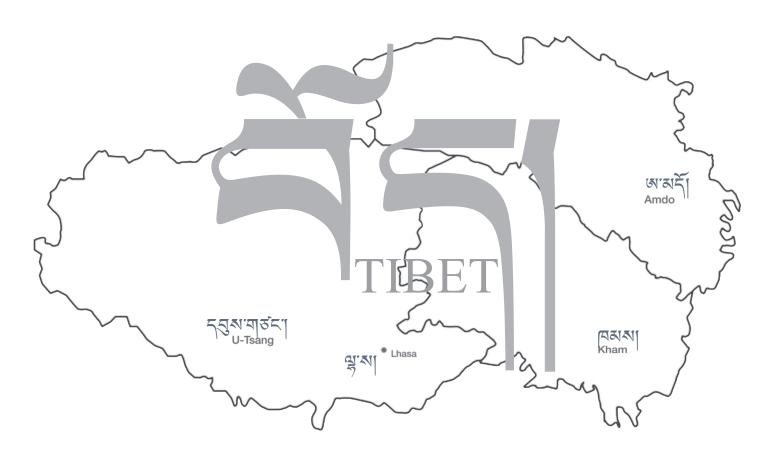
র'নপ্তর'র্ন্থনার মান্ত্রন্থিন TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF

Volume:4| Issue: 03 |July-September 2022





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ब्रामसुअभे राममस्यान्ध्राधिम

TIBET QUARTERLY BRIEF

श्चे वितः हैं संश्चेताता हान के ने न

वॅद्रः धैवाः क्रेंबाः मा गुवः द्वादः क्रुत्यः सळवा

रेगार्श्वेव के रेट नश्या गुन

अत्राधिनाः हें अः श्चेनाःना नश्चतः वहें तः नहें ना अवा

हुअ'व्यों द्रम् देन'र्श्वेव'र्छे'देर'नश्रस'गुन

यरःश्चुत्रः ग्रेन्यावत्। र्वेन् ग्रे श्चेन् ग्रुम्भारुस्मा वेन विन

হুল্কবাশ্বা www.tibetpolicy.net

מבוערון אָדיאביאבוערון

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श्रेः क्षतः नदः द्या विनः धिना नहानः हें सामन

कुॱवनाःनाबुरःनोःन्यनाःभेवेः <u>वि</u> न्ञारयःकुरःभेःनेनायःग्रेःन्देयःबनयःन्यनःभेःन्दःवेनःनेनयःग्रेः
नुस्रम् नुर्सेत् क्षेत्र व्यो
भूरः र्डें र नक्षुत प्रहें त न ने ख़्ता कुस का विन मा
য়য়ৼৢঀ৾৽য়ৼয়ৼঀৢঀৢয়য়ৼয়য়৽য়য়ৼয়ৢয়৽য়য়ৢয়ৢয়৽ড়য়য়৽য়ৢয়য়৽ঢ়ঢ়৽ড়ঢ়ৼয়ৢঢ়ৼয়৽ড়য়য়৽ড়য়
वर्षाद्वरःश्र्रेरःश्चेरःच।
रेगार्श्वेव के रेर नगम मुना क्रम बिन मा
য়ৣৢৢৢৢয়ৢয়ৢঀৢয়ৢয়ৣয়ৢয়ৢয়ৢয়য়য়ড়ৣয়য়য়ড়ৣয়য়য়য়য়য়য়য়য়য়
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Dechen Palmo, Research Fellow
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Dhondup Wangmo, Research Fellow

ब्रें क्वं न्दर्भें वेंद्र धेवान्य न्

न्द्राच्या व्याप्ति व्यापति व्याप्ति व्यापति वयापति व्यापति व्य

न्दर्भो वि के दिन्दिर मे अन्यमा शे कुर विश्व न्दर्म समार्थे दिन मह्यु र वर्षे असे स्

वित्तः कुष्यः त्र, ज्यव्यावित्यः कुष्यः त् ज्यम्भीया वित्यः कुष्यः त्र ज्यव्यावित्यः कुष्यः त् ज्यम्भीया वित्यः कुष्यः त्र ज्यव्यावित्यः कुष्यः त् ज्यम्भीयः वित्यः कुष्यः व्यावित्यः व्यावित्यः व्यावित्यः कुष्यः व्यावित्यः व्यावित्यः वित्यः वि

बै 'डेद'सेट'मै अ'सेटअ'पदेदे'द्रसम्'र्द्द्र'म् क्रिंग्च मुक्त्र'म् क्रिंग्च मुक्त्र'म् क्रिंग्च मुक्त्र'म् क्रिंग्च मुक्त्र'म् क्रिंग्च मुक्त्र'म् द्र्य स्थान्य स्थान

कुर्राष्ट्रकार्याची,र्यराष्ट्रल्लूर्कार्ड्च्चकायबीरायान्त्री वर्षु-अप्रत्याची,र्यराष्ट्रल्लूर्कार्ड्च्चकायबीरायान्त्रील्ल्क्ष्यान्त्रीयाय्यां प्रत्यायान्त्रीयाय्याची,र्यरायान्त्रीयाय्याची,य्यरायां वित्रायां वित्राया

म् नियम् का नहेत्र क्ष्या स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्य क्ष्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्थ क्ष्य स्वार्य स

विदेशत्व क्रि.यंवा.वी.रंशवा.रंशेर.लश्चारश्व.केर.शु.र्शवा.शु.रंशवा.शु.रंशवा.शु.रंशव्य.वंश्वर्य रिश्य.रंशवा.वांशवा.की रे

מאבין	ठी-देगुष्ण	श्र.चारला	WE.	श्र-देणवा	श्र.चाटका	WE.	क्षे-देगुष्ण	श्र.चाटका
1	क्रि.म्ब्राया	2198314	9	र्चर-देणया	4300 (6933)	17	यु:ने:नेवा	831
2	यद.हवा	22627	10	प्ट.स्वया	2892	18	रुदे:देणबा	663
3	ग्रॅट-द्रमया	11281	11	रो-देवाया	2645	19	ग्री.ल.द्र.द्रवाह्य	632
4	धिव.क.मुबोबा	10075	12	लपूर-देवाबा	2108	20	२७ ज्या	594
5	5 <i>वे:देवा</i> या	9859	13	भु:मुर:देमबा	2048	21	वि:र्य:देम्ब	538
6	ब्रूची-द्रवीया	8939	14	धुद्ध-दृद्धि-द्रवाबा	1791	22	यहर.ऱ्याया	505
7	<u> বহুীশ:বল্</u> বদা	7059	15	छरू.वय.र्याया	1250	23	व.खे.द्रवाषा	475
8	श्रेद्:देग्रह्म	6803	16	श्-द्रवाया	1010	24	२.थवा.मुबोबा	424

Source: bbs.tiexue.net

84년.1	क्षे-देगुषा	श्र-चारुषा	845.	क्षे-देण्या	श्र.चाटबा	WE.	क्षे-देणुषा	श्र-चारमा
25	जु.श्रेष्ठ.मुब्बब	287	32	श्रदःयद्गः देवाबा	91	39	ठेव:र्रम्मण	37
26	कुँर-देवाबा	285	33	लू.मिय.धु.स्चाबा	85	40	लेब.भीडि.स्चीबा	35
27	চ'র্ম্বর-ইল্বন্	260	34	स्य.श्चे.ऱ्याया	80	41	ર્જો લાવ લાવુ વર્ગ જેતા	30
28	প্রও:এই:ইল্বমা	243	35	क्रॅ.चव.ऱ्याया	66	42	ल.विट.चुबोबा	28
29	केंद्रे:देण्या	199	36	शिवि.जर-द्रवीबा	53	43	ब्य.जर.द्रवीब्य	26
30	र्चयः देवाबा	157	37	प्टिन: विट: देवाबा	51	44	र्हे.ग्री.देवाबा	24
31	ज.23.द्रवीब्रा	135	38	<u>ब्रिन्स्य</u> क्रि.क्रिया	48	45	डि-बुर्दे-देणचा	22
					9 Novembe		5	

Source: bbs.tiexue.net

84Z.	श्र-देमुबा	थु.चीटब्रा	04Z.l	क्षे देगाया	थु.चाटळा	WZ.1	श्र-देगुषा	थ्र.चाटबा
46	জ.2.থধুনালা	23	50	घ.घर.ऱ्याया	6	51	নৰ্ম-জন্ত-ইল্বন্	3
47	मुद्र-र्ह-घे-घि-दित्	13	50	নার্ড্:হর:ইনাঝা	6	52	हे.खर.देवाबा	1
48	ब्र्यूच-दा-देणवा	12	50	घ.१.१.५ मण	6			
49	<u> झ</u> .त.द्रम्या	7	51	येषे.बिट.स्वीया	3			
2	2300000	গ্রহথ,৫২.	ই) ইবাধা	52	5	মহা'ম	বুর্কুমথা	101686

Source: bbs.tiexue.net



Source: bbs.tiexue.net

माशुक्राना मारकाशुराक्षे देवाकाशी नुक्रवा न्यें ताके ताके वित्रें दे क्रिया विवर्ष क्षा विवर्ष क्षा विवर्ष क्षा

WE.	क्रे-देमुख		মাহ্যা এর্ছুপ্রথা.		
ग्रह्म		Admiral	Lieutenant General	Major General	피드제
1	<u> वृत</u> े:देव श्र	3	11	34	48
2	धर्व. <i>दिश.</i> -द्रवीश	2	4	17	23
3	र्वेन्-देवाशा		2	20	22?
4	ग्रॅ-१वाश	1	3	11	15
5	कॅवा रेवाश	1		12	13
6	<i>धुःनु</i> र-देव बा		2	10	12
7	हिंदू लेब द्वारा	1	2	7	10
8	बुदुःरु:देवाश		1	_s 8	9
8	इति देग्या			9	9

Source: bbs.tiexue.net

W.	श्रे-देगषा	वीन्द्रवाषा				
핀드제	1.1	Admiral	Lieutenant General	Major General	चीटला	
9	ঘর-ইল্মা			3	3	
10	<u>इ</u> .स्ब्य			2	2	
10	29প-হৰাশা			2	2	
10	<i>विर-द्रवाश</i>	1	1		2	
11	अं क्षेत्र हिन्देग्या			1	1	
11	व:बी:देवाया			1	1	
11	बे-र्ग्-देग्या			1	1	
11	शिवे.वार्य.मृत्याया			1	1	
11	५.भवा.द्रवाशा		9 Novembe	. 1	1	
Total	18	9	26	140	175	

Source: bbs.tiexue.net

द्याप्तर प्रमान्त्रित २००० ह्याप्ता नेति इसस्य प्रमान्त्रित स्वाप्त प्रमान्त्रित ५०० ह्याप्ति स्वाप्त स्वाप्त

नॅं न्शुंभू न् नुसंज्ञां क्षा संज्ञी न 'मन' Tibet Policy Institute

नवि'न। श्रु र नेंद्र रेग्य ग्री द्यम से दे रे र्सू र

वॅर्-देवाशकी:न्द्रंशःव्यशःन्यवाःसेवेःब्रदश्

ध्राया धरार्स्स्र सेन्दिन्देवायाः क्षेत्र स्वापन्देव स्वापन

ત્વેત્ર-ત્રમ્યા-ત્વ્ર્યાનના-મોકુના-વર્ષ્ય-ત્ર્ને-કૃનામ-ગ્રી-ત્રમના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-મોકુના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-મોકુના-તર્મ-ત્રમ-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-મોકુના-તર્મ-ત્રમ-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-મોકુના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનના-ત્ર્યાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાનન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યા-ત્રાન-ત્ર્યું ત્રાન-ત્ર્યા-ત્રાન-ત્રા



र-स्र-रग-र्यर-यहेग्रासेन्।



यर्रे यापर सुव र्ळिंगवार रा मुवा



ल.न.ल.जू। (प्र.चंचर.क्र.नंनरा) चल्रा.जू.क्र.नंनर.र्चा.पहूरी वि.श्चर.पशूर.येश.रंनर.परंगी

资料来源: 黄正清、桑頗•才旺仁增、凯墨•索南旺堆百科百度、维基百科、谷歌搜索引擎等

देर-दुश-वेंद-देवाश-ग्री-द्रश्या-द्रवेंद्र-क्रेद-वेंद्रश्या

当たる	श्रद्भा	म्बिष:रेखा	र-क्षेत्र-जब-बोर्यबा	ଞ୍ଜି:ଔଦା	भ्रु.क्र्य
1	ळे:५नर:।	M General	श्रष्ट्र, चेर.लय.जवा. रशवा. छिन. ग्री. रशवा. ही. वार्ष्य. रा ${f K}$	ક્ષાતા-ધાતા	1949
2	नर्श्रद्र'दशःमुखःसळ्द्र।	M General	$\forall x = x + x + x + x + x + x + x + x + x +$	क्र.क्रम्।	1940
3	श्रु:से:हुर:	M General	क्षक्र, क्र्यं-बुन्-ब्रह्म-रक्षता क्षित. ची. रक्षता क्षि. त्राब्धं-रा R	જ્યા.ચૈના	1943
4	(क्षेत्र:सुन्दः) क्रेन्द्रसः द्वादः (व्युक्ष)	M General	गीतः ग्रीतः श्लेष्टः क्रेब्दः स्थायाः तियः ग्रीः स्थायाः श्लीः यार्षेष्यः या R	श्चिता.कार्बू	1935
5	<u> </u> र्मे.ब्	M General	ट्र-क्रिट्य-रिश्वा किंग क्री क्व होर श्रा लूब काबूब ता $\mathbf R$	योखेल.चा.झी	1952
6	শৃষ্ণ ক্ট'নদ্ব	M General	चीबुका.मा.इ.लय.जना.र्रकता.विक.कु.र्रकता.कु। R	झे.र्जी <mark>K 16</mark>	1936
7	चेदुःच्या	L General	जब ग्रीत अवर रिश्वा की कर होरे श्रिस्थी R	विश्वध.्रट.चैब	1956
8	रवार्चर चर्सेर्वसमा	M General	ट्ट. रट. ग्रूट. कूटथ. टेशवी किंग. ग्री. टेशवी ही . वीजूंब. ती	જ્યાં ચૈતા	1962
9	सर्वेद:र्ये।	M General	शक्त, हृत्यं (बुट. कुयं. ट्यां विता कुद्रश्यो ही पार्व्यः ता Novembe व	পঞ্জ,ছূর্ব.ব.লব।	1954

~기	ब्रह्म	म्ब्रुबर-देखा	र-क्षेत्र-जब-चीबबा	શું.લેના	954Al
10	বর্মিন্ব্রমার্ন্র্রব্যবা (ক্সিশ্রিন্	M General	લવ વર્ષ હુદ કુવ દ્વાના હતા કુ દ્વાના ફુ નોલ્વ તા \mathbf{R}	લવ.વવ.કુ.હી	1946
11	ठर:ब्रिट:गॅरि:।	M General	ટ્રન્સ્ટિન્યન્વના હિતા શે. જ્યાં ફોર્ન્સ સાંત્રું તાંખૂર્યના R	लब.बब.च्ट्र.क्ट्रेबा	1937
12	শৃধ্য:শ্লুণ। (ব্রহ:ই:ৰ্)	M General	के हिंद न्रथ्या हिन्म ही कच हीन् ख येंद्र गार्वेद स्य R	न्ग्रम:क्ष्ट्रबा	1935
13	र्या.वर्दवा	M General	चूर कूटल ट्याक्य क्षेत्र हूचा ही खिर 2 तत्वा वी कर होर की लूखा R	LINNIGE, NEV	1941
14	टव <u>ी.जू.</u> सी.क्टर.	M General	त्र्र-कूट्याडी, यट्, शघव डीट. र्यश्चाडी, खिव. २. १वच, वी. २. र्यूची	ब्रे. <u>श्</u> र.र्-र.जूट.।	1959
15	डिन:इंब-क्वि	M General	g. जुन. खुट. कुन. ट्वा.क्य. टेशवी. ही. खेट. २. Loal वी. ही. खेट. २. टेत्यी	성업포,/업업성	1952
16	<u> </u>	M General	ग्र.क्ट.बुट.कुर.हु.क्ट्र.कु.कूर्य.हु.कु.क्ट.राज्याची.हट.क्.स्.व.हु।	ध्यव्यक्ष.क्षेट.क्ष्यी	1961
17	(कृष-२.५८८.) श्वेय-पश्चेय-तञ्चेय-तग्ना	M General	ट्रट.क्रूट्य.ट्रेशवो.विज.क्ष.य.क्षेत्र.जेट.ट्शवो.विज.वट.वो.कट.जुट.क्षे.लूत्री	8.4	1961
18	ব্যস্ত্রেশ্বরের	M General	হ্বাক্তম ন্ট্রম ক্লিম গ্লীম গ্লীম নী ম্বিল মুখ্য প্রস্তাপ্তর প্রস্তাপ্তর স্থান বিশ্ব স্থান বিশ্ব স্থান বিশ্ব স	<i>र्चवःदेव</i> ।	1949

 $\label{eq:content_10_1016_09_896167_61409298.shtml} \\ \text{http://www.360doc.com/content/10/1016/09/896167_61409298.shtml www.bbs.tiexue.net} \\ \text{The property of the property$

מאבין	ब्रह्म	मुब्बर-देखा	८.केषु.जब.च ब्रबा	શુે.જેના	<u>क्रुंब्र</u> भ्रु
19	स्बान्धरा	M General	ट्र-क्रूट्य-देश्यो किंग कट. ब्री-क्ष्य होट. सिंवे. क्ष. ग्रीवे. द्रव. वार्ष्य ता	इ.ज	1961
20	म्बा <u>म्बम्</u> हें	M General	ट्ट. क्रूटल, ट्रेशवी, खिन, ब्री. ट्वी, ट्व, ट्रेशवी, ट्यूब, वीलूब, त्वी	लेब.बंब.चट्र.कुबी	19? ?
21					

 $\label{eq:content} \begin{tabular}{ll} \begi$



资料来源:百科百度、谷歌搜索引擎等





न्यग्'न्यॅब्'ळेब'र्से'न्य'न्यन्'चर्सेन्'ब्रथस्

19

资料来源:百科百度、谷歌搜索引擎等

ट्र्ट, क्ट्रिट्ब, ट्या, क्षित, कट, कु. ट्या, द्वीय, क्षित, ट्या, क्षित, ट्या, ट्या, ट्या, ट्या, ट्या, ट्या, ट्या,



土旦赤列 (清华东), 男, 藏族, 1961年12月出生, 西藏拉薩人, 中央黨校在職研究生學歷, 1987年7月加入中國共產黨, 1984年9月參加工作。曾任西藏自治區拉薩市委常委、拉薩譽蘭 區政委。現任西藏軍區副司令員。2017年9月6日, 在解放軍黨代表大會上選舉為出席黨的十

九大代表。 西藏军区政治工作部副主任昂旺?(少将) 来找到图片! 西藏军区副参谋长阿旺多吉?(少将)来找到资料!

西藏并是2019年在来当传活动 传者: 影路 皮布时间: 2019-07-30 09:08:00来源: 西藏日颜 为景适水平入但浓厚或圆。目前,西藏自治区应程萨市开展2019年在兵集中当传活动。区党委常委、自治区 客务制主席、自治区在兵工师领导小组组长罗布顿林,西藏军区制司令员、自治区征兵工师领导小组常务制组长 主卫录制,西藏军区制务谋长、自治区征兵工作领导小组制组长阿维多古,西藏军区政治工作初制主任昂胜水和 宣传活动。

资料来源:百科百度、谷歌搜索引擎等

नॅं न्शुंभू न् नुसंज्ञां क्षा संज्ञी न 'मन' Tibet Policy Institute

तुमामा नःश्वन्यमाः बन्यशः बुग्यबेदामान्द्रस्य तुन्यसम्परस्य स्वरे मेन्द्रम्य सम्बद्धाः सम्बद्धाः सम्बद्धाः सम्

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资料来源:百科百度、谷歌搜索引擎等

यद्धः वश्चरायद्धः स्वीत्वास्तः स्वास्त्राच्याः स्वास्त्राचः स्वास्त्



资料来源:谷歌搜索引擎、油管等

नत्त्रामा कुःत्रनामातुरायान्त्रमात्वनशातुनविदाश्चनशाशुः मारशासुराधेः देवाशार्ची मात्रशासुरानरान्वीशारेशाशुः कास्तुत्राम्बर्धाः वि

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सहवानर्ष्ट्रसमा रिसेन्यनासुसन्दर्सन्यनासुसा रे

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रेगार्झ्रें राक्षें रेट नश्या युवा १ स्था देवाया

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सर.योश्चर.री.ब्र्जित.यपूरे.देर. हीश.शे.चूर.की.श.रो.यो.योत.क्षेट.श्र्योश.की.वट.ततु.क्ष्य.यक्षेट.वीय.सवत.योवघ.रीवट.जा.ब्र्जि.वर्ट. भूनरु-ने,वर्गन बुद-र्ख्यः कुर्यन्यरू-संविताः पुःळवारु-सःयार्षेत्रार्थः वात्रान्ते । व्याप्यति । भूनियः वित्रायि । वित्राय । कुंवायन्त्राकेरा वसन्यानास्त्राम् कुंद्रम् कुंद्रम् कुंद्रम् महत्त्राचाराम् अभिनेत्रम् अस्त्रास्त्रम् अस्तरम् र्षित्। देश्यत्रायमञ्जीत्रेत्रावहेत् न्तेत्रावेत् त्रार्वेत् त्राष्ट्रेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेतेत् त्रार्वेत् त्राष्टेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रत्रेत्रेत्रेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रार्वेत् त्रा र्श्चेषायाची त्वारा में त्वारा मे त्वारा में त्वारा मे नन्नान्ननः वर्षेनाः संस्वाया ग्री मे श्रुका मे न्याये में नामान्य स्वाया में स्वाया निर्माय स्वाया स्वया स्वाया स् · श्वाशः श्रीशः सवा नसूरः श्रुशः त्वा दे वि दे वि दे वि के कार्य । त्वा वि कार्य वि कार्य वि कार्य । वि कार्य वि कार्य वि कार्य वि कार्य । वि कार्य व धेव द्वे र र्देव क्वी क व्या ग्राम र्वे द स्रे वे र स्था श्वाय प्रमान क्षेत्र क्षेत्र स्था क्वी क्षेत्र क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र स्था क्षेत्र क्ष क्षय-लीट-त्रीमा-मिका-मक्क्ता-वमीट-ताक्रिय-सूर-त्री-वर्ष्य-विमानमा-वर्ष-प्रक्त-व्यापमा-तर्र- र् क्ष-तह्र्य-ह्र-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्र-ह्र्य-ह्र्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्य-ह्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्र-ह्र-ह्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्य-ह्र-ह्य-ह्य-ह् वनश्यायहेद न्वेंश्यायदे वे व्युशास्त्रश्याने प्या स्थान्तर नम्बन्य स्थाने श्रामेश्री श्रामेश्री स्थाने स्याने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्थाने स्था त्रवेषायदेःयक्के.यग्र्रायाद्रवेषायाद्रयार्थेद्रायोःययार्थेद्रायाः स्वीषायाद्रेषायाय्रे । वृदेः स्वित्रायाद्रेयायाय्रे । विष्यायाय्रे । विषयाय्रे । विषयाय्र र्वेद्रश्चे :ळनःश्चेद्रवेषाद्वदः दहेतुः श्चेशः नगदः सनः सन्तिषाः षाहतः तसः स्रेता

 युद्दः स्वतः हुते नवद्वः श्वाका द्वाका व्यव्याचित्रः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्वतः स्व वर्षिदः स्वतः हुते नवद्वः श्वाका द्वाका स्वतः स्वत

स्तरह्ते श्रेन ननर इत्वेर द्वेत हे सासत कु से ने नमा हु श्लेय तुस है। ने ते हे सा श्वामी सेत हराय ननर विरामे सम न्यर-र्वेन्।चीश्वान्त्र-र्द्धे, इ.पह्स्य-न्, कुर्-रेशर-त्रुक्त-सूच्येन्।क्, क्य-जूर-प्र्युक्त-जूर-त्रुक्त-त्र-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रुक्त-त्रिक्त-त्रुक्त-त्र-त्रुक्त-त्रिक्त-त्र षारःश्चेन्द्रभावहेत्रात्यसासुनासाने क्वाःश्चेन्त्रीः हेन्द्रम् वश्चारत्यस्य काः क्रीत्रानास्य सामानास्य वास्तरम् য়ৢঌ৽য়য়৽য়য়ৼ৽য়ৢঌ৽য়৽য়৽য়ৼৢঀ৽ড়৾য়৽য়ৣ৽য়৾ৼ৽য়য়ৢ৽য়৾য়৽য়ৼ৽য়ৼৼয়ৼৼয়ৢ৽য়য়য়ড়৽য়য়৾৽য়য়৽য়ড়ৼয়৸ড়ৼ৻য়ৢয়৽য়৽য়ৼয়য়৽য়৽য়ৼয়য়৽য়৽য়ৼয় श्चेत्रपदरः श्चेंश्राचे प्रतीश्वात्रा यस श्चेंया देवे प्रदान प्रदान प्रदान स्वत्य स्वत्य प्रदान स्वत्य स्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य स्वत्य શ્રીન્'નુવર'ભ'નું તે' ఇન્' ફેર્ન' क्रोस' हो તુમ હોન્' પહે'નુવર હન્'નુદ કેવ' ఇર 'દેશ' વન' ફ' વન સોન્' પર 'વેં ' હ્યું મ' છો અ' સ' વર્લે નું 'બેંન્ ફાય વા' છો. ज्ञानुन्यः विष्यः विषयः विषय ष्ट्र अः जात्र रः नः ने ते ः प्रह्र अः जात्र रः शुजा अः भेजा र् पेजा ने प्रश्ना अः भेजा 制度,更是壹種管理制度) 2 चेर्न्न त्री खुन्तिर्मा कुं सळंत्र न्यान्य स्थाने स्थाने खुन्ति स्थाने त्रवेषानार्वेषा'सरात्तुरानवे पुरान्ते पुरान्ते प्राप्ते प्राप्त विकास कर्मा १८५१ विकास स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वापत स्वा हुरक्षेत्रक्षेत्रक्षेत्रक्षेत्रह्या वेदायान्त्रक्षा विदायान्त्रक्षा वायेत्रह्या विदायान्त्रक्षायान्त्रक्षेत्रह्या विदायान्त्रह्या " तुनःग्रीःभ्रुःगत्रशः केशःनगे नः नने ननः गत्रशः सदे शदशः सुशःग्रीः नगदः सुदः। वात्रशः देनाःगे ः भ्रीः दर्शे : इश्वरः नश्वरः पात्रिनाः तुः सूनः स्व प्रमुन् सेन्द्रिंदे प्रकर कु सर्वे ते तुः सः" (西天大善自在佛所領天下釋教普通瓦赤喇恒喇達賴喇嘛) ३ विशामवे सर्वे सर्वे निर्माण यहरः अःमाश्रेरः व्रश्नः सुत्य। कुतः न्वरः अर्क्वेगः त्रशः मुद्दारमः मुद्दारमः मीः व्यवस्थः व्रश्नः व्यवस्थः व्य प्रते प्रवास्था में प्राप्त में किंत्र में (天神文殊皇帝大主人) देश प्रते प्रार्थ प्रा कुलानायनासुरुपारमञ्जून पर्वेतायने देशान्त्र वित्तान कर्णा स्वित्त स्वतान स्वतान स्वतान स्वतान स्वतान स्वतान स्व धीवा धीव'वत्रत्रत्वे वे वे वे न्द्रास्य हुवे सर्वे न धीव'यत्र सहत्य सुव स्थित के न विवा वी मायी मायी वे वा स्थित सर्वे वा से स्थान हो न से हिन वनुवाहेदान्त्राद्याहेदान्त्राहेदान्त्राहेतात्राहेतात्राहेतात्राहेदान्त्राहेद सेन्'हेन्। सद्'हुश'र्वेन्'वन्ग'यहेत्'त्रुश'ययस'पद'द्रासद्'हेवे'र्वेन्साय'प्नव'श्व'र्वे'त्र्नाची'<u>से</u>न्'न्वर'र्वेग'वगय'वर्गेन्'गहेन्'वदे'न्वर' क्रुंदाशे कर्नु नाबेरमा नर्हेन् होन् नमसानमा ने पी केन्नु वकंसमा लुर नहर न पी द्या वेसान हेन् तु पर्देन् वि देश की स्वारे য়য়য়ৼয়[৽]য়ড়ৢয়৾য়ঀয়৽য়ৄ৽ঀৣ৾ৼ৽য়ৢ৾৽য়ৢঀৼ৾য়য়৽ড়য়৽য়৽য়ৣ৾ৼ৽ঀৢ৽য়ড়ৢয়৽য়৽য়ড়ড়ঀ৽ড়৽য়য়৽য়৾ঀ৽ড়৾য়য়য়ৢঀ৽ৠৢ৽ঀঀৢ৽ঀৢ৾ঀঀ৽য়৽য়ৼয়৽য়৾ঀঢ়ৼ৽য়৽য়ৼয়৽য়ঢ়

² 李德成:藏傳佛教活佛轉世的歷史定制和原則《人民日報》2020年12月31日第07版)

^{3 《}清政府与喇嘛教》 张羽新著,西藏人民出版社,1988年,113页

द्दीन्न-प्रमाणिक्यात्रात्त्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्यात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र स्वर्षात्र्यात्रात्रात्रे स्वर्षात्र्यात्र्यात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्य स्वर्षात्र्यात्रात्रात्रे स्वर्षात्र्यात्र्यात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्याः स्वर्षात्र्य

मानेशमा इप्यहेदार्नेदाळदानेरान्यायीयायदाहिदान्यराळन्यान्दाद्यां सळेंद्रा

प्रथा है. चवट जाना चूर सब देन प्रचाधूर अं यड़े आड़े सूर समाचा है. सव सूर क्रिमान प्राप्त सून मान्य सून स्वाधूर है. यह स्वाधूर स्वाधूर

नाश्चरामा नाशेर्यः त्रुवान्यर्देदात्ते विन्यते के सामुनाका नाश्चरात्रा नाश्चरात्र नाश्चर नाश्चरात्र नाश्चर नाश्चर नाश्चरात्र नाश्चर नाश्चरात्र नाश्चर नाश्चर

र्चर्नम् कुर्त्वराम्बर्गम् वर्षेत्रम् वर्षेत्रम्

[《]清代西藏地方档案文献选编》 中国藏学出版社

तह्रच ट्रॅच क्षे के स्पीलान क्षेत्र हो ने शोचाल शर्ष हे व चूट कार लाह अपील शर्म ने स्वाल हे स्पीलाल हे स्वाल ह

यवुन्मा यदःश्चन्द्रभावह्रद्रायम्भावामाद्रीःभ्रायदे श्चायते श्चायते श्चायते ।

गा कुलासळेंनाप्पनःश्रमःश्चे विःवर्देत्सस्दिःश्चेदेःनार्वःश्चेदःनान्वदः।

सूर् की सुर् सिर्म् स्थान्य र्यो क्रिया सक्या वाय स्थान स्यान स्थान स्यान स्थान स्य

^{1 《}Statement of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, on the issue of His Reincarnation》 P.12

^{2 《}青海省誌》(宗教誌)西安出版社2000年, P.123

³ 劉漢城著:《西藏自古以來就不是中國的壹部分》,雪域出版社,2019年,P.643

"सतुःगुर-भेदःग्रीअःहुःयदेःह्वाअन्योरे-हिर्अयदःगोर्येयःङ्गेर-गोर्शिर-श्रेन्-गानुर-गीःगुतुःनिःर्येनअन्यःयहर-वदेःहर्।" वेअन्यविन् नु। ज्ञायराना दृःखते क्षाया भुष्टेर वर्षा वित्राचार्ये राष्ट्रिय वर्षा वित्राचार वित्राच वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राच वित्राचार वित्राच वित्राच वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राचार वित्राचार वित यर श्रेया ग्रुट नेवर र हिट नर्देश शुर्शेट वर्ष सहत श्लेंदे त्यावर प्रवरण या सहत श्लेंदि नेवर हुन या वर्ष विवास है। यह र ग्रुश सकर न्तुःमा १९≈०/१/११" हेसामसया र्वे सेदान्दानुदानीसाधिनायर्वे नास्त्रसम्भानास्त्रसम्भानास्त्रसम्भानास्त्रसम्भानस बेदःग्रीकः_{क्}रुःबःदुःब्देदःचित्रःहुतः।तुरकःदेःदेःचित्रद्वःवरुषःदुवःदुर्देवःबेदःखुवःचदेतःचवः।तुरकःश्लेवःग्रुवःचकाःचन्दःबेरकः "५ १ देवे ळट्यते वट्टेंशव्हें व बेट्या प्राप्त व प्राप्त व प्राप्त व व विषय के प्राप्त र्भे वर्क्स्यायायाचे ने ने सम्भान कर वही वहा कर स्वाप्त कर हो। वहार स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्वाप्त स्व वर्देरायेवयायारेन्अपार्हेवया रेंयावहें वाह्येन्यराधेंन्यायारेन्छेयावार्टेन्ययन्यारहें वाह्ययाप्रवाहीं वाह्ययारेन्य हेयान्या १८६८ ८ॱख़ॕ॔॔॔॔॔॔॔ॱॻॖऀॳॱॻऻॶ॔ढ़ॳॱॻऻॺख़ॱॸॖऻॱ॔ॱ॔ॻॕऀॱऄढ़ॱॸॖढ़ॱऄ॒ऀॱॻऻढ़ऻढ़ॱॻॏॴॕॸ॔॔॔॔॔ॱॻॖऀॱढ़ढ़ऻढ़ॎख़ॱऄ॒ऀॸॱॸॕढ़ॱख़ॱॸऀॸॕॳॱॶॱॿ॓ॱहॖॳॱॻॖॴऄॸॱ॔ॱढ़॓ॳॱॻऻॺख़ॱक़ॕॱ বাধ্যদ্রমার্ট্রদা

प्रमासक्र अप्ति अस्त्राचित्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त् स्वास्त्र स्वास्त

नश्चुमान्त्री क्.क्रिमान्त्रमान्यः हियान्त्रम् विराधरान्त्रमान्यः विष्यान्त्रम् बन्दो "नेवे बन्धेन् र्र्भेन् र्र्भेन्-न्र्र्भेन्-न्र्रेक्षेन्-वोश्वास्त्रं वाह्येनाश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्नराख्याश्चान्तराख्या र्वेदःर्वेवाःश्रेदःपरःक्तुःर्वेवाःरेद्र| वेदःश्रेदःगाबुदःवीःधेवाःकःर्देःशःष्पदःसःरेद्र| ःःर्देवःधेवाःकःवदेवेःधेवाःवाञ्चवारुवायःवाधूरुवायः। धीवाः क्वांबाखां वाकाः वाकाः विद्याः विद्या "ર્નેંદ્ર-૧ર્નેંશ-ફ્રેના સુલુ-ગુન-બૈદ્ય-શું-શ-ફ્રુ-શહે-ક્રુ-શ-તું-શહુ-વહે-મહે-ફ્રોનેનશ-શર્ન-ફ્રોને-વાર્ક-ફ્રોને-ગુશ-શહુ-શ-ફ્રેનાન્ય-ફ્રુન્-શેના હાયાલના માર્ચા સુધાના કું. સાલુયાલના તમારા મારા કું મારા કું મારા કાર્યા કું છે. ત્યાન કું કું મારા કું મા नडु:नवि:मवे:ब्रि:मेनसःसहंद्र्सेवे:न् कें.सुंद:नुस:खुन्य:श्चेन्यह्य:क्ष्य:चेस:वर्त्त दे:वे:वेंद्र:श्चे:खुन्य:क्रिंय:क:क्रुःय:वस्य:से:वेस:य: यदे र्वेद् देव्यय र्वे क्रुय १३ यय देव प्राप्त देव व एक्ट हे स्ट विष्टु त्या व स्थान प्राप्त व स्थान क्रिय क्रिय क्रिय हो स्थान क्रिय हो स्थान हो स्थान हो स्थान हो स्थान हो स्थान हो स्थान है स्थान हो स्थान है स्थान हो स्था हो स्थान हो स् धीना प्रहें ना ने 'न्ना नी 'ह्न सुना ह'न द्र राजिया है। नाद राज्धे या ने देर समय र्थे राजी अप मिन्यों में ने से दानि सम्मान है दानि राजिया है से प्रमान है से प्र याने १९ माने १ श्चिमाह्रदायनवादीमाः सुः चर्नेदार्यन्तरेदार्यरा वर्षेत्रा श्चिमा श्चिमा श्चिमा श्चिमा श्चिमा सुन्तर्या श्चिमा श्चि भूर-सिर-हीय-मिर-मि: भूष-किलानमः मिरमालूर-ही र-सूर-मिनामीशरमः योगलः यथुषी "सैयमः रुप-पीर-दीय-त्वयः सूर्यमानुयाः चीर-

मि चार्श्वर-वीया-वर्त्र्य-र-की.वचा-रश्चर-र्त्र्चा-ची.चार्त्य-जूजा

ना कुःदनान्स्ररःर्भेनाःदुः बुनाः वन्सः वन्नुः चुनः पदेः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः वर्षः

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清實錄藏族史料(第四集)(第九集)編者:顧祖成王觀容等西藏人民出版社 1982年 刘汉城著《西藏自古以来就不是中国的一部分》雪域出版社 2019年 活佛转世制的生产及历史作用次旦伦珠《西藏研究》中文版(特刊)总30期间 1989年 浅论宗教信仰自由政策在西藏的实施吕建福《西藏研究》中文版(专刊) 1991年1期 第90页 《十三世达赖圆寂致祭和十四世达赖转世坐床档案选编》读后《中国藏学》中文版 1991年3期

¹ 李德成:藏傳佛教活佛轉世的歷史定制和原則《人民日報》2020年12月31日第07版)

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सर. म्या श अश्रास्त्रीय स्व

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Section II: English Articles

Intellectual Debates on Succession Politics in PRC

The 20th Party Congress: A Quick Explainer

Dr. Tenzin Desal, Senior Fellow

This is a key meeting of the China's ruling party, Communist Party of China which is held every five years. The announcement of the date for the 20th Party Congress which is due to be held on 16 October, 2022 signals that much of the backdoor negotiation and behind the closed-door political manoeuvre has sedimented. And the announcement reflects the confidence of the party to hold the congress hoping for a smooth sail in during this political charged transition period.

The selection for 2,300 delegates of the 20th Party Congress has already begun in earnest since November last year. This is a period for ambitious party cadres to jockey to seek promotion and an opportunity to take part in the elite circle of the Party that has remained in power since it took wrangled power in 1949.

It all appeared to be an unhindered path for a third term rule for Xi Jinping, unprecedented since Mao. However, unexpected events at home and abroad complicated his ambitious plan. After the 20th Party Congress, if it all goes to Xi's plan, he will be in a much stronger position than his two immediate predecessors, Jian Zemin and Hu Jintao.

Since Mao's Cultural Revolution and his death, there is a tacit admission within the party on the negative impacts of consolidation of power on a single person and the perils of cult of personality. Hence, within the party that only leaders aged 67 or younger can be promoted to, or remain in top posts, while those 68 or older at the time of the next congress must retire. In China, this is commonly called *qi shang ba xia* (七上八下, or "seven up, eight down").

Rulebook and Rules with No Teeth

As with the case elsewhere in most part of the world, CCP doesn't need to abide by a legal framework such as constitution. Take for instance, scholar Ding Xiaodon argues in an article:

This article argues that the Chinese Communist Party has adopted a unique understanding of law. Unlike the liberal view and the unwritten constitution view, which generally consider law as positive norms that exist independently of politics, the party understands law as a reflection of the party's and the people's will and a form of the party's and the people's self-discipline. In the party's view, liberal rule of law theories are self-contradictory, illusive, and meaningless. This article argues that the party views the people as a political concept and itself as a political leading party, marking a fundamental difference from a competitive party in a parliamentary system. The legitimacy of the party's dominant role and the party-state regime, therefore, depends on whether the party can continue to provide political momentum to lead the people and represent them in the future.

In other words, CCP sees itself as the arbiter and guardian of the law instead as an organization

subordinate to it. This is not to say that the CCP does not have rules, it has that in the form of regulations, procedures, and guidelines. This under Xi Jinping, he has taken it upon himself to clarify and promulgate such rules. However, when it comes to the upper echelons in power structure, the CCP rulebook falls short.

In the Shadow of 20th Soviet Party Congress

Nikita Khrushchev made his hallmark speech that took the world by surprise. He gave a speech on "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences," at the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union in 1956. This is a veiled attack on the cult of personality surrounding Stalin. He denounced Joseph Stalin in seven points, and pointed out Stalin's flawed position and policy including his violation of the party norm of collective leadership by launching a purge since the 1930s, deportations of whole minority nationalities, and the exaggerations of Stalin's role in the "Great Patriotic War," and so on. This situation threw that CCP in a conundrum. On one hand, its top leadership felt relieved when its position was strengthened as the hierarchical system of the socialist bloc dismantled. At the same time, the de-Stalinization in Moscow threatened the union with Soviet's satellite states.

This is not to state that CCP's 20th Party Congress will follow the template of Soviet's Party Congress of 1956. Instead, it is to show that this holds clue to certain domestic policies in China, particularly that of the implementation of strict Zero-Covid policy. It could be stated that this is the case every five years ahead of the Party Congress, but close China-watchers will at ease concur that it is more conspicuous this year.

Even within the life cycle of Marxist-Leninist system of governance, the shadow of the Soviet Party Congress would undoubtedly linger in the minds of Chinese leadership. In other words, the top leadership in the CCP has placed a high bet on this meeting and they would hold their collective breath during this consequential meeting.

Endurance of One-Party Rule in China: An Intellectual Explanation

One of the leading studies that underscores this phenomenon of enduring rule of the CCP in China is carried out by a political theorist, Andrew J. Nathan. In his article that was published in the Journal of Democracy under the title: China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience. It has remained an enigma and run against the perceived wisdom after the fall of the Soviet Union.

When the paper was published, at the time it did not receive much attention. However, with every passing year the assumed success of the CCP in ruling China and its meteoric economic growth warranted an explanation that defies existing understanding on authoritarian regimes.

Regime theory generally holds that authoritarian systems are inherently fragile because of weak legitimacy, overreliance on coercion, over-centralization of decision making, and the predominance of personal power over institutional norms. This authoritarian system, however, has proven resilient.

1) the increasingly norm-bound nature of its succession politics; 2) the increase in meritocratic as opposed to factional considerations in the promotion of political elites; 3) the differentiation and functional specialization of institutions within the regime; and 4) the establishment of institutions for political participation and appeal that strengthen the CCP's legitimacy among the public at large. While these developments do not guarantee that the regime will be able to solve all the challenges

that it faces, they do caution against too-hasty arguments that it cannot adapt and survive.

The question of institutionalization has received a renewed attention and it is noteworthy to study Joseph Fewsmith's conversation with Andrew Nathan's intellectual argument. Nevertheless, two contrasting speeches offers valuable insights into the question of institutionalization and rationale of two leaders of the PRC.

Deng Xiaoping was very conscious of the defects of the party's organization. In his justly famous 18 August 1980, speech to the Politburo, he criticized the 'over-concentration of power,' which inevitably led to the concentration of power in the hands of a few, or just one person—which, in turn, led to mistakes.3 The History Resolution adopted by the CCP in 1981 said that Mao Zedong had 'increasingly put himself above the Central Committee of the Party.' The Result was a 'steady weakening and even undermining of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the Party and the country.'

Contrasting this the striking Xi Jinping's "new southern tour speech" is his revisiting the topic of the Soviet Union's collapse. He said, "Why did the Soviet Union disintegrate? Why did the Soviet Communist Party collapse? An important reason was that their ideals and beliefs had been shaken. In the end, 'the ruler's flag over the city tower' changed overnight. It is a profound lesson for us! To dismiss the history of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party, to dismiss Lenin and Stalin, and to dismiss everything else is to engage in historic nihilism, and it confuses our thoughts and undermines the Party's organizations on all levels."

Finally, Gorbachev announced the disbandment of the Soviet Communist Party in a blithe statement. A big Party was gone just like that. Proportionally, the Soviet Communist Party had more members than we do, but nobody was man enough to stand up and resist.

Conclusion

The recently concluded 20th Party Congress of the CCP is significant in numerous ways. Implications of this Party Congress to China, the world and particularly to Tibet must be studied. There are enough literature and information available in open source to cautiously speculate the direction China would take in the next five years.

However, what is relevant here is the question of the institution that has helped CCP to endure its governance over China. It is clear that Xi Jinping has already trampled over norms that were placed to avoid disruptive succession. Although Xi Jinping is in a position of great power by hand-picking loyalists in the Standing Committee, it has also put himself in a very vulnerable position. It is also observed that this move by Xi during the Party Congress will put an extra strain on the institution.

The work report delivered by Xi holds clue to policy direction he would take. Here I will leave with excerpts from his work report that on cursory reading offers some insights.

We will remain committed to the principle that religions in China must be Chinese in orientation and provide active guidance to religions so that they can adapt to socialist society.

We must strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and the great unity of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation at home and abroad. By doing so, we will create a

China's Apprehension over Tibet ahead of the 20th Party Congress

Dr. Tenzin Lhadon, Research Fellow

The much speculated 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China was concluded with the new members of the Politburo Standing Committee who will rule China alongside Xi Jinping for the next five years. Despite Hu Jintao, former general secretary, who was forcefully taken away from his seat sitting next to Xi Jinping which caught everyone's attention, the well-choreographed meeting went smoothly.

Since the removal of the constitutional term limit on the presidency in March 2018, Xi Jinping was believed to continue to head CCP. Xi not only defy the norms for the selection of China's paramount leader set in place by Deng Xiaoping since 1982, but he also chose to define his era under a single authoritarian leader. Xi entering his third term as the President of China and appointing individuals loyal to him within the Standing Committee and its ruling circle was to ensure the endurance of his rule. The parameters that define the strength of his rule and survival of legitimacy in China include Tibet and the political stability of the region. Although Xi's repressive policies have produced a semblance of "stability" in Tibet, as a recent article in the Economist so aptly frames it, why is China so worried about Tibet?¹

The Zero-Covid policy and the adversity that people faced were all filmed and reported abroad. The desperate cry for help in social media (weibo), a widely circulated graphic video of a person jumping from a building in Lhasa during lockdown, reports of five Tibetans committing suicide in just a span of three days, number of videos showcasing the dire condition under which people were kept and increasing number of videos with people pouring their frustration over the handling of the pandemic was summed up by a banner in Beijing that protested against the slave like treatment reminding them of the Cultural revolution. The banner unfurled on a flyover in Beijing was the latest in many rare protest against Xi's 'Zero-covid' policy right before the Communist Party Congress. The covid outbreak in Lhasa on August 8 and the series of shocking events that followed has caught the attention of international community. These incidents that took place at a time of extreme political sensitivity with 20th Party Congress around the corner not only tells the ruthlessness and cruelty under which Xi rules but also explained the extreme measures he undertook. Although the municipal government of Lhasa City on September 17 admitted to the mishandling the Covid outbreak in Tibet, however, the Chinese leader assured that there is no change in the Zero-Covid policy.² Xi Jinping has become too adamant over Zero-Covid policy that Xi declared it as a personal priority and a personal agenda to succeed.³ The consequences of such priority and personalized policy is what

The Economist (2021), Why has China's president, Xi Jinping, visited Tibet? The Economist, access on 10/11/2022 at 3:09 pm, URL: https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2021/07/23/why-has-chinas-president-xi-jin-ping-visited-tibet

² International Campaign for Tibet (2022), Lhasa authorities admit mishandling COVID outbreak, silence Tibetan outrage, access on 10/31/2022 at 4:26 pm, URL: https://savetibet.org/lhasa-authorities-admit-mishandling-covid-outbreak/

³ Wang, Vivian (2022), 'At the Breaking Point': Tibetans, Under Lockdown, Make Rare Cries for Help, The New York

Vivian Wang of the New York Times notes the call for ever-harsher quarantine and censorship rules.

Whether Xi Jinping's rule resemble Mao Zedong or not is question that might need further reading, however, Xi's approach and mechanism in some part echoed Mao's strategic importance placed on Tibet. Tibet and its people continue to exist within the contours of the colonialist Mao-inspired policies of Xi Jinping and which is reflected in how he has invested in Mao's understanding of the importance of securitization of the region. Mao maintained that Tibet was the backdoor for China's expansion and dominance in Asia and following that perspective, Xi has built a chain of border defense villages on the Himalayan frontiers', which serve as border watch-posts for monitoring cross-border migration. Under the policy of developing "well-off villages in border areas", several border villages, under construction, are located right across Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh which is claimed as part of Chinese territory. Xi Jinping's first visit to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) as the general secretary of the CPC not only raised the importance of the region but the 'focus of the visit was to examine the development of connectivity to border areas. It is indeed evident, therefore, that Xi's rule in Tibet stresses high-quality development and lasting stability.

Despite China being a one-party state, with a handful of individuals monopolizing power at the helm, however, the members of the Party and its leaders do not always share the same ideology, political association, or policy preferences. Notwithstanding, these internal factions, within the overall bureaucratic structure, do not seem to pose much of a problem to Xi since he has already placed many loyalists in important positions within the government. Yet, the Party continues to find it difficult to trust Tibetans with higher positions and therefore they are institutionally marginalized throughout China's administrative structure. For instance, under the current 19th CPC leadership, two Tibetans, Lobsang Gyaltsen (Chinese: Luosang Jiangcun) and Che Dalha (Qizhala), are full members of the Central Committee, with two others, Yan Jinhai and Norbu Thondup, serving as alternate members. It is most likely that Yan Jinhai and Norbu Thondup will be promoted to full membership in the 20th Central Committee.³ According to International Campaign for Tibet, 38 delegates (see appendix) listed as Tibetans are expected to participate in the 20th Party Congress out of 2,296 delegates. Statistically, Tibetans represent a mere 1.65 percent of the total strength of the Congress. However, the Tibetan region makes up more than a quarter of the People's Republic of China, which highlights the severe underrepresentation of Tibetans within China's decision-making circles. In other words, there exists an inherent contradiction, seen not only during Xi Jinping's reign but throughout China's modern political history, which is how Tibet has been a highly sensitive issue for the Party, but it refuses to open any channels for dialogue with the Tibetan Government in exile nor allow any semblance of representation of Tibetans within the uppermost bureaucratic structure of China. The securitization of Tibet and the subsequent influx of finance into developing

Times, access on 10/31/2022 at 4:31 pm, URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/world/asia/tibet-covid-lock-down.html

Dorji, Tsewang (2022), Border villages in Tibet: why India should be wary of China's new 'eyes and ears' in himalaya, Tibet Policy Institute, access on 10/11/2022 at 10:10 am, URL: https://tibetpolicy.net/border-villages-in-tibet-why-india-should-be-wary-of-chinas-new-eyes-and-ears-in-himalaya/

² Krishnan, Ananth (2021), Xi Jinping visits Tibet border region, first by Chinese leader in years, The Hindu, access on 10/11/2022 at 3:04 pm, URL: https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/xi-jinping-visits-tibet-border-region-first-by-chinese-leader-in-years/article35481755.ece

International Campaign for Tibet (2022), 38 Tibetan delegates at China's 20th Party Congress, International Campaign for Tibet, access on 10/11/2022 at 4:00 pm, URL: https://savetibet.org/38-tibetan-delegates-at-chinas-20th-party-congress/

Tibet was part of the ubiquitous claim that Tibetans are happy, well-represented, and taken care of by the government. The contradiction between the portrayal of an "inclusive" China and the reality of an insecure China is reflected at the institutional and national levels.

Likewise, Xi Jinping has focused on fostering a greater sense of hyper-nationalism in China, placing the Chinese Communist Party at the center of this rejuvenated Chinese Nation. His poverty alleviation and anti-corruption campaigns along with his hard stance against the US-led world order, Hong Kong and Taiwan need to be comprehended within his objective of realizing the ideas behind slogans such as "China Rise" or the "rejuvenation of China".

China has come under much scrutiny in the past three years, from the outbreak of the covid pandemic to its mass internment of Ugyurs, the handling of the Hong Kong protests, and the management of the Tibet issue. The upcoming 20th National Party Congress will feature the Party-appointed representatives from these regions, as they singularly praise Xi Jinping's handling of the pandemic and his role in maintaining "stability" in China. However, it would be foolhardy to ignore the real-time internal insecurity that Xi's governance faces, as Tibetans, Ugyurs, Hong-Kongers, and Chinese continue to question the government's heavy-handedness and outright repression. Therefore, it is pertinent to observe how the Party continues to handle these challenges and criticism of its rule, without the safety valve of new leadership that has been in place since Deng Xiaoping's era. The reality is that with Xi at the helm for the foreseeable future, the Party's policies will continue to foster disillusion and resentment among those living under its rule and there will be no one else left to blame except its President.

Appendix: Thirty-eight Tibetan delegates expected to participate in the upcoming 20th Party Congress ¹

Tibet Autonomous Region

- 1. Tenzin Dhundup (Chinese: Danzang Dunzhu)
- 2. Pema Thinley (Bama Chillin)
- 3. Nikyi (Ni Ji, female)
- 4. Nyima Lhazom (Nima Lazong, ethnic identification not given, female)
- 5. Penpa Dolma (Bianba Zhuoma, female)
- 6. Shilok Dolma (Xiluo Zhuoma, female)
- 7. Choetso (Qu Cuo, female)
- 8. Tsering Lhamo (Ciren Lamu, female)
- 9. Tsering Thondup (Ciren Dunzhu)
- 10. Yan Jinhai
- 11. Dolkar (Zhuoga, female)
- 12. Tsering Wangmo (Ciren Wangmu, female)
- 13. Lobsang Gyaltsen (Luosang Jiangcun)
- 14. Sonam Nyima (Silang Nima)
- 15. Phurbu Thondup (Pubu Dunzhu)
- 16. Kalsang Choedon (Gasong Quzhen, female)
- 17. Yasha (female, Lhoba)

The list is compiled by the International Campaign for Tibet

- 18. Sonam Dekyi (female, Monpa) Qinghai
- 19. Tsering Thar (Cairang Tai)
- 20. Choeyang Kyi (Qieyang Shi, female)
- 21. Ba Tselo (Ba Cailuo)
- 22. Pekho (Banguo) Sichuan
- 23. Chen Wanghui (female)
- 24. Chime Dorji (Qimei Dorje)
- 25. Luo Zhenhua Yunnan
- 26. Norbu Yangzom (Nongbu Yangzong, female)
- 27. Dhondup Pheldup (Dunzhu Peichu) Gansu
- 28. Yang Wu
- 29. Lumo Tsering (Lumao Cairang, female) Central and state organs
- 30. Tselo (Ciluo)
- 31. Li Ying (female)PLA and PAP delegates
- 32. Dakpa (Zhaba)
- 33. Jamyang Ngodup (Jiayang Ouzhu)
- 34. Dawa Dolkar (Dawa Zhuoga, female)
- 35. Namgyal (Langjie) Fujian Province
- 36. Cui Yuying (female) Central financial system
- 37. Loten (Luo Dan)
- 38. Dechen (Deqing, female)

China Escalates DNA Collection Drive across Tibet

Dr, Tenzin Tsultrim, Research Fellow

The recent report by Human Rights Watch (HRW) on September 5, 2022, that China has started escalating DNA collection drive from Tibetan people as young as 5-year-old across Tibet is disturbing and seriously violates the human rights of the Tibetan people. According to the findings by Citizen Lab, it is estimated that between June 2016 and July 2022, police may have collected roughly 919,282 and 1,206,962 DNA samples, representing between one quarter (25.1%) and one-third (32.9%) of Tibet's total population (3.66 million).

As early as 2013, under the guise of a mass health program, China started collecting DNA samples from the Tibetan people. The recent escalation of the DNA collection drive in Tibet will further strengthen the surveillance apparatuses unleashed by China. With the mass collection of DNA, there is a danger of the emergence of cold cases¹ leading to mass arrests across Tibet. For instance, HRW reported that the collection of DNA from around 524,500 people in 2019 led to the arrest of around 26 "fugitive people" in Chamdo. Not only this but to implicate the "focus personnel2" or those Tibetans who were blacklisted in the police records for their political activities, there is a possibility of misuse or planting "focus personnel's DNA samples at the crime scenes.

Xiao Qiang, adjunct professor at the University of California at Berkeley's School of Information was quoted in the Wall Street Journal saying, "Marrying DNA profiles with real-time surveillance tools, such as monitoring online activity and cameras hooked to facial-recognition software, would help China's ruling Communist Party develop an all-encompassing "digital totalitarian state."

A 2019 data leak revealed that China is tracking almost 2.6 million people in East Turkestan (Chinese: Xinjiang). Now with the mass collection of the DNA across Tibet, the Tibetan people's movements could be effectively tracked by tracking devices installed across Tibet. The installation of around 6,660 5G base stations across Tibet will further improve 5G applications and technologies in surveillance tools. Because a 5G network can carry massive amounts of data and will enable streaming of Ultra High Definition (UHD) video in real-time.

A cold case is a crime, or a suspected crime, that has not yet been fully resolved and is not the subject of a current criminal investigation, but for which new information could emerge from new witness testimony, re-examined archives, new or retained material evidence, or fresh activities of a suspect. New technological methods developed after the crime was committed can be used on the surviving evidence to analyse causes, often with conclusive results.

HRW, A Glossary of Repression, A 2012 list of these "focus personnel" or "special categories of people" in Tibet included, (1) those released from detention; (2) those returning from abroad (huiliu renyuan), such as Tibetans who have been unofficially to India; (3) "mobile" monks and nuns, meaning those who are not officially affiliated to and residing in a monastery; (4) people who were monks or nuns in the past but have been expelled from a monastery; (5) people suspected of involvement in the protests of March 2008; and (6) "other individuals who require special attention."

China's Zero-COVID Policy and Rise of Tibetan Citizen Journalist

Tenzin Dalha, Research Fellow

The implementation of the Zero-COVID policy in Tibet was so bad that the authorities had to apologize. Citizen journalists told the truth to the world.



Members of Free Tibet placed a <u>banner on Westminster Bridge in London to express solidarity with Beijing's lone protester. From Twitter.</u>

During the initial reports on the spread of COVID-19, which emerged in China in 2019, the nation's government attempted to place a blanket cover on the flow of the relevant information, which delayed the international response. Chinese health officials declared the outbreak as "preventable and under control." As a consequence, we have lost 6.55 million lives from 2019 to 2021 worldwide.

The outbreak in Wuhan undermined the social contract that underpins the Chinese Communist Party's legitimacy. It carried out extensive restrictions in the form of lockdown and home quarantines, and established chaotic mass testing centers in public spaces, conducting mandatory COVID-19 tests on people once a day and within a couple of days from each other. Chinese netizens boldly expressed concerns over the lack of accountability and severe internet restrictions, and appealed to all overseas netizens for help to create public pressure on Beijing. Netizens showed their discontent publicly, with major protests in Chinese cities including Shanghai and Chengdu expressing genuine

grievances.

The underlying rationale for Xi's stubborn adherence to his "Zero-COVID" policy is that he was afraid the spread of COVID-19 may become a challenge to his attempt to consolidate his power beyond the established two-term tenure for the post of Party's General Secretary and to be elected for a third term.

Under the guise of Zero-COVID policy, major cities in China including Shenzhen and Chengdu announced lockdowns after 35 and 156 new cases were reported there respectively. But this led to strict lockdowns in a city of 17.5 million and one of 21 million. Beijing's attempt to control the spread of COVID-19 will remain an overriding priority, but at a great cost.

The outbreak and subsequent restriction came on the eve of the 20th National Congress of the CCP. "Zero-COVID" refers to the Chinese government's approach of imposing harsh blanket lockdowns in entire villages and even large cities when infections are found. This approach has come at great economic cost to China. The economic activity in regions under lockdown has come to a standstill. China's policy has kept deaths and infection numbers low but it has led to a wave of indiscriminate human right violations.



The highest COVID-19 quarantine center in the word, altitude 4,800 meters in Tibet. From Twitter.

State media went into overdrive to portray China as leading the fight against COVID-19 internationally. Beijing's propaganda has used a spectrum of narrative approaches to craft news coverage, commentary, and descriptions of China's response to eliminate COVID-19. Ensuring that the CCP and PRC government

are seen to be responsive, in control, and winning against this fight is paramount. In reality, these positive messages are often mixed with others that are neutral, hateful, and negative.

COVID-19 continues to be intensely monitored and vigorously discussed by China's active social media users. Digital media have provided pockets of spaces beyond state control for the voicing of the people's concerns and criticism.

The Shoton, or Yogurt Festival was scheduled this year in Lhasa from mid-August, and should have featured the unveiling of a large, embroidered thangka portrait of the Buddha on a hillside outside Lhasa's Drepung monastery. Tibetan devotees were excited to see the precious thangka

and celebrate the festival. However the tourists and locals got unpleasant news when Chinese authorities abruptly announced a lockdown of the entire city over an outbreak of the highly infectious BA.5 Omicron virus sub-variant. It has affected tens of thousands tourists and residents. This is an example of China's clumsily executed Zero-COVID policy, which has taken a heavy toll on the population.

The influx of Chinese tourists to Tibet had sparked the flame of COVID outbreaks there. All the individuals infected are reported to have been travelers, including on the train route between Shigatse and Lhasa, as well as between Lhasa and Nyingtri. Han Chinese are not especially immune from contagion, all precautions notwithstanding.

Although China's control over the internet and its surveillance network is formidable, the outbreak of the COVID-19 saw an emergence of content, narratives, and expressions of online criticism against the government at a level that had not been seen for decades. Tibetan citizen journalists forthrightly shared their genuine grievances and pleas to end the hard COVID measures. While Lhasa continues to stay at home under strict lockdown in Tibet, videos are appearing showing their desperation and frustration that have gone viral.

Tibet Autonomous Region battling the record COVID wave surge and Beijing's harsh countermeasures to tackle it have imposed immense hardships on the lifestyle and livelihoods of Tibetans, making the curbs unpopular. Public sentiment has triggered a wave of anger and confusion online among residents of Tibet. Social media are flooded with unprecedented criticism against the authorities mishandling the epidemic situation in Lhasa. Angry criticisms posted on these platforms is censored by the internet police, including complaints about feeding unhygienic and rotten food and woeful conditions in quarantine camps.Imposing a severe crackdown on Tibetans for "spreading COVID rumors" and their grievances online has led to the arrest of a few Tibetans. This has created or reignited outrage over the Communist Party's lack of transparency and accountability.

What makes these arrests notable and disturbing is that they were preceded by emphatic official announcements by China's top leadership that the Party would tighten its ideological control, which were followed by a strong endorsement from Chinese authorities on the validity of prosecuting individuals for online "rumor-mongering" and "spreading misinformation." Yet the censoring of information as well as the suppression of voices critical of the government's policies continues to this day.





During the lockdown in Lhasa, the police invited the starving residents to come out of their homes and pick up a few vegetables left in the center of the streets. From Twitter.

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) called on "Beijing to adequately acknowledge the public criticisms made by Tibetans, who have genuinely expressed their frustration at the lack of sufficient facilities, and protect them from reprisals for expressing their honest opinions about the government's mismanagement."

Netizens in an outburst of open despair have gone viral on Weibo and DouYin. A Tibetan woman is seen there making an open appeal to local authorities, "complaining about shortages of food supply, lack of proper medical care, and impoverished quarantine centers."

The outcry of another Tibetan woman in social media constructively criticized the substandard management of COVID in Lhasa's quarantine center. She presented a general overview of the reality. Her outcry speaks volume about old people being treated like criminals instead of patients. If the authorities are incapable of "proper management" and exhibit a "lack of coordination," she pleaded, then they should allow those who test positive to isolate themselves in their homes. "Even if they die, they can at least die in their homes more peacefully."

After a string of complaints went viral online, on September 17, 2022, in a rare show of regret, during a media briefing Dradul, executive Deputy Mayor of Lhasa, publicly apologized for not tackling the COVID situation well in regards to prevention and control. Acknowledging the government's failure, and that they had not been given sufficient supplies, vindicated the public outcry about serious mismanagement and the gravity of the COVID situation.

Tenzin Choezin, the youngest member of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, showed her genuine concerns and said: "In stark contrast to the Chinese government's narrative of winning its war against the pandemic through the 'Zero-COVID Policy,' the reality on the ground tells a very different story, one that indicates a massive failure of the Chinese Communist Party. The mismanagement and deliberate mistreatment of the Tibetan people inside Tibet is apparent through the many personal accounts shared on social media platforms like Weibo and DouYin by persons who risk persecution by expressing their grief and frustration against the multiform oppression and inhumane treatments under the garb of 'Zero-COVID Policy.' As an elected representative, I stand with the Central Tibetan Administration's move to express solidarity toward the Tibetan people currently affected by the policy, and ask to extend medical assistance and supplies to our people inside Tibet that are severely affected by the pandemic and the failed policies."

Faced with the extreme hardships endured under China's Zero-COVID policy management, despite the fact that the authorities issued a public apology, some Tibetans were arrested. In a span of two days, five people took their lives by jumping to their deaths in various parts of Lhasa and its suburbs according to sources of International Campaign for Tibet.

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. Consequently, China has been cracking down hard on internet users who demonstrate sympathy and support for the Tibetan cause, blocking avenues for the spread of all relevant information. The sharing of crucial information through these communication channels allowed people to get a clearer view of reality in Tibet. The connectivity that internet and social media has throughout the globalised world has assisted Tibetans in Tibet to break the psychological barrier of fear by helping many to connect and share information.

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, Tibetan citizen journalists have come forward to vent their desires and frustrations. The Chinese Government is using the guise of COVID protocol to further repress the Tibetans and curtail their fundamental freedom. Beijing prioritizes censorship and social control over the wellbeing of Tibetans. This demonstrates their failed policy and deliberate attempt to wipe out resistance before, during, and immediately after the 20th Congress.

Ecological Relocation Plan in Extremely High-Altitude Areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region (2018-2025)

Dechen Palmo, Research Fellow

Introduction

Resettlement is not something new in contemporary Chinese history. From the 1950s to the 1970s, resettlement was primarily done for ideological, geopolitical, and military reasons. Since the 1980s, resettlement is mostly resulting from the infrastructure construction project leading to many controversies such as the Three Gorges Dam project. However, since 2000, resettlement has been associated with new policy objectives of rural poverty reduction and restoring the environment mostly in so-called western China.

In 2000, the People's Republic of China (PRC) State Council launched 'the Western Development Strategy' (xibu da kaifa), China's first comprehensive regional development plan to boost the economies of western provinces through infrastructure development, increase foreign investment, promotion of education and ecological protection.¹

Over the years China has been badly affected by floods, sand storms, and water shortages therefore Chinese leaders hope that the western drive can play a vital role in restoring China's ecological balance as well, especially in controlling soil erosion and desertification. ²

The Western Development Strategy adopted the Ecological Resettlement (shengtai yimin in Chinese) in so-called western China (Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Xinjiang). It has been introduced as a tool to lift rural people out of poverty while reducing the environmental pressure of human activities brought on important ecological functional areas.

According to the data from the State Council West Development Office, to reduce poverty, seven million rural people were scheduled to relocate by way of ecological resettlement projects, while seven hundred thousand were relocated in the context of ecological resettlement during 2000–2005.³

The Ecological Resettlement Project in Tibet was introduced in 2004 at the Sanjiangyuan (Three Rivers Source) of eastern Tibet and is managed by the Sanjiangyuan office belonging to the Development and Reform Committee of the Qinghai Province. This region is the source of the Yangtze River, Yellow River, and Mekong River, and its unique alpine landscape provides critical habitat for a large number of endangered and indigenous flora and fauna.

The impact of China's western development strategy on energy conservation and emission reduction", *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, Volume 94, May 2022, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0195925522000099

² Hongyi Harry Lai, "China's Western Development Program: Its Rationale, Implementation, and Prospects", *Modern China*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Oct. 2002), pp. 432-466 (35 pages) https://www.jstor.org/stable/3181371

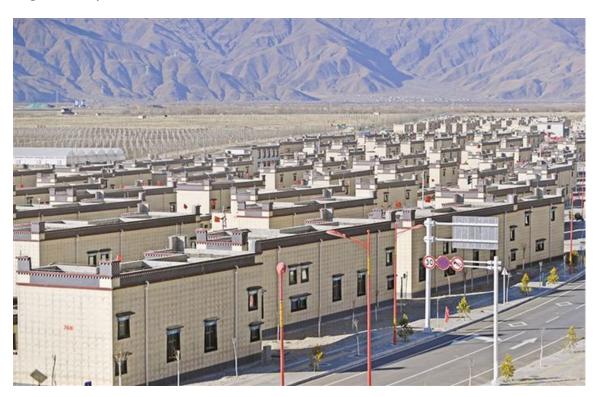
³ Du, Fachun. "Ecological resettlement of Tibetan herders in the Sanjiangyuan: a case study in Madoi County of Qinghai." Nomadic Peoples, Vol. 16, No. 1, Special Issue: Ecological Narratives on Grasslands in China: A People-Centred View (2012), pp. 116-133 (18 pages)

However, due to both natural and man-made factors, the region is facing a serious degradation of grassland. Therefore, the Chinese government assumed that grassland degradation can be effectively prevented by controlling the number of livestock and encouraging ecological resettlement.

Although, the Chinese government asserts that all relocation is entirely voluntary and is for the well-being of the people and the environment. However, it is important to understand whether the goals are achieved or not and how ecological resettlement is implemented in the other parts of Tibet, and what are the consequences.

Ecological Relocation of Very high-altitude areas of Tibet - Nagchu

Nagchu is located in northern Tibet. It is a prefecture-level city under the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region. It is about 1156 kilometers long from east to west and 760 kilometers wide from north to south. As of 2019, the city's total population of 542,105. The city has a total of 11 counties (districts,) namely প্রত্তিত্ব ভূলা (Seni District), জারার্ভিল Amdo County, প্রত্তিত্ব ভূলা Nyainrong County, ব্রত্তিত্ব ভূলা County, প্রত্তিত্ব ভূলা County, র্বিভ্রতিত্ব ভূলা Baqen County, ব্রভ্রতিত্ব ভূলা Baingoin County, রিজাইল Nyima County, and মার্ভিল বিশাইল Shuanghu County.



The picture shows the Sinburi resettlement site in Gonggar County, Shannan City, on the north bank of the middle reaches of the Yarlung Zangbo River. Photo by Xinhua News Agency reporter Jue Guo

Over the past many years, the Chinese government has implemented two broad policies Comfortable housing and Environmental Migration that are used to pressure Tibetans herders to move out of their traditional habitat into a new resettlement camp.

Since 2018 the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) has documented and reported on a "very high-altitude ecological relocation plan". According to ICT, The relocation of Tibetans from Chang tang National Nature Reserve was first launched in 2018 by the Tibet Autonomous Region Communist Party Committee. It was designed to relocate individuals living in very high-altitude regions throughout Tibet, defined as 4,800 meters high or above.²

The Chinese government plan to spend 8 years (2018-2025) relocating 130,000 people from 20 counties, 97 townships, and 450 villages from 3 prefectures of Nagchu (Ch:Naqu), Ngari (Ch:Ali), and Shigatse (Ch: Xigaze).³

The Nagchu city was assigned to relocate 20,877 households with 85,350 people from 7 counties, 45 townships, and 274 administrative villages.⁴ More than 100,000 of the 130,000 Tibetans will be resettled in Sebburi. Senburi is located in along the Yarlung Tsangpo River in Lhoka.

This very high-altitude ecological relocation project will eventually remove the Tibetan nomads, herdsmen, and farmers from 350,000 square kilometers of land in the name of environmental protection. Of this 350,000 square kilometers of land, 280,000 square kilometers of which are protected areas.

The Xinhua news report on 7th March 2020, quoted Tashi Dorji, Director of the Natural Reserve Management Division of the TAR Forestry and Grassland Bureau, as saying that "the purpose of such a large-scale cross-regional relocation is to allow people in extremely high-altitude areas to enjoy a better life and health protection and public services while reducing human activities, return nature to wild animals and protect the environment of the plateau." He further reiterates that grassland degradation is increasing at a rate of 3% -5% per year due to global warming, increasing population and the contradiction between livestock and wild animals competing for grassland resources.⁵

The actual plan for the Ecological Resettlement of high-altitude areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region was to relocate Tibetans within three years however the plan has been changed and extended the period until 2025.

Lhasa City, Nagqu City, and Lhoka city are assigned to make overall arrangements for the pre-relocation, relocation, and follow-up security work to ensure the safe, smooth and orderly implementation of the relocation and resettlement work.

Over the last few months, the Chinese media such as Xinhua news, Tibet.cn, China Daily, and

- International Campaign for Tibet, "Mass migration program highlights contested nomads' resettlement policies in Tibet", June 21, 2018, https://savetibet.org/mass-migration-program-highlights-contested-nomads-resettlement-policies-in-tibet/
- 2 International Campaign for Tibet, "Mass relocations continue: 17,000 Tibetans to leave homes by August", July 5, 2022. https://savetibet.org/mass-relocations-continue-17000-tibetans-to-leave-homes-by-august/
- 3 西藏启动1万余人生态搬迁项目(Tibet launches ecological relocation project for more than 10,000 people), Xinhua net, 27 June 2022, http://www.news.cn/local/2022-06/27/c_1128780052.htm
- 4 Xie Wei, 西藏那曲市高海拔生态搬迁工作有序推进 (The high-altitude ecological relocation in Nagqu City, Tibet is progressing in an orderly manner), Tibet.cn, 28 august 2019.http://www.tibet.cn/cn/news/zx/201910/t20191028 6699681.html
- 5 西藏极高海拔生态搬迁破解人与自然共生难题 (High-altitude ecological relocation in Tibet solves the problem of symbiosis between man and nature), Xinhua News Agency,18 March 2022,http://www.tibet.cn/cn/news/zx/202003/t20200318_6755197.html

many others published widely on the Ecological resettlement of Very high-altitude areas of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Although there are many aspects of this relocation program, the Chinese media have reported only the government propaganda endorsing the idea of ecological relocation for a better life and ecological conservation.

The first phase of the relocation (2018-2019)

The official implementation of the first high-altitude ecological relocation started on 18th June 2018 to December 2019. The first phase of the relocation involves three counties of Nagchu city (Nyima county, Amdo county, and Tsonyi County), 16 townships, 71 administrative villages, and 7128 households with 29,938 people. The first relocation village was located in Gachong village, Gurum Township, Toelung Dechen district, Lhasa prefectural city, and Senburi Village, Gonggar County, Shannan City.

This table contains the number details of the place, the number of households, and the people relocated during the first phase of the relocation.

Batches	Counties	Townships	No of Household	No of People
Batch I	Tsonyi County	Yaqu Township, Gac- uo Township, Cuozhe Qiangma Township	957	4058
	Amdo County	Sewu Township		
Batch II	Nima County	Jiwa Township, Ejiu Township,	3,423	14,637
		Doma Township, Xiede Township, Baling		
	Tsonyi County	Cuoluo Township		
Batch III	Amdo County	Bangai Township Zha	2,748	11,243
	Nyima County	Qu Township, Gangni Township, Qiangma Township, Asuo Township Zhongcang Township		
Total		, 5 5 1	7128	29938

The second phase of the relocation (2022) - The second phase of the high-altitude ecological

T Xie Wei, 西藏那曲市高海拔生态搬迁工作有序推进 (The high-altitude ecological relocation in Nagqu City, Tibet is progressing in an orderly manner), Tibet.cn, 28 August 2019.http://www.tibet.cn/cn/news/zx/201910/t20191028_6699681.html

relocation is from 25th June to 11th August 2022. The second phase of the relocation involves three counties of Nagchu city (Nyima county, Amdo county, and Tsonyi County), 12 townships, 58 administrative villages, and 6306 households with 26,304 people. This time, 6,306 households with 13,569 people along with 3986 staff will be relocated. ¹

This table contains the details of the place, the number of households, and the people relocated during the second phase of the relocation.

Counties	No. of Households	Total Population
Nyima County	1368	4105
Tsonyi County	2396	4442
Amdo County	2542	5022
Staff	-	3986
Total Population	-	17555

According to Xinhua News Agency, "A total of 17,555 people will be relocated from Shuanghu County, Amdo County, and Nima County in Nagqu City, whose average altitude exceeds 4,500 meters, to 3,600 meters above sea level. Senburi Village, Gonggar County, Shannan City, including 13,569 people and 3,986 staff members, will be implemented in batches from June 25 to August 11"²

The Three Counties of Nagchu Prefecture

Tsonyi/ Shuanghu County (ম্র্ক্র'ল্) বিষ্ট্রন্ত) Tsonyi translates to "two lakes". The vast majority of its population practices nomadic pastoralism (mostly goats and sheep). With an average altitude of over 5,000 meters, Tsonyi County covers a total area of 120,000 square km. The county comprises seven town-level divisions. Of all seven townships of Tsonyi, four townships of the county completed relocation in early August, and three have already been relocated in 2019. More than half of Shuanghu County is in the Qiangtang National Nature Reserve.

Nyima county- Nyima County (ੴ ਕਾ ᢓ □) is the westernmost county-level division under the administration of the prefecture-level city of Nagchu, Tibet Autonomous Region. The northern part of the county is within the Changtang area. With an area of 72,499 km2 (27,992 sq mi) and a population of 29,000 (2012) It has jurisdiction over 1 town, 13 townships, and 77 administrative villages.

Amdo county- Amdo County (জ'ম্'ই'হ্ন') is a county within Nagchu. The administrative area is 100,000 square kilometers. The county comprises thirteen town-level divisions. In 2019, the registered population of the County was 43,367. Amdo is an important transportation hub in northern Tibet, where the Qinghai-Tibet Highway and the Anshi Highway meet.

T 山南森布日安置点二期搬迁启动 (The relocation of the second phase of the Senburi resettlement site in Shannan started This time, 6306 households with 13569 people were relocated), June 26, 2022 http://www.xizang.gov.cn/xwzx 406/dsdt/202206/t20220626 304899.html

² Zhang Jingpin, Gesang Langjie, 【林草局】西藏启动1万余人生态搬迁项目([Forestry and Grass Bureau] Tibet launches ecological relocation project for more than 10,000 people). June 28, 2022. http://xz.people.com.cn/n2/2022/0628/c138901-40014135.html

Objectives of Ecological resettlement claimed by the Chinese government

As per the Chinese government, the resettlement of Tibetan nomads from very high-altitude areas is necessary and urgent for both the environment and human well-being.

Conservation and protection of the Environment- China seeks to convey the impression that its policies are aimed at environmental conservation, climate change adaptation, and mitigation despite there being little scientific evidence that the relocation will have any positive impact on the environment.

To improve the living standard of the local Tibetans

The Chinese state propaganda says that the reason for the relocation is to get the people away from "harsh climate, relatively backward production, living conditions, and degraded grassland". According to Zhang Jianhua, who is the head of Tsonyi County said that "the county will strictly follow the regional government's ecological protection policies to safeguard the pristine land. He further reiterate that the relocation policy is not coercive, it's optional"

Critics, however, said that this relocation is carried out in order to achieve the central government's plans to dilute identity and surveil and control Tibetans. International Campaign for Tibet states that "Given the climate of fear and repression in Tibet and the lack of any means for redress through an independent judiciary, such measures represent a drastic violation of the rights of Tibetans who are now vulnerable to poverty and marginalization. What happens in Nagchu County is nothing less than forced migration, with the lives of thousands of Tibetans upended. The international community should urge the Chinese government to stop these programs that serve to control the Tibetan people." ¹

Claude Arpi, an author raises the question of the security aspect of this new relocation site Senburi village.² This village is strategically located 10 kilometers away from the Gongkar airport, a military and civilian dual-use airport. After the Doklam standoff between China and India in 2017, there are reports of a sharp increase in air activities as well as infrastructure development in the region.

The forced ecological relocation of the Tibetan nomads from Nagchu could be due to the Chinese government's grandiose plan to build five national parks in Tibet Autonomous Region which will be collectively named the earth's third pole. According to Yao Tandong, honorary director of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, "The five locations encompass areas around Qomolangma, Bome and Medog counties, the Zanda Earth Forest in western Tibet, the Changtang Plateau and Serling Tso, which is Tibet's largest lake".³

The so-called Tibet Autonomous Region already has 11 national nature reserves, four national scenic spots, three national geological parks, nine national forest parks, and 22 national wetland

International Campaign for Tibet, "Mass relocations continue: 17,000 Tibetans to leave homes by August", July 5, 2022. https://savetibet.org/mass-relocations-continue-17000-tibetans-to-leave-homes-by-august/

² Forced Relocation: for what?, Monday, July 4, 2022,

https://claudearpi.blogspot.com/2022/07/forced-relocation-for-what.html

Zhang Zhihao, Cui Jia, National Parks In Tibet To Benefit Nature, Tourism, China Daily 12 march 2019, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201903/12/WS5c86e941a3106c65c34ee021.html

parks. Protected natural areas make up almost 40 percent of the region's land area.

Changtang (Qiangtang) National Nature Reserve is the biggest and highest nature reserve under the Chinese government's control. It was established in 1993 as a regional nature reserve and was upgraded to a national nature reserve in the year 2000. The Changtang National Nature Reserve covers seven counties of the Nagchu and Ngari with an area of 298,000 square km. The three relocated counties of Nagchu (Amdo, Nyima, and Tsonyi) come within the Changtang National Nature Reserve. As the new national park system expands, there is more and more gobbling up of rangeland from Tibetan nomads, forcing relocations in the name to free up more space for wild animals and plants in these protected areas.

The exact figures for Tibetans who are being relocated remain unknown. Under these relocation policies, more and more settled Tibetan lives are being uprooted and enforced their assimilation into the Chinese cultural and economic world. The forceful relocation of Tibetan nomads might also create severe problems for the Chinese government. Tibetan nomads who appear to be backward are self-sufficient, due to their ownership of land and livestock. To meet the policy goal, the mass relocation will lead to the loss of the income bases of these nomads without replacing them with an alternate source of income. This relocation might result in pushing Tibetan nomads further into the margin of society and becoming financially dependent on the Chinese government. In turn, this situation could also stimulate new tensions between the Tibetan and the Chinese government and it might be a counterproductive result in relation to the Chinese government's objective of securing improved political stability.

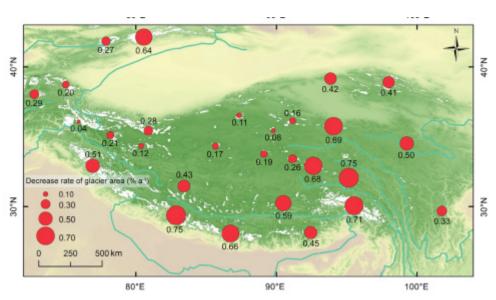
Chinese relocation plan will displace more than 130000 Tibetan nomads in TAR, TCHRD, April 10, 2020, https://tchrd.org/chinese-relocation-plan-displaces-more-than-130000-tibetan-nomads-in-tar/

Global climate change and its impacts on Tibet

Dhondup Wangmo, Research Fellow

In the last few decades, Tibet is witnessing drastic climate change impacts. Different reports and research papers written on the third pole environment warned that the glaciers in Tibetan Plateau will recede faster if the rate of warming of the Tibetan Plateau which is as twice the global average will remain the same. Tibet, being the headwater of Asia's large rivers, the cryosphere in it is vital in defining Asia's water security. These snow-capped mountains regulates the year-round supply of water to the downstream countries. Out of the different factors which are responsible for climate change, anthropogenic activities are considered as one of the major causes behind that. However, climate change in Tibet will largely affect the lowland areas whose socio-economic stability are dependent on the water that comes from Tibet.

It is not just Tibet, the temperature rise is of global concern but the rate of warming in Tibet is very alarming. Different scientific papers similarly have conclusively concluded that the rate of warming in Tibet is significantly higher in Tibet. Although climate change and its impacts are not homogenous throughout Tibet, differences in the scale of impacts were observed based on regional and other factors but the unprecedented warming and intense cryospheric changes are observed in the Tibetan Plateau based on multiple scientific studies. For example, the loss of glaciers. Glacier loss is evident but the amount of loss is greater in the southern part and it decreases to the interior or central part of Tibet while eastern Pamir has the least loss.



Spatial distribution of glacier area change throughout the TP over the last 40 years during 1971-2010

Source: Wang 2019

Cryospheric melting impacts are not new to Tibet, the glacier that collapsed in Ngari is one of the largest glaciers that collapsed and it is reportedly found to be related to glacier instability and climate change. IPCC report says, besides this incident which was caused by climate change, other glaciers collapsed that have occurred are relatively unknown to climate change. Currently, Tibet is under the serious threat of losing more glaciers. Recent scientific assessments of the third pole environment and other papers had observed the changes in climate of the third pole and also the future projection of it.

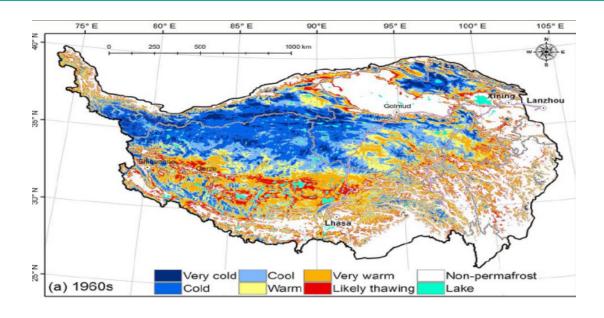
Apart from such massive glacier collapse that occurred, Tibetan Plateau had already retreated 450 meters of its glaciers from the largest glaciers stored in Qilian mountain, the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. Many observation sites are still in alarm to see the pace of glaciers' loss in Tibet and they also predicted the future melting of glaciers which is even more alarming. It is not just the rapid glacier melting that is of concern but permafrost degradation and increased desertification are equally concerning. Future projections from both glacier loss and permafrost degradation are going to rise. Wetlands which played an important role in carbon sequestration are also declining. Sanjiangyuan and Dzoge in Tibet had losses about of 1.5 and 0.7 percent of its wetlands annually. On basis of 10 active layer sites on Kunlun mountain pass to Liang Dao He that were monitored between 1981 to 2019, an increase of 19.5 centimeters by every ten years was observed.

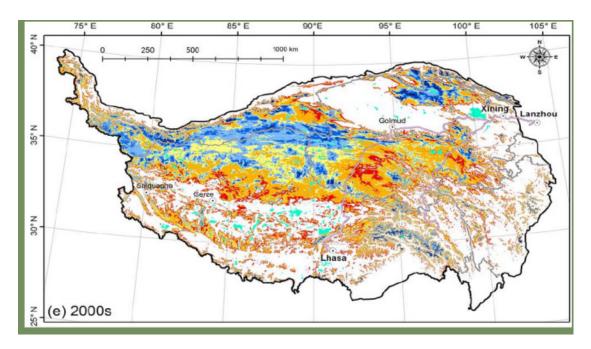
Rapid glacier melting in Tibe is clearly evident by seeing the indication of forming more lakes and an increase in their size. Few lakes in Tibet with quantified expanded areas were reported for three reasons: increased precipitation, glacial melt, and a decrease in evaporation. Generally, the widely known lakes in Tibet, SilingTso, Namtso, and Tson Ngon are largely glaciers fed, due to which changes in cryospheric melting are causing the changes in lake areas. Siling Tso lake is increasing by 0.6 meters of water level per year and Tso Ngon had increased by 1 meter since 2000. Before that, a reduction of 3 meters in water level was observed between 1961 to 2000. This is a direct impact of cryospheric melts in Tibet.

With an increased rise which is in temperature and changing intensity of precipitation, Tibetan Plateau is witnessing intensifying cryospheric melt and experiencing a warmer winter. Extreme cold days are decreasing while warm days are increasing. The glacier which usually melt in the spring season had started melting earlier and these changes in time will affect the water's availability. Precipitation which is harder to forecast than the Temperature is falling as liquid precipitation in the form of rain instead of snow.

Although cryospheric is depleting in the Antarctic and Caucasus, intense cryospheric melting in Tibet will affect far larger people. As Asia's major rivers flow out from Tibet, alterations in the amount and timing of water availability from changes in the cryosphere will further impact the water availability in the rivers downstream. According to the paper "Real World Protection for the "Third Pole" and Its People", "Continued deglaciation is expected to have profound impacts on the hydrological regimes of the ten river basins originating in the Third Pole".

Permafrost degradation and snow cover reduction further exacerbate glacier melt in Tibet. Due to permafrost degradation, river runoff is affected and reduced snow cover is decreasing its surface albedo which helps in accelerating glacier melt. A depth of 0.1 to 0.2 centimeters of snow cover has been reduced on Nyenchen Tanglha.





Permafrost warming and degradation on the Tibetan Plateau between 1960 – 2000.

Source: Ran, Li, and Cheng 2018

According to Echo Xie who wrote an article in south china morning post which was published on 3 July 2022, says 1,000 species of bacteria were found in the samples that had been taken from the ice and glaciers in Tibet. This bacteria is harmful to humans as well as to animals as mentioned by scientists. Scientists also fear that these bacteria in glaciers will cause risk to human life, especially in the most populated countries like China and India if the glaciers will recede and bacteria will be unleashed.

Water sourced from Tibet flows into different lowlands areas. The significance of the cryosphere of the Tibetan Plateau is not just to regulate and provide the freshwater supply to downstream areas, the socioeconomic stability of those areas are largely dependent on the rivers that originate from Tibet. Especially those countries whose livelihoods and economics are elying on agriculture. For instance, the Indus river is the lifeline of an agriculture-based economy. Not just that, 100 million farmers from India and Pakistan used water that directly comes from Indus and Ganges for their irrigation purposes. Agriculture production in Pakistan is not possible without relating to the Indus River that emerges from Tibet. Zachu river which originates from Tibet is proving water support to more than 70 million people in six southeast Asian countries.

The Senge Khabab (Ch: Indus) river is largely fed by glaciers and snow, 44.8% of glacier melt is contributed to the Indus river basin. Due to this river being joined with less rainfed tributaries and flowing within arid regions, the cryosphere with 45 % of snow and 31 % of glaciers is the major source of water for the Indus river which originates from Tibet. The river also provides productivity during the pre-monsoon in areas drained by the river. For instance, 60 percent of irrigation for the Indus basin comes from mountain snow and glacier melt. Zachu and Yarlung Tsangpo are indeed used for large upstream hydropower generations and the fisheries industry while Machu (Yellow) river is used for industrial purposes. Machu river entered into different Chinese provinces particularly, Henan and Shangdong provinces which constitute a large population and is also highly dependent on this river.

Different studies which project the future climate change on the third pole warned that even if the global average temperature will be kept at 1.5 degrees celsius which is above the pre-industrial level, one-third of glaciers will be lost in High mountain Asia, particularly the Himalayas which will lose half of its glacial mass.

Therefore, Tibet is under serious threat of rapid climate change impacts. This climate change will further intensify in the coming year if suitable action is not enforced. From 2016 onwards, disasters frequently hit Tibet, and under the current state of climate scenario, Tibet will face more disasters than before. To protect the third pole and to secure water support for more than half of the world's population, collective action should be enforced.

Endnote

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