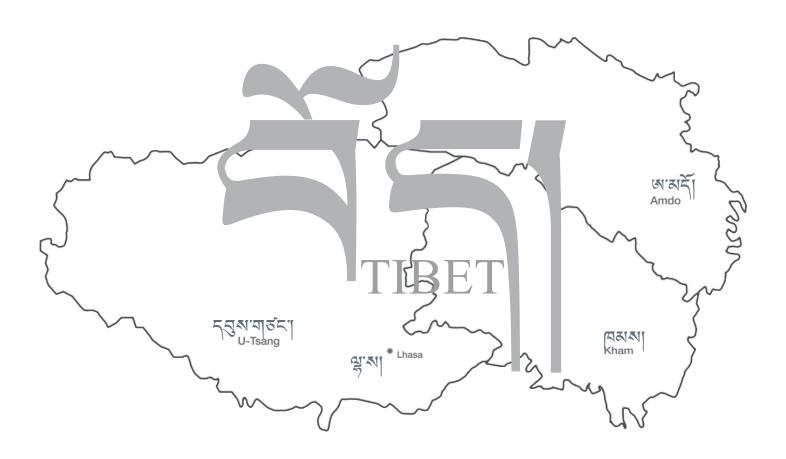
# 코'키왕과'주'기 주작'기원기 TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF

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## **ब्रामसुअभे राममस्यान्धराधिम**

#### **TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF**

श्चे वितरहें सङ्गीताचा त्रान के ने ना

**र्वेर्ध्यार्डेस्'श्रेग्या** गुरुप्यायळंता

रेगार्श्वेवरळें रेटरवश्रसम्बुवा

**अतःहेदेः ईसःश्चेनाःन।** नश्चतः वहेतः नहेः नाराणा

हुशःस्र्वेद्राः गुरुद्रमादःकुषःसर्वता

**चरःश्चरः ग्रेन् अन्या** वेंन् ग्रे श्चेन् ग्रुयः क्षयः वेनः निन्

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## קקדישק

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#### त्रह्र्याञ्चीरात्रश्च्रीत्रात्राचित्राचेत्रात्रवायवायाः द्वायीवा क्रुवादुः कुःववायी अतुवायअत्यार्केत् द्वाया

स्या हुन्द्रस्या के लुच्या छून्य स्था विभाव के लून्य क्षेत्रस्य हुन्य स्था हुन्य हुन्य स्था हुन्य हुन्

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## ৎ ব্রুবাক্তর (军服,Uniform)না প্রবরণ বরী বেশ্বুর বা

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#### ৬ বৃ ক্লু বিদাশ্বমদাশী শ্রীশেমের্ক্সবংষ্ট্রীদাকেমণ্ট্রী নেয়ুস দা

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#### याबुअया कु'वया'न्अर'र्वेयाळॅयाबासदे'न्'सूदे'न्यया'र्नेव'कुथ'बुट'न्टरदर्वे'द्विन'त्यअ'सुयाबा

#### १) ह्येराक्च त्रवाची न्यवान्ध्रात्वी क्षेत्रवावि धरार्झ्याव्यास्य विष्यक्रेत्रव्या

बर्म् क्रिंट्र चिलियात्कोट्र स्वास्ता देशस्त क्रिंट्र चिलियात्कोट्र सार्थियात्वर साल्यी लट्म क्रिंट्र चिलियात्कोट्र सार्थिया देशस्त क्रिंट्र चिलियात्कोट्र सार्थियात्वर स्वास्त्र स्वास्त

नकेरमान्त्रात्म् वित्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त्रात्मे त

विद्युं कु अप-त्रांत्र अक्षया विद्युं कु अप-त्रांत्र अक्षया कु त्रवा वी अप-त्रवा विद्या अप-त्रवा कु देश प्राप्त दित्यों के देश प्राप्त प्राप्त के त्रवा विद्या कु त्रवा विद्या विद्या कु त्रवा विद्या विद्

चैं-चित्यत्विन्य्वे-अविक्वाक्कीः अन्याव्याक्ष्यां के खिन्न क्रान्त्रा के खेन क्रिक्त क्रिक क्रिक्त क्रिक्त क्रिक क्रिक्त क्रिक क्रिक्त क्रिक क्रि

ट्यं मार्चेट चित्र त्यों ट. मार्थित की अन्य क्रिंट मार्थी से क्रिंट टिंटी इंब क्रि. तो के ख्वी क्रिंव क्रिंटी क्रिंव से प्रकास क्रिंट पर्या

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#### শ্) বউদ্পান্র্র্থিশ্ব্র্মশ্

यकुर्यात्म् वार्यात्म् वार्यात्म वित्रम् भूभित्रम् वित्रम् वित्

प्राप्ता स्थाप्ता (Army, 陆军) है। १९४२ खेंदेः ह्न ४ क्षेत्र १ क्षेत्र १ हेत् नर्ज्या सान्दा न्यापित स्थापित स्थाप स्थापित स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स्थापित स्थाप स्थाप स्थाप स

यदःश्रमामाध्याम् स्थान्त्रेमामाध्याप्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाध्याप्त्रेमामाभ्याप्याप्याप्याप्त्रेमामाभ्याप्त्रेमामाभ्याप्त्रेमामाभ्याप्त्र

विचायह्ना त्याप्तात्वर्या (Air force, 空军) वे छे त्या १८० ह्न त्या १८००० ह्र स्पे १८०००० ह्र स्पे १८००० ह्र स्पे १८०० ह्

संस्वरूपित्रा स्वाप्त विकास के व

प्रश्न अर्थे म्यानि प्रश्न मंद्री म्यानि मान्या मान्यामि प्रश्न मान्यामि मानयामि माय्यामि मान्यामि माय्यामि माय्यामि माय्यामि माय्यामि माय्यामि म

अप्तर्भ अप्तिम्भ कियानियानियाने विषयानियाने प्रकारमा विषयानियाने प्रकारमा अप्तर्भ अप

कृराबि। क्षामा नाबेमाना स्त्र-सन्देशम्माना स्त्र-सन्देशम्माना स्त्र-सन्देशम्माना स्त्र-सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्मान्त्र सन्देशम्भान्त्र सन्द

धुः विच-दश्याः देशः द्व्याः श्रीः दश्याः दश्यः (Strategic Support force, 战略支援部队) २०१५ व्यतः हुः १२ क्रेशः २१ हेन्यः वश्याः दश्याः दश्

#### (म) इषा ळबा लेवा क्रेंचा प्रथम प्रधान स्थान ।

द्यान्त्रान्त्रान्त्राक्षेत्राक्षेत्राक्षेत्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्रान्त्र त्यान्त्र स्वायान्यर्थस्य प्रत्येर् स्थाः महत्या सामा प्रत्ये विष्या प्रत्य स्थाः प्रत्य १०००० विष्य स्थाने (१०१० विष्या

चर्याक्रीः ८४.४% सैवाज्ञ्चरत्यं १९६०८०० / लूट्-सन्टा वर्ट् छेष्ट्रम्नियाक्ष्याक्षेत्रम्भात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्यस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्यस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्त्त्यस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्यस्यात्त्यस्यात्त्यस्यात्त्रस्यात्त्यस्यात

्रिस्८०० नृबुद्धाः स्वित्ता स्वित्ता व्यावित्ता स्वित्ता स्वित्ता स्वित्ता स्वित्त स्वत्त स

ક્રિયમાલ્ફ્રેસ્ટ્રિયા ક્રેયા ફ્રેયા ક્રેયા ક્રયા ક્રેયા ક્રયા ક્રેયા ક્રયા ક્રેયા ક્ર

#### মদ্বা'নই্মমা

स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्व स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्ति स्वान्त्रस्ति स्वान्ति स्वानि स्वान्ति स्वानि स्वा

सम्मिर्ट्रमाङ्गाङ्गाः अवास्त्रं अक्ष्याः स्वास्त्रं अक्ष्याः स्वास्त्रं अक्ष्याः स्वास्त्रं अक्ष्याः स्वास्त्र सम्मिर्ट्रमाङ्गाः स्वास्त्रं अवास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त् अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्रं अविश्वास्त्य

योष्ट्र स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्त स्वाकार्त्र स्वाकार्त्र स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार्त स्वाकार स्वा

र्व्वान्त्रमान्त्रम् म्वे स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम्

#### न्सना पहुना हिंद कुल निर्मेन संदे तुस सर देनास स केट की व्यान

र्देव-नर्देशः ईवा-वन्न-वि नःश्वः क्वा-वो-विनः श्रुकः न्यवः श्वः क्वा-वो-विनः श्रुकः विवान्तः स्वा-वो-विनः श्रुकः विवान्तः विन्यः क्वा-वो-विनः श्रुकः विवान्तः विवान

## न्धुन्यविदेखिण्का

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## युद्र-बॅदि'क्षे'देनाब'ग्री'नावद्र'द्वंद्रद्र'क्षे'देनाब'क्षेद्र'हुका

क्षराविवायायारी ह्यायाळे देरा

९ ससः विनः सः देगः र्श्वेदः कें देरः नससः मुनः ग्री सः नश्चु स

## **५८**-व्या क्षेत्रियात्राक्षीयात्रम् द्वेत्राचन्यत्रक्षेत्रम्

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वह्रमञ्जीत्यदेत्रभ्रेत्यो कुत्यावन्यव्यक्ते विश्वेद्वावा ४०१०)

#### (१) "बै'रेग्बर्रराध्यार्राय्यार्रेंद्र"याराहेत्रव्यक्षेरेयावात्रीं यात्रद्रित्रवेयाया

## (१) श्रु'अ८'' (१) द्वे' (१) व्याप्त विकास विकास

श्चित्राश्चें श्च्यात्रभाग्यन्तः श्चेत्राभाने स्वत्यात्रम् स्वत्यात्रम्

#### (१) "बै'रैवाबाविवा'बर्ह्यट्वासुंदवासुंदार्यः"यवायम्बराग्च्यात्ववाक्षेरीवाबाग्चींयावदार्देवास्वायार्वेदान्नेदाया

## (५) "मान्दाद्वर्याचेदावी द्वीत्राचेदायते" विमान्द्वरावी समान्द्वराची समान्द्राची समान्द्रप्राची समान्द्रप्राची

चारमा कुर से 'रेनामा प्यें न' सा क्वा के न' से माने से 'से ने माने से 'से ने न' से माने से 'से ने न' से माने से 'से ने माने से माने से 'से ने माने से 'से ने माने से 'से ने माने से 'से ने माने से 'से माने से माने से

## यानेना क्वान्यायीनाक्षेत्रयानान्यत्र्त्वाच्यात्रम्यात्रहेवायत्र्यत्रे

चासरामः अत्यक्षेत्राचन्ना क्षेत्रस्ति।

बिद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा कष्टि क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा क्षेत्रस्ति विद्धा कष्टि कष्

## (१) श्रीन्'न्नर'ल'नसूव'वष'वर्ष'तयुर्न्युर'चुर'नति'क्कु'वप'ची'श्रे'नैपाष'श्रीन्'चुषा

#### (१) रॅ'र्ऒ्न्य'क्षे'अह्यद्र'पदि'क्कु'द्रया'यी'क्षे'र्रेपाष'श्चेर्'ट्रुषा

क्षात्री कुष्ठात्र न्या क्षेत्र न्या क्षेत्र क्षेत्र प्रक्षेत्र क्षेत्र क्

तीयात्रात्र्यात्री क्ष्यायाय्यात्रीयात्य

सक्षत्रात्त्रीयात्रवाह्नी, स्वीवाह्मीयात्रीयां प्रेची, स्वीवाह्मीयात्रीयां प्रेची, स्वीवाह्मीयात्रीया

<sup>्</sup>री त्याद विस्तान्त्र के स्वान्त्र स्तृत्वा वी त्री शक्त विस्ता वी त्री शक्त वी वी त्याद वी त्याद वी त्याद वी त्याद विस्ता वी त्याद वी वी वी विस्ता वी वी विस्ता वी विस्ता वी वी विस्ता वी वी विस्ता वी विस्ता वी वी विस्ता वी विस्ता

ब्रह्मार्थक्ष्यां सेवाया के व्याप्त क्षेत्र क्षेत

| ন্রদম'ন্তুদ'স্ল'দীবামা                  | श्चे'तर्वेर्'ग्री'यू=स'ग | <b>२८</b> :श्रुंट'स'विल'चड्डगब्र'च                |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| मॅ्ट-देग्बा                             | 16. 626. 341             | बैट-क्रेब-रैग्र-रादे-रट-क्रुॅट-राष्ट्रात्य        |
| ام. <u>ه</u> ا                          | 90. 446. 042)            | बैदःकेवःदेशःचदेःददःश्चेदःशःविया                   |
|   | 90. 342), py             |   |
| <b>न्दः</b> हुरः गै :शे : घत्।          | 90,061,366               | बिट के द से अपि दे स्ट क्रिंट अप्तिया             |
| बॅदु:देग्या                             | p. 626,000)              |   |
| <u> </u>                                | 4.274,373                |   |
| र् <del>ज</del> ें र <sup>्</sup> रेग्श | 4. 343. 192              |   |
| র্বন্-ইল্ঝা                             | <i>७. २५२.१५</i> २       | बैट-क्रेब-रैग्र-धिःरट-क्रुंट-ग्र-सिया             |
| র্মন্ - ইন্স্বা                         | 4. 149. 460              | बैट-क्रेब-रेग्न-धरी-रट-क्रुॅंट- <b>ग</b> ्राषुत्व |

#### म्नात्त्र कुर के देवात्र ग्री के त्यांत्र प्रमुख्य के के देव के वा प्रमुख्य के के के वा प्रमुख्य के के के वा प

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भूतर्थाने रास्त्रहेत्त्व कुत्वना श्रेन्नाबुनानी से नेत्राया श्रेन् द्वाया श्रेते श्रेति श्रेति श्रेति से साम्य

द्रीयान्त्री चेट्यूद्र, त्याद्र श्रुद्रीया श्रि.चे.शु, द्रीया श्रुप्य श्री, त्यू र.चेट्य चंट्य विद्य क्षेत्र विद्य क्षेत्र क्

#### चित्रवाची तुवास्य स्थान स्थान

चक्रिन्द्र। व्यत्मिल, विचन्द्रम् व्यत्मिन, व

`र्देब'न्द्रेश'शु:भ्रुनश'नेर:कु'दवा'न्धर'र्लेवा'वीश'वि'द्रश'ने 'सूर'यन'रा'र्डश'स'बन्। वर्नेन्'र्ख्य'वि'क्शया'नशूर'यर'तुशःश्चेंर'र्खेन्। स्रेनमा स्र-अद्र-भिन-स्रे-इन-क्र्-वार्ड-इन-क्रे-वार्ड-इन-क्रे-वार्ड-इन-क्रे-वार्य-क्रिन-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्र-वार्य-क्रि-वार-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्रि-वार्य-क्र ब्रेश्वायते केंद्राचा केंद्राच केंद्राचा केंद्राच केंद्राचा केंद्राच केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राच केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राचा केंद्राच केंद्र केंद्रचा कें न्यरमः श्चे यम्बन्तः क्वाप्याप्यः श्चे प्रवृक्षः से व्हें याका क्वेत्र भेरका प्रत्याका भी विषय क्वेत्र भी स्वत्याप्य से प्रत्यो प्रत्या स्वत्या विषय क्वेत्र भी स्वत्या स्वत्य स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्या स्वत्य स्वत्या नगर्यहरू इता हुत बनासर्गी बदे हेवा कुल र्सेटा हुना है। से बटा निया धुया हैव रह्मा से र खुया नर्सेट ही हैव हिंद के हिंद नहिंद गान्वरुषार्ह्र्याप्त्रयान्त्रः दुवायी त्रवुषास्रो जःषसानतुष्व नक्षुः भूवा विवाय पर्ये । सेन् पर्यः नहेन् प्रस्य भूवः पर्यः क्षुवा पर्यः नहेन् पर्यः स्थाप्त वह्राञ्चीटार्ल्यर्भान्दरंगुदार्गेदे कुवार्ल्यर्भावार्मेद्रानाक्षेत्रम्भाञ्ची सबुद्राक्चियावन १६३६वेदि ह्वा ५ क्रेस १ हेदार्नेट्सासुर हुंग्याया ૄૄ૱૱ૹ૿ૣ૾ૣ૾ૣ૽ૺૺ૱૱૽ૺૹૢ૾ૺ૾ઌ૾૱ૺૹૢ૽ૼ૾ૡૹ૱ઌૹ૾ૺ૱ૹ૽૽ૢ૽ૺૹઽૡૡ૽ૼઽ૱ૡ૽ૼઽ૱૽ૣૼ૱ૹઌઌ૱ૹઌઌઌ૽૽ૼ૱૱૱ૡ૽૽૱ૡ૽૽૱૱૽ૢૺ૱૱૽૽ૺૹઌૡ૽૽૱ য়ৢ৾৾৽য়৾৽ १८३८ ড়৾৽৾য়য়৽য়য়ৢৼ৽য়ৢ৽ড়৾৽ড়ৼ৾য়৽য়ৼয়৽য়ৣ৾৽য়য়ৢয়৽য়ৢয়৽য়য়য়৾ঢ়য়ৢ৾ৼ৽য়ৢৼ৽য়ৣ৽য়ঢ়য়৽ড়৾য়৽য়৾য়য়ড়৾য়৽ द्यायः वशुः (तुः अः ने : श्रें वा अः वा है अः वरः क्रुं तः देरः वी : अदयः अष्ठदः अत्याः वर्षः ने देरः वि देरः व क्केंट्र-५८:वा५८:अंअअ:वक्केंट्र-अवद्यों कुवः।वन:५८:अंदेवाय। अ८:द्येत्विद:५८:। ५४वा:५६८:ॲवाय:ॲर्व्यः ৳বিষ্যান্ত্রিল'বর্দ্রীষ্যানান্ত্রির'বন্ধুলাষ্যান্ত্র্যার্জিব্য বহ্যমঙ্গমান্ত্রী'র্দ্রী'লার্ম্যান্ত্রের'র্দ্রি'নার্মান্তর্যান্তর क़ॖऀॱढ़ॼ॓॓ॺॱॸॱढ़ड़ॕॖॺऻॺॱढ़ॸॕ॒॔॔ॱॸ॔ढ़॓ॱक़ॖॺॱॺॎॸॱग़ऻॖढ़ॱॻॖॸॱक़ॖॺॱॺॎॸॱॺॱॺढ़ॱढ़ॹॖॸॱऄऀ॔ॱॸढ़॓ऀज़ऻॹॱॶॱढ़ॾॕढ़ॱक़ॖॱऄढ़ऻ<sub>ॱ</sub>ॾॱऄ॓ॸॱॸॖ॔ॱढ़ॹॗॸॱऄॱढ़ॸॕ॔॔ॸॱॺढ़॓ॱ र्वेन्'न'क्स्सम्। यर'वेन्स'नेव ट'क्टॅं'रेस'नर'नु'यर'यरसम्हे। ट'क्टॅंदे'र्स्न्'त्र्वेन्सेस'न'वेट्'स'क्टॅर'नववा'नदे'रे'सुर्द्र्य्या मस्या उर् सुर मर्थे हु। दुर्गे याया रूट द्वट रूट पर वह महीय है। वह सम्भेट सेट दुया द्वराया रूट पर के सुवा विवाधी का पर स्वाप स <u> दरः सरः द्वरः खेरः से दशस्यः नेवा तृत्वकृरः दर्वे या।" (वेंदः यः से दशस्यः भ्रुः सम्रुदः कुवः विवः कुवः खेर सः विश्वयः से स्वायः सेवा १८३८ वी।</u> र्वोदःवो निर्देदःदेन्यसः कुः दवादसरः र्वेवाःवोसःवेदः यः निर्देशयद्यः स्वित्रायात्रेसः सक्षेदः योदः दे। विवासरः दसरः र्वेवाःवीसःवेदः वे रटः नड्यः ग्रीः मुलापनः पुःर्र्यान बुटः प्रिना भूनयाने वे सुन्यान्यरः विवाला सर्वे नाया विवाला स्वित्रयाने या भूत्रया ग्रीया स्वित्रया स्वत्रया स्वित्रया स्वित्रया स्वित्रया स्वित्रया स्वित्रया स्वित्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्यया स्वत्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्रया स्वत्यया स्व

द्वै...्रव्य-र्थ्यत्म्, सुदुः यक्त्यक्त्यक्ष्यः स्विन्, स्वयः प्रवेशः स्विन्, स्वयः प्रवेशः स्वयः स्वयः प्रवेशः स्वयः स्

देवे.पर्झेन्। "अर्दे.प्रचेश्वाम्यश्वाम्यश्वाम्यान्त्रेयः चेत्रः स्वाम्यः स्वामः स्वाम्यः स्वाम्यः स्वाम्यः स्वाम्यः स्वाम्यः स्वाम्यः स्वामः स्वाम

(चीरमार्क्रीरमार्ट्सी ४००४) क्षान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००४) क्षान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००४) क्षान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००४) क्षान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००४, अदेशान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००५, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००४, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००४, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५०००, स्वान्त्रमार्म्स्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रम्य १ ५०००००, स्वान्त्रम्य १ ५००००, स्वान्त्रम्य १ ५०००००,

देवे श्रेश श्री स्ट्रिस मिन विचाय स्ट्रिस स्ट

#### मासुअःमा क्वु'व्या'न्अरःर्वेपा'र्वि'वृति र्वेपा'यी'की'रैपाय'अन्तरं र्वेट्य'र्नेट्य'र्नेट्य'र्स्यअःस्याया

ত্র প্রব্যক্তবাধান বিষয়ে বিষয় বি

त्र की देना होट नाबंद त्यंत्र में स्वीत का महिता होता है। स्वीत का महिता के कि स्वीत का महिता है। स्वीत का महिता है। स्वीत का कि स्वीत का महिता है। स्वीत का स

दे सब्दर्भ शुः (इन्द्रेंबः भूतः। यद्यः (क्षेः देवायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वयः स्वय

र्च डेचा डुटा ४००० जूनु में बेचा ट्रे. ४६४०-१० जूर स्वरा की त्या सुर्चर स्वरा में स्वरा में स्वरा में स्वरा में स्वरा में स्वरा में सुर्चर सुर्य सुर्चर सुर्

र्वे प्रतिया अर्क्के श्रृव् बिराक्षेव के प्रतिया के शाक्षेव अर्थे के प्रतिया के शाक्षेव के प्रतिया के स्वर्थे के प्रतिया के प्रतिय के

त्यायायायर्टी, तिर्मायाय्त्रे विचायात्रियं स्टायाप्त्याय्त्र स्टिन् स्ट

- चैर-पुत् के क्रियालका में लुया।

  चर्रा निर्मात के क्रियालका में लुया।

  चर्रा निर्मात के क्रियालका में लुया।

  चर्रा निर्मात के क्रियालका में क
- યું માર્ચિયાના માર્ચિ
- ब्रिस्यद्रक्षेत्यः स्वायः स्वयः स्व स्वयः स्व स्वयः स स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः स्वयः

वसाबीर-वासालवासाल्या की सुष्ठा हूसावसाबीर का सुरान्ता सुरान

चद्दामान्य स्वाति स्वा

त्त्राचित्रकाल्यात् स्वाप्तात्त्रक्ष्यात् स्वाप्तात्त्रक्ष्यात् स्वाप्तात्त्रक्ष्यात् स्वाप्तात्त्रक्ष्यात् स्व त्रित्रच्याक्ष्यात्रक्ष्यात् स्वाप्तात्त्रक्ष्यात् स्वाप्तात् स्वाप्तात्

इव्याहाः क्षेत्राक्षात्र स्वाप्ताक्ष्याक्षात्र स्वाप्ताक्ष्याक्षात्र स्वाप्ताक्ष्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्याक्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक्ष्याक

#### चित्रं वे अभिवायां विवाय द्वारा विवाय विवा

ॡ्यः मुः अर्द्दः व्हर्त् व्यान्ते अर्द्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्याने अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्द्वः व्यान्ते अर्वः व्यान्यः व्यान्ते अर्वः व्यान्यः व्यान्ते अर्वः व्यान्ते अर्वः

महिना ग्रीस स्वाप्त स्वाप्त महिना स्वाप्त स्व

त्र योट.सुनु.(ब.चे.पू.च

<sup>्</sup>व यह है हिन्दा के प्रत्ये हैं है के प्रत्ये के प्रत्य

त्रह्रम्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्याक्षेत्रे वित्रास्त्रास्त्रेस्याक्षेत्रे वित्रास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्त्रेस्यास्त्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्रेस्यास्त्यास्यास्यास्यास्यास्यास्यास्यास्य

त्रिकास कुन्न साहेना से स्वास्त्र स

- त्तर त्रिश्लूरी ।

  ब्राह्म स्त्रिया के स्वर्ध स्वराह्म स्वर्ध स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्ध स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्वर्य स्

नाया हे । आवश्य रुद्ध रद्दा रद्दीं बर्दिन वित्रा की शाखा रदि '''के रदेना श्वायक स्वर्ध ''' ददा धर व '''के रदेना श्वायक रुद्ध '' श्वीय श्व [मर्चे चेन्यवे नात्र अस्त्र स्वाय का क्षुत्र का त्र अस्त्र स्वाय स्वाय स्वाय अस्त्र स्वाय स्वाय स्वाय स्वाय स्वाय अस्त्र स्वाय नन्दा क्षेत्रेन्यश्चेत्र्वे क्षेत्रमञ्जून्यदे अर्देद्वदेद्वः अनम् ५५५८म्वन्यदेद्वः ग्रम्भवस्य विनायद्वाः ग्रम् *ष्परः पुषः नुर्देशः स्रवदः नृषः दशः ने पद्देः गुतः क्षूरः से : नृषः प्रवेः वार्षे : उत्रः दशः नुसः संस्थः वाहतः दशः से द्या सः क्षेत्रः से दशः से दशः से दशः से दशः से दशः से दशः से दश* <u>२वो म्बर के बर्से सूर्ये स्वीश शुद्ध वे बर्सी प्रस्त मुर्ग स्वीश में स्वीश प्रकार में "श्रेष्य प्रस्त मुर्ग मु</u> मित्रे असे स्थार में मित्रे असे मित्र क्षेत्र के मित्र क्षेत्र के मित्र क्षेत्र के स्थार के असे के स्थार के सि नहेर् सेर्दे विस्ति सेर्दे सेर्दे सेर्दे से स्थानिक स् खुनमा नममञ्जूदे वर् नेमा सुवर्षेवर्षेनमञ्चार हुन्।) भे नेनमान्दर्भ नेनमान्दर्भ निम्नान्दर्भ हुने वर्षानिक निम्न र्श्रेय:क्रुव:रेपा:म्वरुष:शॅर:पर्हेप:क्रेट्रप:रो-('ह्रेट:बेव:प्रमा:पष्ठिय:"न्टः('पॅप:र्श्वेट्र') अटिव:क्रुव:बेप:पुरवर्षेट:पॅर्ट्र| | ] (स्रार्स्टा २०११) स् रॅंट नै अप् प्रत्ये अप स्था सिर्या क्षेत्र में अप स्था सिर्य में अध्यास्य स्था स्था स्था से प्रत्ये स्था सिर्य में सिर्य में अध्यास्य स्था सिर्य से सिर सिर्य से स निहेशाययरः "नाया केदे दें त्रश्चेरानिहेना यदा धोदारा "दर "ररम् एयये राजवे करा श्चेर् वेनानी वर्के नादश श्चेर वर अहर शर्षेर मवे से से से ने न मा के से मा के से न में से न मा से से मा के से म યમ દે.જન્માર્કુતા ક્ષે.લમાત્રે સામાત્ર ત્રો માત્રે ત્રાવે કરા છે. તર્કે માર્ચ તર્કા કે ત્રાવા કર્યા છે. તે કે ત सम्रापः वृदः भ्रे ''र्वे वा र्श्वे नः से 'रे वा सः''ग्रे 'वा स्य शुः श्वरः नवे ते स्थः' सम्रापः सम्रापः सम्राप

यर. ग्रीट्रास्त्र, सुंद सूर्यक्ष स्वाक्ष्य, क्षेट्य, सुंद कीट सुंद स्वर्य सार्ष्य, क्री म्यान्त्र, स्वर्य स्वर्य

#### ब्रेन्द्रमें अयर"दर्नेन्द्री 📙

द्रंब्रःश्चेः देवाश्चानः द्रवाः श्चे त्राव्यं श्चे श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्वायः श्व "ध्यः द्रव्यः श्चे श्वायः व्यायः श्वे श्वायः व्याये द्रव्यः श्वे द्रव्यः श्वे द्रव्यः श्वे त्रायः श्वे त्र्यः श्वे त्रः श्वे त्

ড়ेचीरियो हुट ट्र.क् म्रिकाश्चर सार् हु र्ट्रू अथ अ.श्चें स्विध्य प्रस्ति क्षेत्र अप क्ष्रा क् क्ष्रा क्ष्

પીય. મૂ. સર્જમ. ટે. ક્ર્યુ. ક્રેયા સાર્કીર. યા હુવા જ્વાયા માણવા યુષા વિષ્ણું માં મુક્તા માં મુંદ્ર માણવા પ્રાયા મુંદ્ર માણવા યુષા પ્રાયા મુંદ્ર માણવા મુદ્ર માણવા મુંદ્ર માણવા મુદ્ર મુંદ્ર માણવા મુદ્ર મુંદ્ર માણવા મુદ્ર મુંદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ્ર મુંદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ્ર મુદ

<sup>े</sup> यर हे. तीयर त्वांच के का प्रकृत के तान तर तीय के कि की तीय की कि तीय की तीय

क़ॖॱढ़ज़ॱज़॓ॱऄ॔॔॔॔॔॔॔ॹक़ॖढ़ॱॸऀज़ॱज़ढ़ॴॕढ़॔ॱ"ज़ॖॱॸॖढ़ॖॏढ़॓ॱॾॕ॔॔॔॔ॱॸ॔ॱॱॱ॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔॔ढ़ऄज़ॱज़ढ़ऒ॔॔॔ढ़॓ॱॸऀज़ॱज़ढ़ॴ અઅખ્યત્યત્વ એ 'ત્રેન અન્ત્રેન ભુના અન્ત્રો' ગુન જ નાર્જે 'ગુઅ 'ત્રેના' ખેતુ 'કૃ' "કૃ'" ત્રે 'અર્જેના' નૃત "'નુ हे। ६ देवाःचादशःभ्रःदेवाशःदेदःखवाशःश्वाशःक्रदःसर्क्षदःसर्वे। देवरःदा धिरःद्वःश्वेशः(魯दःक्षेत्रः) वरः। "देवेःदेः,"दवशः क्तृरासाम्बर्धायायञ्चेत्रसाम् अत्रान् विदेश्येषाम् वर्षास्य स्वर्षाः क्ष्याः स्वर्धाः स्वरं स्वर्धाः स्वरं स्व हियावरायहाँयावरायही हियाचिराचीवरास्या क्रियाक्ता क्रियाक्ता क्रियाच्या विक्रियाचा विक्र 國之;中國入夷狄,則夷狄之)वेशन्युद्धान्यविद्या देनाश्चन्युद्धान्युत्यान्यान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्धान्युद्ध दर:ल्वारु:चर:कुर:के:कु:दवा:पःधेदा दे:पर्यःकूवाद:द्वि:पःधेद:लेश:प:देर्दे ।कु:दवा:वी:व्युर्य:खेवार्य:की:वावव:वींश:दे:केश:सहेश: ॱवैटःषेट्रॱतृॱवेंद्रःचॱबेग्राःतृःसर्देद्रःचरःसर्ळेंद्रःखेंद्रःखेट्रा<sup>५</sup> ''द्र्नेः"धेश्रःचरःद्र्यःबरःत्रः (बः"धेःचससःक्षेत्रेःक्षृःज्ञूनःचक्केद्रवेंश्रःचरःवर्देत्। « 也) बेशः यानाशः श्री । स्रोतः कें स्पेशः सूरः प्यशः सूनाः पर्वः र्से द्वशः सुनः केंदेः सेः रेनाशः ग्रीः नृत्तेः नः सुनः सुनः में निरः प्रसेषः नहरः प्येनः केंदा ''ज़ॖॱऄऺॴॸॖऺऺॖॖॏॖॱज़ॾॗॖॸॱज़ॱॱढ़क़ॱक़ॖॆॴज़ॺॢक़ॱऄ॔ॸॖॱज़ॸॸऻॗॱॱॸऻड़ॖॏॱऄॴज़ज़ॹॾॗॸॱज़ॱॱॴॸॕॱक़ॕॴॹॖॴज़ड़ॖॏॱ नविदेःदेगाःगवस्यां यानक्ष्यां नक्ष्यानिहाः कुः भेः "न्वेः"वेः "न्यान्यक्षुरां कुः देः धेवःविदा कुः वनाः नीः देनाः मवस्याने देन् श्रूर् नविदान्यस्य रेवायानाब्दाइययान्वेनाय्दरानञ्चराकुराकुर्दा दुयायळुर्यासुरक्षात्राक्षात्रेन्त्रयायाब्दान्त्रीरेवायाद्यार्याद्य 

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>वित्र प्रमा</u>त्र के प्रमाणक के स्वर्ण के प्रमाणक के स्वर्ण के प्रमाणक के स्वर्ण के स्

<sup>ी</sup> नृष्ठी है दर्भ नृष्ठी है बेश पार्च नामक दर्भ दे नृष्ण शुः कु ज्यानी शासी से नाम प्रमान पार्ट प्रदेश है प्रमान के निष्ण प्रमान स्थान के निष्ण प्रमान स्थान स्थान

मूर्याप्त्र-वर्स्य-द्रम्यास्त्र-वर्स्यम् क्रिन्य-वर्ष्य-क्रिय-क्र

स्ट क्षे. द्रमायाक्ष्यास्य विद्यास्य क्षेत्र स्ट क्षेत्र क्षेत्

७ ९ अंद:७:९) वया "नृष्ये यात्राः देनायाः चन्दाः चात्राः चुन्दः व्याः व

रेग्रायाधेत्वात्रायाधेत्र

`देर-वहेबः''क्:द्र-क्षे:रेवाबःब:द्र-प्रवे:र्हेद्र-प्र-''द्र-। ''क्:बे:बर्ळवाद्र-क्षे:रेवाबःब:द्र-प्र-वे:द्रबदः'' ''क्'खेबाक्षे:रेवाबःबद्र-प्र-विक्षुरः नः"नडर्अःग्रीःनश्रसःर्ह्वेदेःष्ट्रःशुनःर्देनाःकुःदनाःनीःसुनाश्वःसेदेःकुत्यः।वनःग्रीःन्नेःह्वसःदोः"दर्विरःवेदिःवर्शेन्।वश्वःनाहेनाःश्वरः"न्नः। "धेःनोः ૡ૽૽ૺ૾ૹૼૼૡઃવાહેવાઃશુર" "સેઃર્ಹેશઃવાહેવાઃશુર"લેશઃધઃરેઃખેત્રા વરેરઃ"ખેઃવોઃ"લેશઃધઃત્રેઃક્રુદેઃશ્નરઃખેવાઃવઃર્વો ખેંદરઃકર્જૂશઃસઃદર્વેશઃધઃ *८८*। ''शे'र्केश'''वेशन्तर्ते कुर्वानी दुतु खुवाशकी शेरकेश थृ बुवाय में श्रे। धरात कुरे भूत धेवानी शक्त विवास की सरदार्वेट शार्षित ळ्ट्.चाल्र्याश्रात्वोचश्राच्याः हे.श्राद्रेपाश्राम्बद्धस्थशः क्वाःश्वराद्वाः स्वराद्वाः हेत्रः हेत्र <u> ५२: बेन् प्रवे ग्ल</u> ग्लेंदे के देवाका इसका क्लेंद्र वार्के का क्लेंद्र वार्के के प्रवेद प् ॱढ़ॖॱढ़ॸॕ॔ॸॱॸॱॼऺॴॸॖॱॺॱॿॸऻॱॿज़ॱक़ॗऀॱॺॴॱॸऀॴज़ॺॴक़ॱॿऀॴॱढ़ढ़ॸॱॸॺॳॱऒऀॸॱॸॕऻ॔ॗऻॺॣॱॸॕॸॱॺॏॴॴॿॎ॓ॱऄढ़ऀॱॱॱऄॕॗॿॱॿॕॿॱॿॖऀॱढ़ॿॖॺॱ য়ৼ৾৾৾৾ৼ৽৻য়৽য়ড়৾য়৽৻য়ৼৼ৽য়ৠৣ৾ৼ৽য়৾৾য়৽ড়য়৽ড়য়৽য়য়৽য়য়৽য়ড়৾ৼ৽য়ৼ৽ঢ়ৢয়৽য়ৣয়৽য়ৼ৽ৼৼ৽ৠৣ৾য়৽৾য়৽য়৾৽য়৾য়৽য়ড়ৢৼ৽য়ৼ৾য়৽য়ৼ৾য়৽য়ৼ৾য়৽য়ৼ৾য়৽য়ৼ৾য়৽ देवे खें अरु कु द्वाप्य खेंदे के देवाय क्रें यह यदि यदि सम्पर्देवा हु क्रयं यदि कु दवा वी के देवाय देट खुवाय के का का का क्के.दु.ग्युत् पॅति:नु.भःभूनभः (春秋戰國時代) त्रभःन्जुनः रेगाःग्युत्भःन्जुे रच्जेन् ग्रीःन्युश्च र्द्वेन् ग्रीःभन्य र्वेन् ग्रीःभन्य र्वेन् ग्रीःभन्य राद्वेन् ग्रीःभन्य राद्वेन ळॅन्रमः (族裔、ethnicity)न्दः यदानायने वाली प्रतिकारी क्षेत्र के किला का कार्या के किला के किला के किला के किला के ૡૢઌૺૺૺૺૣ૽૽૽ૢ૾ૢ૽ૢૡૢઌૣૡૺૡઽૹૼૹૣૡઌ<sup>ૣ</sup>ૹ૽ૺૹૢ૽ૣ૽૽૾ઌૡઽૹ૽૽ૼ૱ૹૢ૽૽૽ઌૢઌ૽ૺ૽૽ઌૢઌ૽૱ઌ૽૽ૢ૽૽૾૾ૺઌ૾ૹૺ૾ૺઌ૽ૺૡ૽ઌ<sub>ૺૺ</sub>ૡૹઌ૾૽૽૽ૡ૽૱ૡૺ૱ 胡虜) त्र अवरार्स्स्री प्राप्तान् स्थानार्था श्री प्राप्तान् स्थानार्था श्री प्राप्तान् स्थानार्था श्री प्राप्तान स्थानार्थे स्थान्ये स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थान्ये स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थान्ये स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थानार्थे स्थाने स्थानार्थे स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने दशःगुर-नृःश्चरःगर्थे नुःनर्वे यः"र्थे गयः पेन्ने । नेर-रनयः ग्रीः नयसः र्ह्वेदे १२५ : नेयः र्देशः वसः नर्हेन् दा स्र्रः यसः सर्दे न्यरः सर्हेवः र्थे अ.कु.द्रवा देवा वाद्र अ.वाद्रेवा सुर वर्ष्ट चगुर हो ८ प्यांकवा अ.को ८ द्रवर | कु.द्रवा देवा वाद्र अ.वाद्र वार्वेद प्यार हु अ.को ८ प्यार कु. दनानी र्पेद क्रियः रनमः तुभः ग्री क्रियः नरके सेना सेटे रनमः श्रुर रेवा रो नमः ग्रुर में रायसेया ग्रुर निमा कनमा पेरी पेदायर सद केरा (滿清) दे.स्ट.ट्रे.क्.स्वा.द्रवा.च्रवा.स्वा.स्व.संस्था.क्.सं.च्यू.स्व.स्व.सं.च्यू.स्व.सं.च्यू.संस्व.सं.च्यू.सं. <u> २८:|पः पञ्चपः त्रपः क्षेत्रः वित्राः वर्षेत्रः क्षुः द्रवाः वीः च्यायाः क्षेः प्रदेः क्षेः देवायः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्र</u> 

र् ५९:२वामाम्म १५९:मानेमामदे पाददार्येदे क्रुंदवाचीमाने प्रेनेवामान्य प्रेन् सूरमानेवाधीदा वेद प्रकुर क्रुंट स

<sup>ी 《</sup>बेट प्रते दुं तु पी प्टेंस हुट बेद किं बे बोनश नवा कें नकु न मा केंट सुतु किं कें नशुवापि हैं नुनामा

<sup>્</sup>રુપ્તાસ્ત્રાન્દઃશ્રચ.દે.શ્રુપ્તાયા.ગ્રી.શુ.સ્ત્રાત્યાત્વ્રત્ત્રુપ.શેન્ય.શુના.તુવા.તુવે.ગ્રી.શુ.ચે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.ગ્રી.શુ.ચે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વરે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્યો.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે.ચા.વર્શે

८ अक्रव में र अ र्र र अक्र र श

५ बिट वें ते चे चे प्रमुख में भी त्रा भी के प्रमुख मा के वे में ते प्रमुख में में प्रमुख में में प्रमुख में प्रमुख में प्रमुख में में प्रमुख मे

म्याया न्र्रियम्

[মন'শ্ৰীকা'শ্ৰুম'র্মিম'র মুম'র মুম'র মার্মিম'র 🛭

#### र्षेत्राह्मतः तुःश्चेन् वालुनः न्तः स्रावशः उदः न्वाः वीः वींनः नगुनः र्वेनः र्षेन्।

च व्यान्त स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्राचित्र स्त्र स

ુ દુંત્રાંત્યત્રાત્રાભ્યાસ્ત્રાયત્રાસ્ત્ર હતાના મુખ્યાસ્ત્ર હ્યા ક્ષેત્ર ક્રિયા ક્રિય ક્રિયા ક્રિય

लूर हुर्। पर्नु भार्यः कुर कुर रहे प्राप्त क्षेत्र अस्ति विस्थान स्थान स्थान

योश्चरत्रह्मेश्वर्याः क्षेत्र्याः स्ट्रिं विद्रः हित्। ४०११) वश्याविद्रः प्रमुद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः हित्यः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्रः विद्र विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्रः विद्राप्ति विद्राप्ति विद्र विद्राप्ति विद्रापति विद्रापति विद्राप्ति विद्रापति विद

શે એમ્ કુલાવન શે નુશ્રાસ્ત્રન સુનસુન સન્તુન શુદ ને શે કે કે કે સે મારે દાયા મારે છે ન અસામદે વનું ને અને સૂમ ફુદ સાર્ફે દાનદે હન્ सर्वे: नु त्यमर विरा नु सामकुर सा शु के सार्वे ना सर "" नृ खु दु या सबर नि सून दु सा गुर नृ सून नि से सा से सून नि हैं। ५२.७. (十八星旗) वयः "रेपायार्षे स्वाराण्ये महिनार्ये पायार्थे प्राप्त स्वाराण्ये पायार्थे पायाः प्राप्त स्वाराण्ये स्वाराण्ये प्राप्त स्वाराण्ये स्वराण्ये स्वाराण्ये स्वराण्ये स्वाराण्ये स्व नर्वेशःसदेःग्रात्रसर्वेक्षेत्रःन्ग्रान्दराह्यदेः (青天白日旗) नन्द्रःह्यात्रम्भाने से देग्राशःदेदःशुग्राशःग्राद्धाःदेग्रशःवर्षः प्राप्ताः त्रेन्पः तुरःतुःसुन्पः दशः अर्क्केषाश्चारुरः क्रीशः शेः रेषाशः पावदः अदयः देषाः तुः कश्यः यन यः नृदः नृदः सुरः के द देनार्यायदे द्वापावर्यायादेशाचे वासी हो द्वाराहिता विद्यापाद्या विद्या नवे कु द्रना नी सेवे देना यादेना याद्भान हैं से हेट नी या भारत देना या हो से नय या कि ना साम है ना यादि साम स ॻॖऀॱढ़ॸॱॴढ़ऀॱॸढ़ॱॸढ़ॱऄॣॕॸॱॿॖॸॱॱ॓ढ़॔ॴॸऻॕॸ॔ढ़ढ़ऀॸॱऻॗॺॕॴॴॸऄॕॱॸॱॸॖॸॱऄॗढ़ॱऄॸॱॴढ़॓ॱऄॕॴॴऄॗढ़ॱऄ॔ॸॱॿॸॱॵॴढ़ॎॾढ़ॱॴढ़॓ॱढ़ॸॖॱऄॴढ़ॸॵॱ ''क्षे'न्रेन्यश्चन्दन्यदे''क्षे क्वेंन्यान्त्री क्वत्या ''क्षे'न्रेन्याय''वेश्वन्यार्थेन्ययन्त्री क्वेन्यत्तर् *धुद:बुद:दुदे:दद:बे:देन्थ:देन्थ:देव:कु:बे:देन्थ:ग्रे:देन्थ:बेश:बेश:बेह्य:पर:वन:वश्रूर:वु:दर्गेश:''वदे:बर्देद:वर्हेद:बर्हेद:वर्हेद:वर्हेद:बर्हेद:वर्हेद:बर्हेद:वर्हेद:बर्हेद:वर्हेद:बर्हेद:वर्हेद:बर:बर्हेद:बर* ङ्क्षानःगुद्धः के गारःमी अन्दे नका ग्रारःमा अवः विस्तरमहिनः विस्तरमि "ग्रारःमेविः वराष्ठ्रवान् । विस्तरमि । सम् नःविनाःनाहदःदशःभेत्। क्रुःदनाःमशःदेनाशःक्रुतः।वःदेनाःहुःद्रवेःनःद्रेःनदेन्दर्भशःदेशःयुनःःभेःयुन्।"देशःदरः। "दःक्रिंशःदःवेदःकरःदशः न बुर-''श्रे देनार्य''बेशपरि धेनापबुदे निर्देश दें निर्देश केर सेंश केर सेंग केर दिन्त में मार्थ केर सेंग स्वीता हो क दसलियासी देवासाय "द्रही लिय" दर्भासा सक्त हिन्" यत्ववाद्या सी देवासादे प्येसासया केर "क्रुयाविनाया से प्रत्य लु ना" र्से राजराही नाया दे:धेवा<sup>ग</sup> (र्नेट:वर्दे:ह्वेटा २०११)

र्मित्तुं नाम्यानाते में अवित्तर में अवित्तर के के वित्तर मित्र के का मित्र मित्र

#### क्वेंद्रसः से स्पर्देत प्रदे १५५ : ने सः से ना से उत्तर है ना की ना की साम है ना से ना का साम से दी

ने सर्हरमा शुःकु द्वा श्रेन्याबुर वीमा "श्रेन्यमा यह सहसा विमान श्रुवमा ने हुव महीन प्रविद स्पन्य हिना हरा है स નક્ષુત્ર-વ-"૾૾બે શ્રેત્ નુઅને નાફ્રક્ષ સહસ્થય વર્દેના ગ્રુય શ્રેત્ર એના વેત્રન્તુ ''જેંચ સુનચ''ત્રન્ ''વેંત્ સૂત્ર 'બેના સ્થેંન'નો વેંન્' કેન્ सम्प्रत्यम् मार्थसः गृतः मुः क्वाः श्रीनः मात्नः मीर्थः मुदः हेवाः वार्तेनः स्थाः स्थिनः योः "सेनः भ्रमः स्थिनः वीः श्रीनः वार्थः" हैः कृष्यसः कुः तवाः नस्यः षर्यात्रमाञ्जूनाव्यर्थे, स्वरं क्षेत्रमाञ्च प्राचीमाचीमाचीनाव्यर्भनाधीनाक्षेत्रमाचीनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चेनाव्यर्भनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चनाव्यर्भनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चनाव्यर्भनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चनाव्यर्भनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चनाव्यर्भनाक्षेत्रमाञ्चनाव्यर्भनावयः कुॱदवा'वीॱऄॣॕव'वाऄॕढ़ॆॱस'सवा'वाडेवा'सु'स'वाऍवास'ख्रास्य'ङ्गस्योधेवा'स्ट्रस्य ह्यूस्य विद्वास्य क्षेत्र'क्षे શ્રેષાનાફેમ:ર્સુંદ:ગુષાનાવે:ર્સુંનાનુવે:ર્સું ; કુનાનાનાના વેદ્દાશેષાર્વેદાયાના સુંદાનાનુદ સાર્જેન્સ કુનાનાનાન दशः विशः प्रेंदः श्वें रः वरः रूरं प्रदेवः श्वेरः परः श्वेयः वः प्रदश्य वर्षा दर्गेदः श्वेः विषाः श्वेयः वर्षा वर्या वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्या वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वर्षा वरव ર્સે 'વૉર્કેન્' વસ્' છેન્' (૧૦૧૧ ૧૧૬'એન્) ર્ફેસ્સે 'ર્ફેન્સે' કેન્સે 'કેન્સે ક્ષેત્ર' વ્યક્ષિક પ્રાપ્ત કોન્સે સામાન કો 'વેલ્સે કોન્સે सर्देद'वर्देद'षेद'द्र| दे'द्रवार्षेद'ळदंद्रे'''भ्रेदे'देवाश ग्रेश'वर्द्यवादर्वेश'यदे'देद'र्देद'र्द्द्रवेश'देश'ळे'च'वेवा'षेद'य'''वश'वावद'वाद'षद' *ᠵᡪᠵ*ᡃᢍᠵᡃ᠋ᢩ᠆ᡩᡃᢍᠵᡩᢅᢋᡃᠵᢩᢅᡷᡧᢧᢧᢆᡃ᠋᠋᠋᠋ᠦᢌᢋ᠍᠕᠂ঐᢩ᠂ᡎᢓ᠅ᡶᠳ᠉ᡱᡎᡆ᠂ᠽᡲᡪᡃᡜ᠕ᢣ᠇ᢙᢆᠬᡃᢩᡥᢐᠾ<sup>ᢇ</sup>

વર્ષ્યા ત્રામાં ત્

<sup>्</sup>त ४०१० ब्रॅ.च्यान्त्रेयं च्यान्त्रेन् त्यां स्त्रेन् त्यां यावन् द्रेव् स्वायात्व्यस्त्रेन् स्वाप्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्यान्त्रम् त्याची न्याची न्याची

धीत्रत्वरः "हः स्टः वीशः हुरः विस्तान् स्टः वीशः विवादाः" सदेः प्रथः प्रविदः वीतः प्रविदः वीतः प्रविदः विदः विवादीशः वि

#### বুল্'বা অচুল্'বৰ্ষ্থ্ৰম্

यद्वःक्तिलः इटः खेच्यान्यक्ष्यः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व द्वान्त्रः व्यान्त्रः व्यान्तः व्यान्त

जमामायन में किलावन कुंकि सम्मान कुंम कुंभ किलावन कुंकि मामायन कुंकि सम्मान किलावन कुंकि सम्मान किलावन कुंकि सम ज्यान कुंकि किलावन कुंकि कुंकि कुंकि कुंकि किलावन कुंकि सूर्य स्थान कुंकि स्थान कुंकि कुंक

<sup>ા</sup> કુવાનાય માત્રા કુત્ર કુમારી ત્રાવા કુર્યો કુચા કુર્યો કુચા માત્રા કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર્ય કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર્ચ કુચા માર

च्यान्द्रेयान्त्री मुर्जिन्यस्त्रीत् स्त्रीत् स्त्रीत् स्त्राच्या स्तर्भाव स्त्रीत् स्

तह्ना बिचा त्रम्यकाश्चर हुटा हे क्षेर्र चेका ब्रान्य च्रीति लीका ची प्रचार क्षेर्य क्षेर क्षेर्य क्षेर क्षेर

लीयागा, पुं. हं त्रश्च : च्यश्चिट शहे प्रशक्च चट चीट लूट्ट जो चे त्यश्च प्राप्त प्राप

हेशावनाने "श्रे नबेदि र्स्नावना" यान्त्रेश संस्ता "नह्म बेदा स्तान्त्रेश स्त्रा स्त्रेश स्त्रा स्त्रेश स्त्

<sup>. (</sup>內人黨) વર્સ્સના-દેશ, વૈદ્યા કુર્યાન્ય માર્કુ કુર્યાન વર્ષિ કુર્યાન કુર્યાન કુર્યાન કુર્યાન કુર્યાન કુર્યાન કુ એ વર્ષ્યાન કુર્યાન ક

यद्दर्भःयःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्रःचित्र स्थायःश्रुदःश्रुतःचित्रःचित्यःचित्रःचित्

(बै'हेद'रुदे'न्स्रम्सपाई'सबुद'र्छियास'ग्रीसपाई'स्त्रुप'त्रुस'रियापाबुम्'न्स्रुम्'य्युम्'सेद'श्रेद'र्श्वेया) १०१२ वेदे:ह्व २ हेस' १ हेद'सेदे'र्स्क्रुम्' र्स्क्रिया

स्वास्त्राची के कि स्वास्त्र के कि स्वास्त्र के कि स्वास्त्र के कि स्वास्त्र के स्वस्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वस्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वास्त्र के स्वस

# ळॅंअ'न्न्'वन'वे अ'ठव'नु'नेंअ'वर्दे वृ कु'वन'नवुन'ने अ'नें न्'वन'ने न्'नवुन'नर्रन'वने न'न्निन्ने न्

প্রমান্ত্রিবাদান্তর র্মিনা

यश्चावश्वरावश्चावश्चावश्चावहुट्यूह्ट्यूच्या देर्स्यापट्राह्ट्यां स्ट्रहेश्चर्य्यूस्युवाश्चर्यस्यां स्ट्रिय्यां स्ट्रिय्यां स्ट्रहेश्चर्यां स्ट्रिय्यां स्ट्रियां स्ट्रिय्यां स्ट्रिय्यां

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र्षेत्रद्वर्थार्केशव्यन्तर्याचीन्द्रभेरकेन वेद्वरण्यास्याद्धराधीर्यायायात्राह्मप्रात्त्वरादेवर्षेत्रभावत्याद्वर

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# Section II: English Articles

# Treaty-making power of the Tibetan Government: Evidences from Declassified Documents of British India

Tenzin Desal, Senior Fellow

The author of this piece has the greatest pleasure to visit the National Archives of India for two weeks to examine archival materials related to Tibet in the month of June 2022.

Considering the scale of voluminous materials related to Tibet, I have restricted my study to a period during which Tibet engaged in a tripartite agreement with British India and the Republican China.

This piece is drawn from cursory reading of materials that runs into thousands of pages from the period of 1910-1915. Examination of these materials are a part of my broader project to research on the cartographic history of Tibet.

This period is deeply fascinating for historians as during this period, most Asian countries are starting to negotiate with the terms of global modernity. One of the key aspects to this form of modernity is how states (governments)-society are organized. This necessitates intellectual debates surrounding the search for a self as a modern nation-state and what relations should the citizens have with the state. And corollary to this -- the question of belonging and separateness; and the question of self-determination and occupation.

In lay man's terms, it is to say that many countries are gaining independence from numerous empires. Tibet at the time is surrounded by three major empires. They are Qing Empire ruling China, British Colonial Raj in India and Czarist Russia. As these empires fell apart, many countries started to gain independence as a modern and sovereign nation state.

#### Tibet as a Galactic Polity

Historians and anthropological historians of Tibet have long been engaged in making sense of how Tibetan government is organized in pre-modern Tibet. Geoffrey Samuel (1993) has described Tibet as a ritual state, and building on earlier scholarship writes that this "ritual state with an exemplary centre was surrounded by regional administrations, which replicated the structure and role of Lhasa and the rituals of the *Ganden Phodrang* government." This is a neat scheme if we can consider such organization. In other words, the modern notions of state, territory, and governing mentality doesn't map in linear fashion with how states and societies were organized before the advent of modernity.

However, the archival materials have led me to reconsider this conceptual framework at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> Century and I am hoping to propose new lines of arguments. I am supplementing these materials over Tibetan textual sources that has not been seriously taken into consideration for this period of Tibetan history. These I shall present in my future research publications.

#### **Treaty Making Power of Tibet**

Received common knowledge on Simla Agreement of 1914 has restricted our knowledge to a par-

ticular and eponymous line drawn by Henry McMahon. This line has remained a bone of contention between China and India after the occupation of Tibet. Republic of India's approach to this has been carefully studied and two Indian scholars have provided detailed accounts on this crucial subject in the past couple of years. Most notably two works by the former Indian ambasaddors to China.

In this piece, I will not examine these materials from an international legal perspective. This has already received a respectable scholarly attention. That is to say, whether Tibet as an independent country has a legal treaty-making power in international law.

To make this case, I am reproducing here two crucial documents which were at the time classified as either secret or confidential. The present political status of Tibet has compelled us to advocate to the international community regarding the status of Tibet in the larger global history. Yet what is fascinating about this document is that an unparalleled imperial power was advocating on Tibet's behalf – albeit in their secret communications – regarding the treating-making power of Tibet.

Within the archival materials on Tibet on this period, most fascinating are the letters sent by Charles Bell to the officials in Simla and beyond. He comes across as an astute, informed and extremely knowledgeable frontier diplomat. At multiple occasions, he is reprimanded by authorities in higher position for advocating on behalf of the 13th Dalai Lama and his government. One such instant is the 13th Dalai Lama's proposed visit to England to petition the King. The Tibetan letters, translated by Charles Bell reveals the desire of the 13th Dalai Lama to meet with the Viceroy and then to take his journey further to England to petition the King.

Corresponding notes to archived letters and telegram are hugely insightful as it reveals the mechanism of imperial government. It also reveals empire's intention as many of these letters were exchanged assuredly in confidence.

This is first of the letters as sent by Charles Bell on the eve of the Simla Agreement. Here Charles Bell as someone who is imperial eyes and ears in Tibet is broaching the subject of Tibet's ability to enter into a treaty.

#### Content of Letters

These are letters exchanged ahead of the Simla Agreement. Here, considering the geopolitical reality at the time, British government in their internal communications are making a case for Tibet and it rights to enter into treaty with another country.

Consider this letter dated 26th July 1913 sent by the Political Officer in Sikkim, Charles Bell to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Henry McMahon. Here Charles Bell is thinking about contingency plan if the Chinese government failed to "come to senses." Then Bell suggests that the British government should be prepared to "give active assistance to the Tibetans in resisting the advance of the Chinese and in establishing and maintaining the independence of Tibet."

Dated Yatung, Tibet, the 26th (received 31st) July 1913 (Very Confidential).

From-C. A. Bell, Esq., Political Officer in Sikkim,

To—The Hon'ble Lieutenant-Colonel Sib A. H. McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

I am venturing to trouble you with a few suggestions about the proposed agreement with Sub-enclosure to No. 446 in Secret E., May 1913, China regarding Tibet. I received a copy of the Revised. Draft Agreement from the Foreign Office a few days ago.

2. During the negotiations we are sure to have to yield some of our conditions to Reason for extra conditions.

Chinese arguments. We should, therefore, insert in our Draft Agreement more conditions than we really require, so as to be able to yield some points in the bargaining and still get the essentials through. This is what Russia has done with success in her recent Agreement regarding Mongolia, and is, I think, the only way to obtain a satisfactory Agreement from the Chinese Government.

Extra conditions.

- 8. The extra conditions which I would propose are briefly as follow:—
- (a) A British Agent at Lhasa with an escort of 300 soldiers. Government have not included this condition in the present Draft Agreement and are, therefore, presumably unwilling to press for it, but may possibly be willing to include it in the first instance, abandoning it subsequently as a concession to Chinese objections.
- (b) A condition, by which British officials can travel freely in Tibet, as suggested in my \* Pro. No. 336 in Secret E., May 1913, Nos. 261-502. 1913. Such a provision would enable us to acquire useful military and other information, e.g., as regards trade restrictions. We could tell the Chinese that this is necessary, since, after stopping one illegal interference with trade in the past, another has always arisen. As instances of these we can quote the monopoly in wool and yak tails, and the illegal trade dues and restrictions at Phari, at Khambajong, and on the Garhwal Frontier and elsewhere in Western Tibet. We do not desire permission for British or Indian traders to travel freely in Tibet, as fresh trade interests of that kind would unduly increase our responsibilities in the country.
- (c) We should stipulate that Article IX (a), (d) and (c) of the Lhasa Convention of 1904 should apply to China in the same way as to Foreign Powers.
- (d) A provision to the effect that neither China nor Tibet will enter into any agreement regarding Tibet with the authorities of any Foreign State without the consent of the British Government.
- 4. Whether all these extra conditions are eliminated during the negotiations, or whether some are finally incorporated in the Agreement, we should, in conjunction with the measures recommended in the next paragraph, secure a satisfactory Agreement.

5. Our experience of the last ten years has, I venture to suggest, abundantly proved the well-known saying that China yields nothing to reason, but everything to fear. We shall never obtain a satisfactory Agreement by discussion alone. The Peking Convention of 1906 and the Tibet Trade Regulations of 1908 are clear instances of this. The Lhasa Convention of 1904 was a good one, because there was force behind it. If, therefore, the Chinese Representative does not come soon, and if the Chinese Government does not agree to the essential points of the Agreement without unreasonable delay, we should threaten to deal direct with the Tibetans in such way as we may deem necessary. This will in all probability bring the Chinese to their senses, for we could interpret it later on, if necessary, by supplying arms and ammunition to the Tibetans and by sending troops to support them.

The revised draft agreement + embodies the policy of the Memorandum t of the 17th August 1912 to the Chinese Government and † Sub-enclosure to No. 446 in Secret E., May 1913, we can hardly at this stage start making new Nos. 261-5.2. Mr. Bell says that during the demands. 1 Sub-enclosure to No. 184 in Secret E., February 1913, Nos. 170-509. negotiations we are sure to have to yield some of our conditions to Chinese arguments and that we should therefore insert in our draft agreement more conditions than we really require so as to be able to yield some points in the bargaining and still get the essentials through. But this view does not appear to be correct. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to abandon any of the provisions of the draft agreement. If China will not accept all these provisions, His Majesty's Government will consider themselves free to take whatever course might seem necessary for protection of their interests and a warning to this effect has already been given to the Chinese Government—see Nos. 433 and 505 in Secret E., February 1913, Nos. 170-509.

If the forthcoming negotiations result in a satisfactory agreement, His Majesty's Government propose to approach the Russian Government and to endeavour to secure sufficient freedom of action to enable His Majesty's Government to ensure that the agreement is carried out. One of the points the Russian Government will be asked to acquiesce in is the right of the British Government to have an Agent at Lhasa, which is one of the demands proposed by Mr. Bell.

In the event of China refusing to accept the proposed agreement, His Majesty's Govern-See No. 425 in Secret E., February 1913, Nos. 170-509. ment will no doubt be prepared to give active assistance to the Tibetans in resisting the advance of the Chinese and in establishing and maintaining the independence of Tibet.

In the circumstances no action appears to be required on Mr. Bell's demi-official letter. T. W.,—6-8-13.

I do not think any action need be taken on Mr. Bell's suggestions. Taking them seriatim, as to (a) the question of a British Agent at L has a has been disposed of and we shall no doubt insist on having the option of sending a representative;

- (b) the question of British officials travelling in Tibet can be settled apart from China;
- (c) there is no necessity for this provision.

Now consider this crucial and important reply from the Great Britain's minister in Peking. J Jordan held this important and influential post at the time. He makes a case for Tibet that will resonate with many advocates of Tibetan movement. It is crucial that it is cited here in verbatim (See the letter from the archive):

In connection with the implication that Tibet had no treaty-making status, it may be mentioned that, apart from the Lhasa Convention of 1904, Tibet has concluded treaties direct with Nepal, Bhutan and Kashmir. If the Chinese commissioner refers to the matter in the forthcoming negotiations, we will have our answers ready.

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As to clause (a) of Article IX of the Treaty of Lhasa inasmuch as we propose to allow a Chinese representative at Lhasa, we can hardly insist that no portion of Tibetan territory shall be "taken in occupation" by China. Moreover, so long as we recognise Chinese suzerainty, we can hardly expect China to agree to conditions which places her vis-à-vis Tibet in a worse position than the British Government. As to clause (b), the whole aim of the negotiations is to prevent Chinese interference in the internal administration of Tibet. As to clause (c), the provision proposed would obviously exclude a Chinese representative at Lhasa.

As to (d), recognition of Chinese suzerainty implies that Tibet has no power to enter into treaty relations with foreign States, and it is difficult to see how China could make treaties about Tibet with another foreign Power without infringing the spirit if not the letter of the Tripartite Agreement—once it is concluded.

L. W. REYNOLDS, -9-8-13.

There is no need for action at present. The suggestion that we should ask for more than we want is one that holds good in all cases of international negotiations.

A. H. McMahon,-11-8-13.

No. 166.

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LETTER FROM HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, PEKING, DATED THE 31ST MAY (RECEIVED 8TH JULY)
1913.

Forwarding copy of a despatch which he has addressed to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs reporting on an interview with the Minister for Foreign Affairs in which the Chinese Government were urged to accept the proposal to negotiate a tripartite agreement in India with regard to Tibet.

The substance of this was communicated to us at the time by telegram and nothing beyond routine action is required. In connection with the implication that Tibet had no treatymaking status, it may be mentioned that, apart from the Lhasa Convention of 1904, Tibet has concluded treaties direct with Nepal, Bhutan and Kashmir. If the Chinese Commissioner refers to the matter in the forthcoming negotiations, we will have our answer ready.

(His Excellency has seen the present despatch. On return of this file Simla Drawing
This should be done urgently.

A. H. MoMahon.

Office will be asked to reproduce the map and supply us with copies which will be distributed.)

T. W.,-10-7-13.

L. W. REYNOLDS,—10-7-13. A. H. McMahon,—11-7-13.

# Transference of Treaty rights

India gained its independence from British colonial rule in 1947. The question over the territory that was discussed during the Simla Agreement came to the fore. The Government of India communicated officially to the Tibetan Foreign Office as follows:

The Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that it is the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements are reached on matters that either party may wish to take up. This is the procedure adopted by all other countries with which India has inherited treaty relations with His Majesty's Government.

#### British Government Abdication of its Role and Responsibility

Until 1995, the British Government's position on Tibet has remained ambiguous and is reflected in policy statement in October 1995:

Successive British governments have consistently regarded Tibet as autonomous, although we recognise the special position of the Chinese there. This remains our view. We have stressed to the Chinese authorities the need for fuller autonomy in Tibet.

However, we do not regard independence for Tibet as a realistic option, as Tibet has never been internationally recognised as an independent State, and no member of the UN regards Tibet as independent." ('Government Policy on Tibet', a statement from the Foreign and Common-wealth Office, October 1995.)

This stands in contrast to the earlier letter in this piece from the archival materials on Tibet.

#### Miliband's Statement in 2008

In 2008, the former Foreign Secretary David Miliband issued a ministerial statement stating that the Britian regarded "Tibet as part of People's Republic of China." And he emphasized that Britian's earlier position that China had "suzerain" rights over Tibet was an "anachronism" and "outdated".

#### Implications of Miliband's Statement

Writing for the Byline Times in 2008, Chris Law who is currently an MP in the British Parliament, and who had also served as the President of the Tibet Justice Center wrote about the implication of this statement:

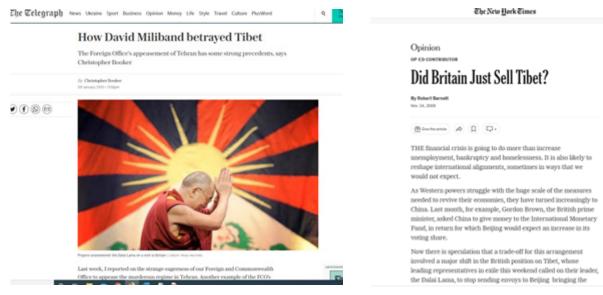
This position was developed in the early 20th Century, when Tibet was a strategic buffer state between India and China. Tibet was in fact independent until 1951. Britain and Tibet concluded treaties including the 1914 Simla Convention, one with repercussions today: it ceded to India what is now Arunachal Pradesh, which China still covets as "South Tibet".

#### He then writes:

For China, Britain's 2008 ministerial statement was an unalloyed victory. Its effect was to single-handedly vitiate a primary argument for Tibet's autonomy today: its distinct legal status. The top strategic priority for Beijing's Tibet policy has long been to address the legitimacy deficit of its territorial claim there; now Britain — the only major power with treaty relations with Tibet — had endorsed that claim. Even better for China, it had conceded nothing in return.

According to the analyst Robert Barnett, writing at the time for the New York Times in 24 Novem-

ber, 2008, he described Miliband's statement as "China's most significant achievement on Tibet since American support for Tibetan guerrillas was ended before Nixon's visit to Beijing."



Screenshot of a piece in UK's Telegraph

Screenshot of a piece in the New York Times

## Further Research and Concluding thoughts

These materials although have been considered by serious scholars and has produced two crucial volumes examining this period in Tibet's modern history. The author feels that further examination will yield more evidences to strengthen Tibet's case during this period.

With regards to David Miliband's monumental ministerial statement at the time, the author is yet to come across an official position of the CTA on this statement and historic shift in British Government's position on Tibet.

Since this piece is written under an approaching deadline, the author feels that further research will be useful to examine shifting positions of various governments and international bodies on Tibet. It is also vital to have materials at disposal of the *Kashag* to issue a reasoned and well researched statements when we could see a discernable change in position.

# China and its illegitimate authority over Tibet

Tenzin Lhadon, Research Fellow

A leaked video footage from Lhasa showed a distressed, sobbing woman as one could hear the laments through the tears of another who was shooting the video. The women were clearly distressed as they witnessed an obscenely large projection on the walls of the Potala Palace that read "Celebrate the CCP's 100th Founding Anniversary" in Mandarin. The day marked the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Incidents like these are an exhibition of extreme disrespect since the Potala Palace is a holy shrine revered by the Tibetans. However, they also represent Beijing's policies of persecution of the land, culture, the tradition, and the identity of the Tibetans. The Communist Party went even further by making cultural assimilation the central tenet of its policy for managing minority populations.<sup>1</sup>

China has perhaps the longest surviving authoritarian regime in the CCP. Its policies have heightened in both scope and tenacity towards maintaining a sense of stability in China. Andrew J. Nathan argues that China has transitioned from a totalitarian to a classic authoritarian regime that appears increasingly stable. Other scholars have discussed the increasing prominence of China and the policies of building the legitimacy of the CCP. However, this articles focuses on how Tibetans have challenged that legitimacy through which China governs Tibet.

On the surface, China has already established its control over Tibet by retaining complete jurisdiction over the region. China not only governs Tibet, but it has also made numerous false claims in the international community of its legal rights over Tibet. Today, the international community is increasingly waning towards China's false claims over Tibet. However, the Government is forced to reckon with frequent protests against its presence in Tibet. These challenges against its legitimacy are met with increasing regressive policies. Although the Communist Party of China has waged a powerful propaganda to claim as a legal governing entity over Tibet, political authority to govern is drawn from the consent of the governed. A regime that survives on excessive use of coercion is fundamentally unstable since it lacks societal support which can undermine the power and authority of any State.<sup>2</sup>

However, China continues its rise as a global player. In particular, its ambition stems from the obsessive determination to bring "stability" and "unity" in regions like Tibet. China's dominance and assertion as an international force draw strength from its booming economy, which is on track to become the largest in the world. Scholars presume that China seeks not only to become a great power but to be able to shape the 21st century, just like how the US shaped the 20th.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless,

T Keith Zhai, China's Communist Party Formally Embraces Assimilationist Approach to Ethnic Minorities, The Wall Street Journal, Oct 8, 2021, accessed on November 28, 2021 at 3:40 pm URL: https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-communist-party-formally-embraces-assimilationist-approach-to-ethnic-minorities-11633702544

<sup>2</sup> Zhu, Yuchao, "Performance Legitimacy and China's Political Adaptation Strategy," *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 16 (2011): 123-140, page no 124

Doshi, Rush (2021), The long game: China's grand strategy to displace American order, Brookings, access on 11/19/2021 at 10:52 am, URL: https://www.brookings.edu/essay/the-long-game-chinas-grand-strategy-to-displace-american-order/

the CCP has been questioned over its internal and external policies, in particular with regard to the human rights situation within its borders. The answers to these questions will be paramount in deciding whether the rest of the world accepts China as a responsible global power. The reality is that the repression in Tibet under Xi Jinping's rule has increased. There has been an intensified effort to coopt and assimilate Tibetans into Chinese society while pushing for the dominance of Mandarin Chinese over Tibetan in everyday public life.

#### **Legitimacy Crisis in Tibet**

The legitimacy of the Chinese Government has been repeatedly called into question by Tibetans in Tibet. The 1959 National Uprising in Lhasa, the mass protests between 1987–1989, the 2008 uprisings across Tibet and a series of self-immolations calling for, among other things, the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet; all of them representative of Tibetans resentment against China's presence in their land. The crisis of legitimacy is further evident from the deployment of both the largest number of the PLA forces, and the single largest unit of China's paramilitary forces, the People's Armed Police (PAP) in Tibet. The PAP's mobile detachments are posted across the various provinces of China, with the maximum deployment of forces in Tibet and East Turkestan. There are six mobile detachments in Tibet.¹ In a move to upgrade the PAP's paramountcy in Tibet, President Xi Jinping elevated the status of the political commissar of the Tibet Armed Police Corps of the TAR to that of a military body, thus recognizing its role in maintaining stability in the region.² Such an offensive and ostentatious show of armed forces in Tibet, which the Chinese government claims to have 'peacefully liberated', speaks to the fallacy of its claims to legitimacy.

On the political front, the story continues a familiar trajectory. The Chinese Government has leaned heavily into political imprisonment as a favoured tool to control the Tibetan population, as almost 50% of political prisoners in China are Tibetans. This statistic, drawn from various databases, reveals that out of the 9116 cases of documented political imprisonment in China from 1981 to 2018, 4,012 were Tibetans.<sup>3</sup> The Tibetan population stands only at 6.2 million<sup>4</sup> compared to China's population of 1.4 billion. Less than 0.5% of the total population makes up almost 50% of the total number of political prisoners across China, which speaks volumes about its legitimacy crisis.

To maintain its tight grip over Tibet, the Chinese Government has invested heavily in surveillance technology and infrastructure. China's annual spending on domestic security has more than tripled since 2007, reaching 1.24 trillion yuan (\$193 billion) in 2017.<sup>5</sup> On a per capita basis, Adrian Zenz estimated that China spent 3,137 yuan on security last year in Tibet and 2,417 yuan in Xinjiang

- Toel Wuthnow, China's Other Army: The People's Armed Police in an Era of Reform, (Washington: National Defense University Press, 2019)
- 2 "China upgrades status of Tibet's police force to military body," The Economic Times, October 8, 2014. https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/china-upgrades-status-of-tibets-police-force-to-military-body/articleshow/44709899.cms (accessed July 13, 2021).
- 3 Congressional-Executive Commission on China Political Prisoner Database, China: List of Political Prisoners Detained or Imprisoned as of October 10, 2019 (1,598 cases), 2019, https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission. house.gov/files/documents/CECC%20Pris%20List%2020191010.pdf (accessed June 26, 2021).
- 4 Zhang, Lin and Weibo Liang, "Genetic portrait of 27 Y-STR loci in the Tibetan ethnic population of the Qinghai province of China," Forensic Science International: Genetics, (2018), file:///C:/Users/h6/Desktop/genetic-portrait-of-27-ystr-loci-in-the-tibetan-ethnic-populatio-2018.pdf
- 5 Zenz, Adrian. "China's Domestic Security Spending: An Analysis of Available Data." China Brief, The Jamestown Foundation. 2018 https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-domestic-security-spending-analysis-available-data/

compared with the national average of 763 yuan. The mammoth economical cost at which China maintains stability in Tibet indicates an inherent need for the Government to consolidate its rule over the region. This need arises against the uncertainties and insecurity over the legitimacy of its position, that lies deeply embedded within their control over Tibet.

For an authoritarian regime like China, one of the fundamental issues is managing popular discontent that leads to mass uprisings. The Chinese Government parrots the claims that these protests have been instigated by the western forces and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It is not only preposterous to assert that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetans in exile have encouraged these self-immolations, but it is misleading and fraudulent to make such allegations without verifiable evidence even after the exile government have refuted these allegations. The CTA has consistently discouraged self-immolations and any forms of drastic action. Nonetheless, self-immolations are an act of defiance against the ruling Chinese Government by calling for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and freedom for the Tibetan people. In order to deflect focus off the actual causes for these incidents, the regime has engaged in diverting the blame to external factors (Western anti-China forces and the Dalai Lama group). As observed by scholars Erica Downs and Phillip Saunders, «illegitimate regimes may seek to bolster their grip on power by blaming foreigners for their own failures, increasing international tensions».

The Press Trust of India, "Tibetan Govt-in-exile denies publishing self-immolation guide," Business Standard, March 7, 2013, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/tibetan-govt-in-exile-denies-publishing-self-immolation-guide-113030700593\_1.html (accessed June 29, 2021).

<sup>2</sup> Erica Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism," International Security Vol. 23 (1999): 114-146, page no 114

# The Geopolitical Implication of Sino-Russia Relation on Tibet

Tenzin Lhadon, Research Fellow

One of the first contact between Russia and Tibet can be traced back to the 17th century. Buddhism spread to southern part of Russia where Mongol tribes of Kalmyk and Buryats are settled. During the early 20th century, an important figure, a Russian Buryat monk Agvan Dorjiev played a crucial role in establishing first diplomatic relations between Lhasa and the Czarist Russia.

Agvan Dorjiev lived in Lhasa for a long time and later became a sort of an emissary to the 13th Dalai Lama and was a point of contact between Russia and the Tibetan government. In fact in 1901, the 13th Dalai Lama sent a mission to Russia and was received by the Czar and laid the groundwork for a draft treaty. In 1909, the Tibetan Buddhist temple which is called Kuntse Choeling Datsang, the first Tibetan Buddhist temple in Europe was built in capital of Czarist Russia. During these entire period of time, Agvan Dorjiev was at the forefront of establishing contacts between Gaden Phodrang and the Czar. The intensification of Russia-Tibet relation led to British anxiety and fear that Russian's increasing presence in Tibet. This resulted in the 'Great Game' at the time. In fact, the Younghusband expedition to Tibet was not because of the fear of China (at the time China was a weak country) more importantly as a response to the fear that Russian influence is increasing in Tibet.

The importance of bringing this particular period is to highlight that until Russia was under Czar Regime, the relation between Russia and Tibet enjoyed both on state level and at non-state. However, with the Communist regime taking over Russia in 1922, the Soviet Union as it was called, completely and abruptly cut off relations with Tibet.

In 1949, under Mao's communist party the PLA invaded Tibet. The issue of invasion of Tibet was brought up to the UN discussion in 1950 by El Salvador delegate Dr. Hector Castor who raised concern over Tibet in the UN over Chinese occupation of Tibet as "unprovoked aggression and the UN should set up a special committee to investigate the situation".

Interestingly, both Taiwan (ROC) which was a UN member instead of China until it was ousted by the later, as well as the Great Britain kept silent over the Tibet issue when it was raised by El Salvador. More importantly, the Soviet delegate, Yakovmalik argues that Tibet was an integral part of China, and that any attempt to investigate the situation on Tibet would be a violation of UN charter". Similarly, during the same time, the Soviet media also praised the liberation of Tibet. The new communist regime, the Soviet Union was extremely supportive of China when PLA invaded Tibet and this is largely because the Soviets saw China's 'liberation of Tibet" as a defeat of international imperialism (US and Britain).

From here till the present Dalai Lama's escape into exile in India, Soviet Union consistently supported Chinese stand and supported every Chinese narrative over Tibet and on the Dalai Lama. Pravda at that time was the official newspaper of communist party of Soviet, in which it stated that March 10 uprising in Lhasa against Communist China in 1959 was "a revolt led by Tibetan reactionaries and that the revolt was motivated and influenced by foreign imperialist."

T Goldstein, Melvyn (1991), Tibet: After the Fall of Chamdo, The Tibet Journal, 16 (1): 58-95, page no 78

During the same time, Soviet Union and India was getting closer. On the other hand, India and China relations started to deteriorate. India gave asylum to the Dalai Lama and exiled Tibetans for which Soviet Union did not criticize India's policy. At the same time, Soviet did not blame India for the 1962 Sino-India war. After Sino-Soviet split, the relations between India and Russia became closer.

Particularly, in May 1969 a journal called Kommunist, a weekly official journal of communist party of Soviet Union published by Pravda had an article that mentioned that "before 1949 Tibet was largely populated by non-Han, but now in 1960s Tibet was being Sinicized". Similarly, in another article published in Pravda which was written with the title, "Mao oppressed small natonalities" has described that after 1949 the communist party under Mao went against Marxist Leninist principle by denying the rightful autonomy for its minority population. Soviet's criticism on China's minority policy continued throughout 1970s.

In 1971, India and Soviet signed the treaty of friendship which made Soviet's relationship with China even more difficult. However, amidst all these, US-China relations picked up. Hence, Soviet's position on Tibet, and its downgrading relation with China is a part of the Cold War politics while it is also important to note that during the entire time Soviet Union did not make any official statement over military aid or raising Tibet issue in the UN.

However, it is still interesting to note the changing geopolitical language and how issues such as Tibet were being used and renegotiated in cold political calculation.

For instance, the Great Soviet Encyclopedia was one of largest Russian language encyclopedia, and was published by the Russian government. In 1980s in the new edition of the encyclopedia, Tibet was not listed as part of China. Similarly during the same time, Soviet's media reports and article continue to state that ethnic minority in China continue to face violations. L. V. Shcherbankov, an official of the foreign relations department of the USSR council for religious affairs on Tibet put out a statement in 1980 stating that Soviet Union is ready to help any nation that is struggling for independence and justice. In March 1981, the Dalai Lama publicly appreciated the soviet assistance and the Tibetan Review, a monthly journal called the Soviet offer the only sympathetic government response Tibetans have received.

However, there was no official request for aid from the Tibetan exile to Soviet Union. This is due to two reasons. First, Tibetan government in exile was still in close contact with the US government. Secondly, in an effort to avoid jeopardizing any hope for negotiation with Communist China after Deng Xiaoping's open-door policy in 1980s. But it did not stop the Dalai Lama from visiting Soviet Union in 1982, who was invited by the Buddhist community in Soviet Union. Although the Dalai Lama's visit was officially religious, his visit was interpreted as a political move by the Chinese who were displeased with his visit.

In 1991 after the disintegration of Soviet Union, the relations between China and Russia became much stronger due to which Russia's support for Tibet suffered significantly. After the Cold War, Russia and exile Tibetan relationship was built purely on religious level. In fact, in 1992, the Dalai Lama was invited to Russia as part of the invitation from the Buddhist Republics for the revival of Buddhism in Russia. It is interesting to note that Russia is the only European country that has Buddhism as a state religion. An indicative of the importance of Buddhism in Russia could be seen from Tibetan government in exile opening its official office on March 10, 1993, in Moscow which is

called the Tibet Culture and Information Centre. Following which 25 monks from India was send to Russia, while 60 students from Buddhist Republics facilitated by the exile Tibetan Administration to study in the Tibetan monasteries in India. In 1990s there is the first Tibet support group, known as the Friends of Tibet Society established in Moscow and in the three Buddhist Republics. Similarly, in May 1994, the Dalai Lama was invited to the Russian parliament to talk about human rights and religious affairs and freedom. Subsequently, the Tibet issue was raised three times in the Russian parliament in 1995. However, in the early 2000 onwards, Russia and China grew closer, and consequently Russia's support for Tibet reduced significantly. For instance, in 2008 Beijing Olympics, the leader of Russia, Putin supported China when the entire world was criticizing China over its policies in Tibet. Today China and Russia have grown even closer as they are trying to balance US and its allies.

The question now is, where does Tibet feature in Russia today. The exile Tibetan influence in Russia primarily remains via religion, Buddhism. Today there are over 100 Buddhist centers in Russia where all four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism and its centers are established. Likewise, there are still active exchange of Buddhist scholars, students and researchers with many Russians visiting exile centers attending the Dalai Lama's teaching. Several of the Dalai Lama's books and teachings are translated in Russian, indicating that the Dalai Lama occupied an important spiritual and religious position in Russia. Similarly, Tibetan medicine has gained quite a popularity in Russia with many Tibetan medical clinics opened are functioning in Moscow and St Petersburg are largely run by Tibetan doctors from exile.

Although, the present day Russia extends a full support for China over Tibet issue, but the geopolitics are also played through keeping a non-state relations as well when seen through the context of religion, medicine and culture. Today China is Russia's largest trading partner, and China is probably the only powerful ally it has. However, we can never say that this is the final stage of relationship and it is yet to say anything for sure since the geopolitical landscape always change and so does its political direction.

# What China didn't tell about the national park system on the Tibetan Plateau?

#### The forced relocation of Tibetan nomads from their land

Dechen Palmo, Research Fellow

At the UN Biodiversity Conference in Kunming last year, President Xi Jinping proudly announced the establishment of his country's first five national parks. What he did not acknowledge in his speech were the human rights violations that underpinned the establishment of at least one of these national parks, the Sanjiangyuan (or Three-River-Source) National Park on the northeastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau.

Sanjiangyuan National Park (Tib. Gtsang gsum 'byung yul rgyal khab spyi gling), the largest of the five national parks President Xi declared, was established on Tibetan land. It covers the sources of three of Asia's major rivers: the Drichu (Ch: Yangzi), Machu (Ch:Yellow River), and Zachu (Ch: Mekong)and is around 190,700 sq. km or about 14 times the size of the USA's Yellowstone National Park. It required the reversal of Tibetan nomads' grazing rights and their effective eviction from their homelands. This decision will have long-term social, economic, and environmental impacts.

The PRC government's processes for establishing this park follow the conservation model Lara Domínguez and Colin Luoma call "colonial conservation." This form of conservation preserves biodiversity by removing a region's Indigenous people and allowing the site to "function in isolation from human disturbance." Not only is this form of conservation a human rights violation and should be seen as a land grab, but as many conservationists have pointed out, it does not work. So why has the PRC government pursued this policy?

The declaration of the Sanjiangyuan National Park in 2021 follows a long period in which China's



central government has acquired land in this region ostensibly for ecological preservation. They first declared the area the Sanjiangyuan National Nature Reserve (SNNR) in 2000. Then, in December 2015, the Central Leading

White-lipped deers are one of the increasing number of wild animals in Sanjiangyuan. People's Daily Online, 25 March 2022.

Group on Comprehensive Reform upgraded the region's status to the Sanjiangyuan National Park (SNP) as a pilot for China's new national park system. After this pilot was declared successful, the government established SNP within the first batch of five Chinese National Parks.

Many in China and the international community responded positively to the park's establishment. Tibet's landscapes are renowned for their other-worldly, sublime beauty and most people wish for these landscapes to be preserved. But we also must consider how the Tibetan Plateau's fragile biodiversity is conserved, whom this conservation helps, and what other motivations conservation can obscure.

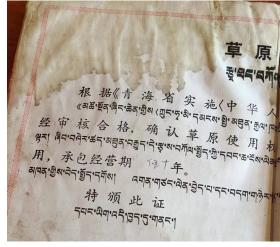
The nomads—known as *drokpa* or "people of the high pasture" in Tibetan—had lived within this region for thousands of years. Not only had they not degraded its biodiversity, but their seasonal pastoralism had become vital to the grasslands' ecological health and helped animal productivity. Removing them from the region was unnecessary to create a national park, but the Chinese state used the park's establishment as an excuse to resettle them. They claimed that the nomads' traditional pastoralism resulted in overgrazing and led to the gradual desertification of the grasslands. As the region's conservation status was upgraded, the park enforcers worked to remove Tibetan nomads from their ancestral homes within the park's boundaries. They began this resettlement process in 2005, and it continues today.

Ecologists and others disputed the government's claims that the nomads were to blame for the region's degradation. They suggested that the unchecked development had led to this degradation rather than traditional nomadic practices. They were particularly concerned with large infrastructure projects such as mining and railroads that disrupted the region's ecosystems and the privatization and fencing of pastures that limited domestic herd and wildlife movement.

The dispossession of the nomads in the national park has not ceased now that the park has been established. According to the United-Kingdom-based NGO, Free Tibet, on 10th May 2022, 170 Tibetan nomads from Chedru Village in Gade County in the Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture were detained "for opposing the directive of confiscating grazing land from nomads if they cannot provide paperwork." Gade County is in the Sanjiangyuan National Park's hinterland. The Chinese government may dismiss this as a random check on paperwork. They may also say that if the no-

mads had the paperwork, a Grassland Use Certificate, they would have been able to continue grazing the land. But for many in the nomad community, the idea that they need paperwork to herd their animals on land their ancestors inhabited for thousands of years must seem absurd. The Chinese government's actions resemble a land grab more than good conservation management.

Similarly, in October 2021, the Chinese authorities in the neighboring Yushul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (also in the Sanjiangyuan National Park) began seizing grassland from nomadic Tibetans by demanding grazing certificates. Although the Tibetans own the grassland in accordance with the Grassland Law of the People's Republic of China 2002 and have been given



A grassland use certificate, with text in Chinese and Tibetan. Photo credit: Free Tibet

the rights for long-term use, local authorities used ecological preservation as an excuse to revoke their permits and confiscate their grasslands.

A local source who spoke with *Tibet Watch* told the organization that,

"Previously, the Chinese authorities have given Grassland Use Certificates to Tibetan nomads, declaring grazing rights for 50 years while guaranteeing nonintervention from the government. (But) beginning this year (2020), they have withdrawn these grazing rights and have started collecting previously given grazing rights certificates from nomads."

The Chinese government claims to have provided the displaced herdsman with work as park rangers in lieu of their confiscated Grassland Use Certificates and the livelihoods that their livestock management allowed. According to Zhao Yingmin, Vice-Minister of Ecology and Environment, "Over 17,000 herdsmen have been offered jobs as rangers at Sanjiangyuan, resulting in an average annual increase in income of 21,600 yuan (\$3,343)."

At face value, this sounds like a wonderful opportunity for the herders to make a stable income. However, the average salary in Qinghai is 90,929 yuan (\$13,294), and people who earn under 2000 yuan a month are included within the "low-income category." The "ranger" jobs are unskilled and low-paying. The government has not offered them any ecological training, nor does it listen to their traditional knowledge about grassland management.

This approach does not have to be part of the establishment of a National Park system in China. Instead, it is part of the Chinese government's calculated cultural genocide and land grabs against the Tibetans. The expulsion of nomads from these grasslands has been used along with other programs like the ecological resettlement program, comfortable housing program, poverty elevation program, rangeland privatization, and labor training and transfer programs to dispossess and more-easily monitor the Tibetans. The establishment of the National Park in this region enables the government to force the Tibetans to settle in state-made, high-density, concreted, surveilled villages where their movement and activities can be watched.

Despite its potential for biodiversity conservation, China's new National Park System has led to the erasure of Tibetan people's culture and tradition. At least 90% of the new National Park System is found in the Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Sichuan, and Gansu provinces within the Sanjiangyuan National Park and the adjacent Giant Panda National Park. Establishing these parks promotes the Chinese Government's eco-credentials and the benefits of its "ecological civilization" policies. It enables tourists to marvel at the national park's beauty and find joy in Tibet's "pristine" nature. But we must continue questioning who and what purpose this constructed landscape is meant to serve and whom it dispossess.

China plans to create a unified park system like the United States National Park Service. These parks inspire millions of visitors each year. But the most famous of these parks, iconic parks such as Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier National Parks, were also established through indigenous dispossession from the 1870s to the 1930s. There are now movements to re-establish indigenous rights in these parks. China does not have to follow the United States' example, but in both cases, the logic of colonization seems to trump both ecological and human rights considerations.

#### China's Renewed Crackdown on Tibetan Buddhism

Tsering Dolma, Research Fellow

Buddhism is an ancient Indian religion that disappeared from India and eventually spread in Tibet and Tibetans proved to be one of the best students. The disappearance of Buddhism from India was caused by several reasons which were precisely written by Professor K.T.S Saroa in his paper titled "The Decline of Buddhism in India: A Fresh Perspective".

Therefore, Tibetan Buddhism is an important inheritor of this ancient Indian knowledge. All the lineages of Tibetan Buddhism can be traced to Buddha Shakyamuni in an unbroken lineage of enlightened masters up to the present. The Tibetan Buddhist monasteries have continued to provide similar systems of education. The existence of the Tibetan scholastic tradition is one of remarkable continuity.

But currently, Buddhism seems in the waning situation because over the years, increasing repression in Tibet by the Chinese state has implemented various measures to bring Tibetan monasteries and monastics education under strict control of the state. The most worrying aspect of the Chinese policy at present is the renewed attack on Tibetan Buddhism, which represents the essential core of Tibetan national identity and culture, by increased pressure through imposing many legal measures to expand and expand government control over Buddhist monasteries, nunneries, monks, nuns, and reincarnated lamas.

In March 2022, the new 'Measures on the Administration of Internet Religious Information Service" was enforced. Under the article 17, it mentions that organizations cannot carry out religious activities online, must not broadcast religious rites such as obeisance to Buddha, and also not allowed to burn incense and ordinations through live or recording.

Article 13, states: that Internet Religious Information Service permits' are valid for 3 years. Those who seek to continue to engage in Internet Religious Information Services after the validity period is completed shall submit a new application to the organ that issued their permit 30 days before the completion of the validity period.

Similarly, the ITC report published on January 20, 22; states that the CCP stressed controlling the influence of the Tibetan tradition of Buddhism among the Chinese Buddhist practitioners from China, using the above measure, Chinese Buddhist practitioners were removed from Larung Gar Academy. Larung Gar is the most influential center for the study of Tibetan Buddhism in the world and is considered one of the successful in imparting teachings accessible online.

Currently, Tibet's monks and nuns live in a suffocating atmosphere of stricter surveillance and are always under constant control measures that are bound to limit their physical activities.

Source from RFA, states that "Though there was already a surveillance police unit put up by authorities outside the premises of the Palyul Tharthang Gonchen Monastery in Golog, they have added another one inside the premises of the monastery near its community hall," and "Chinese authorities

have also installed a specific app on their mobile phones to identify and track their conversations, so it's not safe for the monks to communicate freely as Tibetans are under surveillance by the Chinese government, but the recent surveillance of Tibetans has intensified, and new surveillance tactics are being introduced which require Tibetans to install an app on their phone devices,"

Accords to China.org.cn, On 22 June 2022, an online seminar was held in Beijing, Laxianjia, and the deputy director of the Religious Institute of China Tibetology Research Center, illustrated that Tibetan Buddhism and related cultures have been preserved and carried on soundly. Tibetans' freedom of religious belief is fully guaranteed. But the collected report of the Freedom House states that in recent years, the Chinese government has accelerated policies that decrease the proportion of Tibetans in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region and undermine their cultural and religious identity—part of a renewed, nationwide campaign to "Sinicize" religious and ethnic minority populations.

Under the Vocational training that began at the beginning of 2020, the programs separate individuals from their communities, and pressure them to abandon their religious beliefs and "backward thinking." Local officials are said to be given specific quotas for the number of Tibetans they are required to enroll in such programs. Trainees are forced into wage labor, making them dependent on the state and allied private employers for their jobs and income. All those who receive state benefits, as well as state employees, are required to denounce the Dalai Lama, abandon their religious beliefs, and profess political loyalty to the CCP. Source says More than 500,000 Tibetans have been sent to military-led "vocational training"

The government's efforts to "Sinicize" Tibetan Buddhism have accelerated in recent years, with officials requiring Tibetan Buddhist clergy and lay believers to pledge their loyalty to the CCP and socialism above their religious beliefs, to denounce the Dalai Lama, and to attend increasingly long political education sessions.

The Central Executive Commission on China's (CECC) Annual Report 2021 states that "in July 2020, Chinese officials sentenced two Tibetan songwriters to prison in connection with their writing and sharing online of songs praising the Dalai Lama. Similarly, in July 2020, public security officials in Maqin (Machen) county, Guoluo (Golog) TAP, Qinghai, detained Lhundrub Dorje for sharing recordings of the Dalai Lama's teachings.

To strengthen the legitimacy, on June 17, 2022, according to Xinhua, the Panchen Rinpoche appointed by the Chinese government visited the academy in Nyethang Township in Lhasa, where he gave lectures and performed rituals. The Chinese government has emphasized its intention to select the next successor of Dalai Lama, and therefore has promoted the Panchen Lama adversely, cause as a religious figure, plays an important role in recognizing the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

In Tibet, the value and importance of monastic education are being undermined and made limitation in the monk and nun admission by the Chinese authority which creates forcible retirement of monks, above that monks and nuns are being executed and punished by putting up the false charge sheet. Such circumstances bring threats to the rich Buddhist tradition. Trying harder to make extinct Buddhism from Tibet by imposing different regulations.

### The Tibetan Plateau needs an action

Dhondup Wangmo, Research Fellow

Taking Tibetan Plateau into consideration, much scientific research has foreseen that, the temperature on the plateau is rising and that one-third of its glaciers will melt by the end of the century even after the Paris agreement limits the global average temperature to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. Keeping to that, the temperature and precipitation on the Tibetan Plateau have played a vital role in stabilizing the atmospheric, cryospheric, hydrological, geological, and environmental processes of Tibet and beyond. Article from the Dhyani and the Zhou in 2018 had also identified that the Tibetan Plateau is also recognized as an ecological buffer that bears great impacts on the Earth's biodiversity, climate, and the water cycle.

A recent report on a scientific assessment of the third pole environment by the UNEP stressed climate change, its impacts, and environmental changes in the Third Pole. Initially, rapid glacier melting can cause a glacier collapses, Glacier Lake Outburst Floods (GLOFs), landslides, floods, and many more but the disaster was already seen on the Tibetan Plateau and the rate of it is even getting higher. It was written in the report that, newly glacier-related disasters were occurring on the Tibetan Plateau. In 2016 two massive glaciers collapsed in the Aru range, Ngari on 17 July and 21 September. Not only that, a similar disaster happened on 17 and 29 October 2018 causing the ice and moraine flow and blocking the Yarlung Tsangpo at Sedongpu valley in the southeastern part of the Tibetan plateau.

Glacier melting alone is not only the serious impact caused due to the warming plateau, but the decrease in the snow cover on the Tibetan Plateau also had a strong impact on atmospheric circulation and the Asian monsoon. There is no such evidence of GLOFs that are commonly and frequently occurring on the Tibetan plateau, however, the blooming of new glaciers lakes has seen and GLOFs will likely to occur due to rapid glaciers retreat.

Along with the temperature, precipitation variation is significantly affecting atmospheric circulation. The temperature at the rate of 0.3 degrees Celsius had increased per decade, the minimum temperature variation of 0.41 degrees is much greater than the maximum temperature of 0.18 degrees per decade with the warmer days increasing and the colder days decreasing. An increase of 0.76 percent per decade during 1960-2018 was recorded at the Third Pole.

Extreme precipitation on the Tibetan Plateau fluctuated the rain and snowfall pattern. Therefore, the size of glaciers also depends on precipitation, which regulated the water support to 240 million people living in the Himalayas and their surrounding mountains. According to UNDP, a policy brief on confronting climate change to save the third pole, more than 100 million farmers in India and Pakistan depend upon irrigation water coming directly from the Indus and Ganges rivers rather than their tributaries.

Meeting an ambitious target of the Paris agreement of keeping the global average temperature at 1.5 degrees Celsius will not protect the climate crises on the Third Pole. Even at that temperature, the warming will be 1.8 to 2.2 degrees Celsius and still cause glacier loss by the end of the century,

which means the adopted target alone is not sufficient to combat against the climate change on the Third Pole. Hence, The third pole is in more need of complete action.

Many factors contribute to global warming and the melting of glaciers on the Third Pole. But in China in a particular, the emission of carbon mainly comes from fossil fuels. According to the International Energy Agency IEA, China alone is responsible for one-third of global CO2 emissions. To combat that, China had shifted its energy sources and usage from fossil to renewables to achieve carbon neutrality.

International Energy Agency had forecast that the demand for lithium, a critical mineral will be greater in the coming years. For instance, IEA had foreseen that the global demand for rare earth to increase three to seven-fold by 2040 while lithium demand could increase 42-fold. Not only does China play a major role in the mining sector, but investment in both upstream and downstream segments of the supply chain is also upheld by the Chinese companies. Chinese Electric Vehicles (EV) market companies; CATL and Tianqi – are currently the biggest buyers and investors of lithium mines around the globe and refine two-thirds of the world's lithium.



Apart from China's import dependency on raw materials from the overseas, Ji Siqi in his article posted on China's macro economy had written,

Most of China's lithium resources are concentrated in salt lakes of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, where poor mining conditions — such as insufficient transport and electricity infrastructure — and proximity to ecologically sensitive areas, serve as detriments to industrial development.

At present, China is not dominant over a single critical mineral and rare earth element, its dominance is extended beyond that. Out of 190,000 tonnes of rare earth magnets that are produced annually, 175,000 are made in China. At the same time, China is nearly to achieve monopoly in graphite, vanadium, and cobalt processing as well. In that case, instead of carbon neutrality challenges to be main focused, the strategic minerals are using more for politicizing. The policy of green energy had alternately been used for the actual politics or to strategize to control and monopolize the global supply chain.

Though there is no clear and transparent finding on the route to the global supply chain of lithium and EV but few incidents have been clearly indicating the loophole in between. The supply of global critical minerals is dominated by China, which has not alone raised the environmental concern, it is insensitively promoting the forced labor, which are reported to be in violation of human rights.

Recent India Forbes news had discovered the forced labor found in China's lithium battery supply chain. The provided news says:

 $Trade\ experts\ have\ estimated\ that\ thousands\ of\ global\ companies\ may\ actually\ have\ some\ link\ to\ Xinjiang\ in\ their\ supply\ chains.$ 

"If you were to look at any electric vehicle battery, there would be some involvement from China," said Daisy Jennings-Gray, a senior analyst at Benchmark Mineral Intelligence.

Before being assigned to work, predominantly Muslim minorities were given lectures on "eradicating religious extremism" and becoming obedient, law-abiding workers who "embraced their Chinese nationhood," Xinjiang Nonferrous said.

Other Chinese metal and mining companies also appear to be linked with labor transfers at a smaller scale, including Zijin Mining Group Co. Ltd., which has acquired cobalt and lithium assets around the globe, and Xinjiang TBEA Group Co. Ltd., which makes aluminum for lithium battery cathodes, according to media reports and academic research. Other entities that were previously sanctioned by the United States over human rights abuses are also involved in the supply

chain for graphite, a key battery material that is only refined in China, according to Horizon Advisory, a research firm.

Some of the product that was processed in East Turkestan were exported to the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, South Korea, and India. Especially, Chinese battery makers were supplying these metals products to the automakers, and energy companies in America. Even if it is for the green energy transition or the national economic security, and cli-



mate change solution, it should not take away the rights of humans. Human rights are above all this and cannot be compromised under such policy.

Above picture of relocation looks beautiful and one can imagine how the Chinese government had uplifted the relocated people from their poverty as they claimed. But, inner repression and undesri-

rable emotions of relocated people especially, Tibetans were commonly hidden.

A very recent shocking relocation of almost 6,306 households out of more than 26,300 residents in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region are relocating to Sinpori in Lokha by eleventh August 2022 as China daily reported. This relocation programme also includes the residents of 15 villages in 12 townships in the Tsonyi county in Amdo and Nyima county in Nagchu, who are mostly Tibetan herders and nomads. As usual, removal of Tibetans from the their ancestral land was always presented to the world as ecological migrants, the strategy that has been used till date.

Hence, climate change on the Tibetan plateau is becoming more serious, the impact and consequences will be even more dangerous. Therefore the plateau is much needed to be protected and action towards it, is instantly required.

#### Increasing Crackdowns on the Tibetan Language Rights Defenders and Intellectuals in Tibet

Karma Tenzin, Research Fellow

After the great uprising of 2008 in Tibet, China has jailed scores of Tibetan writers, artists, singers, and educators for asserting Tibetan national identity and language rights.

One of the important factors for the arrest of scores of Tibetan scholars and language rights activists are because they act as an inspiration and served as a role model for the younger generations in Tibet. Through their promotion of Tibetan culture and language, they keep the Tibetan identity alive despite the repressive policies of the Chinese government. Similarly, in the past few years, there has been surge in the arrest and further criminalization of activities related to Tibetan culture and language. Tibetan cultural expression, which the authorities associate with separatism, is subject to especially harsh restrictions; scores of Tibetan writers, intellectuals, and musicians have been incarcerated in recent years. At least 121 Tibetans, many of them members of the Association for the Preservation of the Tibetan Language, were detained in an August 2021 sweep in Kardze Prefecture, Sichuan Province, for supporting Tibetan language rights and possessing pictures of the Dalai Lama. From 2021 to 2022 these are known Tibetan intellectuals and writers Rongwo Gedun Lhundup, Thupten Lodoe, Rongwo Gangkar.

Tsewang Norbu, a popular Tibetan pop star who has sung several Tibetan songs, has inspired thousands of Tibetan people inside Tibet. For instance, after his self-immolations in front of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, most of his earlier music videos on Weibo have been viewed extensively. Tsering Kyi who is a writer and a poet residing in Washington D.C., has followed online activities related to Tsewang Norbu. She said "I checked every 2 hours for a few days. China deleted hundreds of posts about #TsewangNorbu, the popular #Tibetan music star who reportedly self-immolated to protest against #China and sadly passed away. Hundreds #netizens were looking for him as he has 598.7k followers".

The president Xi Jinping called on the party leaders in Tibetan areas to prioritize the work of "forging the sense of community for the Chinese nation". In the Central Ethnic Work Conference in August, this means focusing more on Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese based on Beijing dialect).

Authorities in Tibetan areas continued to expand the role of Mandarin and shrink the space for Tibetan or other languages in educational settings, in line with developments in other ethnic autonomous areas of China. In many Tibetan areas, education is offered almost entirely using Mandarin as the language of instruction, while in some areas authorities prohibit private instruction in Tibetan. Observers criticized the continuing erosion of Tibetan-language instruction as part of policies meant to coercively assimilate Tibetans into the Han majority.

#### **Analysis**

Despite such tremendous pressure from local and state governments, the Tibetan people have resisted. The large-scale protests in 2008 during the Beijing Olympics remain a vivid testimony of their resistance, while the 2010 student protests in Tibet reveal the dissatisfaction of Tibetans across

generations with the Chinese policies aimed at marginalizing and assimilating their unique language and culture.

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

# The Internet: Chinese Censorship and Tibetan Online Activism

Tenzin Dalha, Research Fellow

Within the 63 years of the Chinese illegal occupation of Tibet, China has blocked significant amounts of content related to the issues of Tibet including both materials concerning the dispute over Tibet and sites about the Dalai Lama in print and electronic media. They make a systematic, comprehensive, and continuous effort to limit the ability of its citizens to access and know the facts. Chinese leadership in the past and present perceive electronic and print media to be the mouthpiece of the party to be used aggressively for propaganda. The rigorous regulation of the internet and print media has given it the power to shape and guide public discourse while continually reinforcing its own legitimacy.

As of April 2022, there were five billion internet users worldwide, which is equivalent to 63 percent of the global population. The simple fact that almost five-seventh of humanity is connected through a single portal to publish and access information. China achieved fully-functional connectivity to the internet in 1994. By January 2022, over one billion people had access to the internet in China, resulting in the overwhelming majority of them via their smartphones. The following year Xi took office, and he lost no time in showing the world how one goes about taming the internet through a great firewall. The authorities, equipped with the law and technological surveillance, have tried to tighten control over what citizens can see and say online. China guards its internet sovereignty through the largest and most rigorous IP blocking and content filtering system in the world. More importantly, the research suggests that China's censors are dynamic, often deleting messages as they appear in real-time. Messages originating from restive Tibetan areas, for example, face much higher levels of censorship than those from the rest of China, with up to 53 percent of all messages being deleted.

Freedom of expression has always been limited in China. Although social media platforms are allowing a limited space to share information that has never previously been a phenomenon in China, stringent internet censorship laws and heavy-handed tactics against state opposition are blunting the progress and jeopardizing the safety of netizens. Adding to this is China's state media which lacks plurality and regularly fails to report on public incidents fearing damage to the government's image.

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

#### Ideology suppression in the era of President Xi Jinping

The advent of modern technology particularly under President Xi Jinping tightened his power grip

on technology and surveillance many new notorious strategies to suppress the freedom of expression have been implemented. These include the introduction of new cybersecurity law, the launch of the Cyberspace Administration of China (CAC) and the initiation of a social credit system – a score-based system relying on the adoption of desired behaviour based on social merit. This system both punishes and rewards key behaviours through a range of initiatives such as public shaming, travel bans, limited or extended business opportunities, and favourable or devalued credit ratings. The ultimate goal is to hammer into citizens the idea that "keeping trust is glorious and breaking trust is disgraceful" The state has been able to make use of a nationwide public security network to keep tabs on political dissidents, shut down the dissident press, and disrupt dissident organizations before they have been able to make any lasting impression on the population.

The point system citizens will incentivise lawfulness, integrity, and trustworthiness with real-time impacts on what citizens can and can't do. Perks like good behaviour could lead to privileges of faster internet services travel ticket booking convenience in flights and trains, and even concessions on advance deposits for renting cars and booking hotels. Having a low social credit score could mean restrictions on travelling, refusal of passport, difficulty in getting employment and being publicly shamed among others.

At the later end of this year when I interviewed a recent arrival from Tibet and came to know that, the Social Credit System is now practising in the Tibet Autonomous Region and gradually it will cover other part of Tibet.

#### Tibet Covered with extensive broadband overseeing a fierce crackdown

On January 24, 2019, China Daily is English-language daily newspaper owned by the Publicity Department of the Chinese Communist Party mentioned that "About 99 percent of administrative villages in Southwest China's Tibet autonomous region have broadband internet access, Tibet Regional Telecommunications Bureau told China News Service on WednesdayCurrently, broadband has reached 782,000 families in Tibet, with every 100 households owning 80.91 fixed-line broadband internet connections. Mobile broadband, encompassing 3G and 4G networks, has reached 2.755 million families, accounting for 83.35 percent of the total."

Xi is credited for overseeing a fierce crackdown aimed at limiting dissent, tightening control over the press and social media, prosecuting activist lawyers, banning foreign textbooks, and blocking Gmail and VPNs. On August 19, 2012, China's President Xi gave a speech at the party's conference on propaganda pledging that the party would never cede control over ideology. This was followed by China's Supreme Court and prosecutor's office issuing an unusual joint legal opinion that essentially affirmed that online rumourmongering is a serious crime that local authorities can take up for prosecution. However, today in the age of social media with a global network of online supporters at disposal, protests are no longer 'local'. This fast and unpredictable reach of activists certainly has Beijing worried

However, sharing of materials that CCP perceives as 'politically sensitive information' in the form of text, photo and video over social media platforms is construed as "state subversion" and leaking state secrets".

In recent years, there have been a growing number of cases of arbitrary detention, arrest and imprisonment of many Tibetan intellectuals inside Tibet by the CCP. Nyima, from Shelian Township

in Kardze (Ganzi in Chinese) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province, was abruptly arrested in January this year on charges of spying. He was arrested and jailed for committing the crime of communicating outside Tibet.

Tenzin from Lhasa says "The Barkhor street is now filled with informants whose job for the 'good of the nation', is to spy on their compatriots and report any word, phrase, or sentence that might in any way be interpreted as 'splittist or counter-CCP.

In a recent notice, the Chinese authorities announced criminal prosecutions against individuals who use online communication tools to engage in activities against the Chinese Communist Party. The general public is ordered to report any rumours circulating on social media and those who are involved in spreading them are punish accordingly to the enforced law.

Nectar Gan China Reporter for CNN Digital in Hong Kong notes that "China is offering its citizens cash rewards of up to and above 100,000 yuan (\$15,000) for tip-offs about people who endanger national security, as authorities intensify a years-long campaign to weed out what they see as growing threats from foreign espionage and "hostile forces." Successful informants can receive either "spiritual rewards" in certificates or "material rewards" in cash, according to regulations released by the Ministry of State Security" The cash rewards are graded into four levels based on the value of the tip-off, ranging from less than 10,000 yuan (\$1,500) to more than 100,000 yuan".

Sharing photographs of the Dalai Lama and his teachings and talks in defiance of Chinese law has resulted in Tibetans being arrested in Tibetan regions. Chinese authorities have arrested Zumkar from Nagchu, a prefecture-level city in the north of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region of Tibet owning a picture of Dalai Lama on the altar of her home.

This new and extremely effective combination of state control apparatus has proven to be incredibly valuable for the Party in tightening security measures, assuring its long-term survival, shaping public opinion, and suppressing resistance.

#### Conclusion

There are two main reasons for this seemingly contradictory effort by the Chinese government. First, it recognizes that the internet is vital to the long-term expansion of their interest in economic development. Second, it has been known through the experience that effective control of internet content is virtually impossible, as nearly anything the government puts in place is too easily bypassed by users and ISPs. In fact, as early as 1996, many prominent scholars believe that the Chinese government sees the trends of the internet as a constant threat to the state and not as a potential resource and that full control of the internet is impossible.

The connectivity that the internet and social media have throughout the globalised world has assisted Tibetans in Tibet to break the psychological barrier of fear by helping many to connect and share information. It has given people in Tibet the knowledge and understanding that they are not alone in their struggle against occupation and injustice. The Chinese government must realise that limiting access to information is wrong but transparency will lead to a more powerful and resourceful China.

# What is happening in Tibet?

Tenzin Tsultrim, Research Fellow

The revelation of a cache of files containing thousands of sensitive images and classified speeches of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders further confirms the veracity of China's crackdown on the identity and the culture of Uighur and Turkic people. However, in the past, the Party-state has denied the existence of "Re-education Camps" in East Turkistan (Ch: Xinjiang). Like Xinjiang, Tibet is another region where after the 2008 mass uprising, the Party-state has long accelerated its plan for the enforced assimilation of Tibetan people. Since 2009, the repressive policies resulted in the self-immolations of around 158 Tibetans. Despite the spate of self-immolations, the CCP has continuously denied human rights violations in Tibet.

In the past few months, the self-immolations of a popular Tibetan singer Tsewang Norbu and an elderly Tibetan, Taphun remind us that nothing has changed in Tibet. These self-immolators come from different backgrounds and age groups. Some were as young as 16-year-old and the recent self-immolator Taphun from Ngaba is 81-year- old. This indicates that the repressive policies of the Party-state have engulfed every section of Tibetan society. For instance, the commentary by Dolma Tsering has systematically described the causes for the composition of different age groups among the self-immolators.<sup>3</sup> For the past few years, the Party-state has initiated a renewed crackdown on Tibetan culture, particularly on Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan language.

#### Different Reports Conclude Increasing Repression in Tibet

For the past few months, numerous reports highlighted deteriorating human rights violations and increasing repression in Tibet. For instance, according to the 2021 annual report of the Central Executive Commission on China (CECC), it states that "The Party and government continued to restrict, and seek to control, the religious practices of Tibetans. Officials in Tibetan areas of China continued to enforce restrictions on religious observance or expression of faith, including prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays." For the past many years, Tibet scored only one out of 100 in the global freedom rankings and the Freedom House 2021 report tied Tibet with Syria as the least-free territory in the world.<sup>5</sup> The report further concluded that "The government's efforts to Sinicize Tibetan Buddhism have accelerated in recent years, with officials requiring Tibetan Buddhist clergy and lay believers to pledge their loyalty to the CCP and socialism above their religious beliefs, to denounce the Dalai Lama, and attend increasingly long political education sessions." Tibet Action Institute's report released on 7 December 2021 further confirms the Party-state intentions to eradicate Tibetan identity and further assimilate the Tibetan people. The report highlights that the Tibetan students are at risk of losing their mother tongue and connection to their cultural identity because 1) Classes are primarily taught in Chinese. 2) They live apart from their families and communities and are, therefore, unable to practice their religion or access the most authentic expressions of Tibetan culture and traditions.<sup>6</sup>

All these coercive and assimilationist measures implemented by China in Tibet require a very large amount of expenditure and hence it is reflected in its oversized budget formaintaining "internal security."

#### Finding Similarities between East Turkestan and Tibet

There is no doubt that the source of intensive coercive measures in Tibet and East Turkestan is high domestic security spending by China. For instance, Adrian Zenz found that "During Xi Jinping's term from 2013 to 2017, China's domestic security spending grew 34 percent faster than total spending. In particular, security-related expenditures in sensitive regions such as Xinjiang and Tibet have risen so rapidly that they now exceed the United States average on a per capita PPP basis." Before becoming the Party Secretary of Xinjiang, for around five years Chen Quanguo, the mastermind behind the Grid-style of social management in Tibet, was the Party Secretary of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region and who has successfully laid the groundwork for the current planned implementation of the three-dimensional security measures in Tibet, as in the 14th Five-Year Plan 2021-2025. This involves what they see as rule of law, specialized, and intelligent measures to maintain public order by combining the efforts of both professionals and the people for preventing and controlling crimes through public participation.

For instance, during a meeting in March 2017, Xinjiang government was required to practice the Fengqiao experience (Also refers to Public Security Committee), which is one of the parts of three-dimensional security measures, also known as Double Family Defence Stability Maintenance in Xinjiang. Hence, it is no surprise that during Chen Quanguo's term as the Party Secretary in Xinjiang from 2016 to 2021 the so-called Fengqiao experience was introduced. The "Fengqiao experience" is the process of mobilizing the masses in order to "strengthen the dictatorship over class enemies."

In Tibet too, it was during Chen Quanguo that the Fengqiao experience came in the form of "Double-Linked Households." In short, what happened in East Turkistan (Ch: Xinjiang), is happening in Tibet and what happened in Tibet, is happening in East Turkistan.

#### Future Perfect or Future Tense in Tibet?

From the current developments in Tibet, it appears that the Party-state is implementing exactly what it has planned in 14th Five-Year-Plan. For instance, with the introduction of new regulations such as "Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Information Services," released on 20 December 2021 and came into force on March 1, 2022, exactly a year after the 14th Five-Year-Plan was officially endorsed by the National People's Congress on March 11, 2021. The regulation banned all foreign organizations and individuals from spreading religious content online in China. One reason could be for the acceleration of the Sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism is to fully control every nook and corner before the Party-state implements its grand plan in Tibet. The conclusions given by the different reports further confirm that the situation in Tibet is further deteriorating with the implementation of repressive policies specifically aimed at eliminating Tibetan culture and Tibetan Buddhism. For instance, in the 2021 Shigatse Municipal government work report, the implementation of the Fengqiao experience and Sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism was encouraged. On the Dingri government website too, there is a mention of taking a major survey among the Tibetan people focusing on the stability, development, ecology and strengthening of the border.

The leaked Chinese police records are a strong reminder that the Party-state has taken every measure to suppress the Uyghur population and it is a matter of time soon China's iron curtain over Tibet will also be lifted. After all, it is without any doubt that the Party-state has skeletons in every cupboard.

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# Border Villages in Tibet: Eyes and Ears of the PRC

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The China-India military face-off in the Galwan Valley on 15 June 2020 was considered one of the deadliest military confrontations between the two since 1962. It has almost been one and half years since India lost the lives of around 20 soldiers in the Galwan Valley druing the military face-off. For the past few years, China has been creating a new strategic front to encircle India by building a chain of border defense villages along the Indo-Tibet borders. Because of this, India may have to pay a heavy price in terms of its territorial integrity and national security. In the future, this could change thedemographic pattern in the world's highest frozen border – the Himalaya.

By invading Tibet, China has forcefully shifted the traditional borders between India and Tibet into the Sino-Indian boundary. Since then, the two Asian giants have been engaged in more than thousands of border skirmishes. Despite India's formal recognition of Tibet as a part of the People's Republic of China on two occasions - 1954 under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and 2004 under Prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Chinese leaders have always suspected India's role in the Tibetan movement. Apart from this, the Sino-Indian conflict over the Indo-Tibet border remains as one of the longest geopolitical disputes in Asia. The centrality of Tibet is a key factor in resolving the China-India conflict.

When Xi Jinping became the president of China on 14 March 2013, he has given utmost importance to the domestic stability in Tibet and the safeguarding of its assumpted frontiers. Subsequently, the Chinese authority has emphasized that "developments in Tibet are related to the overall work of the party and the country, and the focus of work in Tibet should be "safeguarding" the motherland's reunification and national unity". By retaining China's Tibet policy of safeguarding national unity and reunification, China has restrengthened the importance of "maintaining the stability of Tibet" as the security and safeguard of the national interest during the 7th Tibet Work Forum in 2020.

For securing the stability of Tibet and its borders, China has built a chain of border defense villages across the Himalayan frontiers which share borders with India, Nepal, and Bhutan. These villages are a part of China's veiled poverty alleviation program to show the achievement of China's development in Tibet and to secure the borders simultaneously. Building infrastructures and well-designed border villages in Tibet's border regions are intrinsically linked to the dual-use infrastructure development, which serves as border watch posts for monitoring cross-border migrations and occupying no-man's land on the Himalayan frontiers. Both Professor Dawa Norbu and Claude Arpi have written on the dual-use of infrastructure development in Tibet. The good network of roads and railway lines gives easy access to China for the deployment of its military in Tibet's border regions.

According to the so-called China's Tibet Autonomous Region's (TAR) work report in 2017, the Chinese government has launched the rural rejuvenation programs in the name of "the construction of well-off villages and simultaneous relocation of Tibetans in these villages". The relocating of people in Tibet's frontiers and building border defense villages are also outcomes of the 19th Party Congress in October 2017, in which Xi Jinping called for "Chinese people with talent to work in

remote and border areas with the ethnic minority population".

In July 2017, the TAR issued the "Plan for the Construction of Well-off Villages in the Border Area of the Tibet Autonomous Region (2017-2020)". It involved the building of 628 border villages in TAR's 112 border towns across 21 border counties which are located in Shigatse, Lhokha, Nyingchi, and Ngari prefecture. China has built 354 well-off border villages in Lhokha which shares a border with the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh and Bhutan. China claims that Arunachal Pradesh is an integral part of China. The construction of these villages could lay the groundwork for the future towns and cities in the bordering regions.

The Chinese central government has allocated around RMB 30.1 billion (\$4.6 billion approximately) for building 628 border villages in Tibet. The allocation of the budget also includes the construction of housing facilities, infrastructure, and public service facilities. Out of these 628 administrative border villages, there are 427 first-line border villages and 201 second-line border villages. The first-line border defense villages are built in close proximity to or across the Line of Actual Control, which has a direct geopolitical impact for India, Nepal, and Bhutan. The second-line border defense villages are located in Tibet's border regions. To encourage the people to settle there, the Chinese authority has facilitated a conducive environment and attractive subsidy to the residents of the border villages for their permanent settlement. The residents from the first line villages receive RMB 47,000, and the second line villages receive RMB 4500 as an annual subsidy.

Jiang Jie, Executive Vice Chairman of TAR, presided over a special meeting in the Autonomous Region Strong Frontier Work Conference which was held in Yatung, Dromo County, Shigatse City, in December 2020 for inspecting the progress of the construction of the well-off border villages. The meeting noted that 94% of the project was completed by December 2020, and 93% of the allocated funds were used. As of now, China has completed the construction of 628 border defense villages.

The completion of these border defense villages would act as border watchposts and become the ears and eyes of the People's Liberation Army to expand and secure borders in the Himalaya. Strategically, building the first line of border defense villages helpsChina to reaffirm its claims over the disputed territories in the Himalayan regions, which China for long claimed asthe five fingers of Tibet.

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