देन हो दायी और पाना अवार् ह्रें दा हु आपदे ना मूर्य का अपता है या अपता है वा का प्राप्त का स्वाप्त का स्वाप देश'नबैद'द्वेर'वर्षद'त्रुर'हे कुष'विन'ग्रे'ध्वे 'श्वेर्'भूर'धेषा'(कु'धेषा)षोर्श्वरेश'नबैद'ळंन'त्रुर'दर्श'नर'नक्ष'र्वेषा' चर्याक्षराक्षराक्षर्यात्राम् । स्वराज्यान् स्वराज्यान् । स्वराज्यान् स्वराज्यान् स्वराज्यान् । स्वराज्यान् स्वर से 'देग्र गृंगु : भून 'धेग्र 'न्ट 'ने 'न बेद 'ने श' सर्केंद 'नवे 'देग्र 'ग्वत श' र्से व्यः क्रुद 'न्वा र्से न 'मूसे 'से न 'मूसे 'से स्था 'सिन 'देश' য়৾৾ৢঀ৻য়৻য়৾৾য়৻য়ৢ৾ঀৢ৾য়৻য়ৢ৾ঀয়৻ড়৾য়য়ৣ৾য়ৼয়ৼ৻য়৸৴৻য়৸ঀ৻৻য়ৣঀ৸ড়৻য়য়য়৻য়য়৻য়ড়৻য়ঢ়য়৻য়৸ঢ়৻ৼৼ৻য়৻ৼয়৸য়৻ सर्दरमानश्चराम् मान्याम् वर्षाम् स्वास्त्राम् स्वास्त्राम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्वास्त्रम् स्व वर्षामार्थन हिन् होन् पर्वः वेन् प्रेमान्नो म्बर पहें व म तुर होन् होन् होन् परिन नियम व १०१४ वे वे हो तुर प्रमास हें व होन 

क्री.चश्राष्ट्रीं स्ट्रेस्ट्र

१ अप्याप्त पर्दर हो देव देव हो हो देव प्राप्त हो हो हो प्राप्त हो हो हो प्राप्त हो हो हो कि https://highpeakspureearth.com/多识仁波切-也谈民族教育?lang=zh-hans दे सर्वे अप्वाद द्वाद का High Peaks Pure Earth

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वर्ज प्रतिप्रचित्र वित्र प्रतिप्रच्या १०१६ वित्र हो १ हेबा २० हेबा 人权观察网 2019年元月30日Human Rights Watch https://www.hrw.org/zh-hans/node/326975/printable/print

यर्श्वरास्त्र साम्नी क्ष्या स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र साम्ने स्वास्त्र साम्भावित्त साम्मी क्ष्या स्वास्त्र साम्भावित्त साम्मे स्वास्त्र साम्भावित्त साम्यावित्त साम्भावित्त साम्भावित्त साम्भावित्त साम्भावित्त साम्भावित

यञ्चनाश्चरक्च,श्चानयञ्चनाश्चर्यः स्ट्राच्चेच्याश्चर्यः शांत्र्यः स्था वर्षः त्यायानाः त्याद्याद्यः कुः यः स्ट् स्वायः प्रक्ष्यः स्वायः स्वयः स्वायः स्वयः स

૧ - ગુદ:ર્ને ર્સૂંગ:નાર્સે કાંદે:સે રેનાય સેંદે નર્યેયય ફેય ૧૦૧૯ |

१ हें देन प्रशासित में नर्शे द्वस्य दर्म कुरायन्य श्रीयाम् वना दर्भे न्या है से नाम के देवित ने से नियम से सिन स्वर्भ नियम है स्वर्भ नियम से सिन स्वर्भ नियम से सिन स्वर्भ नियम से सिन सिन से सिन सिन से सिन सिन से सिन सिन से सिन से सिन से सिन

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यार मृत्ये अप्तार्थ मिना स्वार्थ स्वर्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्थ स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार

कु:द्रवादि:कु:केट्य:देवे:केट्य:विट्य:शु:विद्वाय:पव:प्येता

१ व्रे.सं. ४६८८ सुपु: स्वेर-इंप. योथ्य तनु यम् यम् यात्रा क्षा स्वाप सामिता सर क्षेत्र स्वेर स्व

१४४ वितामानभूतायहेताळे नह्यान्। १४४४ वितामाने पार्श्वेताळे नेरान्यसानुन

हुँच. त्याह्न द्रायह, त्यावाह्न अक्ष्य प्रायह, क्रीट, चैंका क्रीट, चेंटा चट, मुंटा चट, मुंटा चट, मुंचा हुंचा मि द्रायां क्रायह, क्रिंच क्रीट, क्रोट, क्रीट, चेंचा क्रिंच क्रीट, चेंचा क्रीट, मुंचा मिल्ट, मुंचा क्रीट, मुंचा मिल्ट, मुंचा मि

# १ तुमानेन पर्ने वार्मे वार्मे वार्मे नामिता स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप

द्याश्राधिव निर्मा स्वार्थ स्व स्वार्थ स्वार

# १) ईसाधिनानसूनिक क्रोत्रान्तिस्याधिनान्यन्तिस्याधीनान्यन्तिस्याधीना

ત્રણ ક્ર્યા ક્રેયા ત્રીના ત્રારા કર્યા ત્રાપ્ત ક્રિયા ત્રાપ્ત ક્રિયા ત્રાપ્ત ક્રેયા ત્રાપ્ત ક્રિયા ત્રાપત ક્ ત્રાપત ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ક્રિયા ત્રાપત ક્રાપત ક્રિયા ત્રા ક્રિયા ત્રાપત ક્રિયા ત્રાપત ક્રિયા ત્રાપત ક્રિયા

# ३ ) र्हें अ:श्चेता त्रान्तर पहिशामी वारा में दिया श्चेतर अरामित पार्व पार्व पार्व पार्व पार्व पार्व अहा से वारा

देशःग्रीःकःम्रीदःद्वाःनःत्रायाःम् स्वे द्वाराद्वाः द्वाराः विष्याः विष्याः स्वे द्वाराः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः यम् स्मायित्र वित्रः स्वाप्ति । दे प्रका ( अक्टें स्वार्से नावित्रः या के प्रकार स्वाप्ति । स्वाप्ति स्वाप्ति स म्बित्र न्या क्रम्स्य अत्वर्भः क्रेत्र व्यापित्र प्राप्त वित्र प्राये मात्र अपने अपने अपने अपने अपने अपने अपने देशःयःविवाः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विद्याः विश्वाः विद्याः वि ૽૽ૢઽૢૻ૽૱ૹૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૹૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૺૹ૽ૢૼૹૹ૽ૼઽૢ૽ઽ૽ઌૹઌ૱૽૽ૢઽૢ૱ૹઌઌૢૹ૽૽૱ૹઌઌ૱ઌ૱ઌ૱ૹૢઌૹ૱ૹૢ૱ૹ૽૽૱ઌ૽૽ૺઌૹ૱૽૽ૺઌૹૺ૱ઌ૽૽ૺઌૹૺ૱ઌઌૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૹ *क्षे*'प्यर्थ'गवि'गवस्य देस'दसर'कु'ते'प्यर्थ'क्षु'र्वेर'क्रग्यर'प्यॅर'यर'स'स्या ह्या व्यॅर्'रे'वित्र'प्यर्थ'गवि'गवस्य दसर'ववे'से' वर्वे र नर्वो न नवर कुवा तुषा ग्रह र वे द र देवा बाब बाद हिंद हुट हुट हिंद हिंद हो हो है। बाद है वा हिंद हो है वा विदाय है न क्रेंब'ने'न्य'र्षेरशस्य क्रंक्र'यदे'र्वेन'षेयाः क्रेंयाः श्चेयाःवर्षोः क्रेंयाः श्चेयाःयः क्रथः ग्रीशन्तः नृत् यमःगविःगातमःनेमःन्यात्रमःनवेःस्टःन्नटःवदःसद्वसःस्रेमःस्रेनःस्वेःस्टःस्वाःवदेःसे सेन्।स्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान्यान युःसप्पेत्रप्रम् ग्वत्रर्श्चेत्रः ब्युः केत्रस्वेते पेत्रप्रेन्यस्य प्रम् म्वर्पाः पेत्रः शुः विद्रप्रस्वेत्यानि पेत्रः शुः श्चेत्रः ब्युः स्वर्पाः विद्रा देवाश्चर्वो स्वता दे स्वर्श्वर्वाबुर दर्श श्चर्वावर स्वाश्चर्या वाल्य स्वाश्चर्या वाल्य स्वाश्चर स्वाश्य स्वाश्चर स्वाश्य स्वाश्य ब्रेन्रक्रम्यान्गवर्वायने व्यवस्य ग्री व्यवस्य विषया महिष्य व्यवस्य स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः श्रूराद्ध्याप्परासरान् सक्रिमाग्रम् यद्देरारे रे निविदाविदाविसामस्यान हें निसेन्।

श्रम् भ्रम्भाक्ष्यभाक्ष्योः विश्वेद्वालूट श्राष्ट्रियः दें भ्रम्भाक्षयः कुर्या विश्वाक्षयः भ्रम्भाक्ष्यभाक्ष्यः विश्वाक्षयः विश्वावक्षयः विश्वावक्षयः विश्वाक्षयः विश्वाक्षयः विश्वाक्षयः विश्वावक्षयः वि

या नियम् व्या क्रि.मेण्याया चेन्ट्रिम् व्याप्त नियम् विष्या क्रि.सेण्या विष्या विषया विषय

# प्रभः में न्यायनः नर्ष्युः श्रेवाः श्रेवः ययः त्यायायः वित्रायः विद्यायः स्वरं यात्रेयः स्वरं याः स्वरं याः विद्यायः विद्यायः

याश्चरः सः नर्षः त्रोत्रः न्त्रुः भे हे दुः श्वरः न्त्रुं भः त्रेत्रः न्त्रुं दशः श्वरः श्वरः श्वरः त्रीः त्रश्चरः विष्याः विष्यः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विषयः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्याः विष्यः विष्यः विष्याः विष्यः विष्य ग्राम्प्रेसामानवित्रमुख्या होन्यावित्रमाया है या ब्रेन् हुन् हान्वेया दित्रग्रामा वया सिम्याग्री वित्रमा हे स् याश्चरः यस्त्रेतः श्चीयाः श्चेत्रः त्यसः त्युवाशः यात्रद्यत्यसः युक्षः त्यसः त्येत्रः श्चेत्रः श्चितः । विद्या ग्रेग्'शूर'कृग्रांग्'वि'(全国事业单位统考)य'(वृग्रांगि'हेग्रांग्रांभ्रांरेश'ठव'र्येव'र्ग्या श्रेग'र्येय'यरे 'र्येर्'पेग'र्हेश' भ्रेवा।वरःबाड्डवाःसःस्राध्येवःसरःकुःश्रेवाःहित्रःभ्रेवा।वरःवीशःग्रहःबद्धःश्रुदःग्रुःद्वीश्व। (१) वाश्वरःवसूत्रेःवशःग्रेदःवःदेशःवरः <u>ॸॖॱऄॣॕ</u>ज़ॱॹऄ॔ॱॸॆॹॱय़ऄॱक़ॆॸॱख़ॴॱॹॖॆॱढ़ज़ॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॖॹॱॸॖॖॖॖॖॺॶॴऄॱज़ॺॗॸॱऒॕक़ॱय़ऄॱख़ॹॱढ़ऻॎॖॸॱॸॖऻॕॴॗक़ॱक़ॖॆढ़ॱढ़ॸॆॖॱऄऀॸ॔ॱऄॵॱ विना पुःर्ने न भी र्श्वेन न ने ने ना निर्देश के न त्या भी र्थे क्या निर्देश न से न से निर्देश न सबर-र्शेद-प्र-ष्ट्र-हे-र्श्सेश ऍन-प्र-दे-क्र-प्येया-यो-र्श्सेन-पार्श-देव-प्यश-दवद-विवा-प्येद-प्या ने-प्रश्नेन-र्रेग्य-र्श्सेन-स ૹ૾ૼૼૼૼૼ૽ૡ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૺૼૢૹૄૻૢ૽૾ઌ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૺ૾૽ૹૣ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼઌૺૹ૽૽૱ૡૹૹૢ૽ૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૼૹૡ૱ૹૢ૽ૢ૽૱ૹ૽૽૱ૡ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽૱ૡૹ૽૽૱ૡૹૹઌ૱૱ૹૢ૽ઌ૾ૹ૽ वर्झेन्'सिवर'दे'ने'नर्भ'ग्रान'देव'सेदे'सूर'स'द्र्यतु'पेद्या नेस्य नेर्नेन'पेवा'हेंस'स्रेवा'विन्यो'प्रस'त्रेन्यस्य स्वेदेस्रेवा'स्व गुर-वित्र-पृर-पित्र-तर-वित्राक्ष-पित्र-केर-पृर-प्य-भूना-नक्षक्ष-नुगर-न-वित्रा-पित्र-पृत्रिक्ष-क्ष्र-क्ष्रित-निर्देत-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित्र-वित्र-पित् रेगाशर्र्भ्रेन'सर्ळेंदे'त्ररत्त्र'गुर'गार्वेद'र्ळेगाशपदे' (共青团员) ळेंगाशसी'धेत'रा'रे'बुर'र्छेर्'पाशगार्नेगाशपराधेत'धेत यः सरः स्. स्री (८) तमा मेर्नाम्य प्रमेरः मेर्ने स्. मेर्ने प्रमेरः मेर्ने प्रमेरः मेर्ने प्रमानिक मार्थित स्तर्भाति क्वायानिकानिकार्येदान्त्रीय। धेनाक्वायादीकार्यन्त्राक्ष्यंद्वार्भ्यम्भ्योक्कुःकारेयाउदाविनानश्चरन्त्रीयाकुःत्रा ૡૹૢૡઽૹૹ૽૽ૡૹૣૡૡ૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૼઌ૽ૼૹૢઌૹ૽૽ૹ૾૽ૹૢઌઌ૽૽ૹૻૢ૱ૹૹ૽ૼૢૡૡ૽૽ૡ૽૽ૹ૽૽૱ૹ૽૽ઌૺૹ૱ૹ૽ૼૹૣૹૡ૽૽૱ૡ૽૽ૢ૾ૢઌૣૺ सर्रात्वाः कृवाश्वादिः वाश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वित्रः देवाश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः वश्वरः लेब क्रुं ने ने ने ने निर्मु नहें न संवे लका हो न नाकर न सूचे श्वेना श्वें वा त्या स्वाका स्वीन निर्में का स्वीन सिर्म महिषामी व्यवस्त्र मुद्री प्रतान्त्र व्यवस्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र विष्ठ स्त्र स्

# **५** वॅर् भेषा रु अर्दे न क्री अर्थे निर्दे र प्रमानिक क्षेत्र क्षेत्र

**ૹૄૼૼૼૼૼૼ૱ૹ૱ૢૼૹઃૡૢૡ૽ૻ૱૽ૺૡ૾ૢૼૡ૽ૹૻ૾૾ૺ૾૱ૹ૽ૢૼ૾ૹૣ૽ૼઌ૽ૹ૽ૼ૾**>>ૢૼૹ૽૽૽૽ઌ૽૽ૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૼઌ<u>૽</u>૾ૼૡૼઌ૽૽ૢ૾ૺૹૣૼૡ૽૽ૢૼૡૹૡૹ૽ઌૹ सहर्मित्रे लेग्राम्यन्त्रिम् न्या सुर्वे म्यूया स्थानित्र स्थाने स्थानित्र स्यानित्र स्थानित्र स्यानित्र स्थानित्र स ૹ૽૾ૺઃક્રુવઃર્વેવાઃક્ષેઃૅૅવઃ-તુઃવર્તેઃદેવઃવક્ષુવાંચાઃજ્ઞેઃવર્દેવઃદ્યાઃબદઃવેવઃજ્ઞેઃજ્ઞેવઃગ્રુઃહ્વાઃહેઃવાશુંચાઃક્ષેયઃબેંચાર્સેવઃ न्येते प्रसंया क्रुषा ग्री न्युष्या द्वार देवा निर्मा क्षेत्र प्रमाण क्षेत्र प्रम म् द्या प्रविद्योश ४०१० व्यू र विकाविय में देश खेर दूर सुष्ट सुर्व में स्वर्थ में स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स्वर्थ स マディップ・まで可すら、3010-3030 】 (《国家中长期教育改革和发展规划纲要(2020-2010年)》) ৾ঽঌ৽৸৽য়ৄ৾৽৽৽য়৻য়য়৻৽য়য়ৣ৽য়ৢঀ৽৾৽ড়য়৽য়৾ঀ৽য়ৣ৾ঀ৽য়ঢ়৾ৼ৽য়৾ঽ৽ঢ়৾ৼ৽ৠয়৽য়ৢ৽ঀ৾য়৽য়৽য়য়৽য়৾ঽ৽য়ৢঀ৽য়ৢঌ৽৽য়য়৽য়য়ৢঌ৽ \*अन्य। नॅर्-धेनाः क्रें अः श्चेना सिर्मेन, रूपः हेनः ग्चेः अर्वो निर्देन स्ट्रम् क्रिनः स्वीताः श्वेत्यः निर्देशः नश्चेन अर्ग्यः निर्देशः निर्देशः नश्चेन अर्थः निर्देशः निर् ययर देश सर पु त्यूर न महिंद पूर्वे शास दे श्रेष्ठ चुरा यमा न श्रूर चुरा खेँ पूर्व भूतरा है । स्र सा न बुद पर्दे द भेर शारे है देश देनःग्रेः अर्वो निह्ने नः कंदः अर्थेवा अर्वेदः केत्र क्षेतः वार्थे वित्र ग्रीः कुः देवा अर्थवातः यहेत् दरः वे अ र्वेन'भेग'र्क्रेस'क्षेना'स'ळें स'सर्वे 'सर्हेन'ने 'वेन'भेग'रु'नक्षुर'तस्य क्षर'त्यात'व्हेत'स'क्षुस'गवि'क'तस्य नातन'र्नेत'र्सेन'सेन' नवे नर्हे न दें दें दनव देवा पी दारा यथा स्टासे वे दें ने मुंग की अपर्यं दें क्षेत्र मुंग स्वतं या कुथा निर्माण कर में वा था अर्कें दें के वा ङुदुः डेवस नसर र्भेग डुर के नम। धर दावैर के दासेन गृत्या विषयी प्रदेश प्रेन नमें दासे का से ग्रह्म का से मार्थ के सू ग्री:वाह्रसःचन्द्र-वाद्यरःचःस्थावित्यःतुःद्वुदःद्यसःदर्वोद्र-सःत्यस्य। वेदःदेवासःसव्यात्यस्य वदःदरः। वेदःदेवासःर्स्वेदःवार्थःच। वेदः देवाशद्वो क्त्र केत्र सें। वेंद् देवाशसर्वे विद सेंवाशस्य विवाययर दुशदेव ग्री सर्वे विदे दवे दवर करोदा

# ८ र् नुश्चानेनः द्वीरावर्द्धरः द्वीत् सान्दरः ईसार्येदान्सुः नवेः रहान्वहः वहः सङ्ग्रसं सेदान्।

श्ची र निहर्म, विष्ठ विषठ विष्ठ विष

क्चु'्धेना'सर्रायदे' < < अर्क्टे : श्रृंब :श्लॅन वार्ये : > > क्टें अ:श्लेन । सर्राया अ: देव : वेर अ: देवे : नुभानेनःश्रेटःनर्गेन्।मदेःन्ध्नःर्हेसारे:रेदेःर्हेसारासेदेःत्यमान्यार्हेसार्येन्।स्युःत्येन्।सेन्यो पश्चाश्वरमाने।यटार्हेसा श्चेना । निरंगे श्चेतः श्चेतः निरंगे निरंगे निरंगे स्था केर किंना श्चे निरंगे निरंगे स्था की स्थान स्थान स्थान <u>बदासुत्यात्र भ्रें ना नार्धिवे : ब्रेट् : ब्रच्य अने नार्धिट : यह : है नाया हैं या भ्रें नाया हैं या भ्रें नाया हैं या भ्रें नाया हैं या भ्रें नाया हैं या महिल्या हैं या महिल्या है या प्राप्त के प</u> ૹૢ૾<sup>੶</sup>ઌૣઌૻૹ૽૾ૺૢ૽ૢ૽ૼૹૻઌ૽ૼૻ૽૽ૼૹ૱૱૽૽ૢ૾ૹ૾ૢૼઌૹૹૡ૽૽ઌૣ૿ઌ૿ૡૹ૽૽ૺઌૢ૿૱ૢ૽ૺ૱ૢ૽ૹૢૹ૾ઌઌ૽૽૽૽ૡ૽ઌઌૹૢઌ૽૽ૢૼઌ૱ૢ૽ૢ૽ૡૺૡૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૹ૽૽ૺઌ श्चेन्'मदे'क्रेन्'|व'र्षेन्| क्रेन्'|व'ने 'सेवाश प्टर्नेन'श्चेन'से सेदे 'क्रेंश श्चेवा'मश्चपत्वान'प्वतुस'न्वीश देन' ग्राम्'सेन' स्थिवा'सर सदे' क्रिंअ:क्रुवा:विट:वा:अर्देर:क्र्रवा:वी:वारा:श्रुव:स्रूटरा:विद:वाहरा:वह:वर्ष:सेन्। दे:वारा:क्र्या:स्रूवा:स्रूवा:विट:वीराव्यः *૨ે૨*ઃ૬્અઃઽેવઃ૬ુવાઃ૨ેઃવર્૬ૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૣૹઃૹૄૅઽઃૹઅૹઽઃવાએઅઃઽેવઃવલેઃવલેઃૹૢેઽઃૹે૦ઃ૬ઐવાઅઃૹ૾ૢૺ૱ૹૣ૽ૣૼૼૼ૱ૹૄૻ૽ૼૡ૽ૺૡ૽ वह्नाः र्सेनः सन्दर्भेनः विदावर्भेना नावे देसः क्रीः स्टूनः र्सेनः सूवे द्वो स्तरः स्टूनः स्टूनः स्टूनः स्टूनः નક્ષુમ:નવે:નુકુમ:क्रें:क्रुंशक्):क्रुंश:गवे:ळ:क्रेंद:बन:दश:ग्रुंश:नठश:ग्रुंश:गु:षदश:सद:वें:क्रुंन:ग्रे:खेंन) वि:ळेंम:नक्षेत्रश नर्भावा वर्दे विद्या होत् द्वा स्थान विद्या स्थान वर्षे वर्षे विद्या स्थान वर्षे विद्या स्थान वर्षे विद्या स्थान वर्षे वर्य वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्ये वर्ये वर्ये वर्ये वर्षे वर्ये वर्ये वर्षे वर्षे वर्ये वर्ये वर्ये ॴॿॖ॔ॸॱढ़ॿ॓ॺॱॿॖऀॱॺॖ॓ॱॴढ़ॸॱॸॺॱॺॕ॒ॴॱऄॸॱॺॏॱॸॖॺॱॸ॓ॸॱऄढ़ॱॸॎॸॸॎॱऻॗॸ॓ढ़ॱॺॎॸॱॸऻॗड़ॱॾॕॴॿॖऀॱॺॣॖॺॱॴढ़ऀॱख़ढ़ॺॱॻॸॱख़ॱक़ॗॆढ़ॱॸ॓ॺॱ ठवःविनाः कटः दर्ने अःचः र्सेन्य अः क्रीः क्रुः क्रीवः द्वारः नीय। व्हें अः वठ अः क्री अः वत्वद्वा विदः क्रीः नविः देशः क्रिं अः विनः विनः वीयः < < सर्ळे: श्रृंतः श्लॅ्वः वार्थः > > नुषाने वायने वे स्रेमः हवा यमः निश्चनः श्लेषः श्लवः श्लो स्रेमः विता श्लामः विता श्लो स्रोता नर्भवायदी पदः विवासाञ्चर कें। वें रे रेवे प्यसानी र र र वो स्वर कें केंवे प्यसानी वावसारी साम कें साम कें विवा:कंदःदर्वे अ:यदे द्वरःवाश्रेशःवादेवादे विदःकेदःदेशःयदे वेंदःधेवाःत्र्यःदेवःवदेवे श्रेटःदेवाःवाबुदःद्युदःहें अविवाःश्रेयः . बुन'न्वें अ'स'ने'प्रेत्। ने'यूदे'न्नर'वो अ'यअ'गदे'वात्रअ'ने अ'दयर'भ्रुनअ'र्वेन्'ने वा अ'यअ'ते न्'अर'र्वे वीपय'र्वेह्र'न्नवा'

## वी खॅर्जा वि सद रवा सम्बद्ध के कि रेवा साम हो र र र कि रेवा सर्वा म्वर रवा खेता

क्री-प्रस्ति क्षेत्रभा चूर-प्रतामान्यम् क्ष्यान्त्र क्ष्यान्य क्ष्यान्त्र क्ष्यान्त क्ष्यान्त्र क्ष्यान्य क्ष्याच्यान्त्र क्ष्यान्त्र क्ष्यान्त्र क्ष्याच्यान्त्य क्ष्याच्याच्य क्ष्याच्याच्याच्याच्याच्य क्ष्याच्याच्याच्याच्याच्याच्याच

्रिंगःश्चेता, विट्यां श्रेशःश्चेट्यं श्चरः वर्यां स्वीयः वर्याः वर्यः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः वर्याः

# ये कु में न हैं अ श्वेन निम्म निष्ठे अ ग्री श्वेन क्या ग्री क मुद्रायम् अप श्वे या

सर्स्, ख्रियाच्याकर क्रियाचिक्त क्रियाच्या क्रियाचित्त क्रियाच्या क्रियाचित्त क्रियाच्या क्रियाचित्त कर्ण क्रियाचित्त कर्ण क्रियाचित्त कर्ण क्रियाचित्र कर्ण क्रियच क्रियाचित्र कर्ण क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच क्रियच

[मरःमी:ब्रॅंग्रयान:केंद्रे:ब्रेमा:क्या:ग्रट:क्रु:ध्येमा:क्रेंया:ब्रिमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रिमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:ब्रेमा:क्रेंग्रह्मा:ब्रेमा:ब देशत्रा विकार्रकात्रा र्ट्रेटर्रकात्रा ग्रॅटर्ट्कर्रकातार्श्रेग्रकात्रकार्रग्रकात्रकात्रकात्रकात्रकात्रकात्रका ष्याखुन्य (政府采购) क्षूर्र्भेर्'ग्रें <<अर्कें र्वेत्र्र्भेर्'न्योर्गे >>र्यः रेन्यंग्रे क्राधिन र्हें अर्थेन र् क्रिं अञ्चेना निर्मा निर्मा के अप्ती के अप्ती कर की वास के स्ति हैं का जी निर्मा निर्मा निर्मा निर्मा निर्मा के अप्ती कर के स्वी कर्त के निर्मा निर्म ५८। र्क्तेचाःस्त्रन् रनेःश्चेंस्र मुनःश्चेन्यश्चेन्यशःश्चेंन्यशःन्यःहेतेःश्चेन्यःस्यःयःच वरःह्यःश्चेःहेःचनःस्त्रेन् वेंदःस्पेन्। क्रिंअ:श्चेना'मिट:मी:श्चेना'क्रथ:सम्बद:द्वा'वे'र्खे'स्वश:द्वा'न दुवे'व्दर:शःनावशःश्चेद्वालुट:मीशःश्चेवे'सर्वि:श्चुनःप्यशःशुन्वाशःसूरः स्रात्रात्र्रेत्र न्युर्भारा न्युर्भूमा धोत्र विदा विद्वारेत्र न्युष्ण स्रात्र स्रात्र न्युर्भ त्युर्भ त्युर्भ इसराह्नेट्रसाह्नेट्रस्ट्रस्ट्रस्ट्रस्ट्रस्ट्रम् सेन्रसेन् सर.स्. चुना.भ.चोषभ.सूर.चोर्चर.ज.कुभ.सूर.चेश.सरी सुना.कश.कुर.स.रचा.ची.सूर.व.सूर.कर.सून.चोषभ.चोषभ.चोर्चर. भूतर्थाशुःकुःस्रीः नुस्यस्थुरः नुस्यवाःवीस्यने नुर्सू नृत्वाहेरः नःकेषःसरः नदेः स्थूत्यार्थाः कुर्यः नदेः स्थूरः नद्याः स्थूरः स्थूरः स्थूरः नद्याः स्थूरः नद्याः स्थूरः नद्याः स्थूरः नद्याः स्थूरः स्यूरः स्थूरः स्यूरः स्थूरः स्यूरः स्थूरः स र्कें प्लॅन्यन्ता न्नुन्नेवावायरः भ्रवयन्य केंया से न्यर्या केंया प्लेंट्या हिन मुन्यें न्यते से न्यर्याया बनया प्रेवाया तु<sup>-</sup> वेर-नदे थिया त्र्यु ने न्या ग्रन थेन् केन। भ्रुवाश सें र श्रेन त्या श्री हर अपी श्रे क्व यान न्या विन या शामन यान यी थिवः श्रेव् क्री जन्ता सेंदे श्रेर प्यर ब्रेश वर्त्ता सन्दे वर्द के श्रुवा शर्से र स्यर सें ब्रिवा क्रार प्रति स्था विरुध क्री क्रुं कर वर्ष कर विर નું ક્ષ્માવનું ન નવા વર્દ્ધે માર્વ્યા નો માવલેવા ક્રુમા છેત્ર વ્યવે ને દાવો છે. ક્રિંના માના મારા છે. કર્યો ના भूतरुपदिनःश्रूनःदेवाःवारुनःभूतरुग्धेःठःववाःन्देशःहरुप्वेवाःनेनःभूतरुपन्।नुनःवाबुनःवर्धेवाःवरुप्विन्यःभीवाःवरसर्वेनःकुः ऍन्परित्रार्वेर्यार्वेन्प्येवाः हें सञ्जीवाः विरावीः श्चेवाः करावाश्वरः नृत्यहे विश्वरः नृतः श्चेवाः करावीः देशायः वयरः व्यवरः व्यवरः वयरः वयरः वयरः र्येर-हिंग्रथः बुन्। ४०१४ व्येर-वेंद्-धेग्। क्रेंश्रञ्जेग । पर-ग्रीश्वादीर-क्रेत-श्रीद-ग्राद्य-प्रायशः विद्रशः ग्रीञ्जीयाः कशः ग्रायरः दुः नहेः चश्चर-तुःदर्वे शर्पादे सूद्र-तुः बेटश-तुः सर-तुशःमः द्वा सबर-वेदः धेवाः ईसः श्चेवाः विदः यः श्चेवाः युग्नर-विवाः वाश्वरः 5. त्रापृर्धः म्रीयः क्रियाः सक्ष्यः स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्ते स्थान्ते स्थान्ते स्थान्ते स्थान्त <u> ब्रे</u>न्-नृत्यान दुवा सर त्यया विरया की कि स्त्रीया प्रत्याय त्यहित स्वर्षे त्यान वीया ने निर्देशीत निर्देश वायर निर्देशीत के स्वर्ण रादुःश्चेता.क्रशः श्चेटः रा. देशशः श्चेटः शूटः यथा चूटः लुचाः क्षेत्रः श्चेता।वटः चुः तथाः चुटः देशशः वि. श्वेतः श्चेतः श्वेतः लटः सुटः रा. तथाः <u> न्यादःश्रुयः द्याः श्रेतः क्राः क्रेन्यः ने स्ययः न्नः योदः न्यायः प्राण्या यावदः नः न्यायः श्रेतः वेदः श्रेतः याव्यः श्रेतः विदः स्रोतः याव्यः श्रेतः याव्यः श्र</u> रेरःगृबुरःविर्दरळे कुरःविष्वररे स्रोवे वर्दे ब द्युराधे दर्ग द्येर द्यु व्यर्था द्युरा स्वर्धास्य स्वरत्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्धास्य स्वरत्य स्वर्धास्य स्वरत्य स्वर्धास्य स्वर्यास्य स्वरत्य स्वरत्य स्वर्यास्य स्वरत्य नाबुर पर्वेर के न नरा है कंद की प्रमुद पहेंद नना था केर नहीं ना की से ने नहीं न नहें र नहें न वि प्रमुद्ध न ने देवाश्रःश्रेवाश्रःसरःसं र्षेत् ग्राह्म वेत् र्षेवाः हें साञ्चेवा।वहरत्यवितः विवेवाः यश्यः स्वितः वहितः विवेवाः *लटा में .क्षें .वाब्य .वो. वाब्य .वो. वाब्य .वाब्य .वाब्य .वाव्य .वाव्य* हे ह क्व कुन श्वर प वेग र प्रव से पर्

त्यं सक्षेत्रा श्रुप्ता स्वार्ध के स्वार्ध स्वार्य स्वार्ध स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्ध स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्वार्य स्

# ४ वृ के वित्यमा हो न के मान्य के नहीं न के प्योत्तर के नहीं न के नहीं न

# ( ) र्डेशःश्चेना।नटःनी:र्नेट्रेन्शःपशः नेत्रः स्वर्थः कनःश्चेट्रः ग्रीः द्याः नश्चन्यः ग्रीः स्वर्हेना र्देना प्येन

#### (१) वॅद्रन्देवायाययाचेद्राळेंदेःइ.कुदेःर्स्वायनेद्रःचीःहेयानुवायदेद्राया

कर्म अदे हैद रे रे दे दु नर लुग्र मदे जाद शक्य कर अर भ्रें जाद श स्ट्रिस होते ही जो स्ट्रिस वा स्था होते हों र्श्वेदे 'र्सूना' प्रश्चेद'दर' भैना' क' नार' ५८५ है 'दीना' सर' नार्हेर 'र्स्टुर' स्वेद' श्री 'र्भेर' स' ५८५ । इ' नवेर स' स्वन' ई' नहें ना स' नार' त्रवेषात्रदेशः होन् : श्री: व्येन् : व्येन : क्रांन : क्रांन : व्येन : व्ये ॻॖऀ॓**ढ़ॱऒ॔ॸॱॴऒॴॱॴॷऻॕॸ॔ॴढ़ढ़ॱऄ॔ॱॻॖऀॸॱॻऀॱऒ॔ॸऻ**ॗॷऀॸॱॸॸॸॱक़ॗॱढ़ॴॱॸॖॱड़ॱॸढ़॓ॱॴॴॵऻॗॷ॓ॴॿॎॳॴऄढ़ॱॸॖॱॸॺॱऄ॔ॱऄढ़ॱ हे। IPনশ্বশর্ষ্যন্ত্র্যার্অব্যান্দ্রা ISPনকুন্র্রিন্যান্ত্রন্ত্র্যান্ত্রিন্যা স্ট্রিমান্ত্রিন্ত্রীন্ত্রান্ত্রিন্ व्हेनः ढंग्रथः ग्रेन्यः श्रेंग्रथः ढंदः देग्यः दरः विदःश्रीशः वग्यायाः श्रेंद्रथः वदः श्रेंयः ग्रथः श्रेन्यः श्रेयः विवः दिनः श्रीः श्रे व्येत्यःश्चीःमावनः र्हेवः श्रॅमाशः दुः क्वेमाशः दरः माश्रमः वश्चारः रेशः उदः विमानीः दुः चमः वहुमान् मेश्या माश्रमः विश्वः श्वेसः श्वरशः ष्यादेश उदाविया यो शादु प्रते विया प्रते राष्ट्रीय प्रता हो दार प्रता हो दार प्रता हो साम हो मुै मिन बर हे व नर अर्दे व क्षु में प्पेंद न व क्षुन विवय गुरे के व निर्देश निर्देश निर्देश के व दे न व के मिन ५८। ले.ले.लदुःस्टान्यरःकुटःव्ह्रेब्रावटः। ब्रॅस्के.च्रॅन्श्चे.कुटःव्ह्रेब्रावटः। यद्यःश्चेंब्राच्र्न्शेवे.क्क्रेवावहंवाकाःश्चेःवाकरः त्रचुर्-र्शेवाश्वावश्वाश्वरायशाववावाद्ववात्यदरःनुश्वः क्रुद्वःवरः स्ट्राः द्वतः वित्रः च्रीतः च्रीतः च्रीतः वित्रः च्रीतः वित्रः वित्रः च्रीतः वित्रः च्रीतः वित्रः च्रीतः वित्रः च्रीतः वित्रः वित्रः च्रीतः नी'वर्ज्ञेब'र्ज्ञवे'र्र्क्षेट'र्ष्येट्रब'हुन'र्हुनेट्र्क्केट्रिट्रव'र्ह्ह्या'स्था'(Twitter)न्ट्रा टेंर्ट्नेन'(facebook)न्ट्रा धु तुनः(YouTube)८८। वळंस्रसःविदः(WhatApp)र्सेन्सःग्रीः५:कुःषदःदसःनश्चन्यःग्रसःहेःऋनःदस्यनेदःश्चेंदःनिर्दे वनरासेन्। नु'नाता (google)इ'नदे'स'त्यनानो नुेन्'न् सासराने निनाक्तुन'सून'सून्य'हून'सून'सून्य' ष्ट्रेंब-दीशःलूरे-तशःभित्राःश्रीशःशःबरःधिलःबशःभितःविचःयोविषःदीःक्क्रूरःचःश्रीवःत्रुतःयोषशःक्षेतःरेटःलटःबःभिवयाःरटः वी श्रेन निवर श्लेन वार्केन की त्या श्रामा निवर वार्ष निवर वार्य निवर वार्ष निवर वार्ष निवर वार्ष निवर वार्ष निवर वार्ष निवर वार्ष न য়ৢॱয়য়৽য়৾৽য়য়ৼ৽৻য়৾৾ঀ৽য়৽য়ৼ৽য়৾য়৽য়৾৽য়৾য়৽য়য়য়৽৻ড়৽য়য়য়ৼ৽৻ঽঽয়৽য়ৼ৽ৼৢয়ৼ৽ৼৢয়ৼঢ়ৼ৽য়য়য়৽৻ড়৽য়৽৻য়য়৾ঀ৽য়য়৽য়ৣ৽য়৾ৼৼ৽য়ৣ৽ৼৼ৽ न्नरः भेन् नं न्यायायायाया हिंगाया प्राप्त न्वरः। गुराह्य न्तरः ने श्रीन न्नरः श्रीनः पर्विनः ग्रीः यात्वा हुनः के नदे नवरः हिस्रयः ग्रीयः *चाइत्र:* इन्नाश्यः स्थाः स्य ढे 'दर्गेश क्रु' सळद' ने 'द्रवा'वी 'द्रवट'वी अ'र्वेद' देवा अ'त्य अ'त्रोद' हु अअ'त्रु' त्य अ'वाद अ'खेंद' भ्रव अ'द्रट 'खें 'खेंदे 'ह्रो अ' . बुनः ग्रे: सेन्। नायः खेन्: इंना: दशः में मः क्रें सः ग्रे: नायमः त्युरः विनाः ने: न्नाः नी: नुः केनायः यः लुनायः दः कुन् वनाः नुः नवेः हेदः हेनाः नश्रावस्यास्य नाम्रुषाचीत्र्याचीत्राचीत्राचीत्रास्य क्षेत्राचिस्र्याचीस्य स्वित्राचीत्रास्य

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क्षयाविनामाञ्चरायाञ्चरायहेता

निष्ठ्रायाने प्रति विष्ठ्रत्येत् क्षेत्रा स्वर्ता हिन्द्रपदे क्षु त्रवा निष्ठ्रपति स्वर्ता स्वर्ता स्वर्ता स्व निषठ्या निष्ठ्रपति विष्ठ्रत्येत् क्षेत्रा स्वर्ता हिन्द्रपदे क्षु त्रवा निष्ठ्रपति स्वर्ता स्वर्ता स्वर्ता स्व

२००४ सॅवे-अ-च्चे-ब्रॅन्स्यक्त्रेन्स्यक्त्रेन्स्यक्त्रेन्स्यक्ष्यः स्थान्त्रेन्स्यक्त्रेन्स्य स्थान्त्रेन्द्रेन्स्य स्थान्त्रेन्स्य स्थान्त्रेन्द्रेन्

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#### क्रूब.त्ज्री

चुश्यूर्यत्वरक्ष्यत्वातुः चुश्यः भूत्याव्यात्वर्षः चुत्रः भूत्रः स्त्रात्वरः स्त्रात्वरः स्त्रः स्त

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# कुष्वनाभिषुनभी सम्बेद्रभी प्वनः के सम्दर्भ सम्दर्भ सम्दर्भ निवास सम्बन्ध सम्य सम्बन्ध सम्बन्य सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्ध सम्बन्य

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Section II: English Articles

# India-China Conflict in the Indo-Tibet Border: A Strategic Perspective

Tsewang Dorji Research Fellow

#### Introduction

The India-China military stand-off at the Indo-Tibet border region from early May 2020 to late January 2021 is regarded as the longest and deadliest military confrontation since 1962. China's military aggressions across borders of India, Nepal and Bhutan created geopolitical instability in Tibet and the South Asian region.

China is building a massive dual-use infrastructure developments across the Indo-Tibet border regions for ensuring stability and securing the Chinese notion of national unity and development. In 2017, China released its plan for the "Construction of Villages of Moderate Prosperity in Border Areas, 2017-2020." The objective of this plan is guided by Xi Jinping's governing strategy for Tibet: "[To] govern the country well we must first govern the frontiers well, and to govern the frontiers well we must first ensure the stability of Tibet."

Since 2017, China has constructed more than 628 border defense villages in Tibet's border regions which share borders with India, Nepal and Bhutan. These newly-built border defense villages are strategically designed to serve as border watch posts for Chinese military. And at the same time, it assists Chinese border patrols for limiting cross-border Tibetan migrations.

This paper is mainly focused on the background of India-China conflicts over the Indo-Tibet border from a strategic point of view.

## India-China Conflict over the Indo-Tibet Border in the Himalaya

India and China became two largest neighboring countries in Asia after China's invasion of Tibet in 1950. Soon after the complete invasion of Tibet, China started cartographic aggression towards India and the Himalayan regions. The disappearance of Tibet as a strategic buffer between India and China triggered geo-strategic tensions in the Himalaya and South Asia.

China's military aggressions in India, Bhutan and Nepal are strategically designed by the Chinese communist leaders' perception that Tibet is the palm (of a hand) and the Himalayan regions are the five-fingers. China considers Tibet as the palm and Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh as the five-fingers. This expansionist strategic design (plan) is perceived by the Chinese strategists to its claim over Tibet and its neighboring countries.

In the early 20th century, British India adopted its forward policy towards Tibet to expand her market options, and at the same time, the British desired to establish Tibet as a strategic buffer against the Czarist Russia and China. The British successfully attempted to make Tibet a buffer state between Russia, China and British India in 1903.

Subsequently, Chinese nationalists viewed the British invasion of Tibet as a security threat to China in its own backyard. Then, the British left India in 1947. The Communist Party of China meanwhile established the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, and soon after, China invaded Tibet. Subsequently, centuries old a strategic buffer between India and China disappeared. After China's occupation of Tibet, the first ever Sino-Indian military face-off was seen at the world's highest border point – the Himalayas in 1950s.

Since then, thousands of Chinese military incursions have taken place across the Indian Himalayan borders. By invading Tibet, China asserted Tibet as a treasure in its strategic assets to speed up its expansionist policies towards the Himalaya and South Asia. In addition, China's militarization of the Tibetan plateau creates security tensions in Asia.

China sees Tibet as a strategic passage to extend China's geopolitical ambitions in South Asia. Mao Zedong, the founding father of the PRC, and a firm believer of Sun Tzu's strategic doctrine — "the Art of War", strategized Tibet as the palm of China to expand its sphere of influence in South Asia. Mao Zedong invaded and occupied Tibet in order to bring the "five-fingers" of the Himalayan regions under Chinese sphere of influence.

Today, India shares its 3,488 km borders with Chinese occupied Tibet. Despite having 22 rounds of border talks between Special Representatives of India and China for resolving border conflicts, India-China dispute over the Indo-Tibet border has still remained unsettled.

Neville Maxwell, the author of *India's China War*, illustrated the nature of the Sino-Indian conflicts in these words: "The border dispute between India and China stands exactly where it did when it first emerged half a century ago. There have been no negotiations, just numerous rounds of 'fruitless talks.' Each side maintains claims of large tracts of the other's territory".<sup>1</sup>

#### Conclusion

Around six decades earlier, George Ginsburgs and Michael Mathos aptly summed up the geostrategic importance of Tibet in the following words: "He who holds Tibet dominates the Himalaya piedmont; he who dominates the Himalaya piedmont threatens the Indian subcontinent; and he who threatens the Indian subcontinent may well have all of South Asia within his reach and, with it, all of Asia."<sup>2</sup>

By examining current Chinese strategic calculation and military preparedness in Tibet and the Himalaya, China attempts to hold a strategic advantage in Asia by building border defense villages in Tibet. Beijing has constructed 628 border defense villages in Tibet's border regions for the last five years. It helps China to reaffirms its claims on the disputed territories along the Indo-Tibet border regions. Therefore, Chinese constructions of border defense villages are strategically designed as a new great game, which pose a geopolitical ramification towards India, Nepal and Bhutan.

#### (Endnotes)

Neville Maxwell, "Why the Sino-Indian Border Dispute is Still Unresolved after 50 Years: A Recapitulation", China Report-47 (2), 71.

<sup>2</sup> George Ginsburgs and Michael Mathos, Communist China and Tibet: *The First Dozen Year* (Netherlands: Springer-Science + Business Media Dordrecht, 1964), 210.

# Overview of Chinese Digital Eco System

Tenzin Dalha

Research Fellow

In the age of rapid technological advancement, as the news outlets in China increasingly go digital, and as television goes mobile, the digital ecosystem has become one of the major concerns to the Chinese leadership and its rule. As part of its political propaganda, Beijing has been setting different communication strategies to control the outflow of news by instrumentalizing and implementing stringent laws to dominate international cyberspace. Through the implementation of three recent laws – the Cybersecurity Law, Data Security Law (DSL), and Personal Information Protection Law (PIPL) – China has taken a range of measures that restrict cross-border data flows and enforce data localization.

The Chinese cybersecurity law was enacted by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on November 7, 2013, and it came into effect on June 1, 2017. The law is widely seen to be in line with the 12th Five-Year Plan (2011-2015) which aims to promote domestic industries such as cloud computing and big data processing. The 14th Five-Year Plan aims to centralize and control China through a digital ecosystem. As outlined in the 14th FYP:

We will welcome the digital age, activate the potential of data factors of production, promote the construction of a cyber powerhouse, accelerate the construction of the digital economy, digital society, and digital government, and leverage digital transformations to drive overall changes in production methods, lifestyle, and governance.

The legislation passed by China's largely rubber-stamp parliament accelerates the damage it could do to global trade and services. The law requires companies to store all data within China and it also includes contentious requirements to pass the security review, within China's stated goal to achieve "cyber sovereignty." The idea is that the state should be permitted to govern, monitor, and control data flow in their digital ecosystem.

The law forces the foreign companies operating within China to either invest in domestic server infrastructure following the law or partner with service providers such as Tencent, or Alibaba, thus saving capital expenditure costs for the foreign companies. The law is seen as a boon to domestic companies and has been criticized by the international community as creating unfair competition against international technology companies such as Microsoft and Google.

Since the law came into practice, many foreign technology companies have already complied with the law. Apple has established a data center for Chinese users in a contractual arrangement with the state-owned firm in Guizhou with \$1 Billion in partnership. The Company has close ties to the Chinese government and transferred the operation and source of iCloud data to China.

In July 2017, Apple pulled out 60 VPN services from its AppStore in China. Meanwhile, online services, such as Skype refused to store their data locally and were thereby delisted from China's domestic app stores. Since, China is home to Apple's manufacturing services, Apple and other com-

panies who are investing in China need to place human rights over profit-making.

The requirement for data localization in article 37 of the Cyber Security Law is also seen as a move by Beijing to instrumentalize Chinese laws to prosecute entities and individuals who are viewed by the Chinese government as in violation of its laws. Critics have concluded that the law exemplifies the practice of digital totalitarianism by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

## Xi Jinping's Web of Laws

Since President Xi Jinping took the reign of China in 2013, he was instrumental in creating mass surveillance in cyberspace by cracking down on online activities which are deemed to be politically sensitive. Xi would also upend and reform the Chinese internet governance to gain greater control over cyberspace than his predecessors. He also oversaw the creation and expansion of the Great Firewall.

Hence it is not a surprise when President Xi Jinping himself emphasized the link between the two concepts: "Without cybersecurity, there is no national security." With the rising power of the Cyberspace Administration of China (CAC), the country's internet regulator, China has strictly extended its iron grip and tightened control over the flow of information.

# The Data Security Law (DSL)

On August 20, 2021, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China (PRC) passed the Personal Information Protection Law (PIPL), which came into effect on November 1, 2021. This Law curbs what information companies can gather and sets the standard for how it must be stored. It triggered concerns among foreign business companies and civil societies.

Before the implementation of the Data Security Law, there are more than 56 million LinkedIn members in China, which makes it lucrative and the third-biggest market after the United States and India. Because of the DSL, the company felt "a considerably more difficult operating environment and higher regulatory requirement." Following this, the tech giant LinkedIn decided to withdraw despite China's lucrative market.

Yahoo, one of the foremost search engines entered the Chinese market in the year 1998. It was a roller coaster ride for them to operate in China. On 15 Feb 2006, Yahoo, Microsoft, Cisco, and Google were criticized in the US Congressional hearing for yielding to pressure from China for censoring their content. On 7 September 2005, Yahoo is charged with supplying sensitive information to the Chinese authorities which led to the jailing of journalist Shi Tao. The recent timing of Yahoo pulling out from China, coincided with the implementation of China's new data protection law on 1 Nov 2021, marking an important milestone in China's effort to create stricter guidelines on the Chinese digital ecosystem.

The new law intrudes upon individuals' rights to freedom of expression, opinion, privacy, and access to information. It also forces individuals' to self-censor and restricts sharing images or videos that are perceived by the Chinese authorities as politically subversive. The law too limits the conditions

where companies can gather personal information and set rules for how it is being used. DSL also stipulates that the companies operating in the country must hand over their data if requested. For instance, one of the largest companies, Alibaba was fined a record of \$2.8 billion after an anti-monopoly probe found that it has abused its market dominance. Other than heavy fines, the laws have also raised concerns among both foreign and domestic companies that they would have to hand over intellectual property rights or open a backdoor channel to operate in China's market. The law is widely criticized for limiting freedom of speech. For example, the law explicitly requires most online services operating in China to collect and verify the identity of their users, and, when required to, surrender such information to law enforcement without a warrant. For instance, article 33 states that:

When institutions engaged in data transaction intermediary services provide services, they shall require the party providing the data to explain the source of the data, examine and verify the identities of both parties to the transactions, and retain verification and transaction records.

Digital activists have argued that this policy dissuades people from freely expressing their thoughts online, thus it further stifles free expression and reduces them to a sitting duck.

Passang (name changed) who spoke on the condition of anonymity, has recently arrived from Tibet. He expressed his fear and said: "I was more afraid that these data security laws will also be practiced extensively in Tibet. Under the authority of the newly-appointed party secretary of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region, Wang Zunzheng, the Chinese authorities frequently advise Tibetans not to engage in any anti-social activities including contacting their family members and acquaintances outside Tibet. I have personally witnessed many Tibetans detained under vague and fictitious charges such as 'leaking state secrets' and 'inciting separatism.' Tibetans are jailed and interrogated with no apparent evidence of any wrongdoing."

Tibetans are subjected to arbitrary arrests, detention, and torture for exercising their rights to free-dom of expression in cyberspace. Since the law applies to data handling activities in China as well as those outside China, which will result in more scrutiny of data protection and direct suppression of freedom of expression and rights to privacy.

#### Digital Totalitarianism: How does CSL directly impact Tibet?

China's intensive use of high-tech surveillance, including artificial intelligence (AI) and espionage method has further stifled the voices of the Tibetan people, leading to self-censorship. Under Xi's authoritarian rule, through the manipulation of a series of new laws, Beijing continues to subdue freedom of expression and infringe directly upon individuals' privacy and daily lives.

A senior Tibetan journalist, who wants to remain anonymous said: "The implementation of cyber security law makes it difficult for gathering any information from Tibet, especially getting information from the capital of Tibet, Lhasa. This has become almost impossible. The Chinese police consider monks to be troublemakers. Monasteries are kept under strict vigilance, the Tibetan monks are forced to install surreptitious monitoring apps on their smartphones. The dubious logic given by the authorities was that the app is meant to alert in case of accidental fire. But in reality, it is intended to monitor their daily conversations. He further explained that "we need to find different avenues to pass the messages of the Tibetan people from Tibet to tell the world about the increasing suppression under the Chinese regime."

Many Tibetans are arrested knowingly or unknowingly. In March 2018, Woechung Gyatso, a Tibetan Monk was arrested and severely interrogated, and detained in Qinghai on suspicion of sharing politically sensitive content on social media and is being held at an undisclosed location.

In a recent notice, the Chinese authorities in the "Tibet Autonomous Region" announced criminal prosecutions against individuals who use online communication as a tool to engage in activities against the Chinese Communist regime. The general public is ordered to report any rumours circulating on social media and those who are involved in spreading them. On 18 January 2021, a Tibetan named Tse was arrested for spreading rumors on the WeChat group about Coronavirus. Another notice on 24 November, 2020 was also publicly posted about a week ago, which said that the authorities would "strike hard" against offenders as "per law."

Sharing the photographs, teachings, and talks of the Dalai Lama is viewed by Chinese authorities as illegal and this has resulted in Tibetans being arrested in Tibet. For instance, the Chinese authorities have arrested several Tibetans from Karze (Tibet) for celebrating the 86th birthday of the Dalai Lama.

Through their extensive propaganda machinery, China claims that Tibetans enjoy the freedom of expression and freedom of religious belief in Tibet. The Chinese government has steadfastly maintained a complete crackdown on any expression of reverence to the Dalai Lama, and even the possession of his picture is criminalized.

On December 2021, China released a new regulation titled "Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Information Services." This regulation further banned all foreign organisations and individuals from spreading religious content online in China. Article 14 of the new regulations states that "Use of religion to incite subversion of state sovereignty to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party, to undermine the Socialist System, national and ethnic unity, and social stability or to advocate extremism, terrorism ethnic separatism, and religious fanaticism." Even before the release of the new regulation the destruction of 99-foot Buddha status has started on 12 December, 2021.

Recently, a Chinese court in Tibet sentenced writer and educator Go Sherab Gyatso to a 10-year prison sentence. He was known for his outspoken advocacy and activism toward the protection and preservation of Tibet's environment, religion, language, and culture.

To fulfil his dream of retaining power, Xi has been instrumentalizing laws in the pursuit of digital totalitarianism and has been implementing a series of sophisticated strategies to further control the already suppressed society. By doing this, general secretary Xi Jinping is destroying the dreams of common Chinese people and it will also further tarnish China's nosediving image exacerbated by pandemic. To achieve a truly healthy "Digital ecosystem," Chinese leaders may review the CSL and related laws, and implement a stand-alone data protection law that adequately safeguards people's rights and also give a space to breathe for foreign and domestic companies. China also needs to reconsider policies related to data localization, not just to enhance the security of the internet and preserve human rights, but also to ensure society's overall mental health and progress in the long run. Because to fulfil China's dream, China may first need to fulfil the common Chinese peoples' dreams and also the dreams of Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Southern Mongolian people.

# China drives to increase its mining industry in Tibet

Dhondup Wangmo Research Fellow

Before China invaded Tibet, natural minerals resources were found abundantly in Tibet, and Tibetans were engaged in small-scale mining which was never meant for overexploitation and economic benefits. Minerals resources like copper, lithium, and gold have now been one of the main sources of China's rapid economic development. In Tibetan cultural belief, mountains were the places where deities reside and are hence known for their sanctity.

With China's invasion of Tibet in 1949, mineral resources in Tibet especially rare earth metals have severely overexploited for the country's economic growth and neglected the precautionary measures in conserving the fragile ecosystem. Tibetan Plateau which stands at 4,500 meters above sea level and refers to as the "Roof of the world" has become more vulnerable than ever to environmental change.

Tibetan nomads who always practiced co-existence with nature, and a pristine ecology have now become a strategic resource reserve for China's economic development. Currently, the proven copper reserves in Tibet account for more than half of China's copper reserves making Tibet, an important strategic reserve base for copper resources in China.

The large-scale copper deposits of China are concentrated in the southern part of the Tibetan plateau such as the Gyama copper polymetallic deposit, Yulong Copper mine, and now Qulong copper polymetallic mine is a new reserve base for China. At the same time, the initiation of the Gormo-Lhasa railroad in Tibet has extensively reduced the cost of transportation and import dependency from other countries.

On 7th June 2020, Zijin mining announced to acquire of 50.1% equity interest in Tibet Julong Copper which is the largest porphyry copper project in China, and on 26, December Zijin Mining Group Co., Ltd announced:

"The completion of construction and commencement of phase I production of Julong Copper in Tibet. It has reserves of the copper metal volume of 10.72 million tonnes and an associated molybdenum metal volume of 570 thousand tonnes."

Not only that, but the company also plans to implement the second and third phases and is expected to achieve an annual ore mining scale of about 200 million tons, the largest copper mine in the world if the relevant government will approve.

Zijin Mining Group Co., Ltd is a multinational mining group principally engaged in exploring and mining gold, copper, and other mineral resources. Julong mines own the three mining rights: Qulong Copper and Polymetallic mine, the Rongmucuola Copper and Polymetallic mine, and the Zhibula Copper mine in Tibet. The Qulong Polymetallic and Copper mine and other two deposits are located

in the Meldrogongkar, Lhasa, Tibet.

According to the basic information of the project released by the company, the Qulong Copper and Polymetallic Mine and the Rongmucuola Copper and Polymetallic are a complete porphyry-type copper deposit while the zhibula Copper and Polymetallic Mine is a skarn copper deposit. According to field resources reserve volume reports, the three mines have 7.9576 million tonnes of copper metal volume aggregately and 370.6 thousand tonnes of associated molybdenum metala volume in total.



This map shows the location of the Qulong Copper and Polymetallic mine – USGS Earth Explorer

In the name of a major policy implemented by the Chinese government, nomads' relocation was and is forcefully practiced without the concern of Tibetan nomads to be prioritized. The company had mentioned that the exploration areas are mainly Tibetans engaging in agriculture and livestock industry. All the farmers and herdsmen in the mining areas (the Qulong Mine, the Zhibula mine, the Rongmucuola mine and tailings storage) have been relocated to the locality of the government of Gyama village, the report suggests. But the company also claims to provide food and subsidies to farmers and their families. However, Tibetans were constantly overlooked once a mining operation and exploration process finished. Besides that, since the area that contains the mineral deposit is owned by Tibetans, environmental justice should be served to Tibetans.

## I. The Company reported

The residents in the exploration are mainly Tibetans engaging in the agriculture and livestock in-

dustry. All the farmers and herders in the mining areas (Qulong mine, the Zhibula mine, the Rong-mucuola mine, and tailings storage) have been relocated to the locality of the government of Gyama Village

Provides farmland and food subsidies and pasture subsidies for farmers and herdsmen, subsidies to the families of farmers and herdsmen with living and production subsidies and fuel fees pays new rural social pension insurance and cooperative medical insurance for farmer and herdsmen

Julong currently employs 1360 workers 61% which are Tibetans. The project will offer more than 5000 jobs after it restarted production

Tibetans have no right to protect against the ecocide on Tibetan Plateau. On the contrary, Tibetan environmentalists who spoke about it and further intended to stop China from causing environmental damages were directly imprisoned. There are many Tibetans who were imprisoned for raising their voices in safeguarding Tibet's environment. According the environmental researcher, "Tibetans almost always are fearful of speaking plainly about mining, knowing that beatings, long prison sentences, and torture are commonly official responses to speaking frankly from experience."

Furthermore, this mining location is on the south bank of the Lhasa River, the tributary of the Yarlung Tsangpo (Brahmaputra)River. The Yarlung Tsangpo is one of the main rivers flowing out of Tibet into different downstream nations. Even the 110kV high-voltage double-circuit transmission lines have been connected to the mining area, providing security of electricity supply for mining development. Rivers flowing from the Tibetan Plateau are pure and uncontaminated before the Chinese invasion. However, rampant industrial mining operated in Tibet has unfortunately contaminated and reduced water quality.

In 2020, China Western Mining announced the production of the Phase Il Yulong Copper mine in Chamdo prefecture of Tibet. Yulong copper mine is the largest copper mine in China and the second-largest in Asia. According to Statista, China is the third-largest producer of copper with 1.7 million metric tons from mines in 2020 increasing from 1.6 million metric tons in 2019. The Chinese government is spreading the extreme mining industry in Tibet and it will be more intense shortly. Unregulated mining and poor environmental impact assessment measures will be hugely problematic to Tibet's environment.

Gabriel Lafitte in his book, Spoiling Tibet, he writes that instead of making Tibetan wealthy and involving them in a new mineral economy, the grand narrative of "development" by China had alienated the Tibetans by rampant, indiscriminate, gold rush mining of streambeds all over Tibet and it further intends to continue. Chinese government claims of the increasing mining industry to develop the living standard of Tibetans is causing a more social and environmental impact on the ground.

## Conclusion

Copper is usually found in the earth's crust with other chemicals like Sulfur. With a long and heavy process, refined copper will be purified. However, there is a high risk of water contamination and air pollution during this long process. Despite environmental destruction, mining in Tibet has become an important process for wealth-generating for China. China forcefully practices mining activities in Tibet without prioritizing the rights and concerns of the local Tibetans. The UN Climate Change Conference

COP26 in Glasgow highlighted the important role of indigenous communities' knowledge in sustaining the environment. Since Tibetan nomads have a substantial understanding of sustaining fragile ecology, they need to be involved in ecosystem management planning along with the Chinese government before proceeding with mining and other environmental activities.

#### II. China's dominance over the BEVs and Tibet's Environment

Tibetan salt lake is rich in minerals resources, Tsaidam Basin alone contains 33 salt lakes. Tibetans were predominantly nomads, herders, and farmers. Mining was never a permanent occupation for Tibetans and exploitation of minerals as digging the underground soil was usually unfollowed due to their religious belief in sacred landscape. In Tibetan cultural belief, lakes and mountains were always considered sacred and protected. However, the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the name of development has unusually expanded the mining industry and has adversely deteriorated Tibet's ecology.

The salt lakes of Tibet are the primary source of Lithium derivation in China. Minerals exploitation has not only threatened Tibet's ecology but culturally and traditionally as well. At present, Tibet's environment is at a higher risk of destruction due to large-scale exploitation of minerals, including Lithium, extensively used in manufacturing Li-ion batteries in the global energy transition.

According to Tianqi Lithium, 1H 2021 result, announcement made on Aug 8, 2021, says that Tibetan mineral Development Co., Ltd is planning to implement a battery-grade Lithium carbonate Li2CO3 project with an annual output of 12,000 tons of Li2CO3 to be operated in 2023 from Chaka salt lake (Ch: Zabuye), in Tibet. Not only that, China's CCTV has recently announced the discovery of a super-large lithium mine in the Himalayas. According to Global Times, the Chinese research team finds vast lithium deposits in the Qiongjiagang region of Mount Chomolungma (Ch: Qomolangma). As reported, it can become the first pegmatite lithium deposit with industrial value and the third biggest of lithium in China with a capacity of 1.01 tons. Even though the mining area is at the pre-investigation stage, glaciologist Mauri Pelto a professor at Nichols College in Massachusetts, U.S., who monitors glaciers around the world using satellite imagery, said mining the newly found lithium deposits would be an energy-intensive and water-intensive operation. Extensive mining in the region might create freshwater stresses.

Is the choosing of EVs to reach net zero-emission environmentally sustainable? For one ton of Lithium, nearly 500,000 gallons of water are used.

As Gabriel Laffite had written in his book, Spoiling Tibet, on one hand, China had banned grazing to restore the grassland and, on another hand, they are intently influencing the exploitation of minerals in Tibet which has an irreversible impact on the ecology, wildlife, and society. There is a clear contradiction, that the government's interest in the environment relies upon the benefits they earn. Otherwise, they don't worry even if the environment gets deteriorated. He also stated, that if ever there is a land cursed by its resource wealth, it is Tibet.

Chaka (Ch: Zabuye) Salt Lake is located in the Shigatse Prefecture of Tibet Autonomous Region at an elevation of 4421 m above sea level. The (Ch: Chaka) Zabuye Salt Lake on the Tibetan plateau is the world's third-biggest lithium Salt Lake and China's biggest lithium mine with proven reserves of 1.8 million tons. The lake brine is hydrochemical unique, forming a comparatively complex and

special mineral assemblage characterized by alkaline minerals rich in lithium, boron, potassium, and sodium carbonate. The lithium grade of this Salt Lake is among the second rank in the world and the second-largest to Atacama Salt Lake in Chile.

Tibet Mineral Development Co. on August 26, 2021, announced that it will invest 2 billion yuan (\$309.1 million) to develop the Zhabuye salt lake in Tibet and the project is expected to be up and running in 2023.

China not only sells EVs in its country, but Chinese electric vehicle (EV) battery giant, Contemporary Amperex Technology Co (CATL) also signed Li-battery supply to an American EV maker Tesla and many more like BMW, Volkswagen, and Geely. It will not be long that, Tibet's Lithium, chromium, copper, gold, and other minerals will further be used in supplying the world with Cars, computers, and smartphones by international brands such as Ford, Volvo, Acer, Asustek, Dell, Apple, Lenovo, Foxconn, and many more.

Even the social media marketing (SMM) news provides a similar fact of Tibet being the main source of China's lithium battery production as mentioned. The lithium resources of salt lakes in China are mainly distributed in the salt lakes of the Tibetan Plateau, and the brine types are mainly carbonate type and sulfate type. The carbonate lithium resources are mainly concentrated in Zabuye Salt Lake in the west of Tibet and Bango-Dujiali Salt Lake in the east. The sulfate lithium resources are mainly distributed in the Chaidamu Basin and the north of Tibet.

According to data from the China Geological Survey, the lithium resources in China mainly come from salt-lake brine and hard rock ore. The sources also mentioned salt lakes are mainly distributed in Northwest China's Qinghai Province, Southwest China's Tibet Autonomous Region, and Central China's Hubei, accounting for about 81.6 percent of the lithium reserves in China.

EV industry insider surnamed Zhang told the Global Times, the global lithium demand will double from the current 500,000 tons to 1-1.3 million tons by 2025. Considering the expanding EV market, domestic lithium production is struggling to meet the demand and Chinese enterprises are developing relevant technologies and are investing in exploration of salt lakes. Zhang also explained the two main challenges in the exploration of the salt lake which involved the fragile ecology of Tibet as a hindrance to building infrastructure.

Technology Roadmap 2.0 under the China Society of Automotive Engineers (China SAE) further emphasizes the battery-electric drive development strategy: by 2035, the market share of new energy vehicles will exceed 50%, the car parc of fuel cell vehicles will reach about 1 million, energy-efficient vehicles will be fully hybrid, and the automotive industry will achieve electrified transformation and China's 14th five-year plan are strengthening to breakthroughs in key technologies such as high-safety power batteries, high-efficiency drive motors, and high-performance power systems for new energy vehicles and accelerating the R&D of key components such as the basic technology platforms for intelligent (connected) vehicles, software and hardware systems, steer-by-wire chassis, and smart terminals.

Hence, we can conclude that China is enhancing the BEVs and in near future, the demand and sales will rise immensely. While, in China, 78% of identified Li resources (4.5 million tons) are brine resources and 86.8% of Li brine resources occur in the salt lakes on the Tibetan Plateau. Under such

development in BEVs production in China, lithium brine from Tibetan Salt Lake will not satisfy the need therefore spodumene will be alternated, which has a larger environmental impact. Tibet's Salt Lake has now become greatly beneficial as well as a major asset to China. At the same time, increasing demand value will stimulate further exploitation of Lithium in Tibet.

#### Conclusion

China's mining in Tibet for years has indeed caused chaos and social turmoil in Tibet. Moreover, the producer of BEVs should equally address the supply chain of Li minerals extraction and its consequences on the Tibetan Plateau. From small portable cell phones to laptops including other electronic gadgets, Li batteries are the key material that is a pre-requisite worldwide. In the name of the green energy transition, China has claimed to overrule the Battery Electic Vehicles BEVs, as an alternate solution against carbon emission but the question is, are these truly green? Do any consumer who consumes BEVs and any other devices know from where the raw material is digging? Is there a clear-cut notion among the national and international users about the environmental and social implications of the production of Li inside Tibet? Because this will protect Tibet from environmental damage.

# What Pentagon and Taiwan Defense Reports have to Say About Rising China in Asia and the World

Tenzin Tsultrim

Research Fellow

For the past few years, the security environment in Asia has been covered by clouds of distrust and suspicion. From the Doklam stand-off to the Galwan Valley clash, China has frequently broken the promises and the trusts of India.

The Pentagon report of 2021 too, confirms China's two faces toward India. The report says that "...Despite the ongoing diplomatic and military dialogues to reduce border tensions, the PRC has continued taking incremental and tactical actions to press its claims at the LAC..." This has been a long Chinese Communist Party's territorial strategy for future claims and control. For instance, in 1995, despite numerous diplomatic engagements with the Philippines, China continued to upgrade its physical presence on the Mischief Reef.

The report further added that "Sometime in 2020, the PRC built a large 100-home civilian village inside disputed territory between the PRC's Tibet Autonomous Region and India's Arunachal Pradesh state in the eastern sector of the LAC." In an insightful paper written by Ron E. Hassner, 'The Path to Intractability: Time and the Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes', the author argues that the construction of material links (for example, roads) and symbolic links (such as temples and churches) in the disputed territory would further integrate the disputed territory in question with the occupying state. For instance, in the case of Golan Heights, to support the handful of settlers and improve the mobility of its military forces, the government initiated an extension of Israel's road and water infrastructure into the Golan. Israel's bus lines started serving Golan residents in 1968. All the above activities further strengthened the ties between the disputed territory and the occupying state. Hence, it is more difficult to compromise in the future, because the disputed territory in question has been symbolically as well as materially linked to the occupying state. In other words, the construction of infrastructure always carries political significance. In the context of border governance, it carries the imposition of the state's territoriality—as both the marker of sovereign space and as biopolitical intervention. In short, by the alleged construction of a large 100-home civilian village inside the disputed territory, China has already started the process of entrenchment.

#### Taiwan National Defense Report on China

Around a few weeks before, Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense also released its annual "ROC National Defense Report 2021." For the first time, to boost communications between Taiwan and other foreign countries amid the rising military threats from China, the report was released in Chinese and English language simultaneously.

The first chapter on the security environment says that "The strategic competition between the U.S. and the PRC is impacting the geopolitical and security situations in the Indo-Pacific region. On the

one hand, the U.S. continues pushing for cooperation with regional allies and partners...In addition, mounting non-conventional threats coupling with more pervasive cross-regional and composite impacts require all countries in the region to join hands and react."

It alludes to the strengthening relationship between the U.S. and India and the need for the Asian countries to join hands against the rising aggression of China. Because, China is involved in a series of serious disputes with countries in these regions: the South China Sea, East China Sea, and India-Tibet border. On the India-China relationship, the report gloomily reads: "... The territorial dispute between them is unlikely to be resolved anytime soon." The first chapter also touches upon the People's Republic of China's expansion of geopolitical influences through its comprehensive national power and employment of economic clout and gray zone tactics to change the international order.

Both the US and Taiwan are wary of China's "assertive role in global affairs" and its "attempt to change the international order." In short, both the US and Taiwan recognize the increasing challenges posed by China to a stable and open international system.

## Why Does Tibet Still Matter?

The infrastructure development in Tibet has been one of the topmost priorities for China. *In Tibet 2020: A Year in Review,* published by the Tibet Policy Institute, Dharamshala, the book reads:

The 14th Five-Year-Plan shows China's interests in expanding connectivity between Tibet and East Turkestan (Xinjiang) with railway lines in addition to highways links. It is mentioned in its current FYP that China will 'strengthen the construction of strategic backbone corridors out of Xinjiang and into Tibet' which includes the upgradation and extension of the G219 (Xinjiang-Tibet) and G331 (Dadong to Altay) national highways as well as the G318 Sichuan-Tibet Highways. Interestingly, all these strategic highways run parallel to one another along Tibet's border with India.

Because, in the past too, after the invasion and entrenching in Tibet, CCP started building and strengthening its road networks, connecting all border regions of Tibet, including borders shared by Tibet with India. The construction of the East Turkestan (Ch: Xinjiang)-Tibet highway which was completed in 1957 passes through the Indian territory of Aksai Chin.

In the recent Times Now Summit, chief of defense staff General Bipin Rawat said that "China is the biggest security threat facing India..." He further added that "A lack of 'trust' and growing 'suspicion' is coming in the way of resolving border disputes between the two nuclear-armed neighbors."

Hence, in the future whatever happens inside Tibet may matter for the Indian security environment and that of Asia as well.

# National Park: What Is Happening On The Ground In The Name of Environmental Protection?

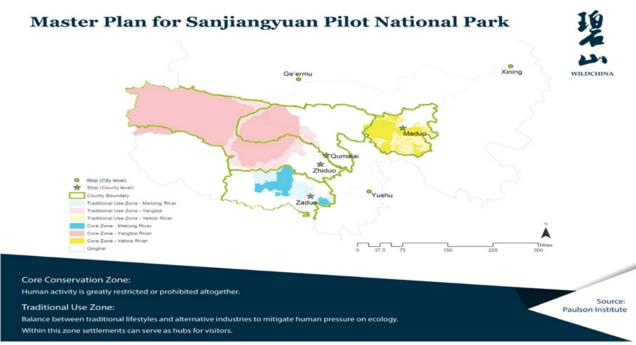
Dechen Palmo

Research Fellow

The establishment of a national park system is a major strategic decision made by the Party Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core. China has recently adopted ecological civilization (eco-civilization) as a new national strategy for sustainable development. Understanding how the new strategy differs from previous national sustainability strategies is critical to evaluating how China's eco-civilization can affect Tibet and its environment.

The two important documents of the central government on national parks: One is the "Overall Plan for Establishing a National Park System" issued by the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council in September 2017, and the other is "About the Establishment of National Parks" issued by the General Office of the CPC Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council in June 2019.

Even in the Chinese white paper on climate change response released on October 28, 2021, titled "Responding to Climate Change: China's Policies and Actions", China has carried out climate adaption and ecological restoration efforts to improve the overall ability to adapt to climate change, especially on ecologically fragile areas of the Tibetan Plateau.<sup>1</sup>



Sanjiangyuan (the source of the three rivers Yangtze, Yellow, and the Mekong)

The Tibetan Plateau is considered one of the world's most vulnerable areas to climate change. The source of rivers has been drying up and grasslands are degrading due to global warming.0 However, the Chinese government has blamed the ecological degradation of the Sanjiangyuan on the overgrazing of livestock and the population growth.<sup>2</sup> Hence, on the pretext of restoring and protecting the ecological environment of the Sanjiangyuan, the Chinese government established the world's second-largest new nature reserve known as Sanjiangyuan National Nature Reserve in 2003 and forcefully resettled local herders from their land. According to the state media, almost 100,000 Tibetans have been resettled since 2005.<sup>3</sup>

During the UN Biodiversity Conference (COP15) in October 2021, President Xi Jinping announced that China has officially established the first batch of five national parks Sanjiangyuan National Park, Giant Panda National Park, Siberian tigers and leopards National Park, Hainan tropical rainforest National Park, Wuyishan National Park etc.

This new initiative of national parks in China comes directly from President Xi Jinping's leadership as a part of China's "eco-civilization" and "beautiful China". President Xi has called for a complete national park system in China by 2030. During the conference, China unveiled a plan to expand the national parks network countrywide. "We will establish a dynamic and open mechanism and guide all regions across the country to promote the establishment of national parks," said Tang Xiaoping, head of China's research institute for national parks.

Geographer Emily Yeh notes that Chinese managers of so-called nature reserves are more interested in generating revenue through exploiting the reserve than in their protection: "Many protected areas are 'paper parks,' with at least one-third lacking staff, management, and funding. The Nature Reserve Law of 1994 did nothing to remove control of the land under protection from the government that was managing it when it became a reserve. Moreover, except for national-level reserves, it failed to provide a guaranteed source of funding for reserve administration and staffing. This has led to a situation in which reserve managers' primary goal has become revenue generation rather than biodiversity conservation".<sup>4</sup>

Although the herders are provided with free accommodation and a certain amount of subsidies, these resettlements and policy bans on grazing have had profound implications for those resettled. According to data from the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture government, 2.366 million yuan will be allocated in 2021 to purchase wildlife damage liability insurance services for 378,000 farmers and herdsmen across the state.<sup>5</sup> According to a study done by Professor Fachun Du, Deputy Director of the Institute of New Rural Development at Yunnan Agricultural University (YAU) in Kunming, China, in Madoi County of Sanjiangyuan, many of these resettled herders cannot adapt well to the new urban lifestyle, while their quality of life after resettlement is in general not very satisfactory due to high living expenses.<sup>6</sup>

These resettlement programs are undertaken without the necessary public consultation and adequate information relevant to local contexts. According to Zhao Lianshi of the China Association for the Scientific Expedition of Exotic and Rare Animals, grazing and trampling don't harm or destroy the grassland – it actually contributes to its healthy development. This shows that if not done correctly, such policies could adversely affect the people as well as the environment they aim to protect.

They also violate basic human rights. Resettlement interferes with the enjoyment of the human

rights of the local Tibetan people. Local Tibetan herders, who have lived in the region sustainably for thousands of years and have contributed the least to climate change, however, are the ones who suffer the most and are often least well-prepared to respond to the changing climate and Chinese government policies.

These programs to protect the region were done at the expense of the rights of those who live there. Human Rights Council resolutions on human rights and climate change similarly highlight this disparity, stating that the impacts of climate change "will be felt most acutely by those segments of the population who are already in a vulnerable situation."

The situation of local nomads in Sanjiangyuan does not represent an isolated case: such forced relocation in the name of environmental protection is ubiquitous throughout Tibet.

Most climate change research on the Tibetan Plateau is mainly done by Chinese scientists, and the government policies were based on these scientific findings. However, it is important to notice that these Chinese scientists work within a political system that don't allow them to speak clearly and critically. There are very few western scientists researching the Tibetan Plateau, and for those that do, their recommendations tend to have a little impact on the Chinese government. This has resulted in a large void in climate change research on the Tibetan Plateau.

## Facts about Sanjiangyuan park

- It is one of the 32 priority areas for biodiversity in the country, with 2,238 species of wild vascular plants, 69 species of wild animals under national key protection, and a high proportion of unique and rare protected species such as Tibetan antelope, snow leopard, white-lipped deer, and wild yak. Biological Natural Germplasm Repository".
- According to the "Qinghai Sanjiangyuan Ecological Protection and Construction Phase II Project Plan" issued by the state, the Sanjiangyuan protection area includes 21 counties (cities) in 4 prefectures of Yushu, Guoluo, Huangnan and Hainan in Qinghai Province and Tanggula Mountain in Golmud City.
- The town covers an area of 395,000 square kilometers.
- These water sources contribute half of the total water volume of the Yellow River, a quarter of the Yangtze River, and 15% of the Lancang River.
- There are 17,211 ecological caregivers in Sanjiangyuan National Park.
- The area of Sanjiangyuan National Park has been expanded to 190,700 square kilometers, an increase of nearly 60% compared with the pilot area.

# (Endnotes)

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# Further Restrictions on Religious Activities Continue in Tibet

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Recently the Chinese authorities in Kham (Tibet) destroyed a 99-foot-tall Buddha statue and around 45 prayer wheels. According to the sources cited by Dharamshala-based Tibet Watch, the demolition began on December 12, 2021. In China too, in the past few years, the Chinese authorities destroyed several Buddhist statues in Zhejiang, including a 92-foot statue of the Boddhisattva Guanyin in Taizhou. In 2019, a 32-meter-tall bronze four-faced Guanyin statue in Pumen Temple, located in Changchun city in the northeastern province of Jilin, was demolished because it was "too tall." According to the sources cited by the Bitter Winter, it says:

"They are afraid that everyone will believe in Buddhism, and no one will believe in the Party." This spring, authorities ordered to demolish the temple's nine wind chime pagodas because "they embodied Tibetan style." According to the believer, the government prohibits anything with Tibetan characteristics.

In August 2021, a few video clips were widely circulated on social media and mainstream media related to Kharmar Monastery, where Tibetan Buddhism is being practiced or preached. This monastery is located in the Chinese city of Linxia, Gansu province. The video clips clearly show monks and nuns being forcibly evicted from the monastery by several officers in civilian clothes. This unfortunate incident has been extensively covered by the major news media such as Radio Free Asia (Tibetan), New Tang Dynasty Television. Most of the media have given similar reports of the harsh treatment toward the monks and nuns of Kharmar monastery and have broadcasted similar kinds of footage. The prime cause for its crackdown was the monetary donation of 300,000 Yuan given by the monastery during the pandemic and later its refusal to share their income with the government-supported Buddhist Association and the local government.

From the time of his ascent to power in November 2013, Xi Jinping has initiated a sea of change within China, Tibet, East Turkestan (Xinjiang), and Southern Mongolia in curbing the little space available for religious freedom. All these drastic policy shifts towards different religions including Tibetan Buddhism show Xi Jinping's growing repression and his insensitive attitude toward the religious sentiments of millions of believers. The severe restrictions on religious freedom, particularly in Tibet, East Turkestan, and Southern Mongolia go unnoticed because of China's tight control over the free flow of information.

## White Paper on Religion in 2018

In 2018, the Chinese government released a white paper titled "China's Policies and Practices on Protecting Freedom of Religious Belief. However, the title of the white paper itself is misleading and euphemistic. For instance, in the white paper, the party-state has indirectly ordered the religious groups to support its leadership and to follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The

#### white paper states:

It also means guiding religious groups to support the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system; uphold and follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics; develop religions in the Chinese context; embrace core socialist values; carry forward China's fine traditions; integrate religious teachings and rules with Chinese culture; abide by state laws and regulations, and accept state administration in accordance with the law.

The above directions apply to every religion in China. The white paper further added that "According to General Secretary Xi Jinping's report at the 19th CPC National Congress held in 2017, China will fully implement the Party's basic policy on religious affairs, uphold the principle that religions in China must be Chinese in orientation and provide active guidance to religions so that they can adapt themselves to the socialist society."

In the 14th Five-Year-Plan (2021-2025) too, the party-state has stated that "We will implement the Party's basic guiding principles on religious work, adhere to the direction of the sinicization of China's religions, and actively guide the mutual adaptation of religions and socialist society." In short, from the past few years of development in China, one may conclude that there is growing sinicization of religions in China, including Tibetan Buddhism.

## National Conference on Work-related to Religious Affairs 2021

Recently a national conference on work related to religious affairs was held from December 3 to 4 2021 in Beijing. The conference was presided over by Li Keqiang, was attended by other senior leaders Li Zhanshu, Wang Huning, Zhao Leji, and Han Zheng. In the conference, Xi Jinping has emphasized to "further uphold the principle that religions in China must be Chinese in orientation, strengthen the management of online religious affairs, and effectively address prominent problems that affect the sound inheritance of religions in China." Since the beginning of pandemic, most of the activities have been carried out online all over the world. Hence, controlling and managing online religious affairs has been stressed. Under the new regulation titled "Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Information Services," released on 20 December 2021, all foreign organizations and individuals will be banned from spreading religious content online in China. In Tibet too, this might be effectively implemented. For instance, article 17 of the new regulation states that one "must not organize the carrying out of religious activities online, and must not broadcast religious rites such as obeisance to Buddha, burning incense, ordinations, services, mass, or baptisms, through means such as text, images, audio, or video either live or in recordings." The violation of these rules by any organizations and individuals will lead to punishments. Hence, according to Article 29: "Where articles 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, or 19 of these measures are violated...they are to collaborate with the internet information departments, competent departments for telecommunications, public security organs, state security organs, and so forth to give punishments in accordance with relevant laws and administrative regulations." With this new regulation to be effective from 1 March 2022, this author estimates that there might be crackdowns even on those Tibetans who have been engaged or seen in religious activities broadcasted or recorded in old videos.

# China Eyes Bolstering Mining Across Tibet

(Tibet is rich in natural resources including rare earths, which many fear Beijing plans to exploit without protecting the environment)

Dhondup Wangmo

Research Fellow

Before the invasion of Tibet by the People's Republic of China (PRC), mining was rarely conducted in that region. Within the Tibetan cultural sphere, mining and ground disturbance are often said to remove "the bcud [nutrition or essence] of the earth, of which minerals are [a] primary form."During the Cultural Revolutions, Tibetan people were sent to Jang Tsala Karpo, a borax mine in the high-altitude Jangtang region of northern Tibet (Nagchu). Some mining for chromium was also done using Tibetan prisoners, many of whom were worked or starved to death. In short, after the invasion, China's mining continued throughout Tibet.

Gabriel Lafitte, an authority on mining in Tibet, has divided China's exploitation of Tibetan natural resources into four periods. The first stage was that of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s when the Tsaidam Basin became the site of one of the largest exploitations of minerals such as chromium and bauxite. The second stage was that of the 1980s and 1990s, characterized by the damaging gold rush mostly involving small-scale private individuals in the rivers of Kham and Amdo, two of the traditional provinces of Tibet. The third stage of China's exploitation of Tibet's natural resources began with the large-scale mining by government organizations such as the People's Armed Police or by state-owned enterprises. The fourth stage of natural-resource mining in Tibet was for minerals like copper, which requires a large amount of electricity and a good network of roads.

## Mining without minding Tibet's environment

For many, Tibet is popularly known as the "Third Pole" and the "water tower of Asia," supplying fresh water to the lower riparian countries. Other than that, Tibet is also rich in natural mineral resources.

More than 126 kinds of mineral resources have been found in Tibet, the quality of which is among the best in the world.

According to Zhang Hongtao, vice-director of the China Geological Survey Bureau, the Tibetan Plateau has reserves of 30 million to 40 million tons of copper, 40 million tons of lead and zinc, and billions of tons of iron. Because of the reckless mining by the Chinese government, the richness of the plateau in natural resources became a curse for the Tibetan people and the ecosystem.

Under the 14th Five-Year Plan, the Chinese government intends to "strengthen the construction of coal reserve capacity. We will improve the energy risk emergency management and control system, strengthen power supply guarantees for key cities and users, and strengthen the security protection of important energy facilities and energy networks."

Not only that, but the party-state also plans to "strengthen the planning and control of strategic mineral resources, improve reserve security capabilities, and implement a new round of breakthrough strategic initiatives for prospecting." Last month, the National Development and Reform Commission revealed that China will step up exploration for strategic mineral resources including petroleum, natural gas, copper, chromium, tungsten, rare earths and others during 2021-2025.

Many rare-earth minerals are found in Tibet. Currently, the demand for batteries for electric vehicles is soaring in the world, leading to further soaring prices for raw materials. Hence the demand for lithium will increase, and lithium reserves are abundent in Tibet. For instance, the production of lithium carbonate from Tso-Ngon (Qinghai) Lake has doubled this year.

Hence, judging from the above developments, in the future, there is a possibility of extensive mining across Tibet.

Furthermore, according to the National Development and Reform Commission's "Action Plan for Carbon Dioxide Peaking Before 2030," the party-state plans to develop "multimodal transportation with railway and waterway transportation as the mainstay."

"We will continue to construct special railway lines for industrial and mining enterprises, ports, and logistic parks, and accelerate the development of high-level inland waterway networks to facilitate a shift in bulk cargo transportation and mid-long distance freight transportation from highways to railways and waterways."

In the past, mining has led to the relocation of a record number of Tibetan pastoralists. The impacts of excessive mining on Tibet's environment are manifold. For instance, mining causes serious destruction of the surface morphology and soil structures of lands and also leads to decreasing soil enzyme activities.

Mining operations also increase the release of arsenic, which is a potential threat to water quality. Since Tibet is the primary source of Asia's major rivers, excessive mining across the region may affect the quality of water flowing toward the lower riparian countries.

#### Conclusion

Despite more than 20 large-scale mining-related protests being reported from 2009 to 2014, the Chinese government has continued its mining operations across Tibet. China's mining has created irreversible damage to the land, water, and air ecosystem.

In May 2013, a mass gathering of around 5,000 Tibetans protested against a Chinese company to stop a mining project near the sacred Ngalha Dzamba Mountain in Driru county. Again in 2016, China started a gold mining operation at Gong-Ngon La Ri (sacred mountain) in Sangchu county in eastern Tibet.

The Chinese government always claims that the mining industry is operated to develop the socio-economic conditions of the Tibetan people, but instead, it has led to environmental damage and protests across Tibet.

# Tearing Down the Buddha: How Xi Jinping is Destroying Traditional Buddhism in Tibet

Tsering dolma Research Fellow

The Chinese Communist Party under Xi Jinping is determined to eliminate traditional Buddhists and Buddhism in Tibet. Even the most revered statues are being destroyed

It has been twenty years since the bombing of the giant Bamiyan Buddha statue by the Taliban in 2001. This not only hurt the sentiments of millions of Buddhists around the world but also coincided with the quick collapse of the Taliban regime and two decades of continuous chaos and conflict in Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, another giant statue, a 99-feet tall Buddha statue in Tibet was destroyed on 12th December 2021, not by the Taliban, but by the Chinese government. The statue was built by and with the contribution of the local community of Drango in eastern Tibet after securing all necessary permissions from the local Chinese government. The primary reason for the construction of the giant Buddha was a collective decision by the community. This is to invoke divine benevolence to prevent further natural disasters as the region witnessed an unprecedented number of forest fires, earth-quakes, floods, and landslides in recent years. According to reliable sources, before the destruction of the statue, the Chinese government also forcefully demolished a school that provided education to around a hundred students in the region and tore down 45 Buddhist prayer wheels.

This is utterly contrary to the Chinese government's claim of religious freedom in Tibet and is a signal for more religious repression across Tibet. The destruction carried by the two Chinese county chiefs in the region where the statue was brought down has deeply hurt the cultural and religious sentiments of all Tibetans, deepening their perennial sense of fear and loathing towards the Chinese.

In the 17-Point Agreement of 1951 which was signed after the occupation of Tibet by the People's Liberation Army of China, the Communist Party promised to respect Tibetan tradition and religion.

However, China's oppressive actions have continuously targeted Tibetan Buddhism. This has come under renewed vehemence after Xi Jinping's rise to power in November 2012, when drastic repressions have been introduced within China, Tibet, East Turkistan (Xinjiang), and Inner Mongolia. This continued persecution has curtailed the little space available for religious freedom, worsening the situation as a whole.

Tibetan culture and religion are strongly interconnected and difficult to differentiate. All the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism have a role in Tibetan culture, in terms of propagating education and preserving not only the religion but also the rich cultural heritage and language of Tibet. Tibetan monasteries as a whole, have played a major role in learning and development even before Tibet had an established a modern system of education

Tibet possesses literature that stretches back more than 1,300 years. It is one of the great literary

traditions of Asia, in terms of both its extent and influences. Also, within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition lie some of the most essential religious philosophies conveyed through oral transmission and not merely text; from master to disciple. The Tibetan philosophical perspective has strengthened the religious and political authority of those in control of educational institutions and they are thoroughly prepared to provide the requisite training in logic and philosophy. Consequently, Tibetan monasteries strongly influence national identity, language, religion, and cultural traditions.

However, the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) has employed many methods to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism not only within Tibet but also outside Tibet. In many locations, Tibetan monasteries have been demolished or restrictions on the number of monks and nuns have been severely limited.

For example, the monastic population of Sera Monastery had somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000 monks, making it the second-largest monastery in the world after Drepung Monastery. During the final seizure of Lhasa by Chinese forces in 1959, Sera Monastery was bombed and the monastic living quarters were destroyed. At present, Sera Monastery has a resident population of only about 500 monks due to limitations set by Chinese authorities.

The book, *Eat the Buddha: Life and Death in a Tibetan Town*, by the award-winning journalist Barbara Demick, mentions that currently in Chinese-occupied Tibet nobody can become a monk under the age of eighteen and all of the monks have to undergo the CCP propaganda instruction lectures. This is in complete violation of ancient Tibetan traditions.

These continued revisions are meant to replace the religious identity and cultural identity in the hearts and minds of Tibetans through harassment and torture. The effort to control the internal activities of monasteries is increasing across Tibet. All of these drastic policy shifts against different religions (other religions like Islam in the Xinjiang region have been deeply affected too) including Tibetan Buddhism demonstrate Xi Jinping's mounting repression and his indifferent attitude towards the religious sentiments of millions of believers in Tibet and throughout China.

The paper titled China: First CCP National Conference on Religion Held Since 2016 written by a dissident scholar Hu Zimo (pseudonym) on 12th August 2021 detailed how President Xi Jinping had announced plans for a more severe crackdown on religion. The author further detailed that the conference was attended by all the top leaders of CCP signaling the scale at which these oppressions had been planned. In that speech Xi had noted 'problems' that still existed in religious propagation, Xi Jinping asked for more Marxism, surveillance of the internet, and sinicization. He also demanded the prevention of what he called 'religious propaganda' on social media.

One example of how these plans have unfolded comes from one of the largest social networks called Blued, launched in 2012, which is quite famous in China within the gay community. But on 12th April 2021, an article titled 'Chinese LGBT social media app banned users from posting religious content' by Chen Tao detailed that homosexual in China are strictly prohibited from expressing their opinions on religious matters on this network. Though religious posts continue, if they are caught by the Chinese authorities, the accounts of the authors are blocked.

On 3rd January 2021, The Global Times, the CCP mouthpiece, published an article, 'Observing Historical Convention: the Reincarnation of Tibetan Living Buddha under Central Government Jurisdiction'. The author mentioned that the reincarnation of the living Buddha is meant to settle

the problem of the succession of leaders in Tibetan Buddhist tradition. In January 2016, the State Administration of Religious Affairs announced that all reincarnated lamas must be approved by the CCP. This list of reincarnated lamas also included all official 'living Buddhas.' Strangely, the of name of the 14th Dalai Lama was not found on the list. The CCP is working to bring every aspect of Buddhism under its control to ensure that only spiritual figures who have its 'approval' are allowed.

On 14th December 2021, in the paper written by Sophie Richardson, 'Chinese Authorities Double down on Tibetan Reincarnation', the author indicated that the Communist party's objective is to look to ensure full control on also the selection of the next Dalai Lama. Thubten Samphel, the former Director of the Tibet Policy Institute has written that if Beijing's appointment of the next Dalai Lama succeeds, it would rope in the whole of the Buddhist Himalayan belt under its influence without firing a shot.

Recently, on 6th April 2022, Sophie Richardson mentioned how Chinese authorities put more effort to control Tibetan reincarnation by keeping secrets from the death of an 86-year-old lama named Tulku Dawa in Lhasa from Tibet and the outside world.

Tibetan monasteries are the greatest contributors to the field of education and national identity in Tibet. Scholarly training provided in Tibetan monasteries has sustained the region's culture, religion, and language. Monasteries are providing education that ultimately brings about faith in tradition, and means and ability to prevent the disappearance of one's (endangered) nationality. This is a firm counter to Communist ideology. Therefore, the majority of self-immolations (protesting Chinese oppression) that occur in Tibet are committed by monks and nuns. This is why Xi Jinping is against traditional Buddhism in Tibet, and why his troops are tearing down revered Buddha statues.



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