



Written testimony to supplement the record provided by the International Campaign for Tibet to the Congressional Executive-Commission on China for “The PRC’s Universal Periodic Review and the Real State of Human Rights in China”

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The International Campaign for Tibet is grateful to CECC Chair Smith and Co-Chair Merkley for the opportunity to provide the following testimony for this hearing. As the largest Tibet support group in the world, the International Campaign for Tibet seeks to help Tibetans in their peaceful struggle for democracy and human rights and works to preserve Tibet’s ancient culture of wisdom.

#### **Introduction**

At the Jan. 23, 2024 United Nations Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the People’s Republic of China (PRC) found itself under unprecedented international scrutiny for its human rights violations in Tibet and the manifold atrocities it inflicts on the Tibetan people. The UPR presents one of the most potent international tools to evaluate human right records nation by nation, and the results matter. One of the best measures of a nation’s concern is the number of questions and recommendations dedicated to an issue.

This year the questions and recommendations related directly to Tibet increased more than twofold since the PRC’s previous review in 2018. This increase is simultaneously a sign of hope and warning. It means international awareness of and commitment to His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s message of peace, justice and democracy has strengthened. The warning is that in the intervening years since the last UPR, the persecution of the Tibetan people has only risen, particularly under the Xi Jinping regime.

This includes both civil and political rights as well as the economic, social and cultural rights of the Tibetan people. Violations have been widespread and systematic, and policies to erode Tibetan Buddhism, the Tibetan language and the Tibetan way of life constitute a fundamental threat to the survival of an authentic and self-determined Tibetan people with associated rights.

In this context, it is important to parse the severe impact the PRC agenda is already having on the rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people while also underscoring the many signs of greater scrutiny China should expect now that the curtain has been pulled further back. This places a burden on the Chinese government to rapidly institute a sharp course change that adopts and implements international law, as well as basic ethical standards.

#### **Disgraceful Record: People’s Republic of China Universal Review**

Before addressing the numerous violations occurring in Tibet let us evaluate the UPR process itself and how the PRC attempts to outmaneuver inspection. Here is an example taken from the Chinese government’s report at the UPR. The report indicates that the PRC consulted 40 non-governmental organizations. Further examination of the report reveals that these so-called non-governmental

organizations are closely aligned with the Chinese government. Some of them are regularly present in Geneva and vigorously toe the party line regarding Tibetans, Uyghurs, Hong Kongers, and Chinese rights defenders, for example in the course of the review of China at the UN Committee on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights in 2023. In contrast, Tibetans in Tibet are barred from freely contributing to the UPR process. For one, there are simply no independent civil society organizations in Tibet that represent Tibetan aspirations outside the party and the state. Secondly, Tibetans in Tibet cannot speak out without fear of persecution, fear of being detained, of being tortured or worse. The UPR process, as conducted by the Chinese government, therefore, is not “people centered” but fully state- and party-centered.

Also, the PRC’s use of intimidation and other tactics to dominate the UPR process itself should not be ignored. Two examples stand out. First, stacking the deck. Comparatively, the Chinese delegation far outnumbers those from other nations, as does its cadre of GONGOs (government-organized NGOs). At the UPR session, the Chinese delegation comprised more than 50 representatives. In addition, there was a considerably high number of GONGO representatives populating side events and the building. Evidence also shows the systematic photographing during the UPR session by diplomats and GONGO members of civil society delegates before and after the session, inside and outside the UN premises. Not only does this produce an immediate disruption in proceedings, but it also clearly shows the threat of post-UPR reprisals. Notable too was the unusually high number of statements made by member states, which counted more than 160. Given the limited time of the session, this reduced the speaking slots for each state to 45 seconds. As a result, states that attempted to challenge the PRC’s human rights record were forced to adapt the quantity and quality of their recommendations at the session to those 45 seconds. Additionally, the large number of states wanting to give statements led to a reduction of space in the room, as indicated by UN staff in the room allowing only 15 civil society organizations to take seats at the session. It must be presumed that most of the states speaking out and upping the number of speakers were motivated by the PRC delegation to do so. It was notable that their statements could have been drafted by the PRC, and media reports citing diplomats give reason for concern that the PRC indeed had instructed those particular states to deliver statements supporting PRC policies. All of this clearly points to a systematic strategy of the PRC to use loopholes in the process to reduce criticism of its policies through states and through civil society. A final point is that this cycle of review brought to bear a greater swath of the faith community speaking together regarding not only the horrendous record of the PRC but also how its behavior must be taken seriously by leaders around the world—not just in solidarity, but also as a warning to the global community that freedom of religion is a universal right and must be defended for each country, community and individual.

### **Freedom of Religion**

Freedom of religion was a consistent theme at China’s evaluation. Specifically, Xi Jinping has accelerated CCP plans to alter Tibetan Buddhism’s very identity to make it subservient to the Chinese Communist Party. Traditionally the Tibetan monastic community is bound by spiritual codes of conduct developed through the centuries by the ecclesiastical community. However, today China requires the monastic community to hold the Communist doctrine and the party as higher authority than Buddhist precepts even on spiritual matters. Over the years, the Chinese state has promulgated various regulations to bring Tibetan monasteries and monastics under tighter control of the state, including in relation to the management of financial affairs of monasteries and through new behavioral controls and surveillance requirements. These methods are being asserted behind the veil of laws and regulations.<sup>1</sup> The CCP’s efforts to interfere in the reincarnation process of Tibetan spiritual leaders in and outside Tibet is an egregious violation of Tibetan Buddhists’ right to religious freedom. It threatens to cause enormous upheaval when the CCP disregards the Tibetan Buddhist leaders’ process for determining the current 14th Dalai Lama’s reincarnation and anoints its own handpicked successor as the 15th Dalai Lama. There is a disturbing precedent for this profoundly

politicized human rights violation. In 1995, Chinese authorities kidnapped and disappeared a 6-year-old boy, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, and his family just three days after the current Dalai Lama recognized him as the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama.

Shortly thereafter, Beijing installed its own patently false Panchen Lama, Gyaltzen Norbu. Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his family have not been seen in public since 1995, and no evidence has been provided that they are still alive.<sup>2</sup> UN special procedures and treaty bodies have consistently raised the case of the Panchen Lama with the Chinese government and have urged the Chinese government to respect the religious rights of Tibetan Buddhists, including their right to recognize their religious leaders without interference by the government. Several nations' questions took direct aim at this situation. For example, the United States included the following: "Will China state publicly and unequivocally that it will not interfere with Tibetans' ability to choose their religious and spiritual leaders, including the next Dalai Lama?" The U.S. was not the only government that raised Chinese interference in religion. Examples include Switzerland's inquiry, "Will the Chinese Government adhere to internationally recognized standards to protect freedom of religion or belief by refraining from interfering with the Tibetan people's right to choose its own clergy, including on the next Dalai Lama?" The United Kingdom's submission echoed this, stating "What steps is the Government taking to ensure that the right to freedom of religion or belief is respected and protected for members of all religious and ethnic groups in China, including Muslim-majority ethnic groups in Xinjiang, Tibetan Buddhists including Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and Go Sherab Gyatso, and other religious groups including Christians such as Pastors Wang Yi and Zhang Chunlei?"

These challenges are welcome and help reveal the truth behind the Chinese government's 2019-2023 five-year plan to co-opt Buddhism in China by emphasizing loyalty to the CCP and the state.<sup>3</sup> Operating under the control of the state-run Buddhist Association of China, the plan includes Tibetan Buddhism. The CCP's "Administrative Measures for Religious Organizations," promulgated in 2020, further formalized administrative procedures for "Sinifying" (eroding the distinct characteristics) of all religions, including Tibetan Buddhism, to "follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics." Further, these developments have been acknowledged in concerns raised by United Nations treaty bodies.<sup>4</sup> [OBJ] A particularly glaring example came during the 7th Tibet Work Forum of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) concluded under the leadership of Secretary General Xi Jinping, where the party indicated the top priority being assigned to Tibet by the Chinese leadership and reiterated policy guidelines that represent a threat to Tibetan culture and human rights. There was considerable emphasis on ensuring "national security" and "ethnic solidarity." Tibetan Buddhism should<sup>5</sup> in adapting to socialist society and should be "developed in the Chinese context," the Work Forum stated. [OBJ] Against this background, the Chinese authorities continue to limit Tibetans' rights to freedom of opinion and expression and freedoms of peaceful association and of assembly.

Individuals are routinely arbitrarily detained, subjected to torture and denied due process in the criminal justice system for voicing basic concerns about social and environmental issues. Tibetans continue to peacefully resist despite intensified and preemptive policing.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the CCP is systematically interfering in the exercise of the right to freedom of religion of Tibetan Buddhists.

### **Language Destruction**

The uprooting of language rights and the ability for Tibetan youth to receive robust education in their mother tongue and associated equal economic and political access were also primary concerns at the UPR. The Chinese government has implemented a boarding school system that separates Tibetan children from their families and enforces Chinese language education. This attack on the root of Tibetan society leaves parents in fear that their language, culture, religion and identity will be rapidly erased. Recent reports by the Tibet Action Institute<sup>7</sup> and the International Campaign for Tibet<sup>8</sup> reveal China's vast network of boarding schools for students from as young as age 4 across Tibet and beyond. Across Tibet, at least 800,000 Tibetan children aged 6 to 18 are living in such schools,

making up 75% of Tibetan students in this age group. At least another 100,000 children aged 4 to 6 live in pre-school boarding schools.<sup>9</sup>

This is not a new phenomenon. In Tibet, Mandarin (Putonghua) Chinese is rapidly replacing Tibetan as the language of education. China has promoted its so-called “Sinification” agenda under the pretense of “national unity” by using terms such as “bilingual education,” “mixed classes,” “concentrated schooling” and “ethnic mingling.” The National Long-Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010-2020) and the Thirteenth Five-Year Development Plan for National Language Works (2016-2020) promoted the use of written and spoken Mandarin as the official national language of China.<sup>11</sup> As well, the language and culture of the Han majority are inculcated daily at boarding schools. As a result, Tibetan language and cultural proficiency wanes, and many Tibetan students lose their ability to read and write in their mother tongue.<sup>12</sup> By 2007, 95% of all primary schools in the Tibet Autonomous Region (which spans roughly half of Tibet) employed Mandarin as the medium of education.<sup>14</sup> Further, students live separated from their families, potentially facing psychological, physical and emotional harm. Children are subjected to highly politicized education in the Chinese language. As a result, Tibetan students become strangers to their families and communities and subsequently their culture. Importantly, the student body is taught in Mandarin as the CCP is keenly aware that the mother tongue is one of the most fundamental components of the continuity of a people’s identity from one generation to the next. It also knows language is one of the last impasses for its control of Tibet and the Tibetan people. Putting the PRC on the spot, nations at the UPR made multiple stark statements of concern. For example, the Netherlands questioned: “Will the Government implement the Concluding Observations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of February 2023 and the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women of May 2023 to immediately abolish the coerced residential school system imposed on Tibetan children and allow private Tibetan schools to be (re)established?” Australia also addressed the issue of child separation and forced boarding school enrollment, stating that “Australia is deeply concerned about reports detailing China’s assimilationist policies, including forced labour transfer programs and the coerced separation of Tibetan children from their families through state-run boarding schools.” The increasing focus on these policies during the UPR (and outside it) is warranted and essential as uprooting native language is particularly egregious in the case of Tibetan culture, considering the role memorization and recitation play in a rigorous monastic education system. If the CCP’s program to sever the transmission of Tibetan language and culture to Tibetan youth proves successful, it will significantly advance the PRC’s agenda to contain and erase Tibetan civilization.

### **Forced and coerced population displacement**

Since the 1980s, Tibetans have undergone an unprecedented process of forced or coerced displacement. This expulsion from their traditional lands most often occurs under the policies of “ecological migration” (Chinese: shengtai yimin), “converting pastures to grasslands” (tuimu huancao) and the “comfortable housing project,” which are mere euphemisms for the mass dislocation of Tibetans to so-called “small wellbeing” (xiaokang) accommodation, where they are essentially concentrated into sedentary dwellings and dispossessed of their way of life and ability to make a living. In 2018, the Chinese authorities introduced yet another cover story for displacement, namely the “very high-altitude relocation” program. Targets of these policies are nomads, herders, farmers and Tibetans living in rural areas of Tibet, causing further disenfranchisement. This also was raised at the UPR,<sup>15</sup> and the scale is clear. According to Chinese government media sources, indicating resettlement data beginning in 2001, at least 1.8 million nomads have been moved into sedentary houses under various Chinese government policies.<sup>16</sup> This is likely an extremely

conservative estimate.<sup>17</sup> In areas of relocation, displaced Tibetans have not received compensation or assurances of income or employment for the future.<sup>18</sup> The planning and implementation of Chinese policies aimed at protecting the environment or mitigating climate change respect neither the rights nor role of Tibetans. For example, Article 26 of the regulations on Nature Reserves<sup>19</sup> imposes a ban on grazing and the gathering of medicinal herbs but fails to specify processes for access to alternative grasslands for Tibetan nomads and herders. By 2022, the government of the TAR announced that half of its land area was designated as <sup>2021</sup> This is part of a larger plan to displace 130,000 Tibetans by 2025 under the “very high-altitude relocation program.”<sup>20</sup> Importantly, the Chinese government argues it achieved 100% voluntary relocation<sup>22</sup>. Independent research indicates consent was compelled by threats of government services withdrawal, “thought work,” closing local schools, sending children to schools in the resettlement sites and other punitive measures.<sup>23 24</sup> Pastoralists expressed alarm at losing connection to their land and their personal dignity and about securing new livelihoods. More than one-third of the 93 pastoralists interviewed for the above-referenced research expressed concerns about their ability to pay their share of the resettlement house cost.

### **Coercive Labor and Displacement.**

China’s forced relocation policies are also directly related to coercive labor programs. Recent research indicates that these programs entail military-style political indoctrination and training and “assignment” to workplaces, most likely not voluntarily, under unclear remuneration schemes. In 2019 and 2020, the TAR introduced the “2019-2020 Farmer and Pastoralist Training and Labor Transfer Action Plan,”<sup>25</sup> which includes measures for the “training” and “transfer” of “rural surplus laborers” to certain parts of the TAR and China.<sup>26</sup> According to independent research, China’s labor policy mandates that pastoralists and farmers be subjected to centralized military-style vocational training, which aims to reform “backward thinking” and includes training in “work discipline,” law and the Chinese language,<sup>27</sup> revealing a discriminatory perception and widespread social stigma toward Tibetans. On this topic, U.N. Special Rapporteur Tomoya Obokata issued a damning statement, indicating that the often coercive, or forced, work programs may “amount to contemporary forms of slavery, including excessive surveillance, abusive living and working conditions, restriction of movement through internment, threats, physical and/or sexual violence and other inhuman or degrading treatment, some instances may amount to enslavement as a crime against humanity, meriting a further independent analysis.”<sup>28</sup>

### **Arbitrary Detention, Torture, and Ill-Treatment**

The following quote taken from the United States’ submission distills the PRC’s unmitigated dismissal of human rights and international law and reveals a callous disregard for actions that threaten the life and limb of individuals brave enough to express their religious beliefs or the slightest dissent. “What are China’s plans to cease human rights abuses, including unjust detentions, forced labor, harassment, and reprisals, against human rights defenders, journalists, members of civil society organizations, activists, lawyers, and their family members throughout the country, including in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Hong Kong – as called for by reports of the UN Secretary-General, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention?” In 2022, the International Campaign for Tibet published a report analyzing information regarding 50 cases of known Tibetan environmental defenders persecuted by the Chinese government since 2008.<sup>29</sup> The report outlined a pattern adopted by the Chinese authorities according to which Tibetans who advocate for the protection of the environment and for social and development-related issues are subjected to harassment, torture, ill-treatment and criminal persecution. Recent examples of this pattern of persecution abound. Anya Sengdra, the

environmental activist who peacefully campaigned against alleged corruption, illegal mining activities, and the illegal hunting and poaching of endangered animals in Tibet was arrested and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. On Oct. 26, 2020, Go Sherab Gyatso, a Tibetan Buddhist scholar, writer and advocate for Tibet's religious and cultural traditions, was subjected to enforced disappearance and arbitrary detention. Over a year later, in November 2021, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison in a closed-door trial.<sup>30</sup> Other examples include the sentencing of six notable Tibetan writers and former political prisoners, Gangkye Drubpa Kyab, Tsering Dolma, Samdup, Gangbu Yudrum, Seynam and Pema Rinchen, to prison terms ranging from four to 14 years. Tibetan political prisoners like these are routinely tortured and mistreated, often resulting in their death not long after their release. On Feb. 6, 2021, Kunchok Jinpa, 51, died in a hospital in Lhasa less than three months after being released from prison. In January 2021, 19-year-old Tenzin Nyima died soon after being released from police custody. Authorities initially detained him two days after he and three other monks briefly distributed leaflets and shouted slogans calling for Tibetan independence. The protests occurred as local officials increasingly put pressure on forcibly resettled nomads and local residents to publicly praise the government's poverty alleviation program.<sup>31</sup> There also is grave concern about the imprisoned Tibetan businessman and philanthropist Dorjee Tashi, who underwent severe torture, revealed in testimony eventually made public. He is currently serving his prison term in the notorious TAR Prison No 1, colloquially known as Drapchi Prison, where Tibetan prisoners are known to be tortured during their incarceration. On Feb. 15, 2022, the popular Tibetan singer Tsewang Norbu (Chinese: Caiwang Luobu), described by *The Economist* as "the Chinese government's ideal minority youth,"<sup>32</sup> set himself on fire in front of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, most likely in protest against CCP policies in Tibet. He later died in the hospital from his injuries.<sup>33</sup>

### **Environmental Sustainability and Environmental Defenders**

As we know, resource exploitation and environmental appropriation almost always overlay a thick blanket of oppression. Tibet does not escape this paradigm. The persecution the PRC implements in its policies of plunder are deeply intertwined with its environmental and so-called development projects. One of the most illustrative examples is water. China is water poor. In contrast, the Tibetan Plateau is the source of the entire region's major rivers; at least 1.5 billion people rely on it for food and economic development.<sup>34</sup> In this context, the PRC has erected numerous, massive damming projects and continues extensive plans for water diversion. Damming itself leads to a host of local and downstream environmental impacts, including sedimentation and biodiversity harm, as well as a growing body of science questioning the veracity of climate pollution benefits,<sup>35</sup> among others. It should also be noted that dam building routinely "necessitates" large-scale removal of people from traditional lands and communities in the path of these already harmful projects. Equally if not more disturbing, China's existing dam network and massive damming plans will only expand Beijing's extant ability to assert political hegemony based on its control of South and Southeast Asia's water tap. This fact is certainly not lost on the Chinese Communist Party. In 2022, the International Campaign for Tibet published a report analyzing information regarding 50 cases of known Tibetan environmental defenders persecuted by the Chinese government since 2008. The report outlined a pattern adopted by the Chinese authorities, according to which Tibetans who advocate for the protection of the environment and for social and development-related issues are subjected to harassment, torture, ill-treatment and criminal persecution. In short, voicing or communicating concern over these matters puts Tibetan lives at risk of detainment, disappearance or worse, and thus fear permeates the plateau, leaving many silenced. The United States addressed this dynamic head on, stating: "Development projects in Tibet that damage ecosystems and degrade natural

resources and water security, and that result in the forcible relocation and resettlement of members of nomadic populations, affect these persons' economic, social, and cultural rights under ICESCR and protections against discrimination under CERD. Will China stop these destructive actions and ensure genuine inclusion and participation by local communities for sustainable development, including in UNESCO heritage areas?"

### **Lack of Access to Tibet and Cooperation with UN Mechanisms**

Tibet is one of the least-accessible regions in the world for foreign visitors, including diplomats, journalists and independent observers.<sup>36</sup> Its complete isolation is part of the Chinese government's strategy to oppress the Tibetan people by denying international scrutiny of the CCP's violations of basic human rights. In many ways, this lack of transparency facilitates all other methods of persecution inflicted on the Tibetan people. Darkness hides the worst forms of atrocity, and China must be called to account. This central fact of Beijing's systematic oppressive policies and agenda to blind the international community through propaganda and silence thus took high profile at the UPR, with countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United States emphasizing it. For example, Australia asked "What is China doing to ... allow meaningful and unfettered access to Xinjiang and Tibet for independent human rights observers, including the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Special Procedures mandate holders?"

The TAR is the only region for which Chinese authorities require foreigners, including foreign media, to have special permission to enter. According to a report by the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China, all three foreign journalists who applied for permission to enter the TAR in 2022 had their request rejected.<sup>37</sup> Mary Robinson was the last UN High Commissioner for Human Rights who was able to visit Tibet in September 1998.<sup>38</sup> The last UN special procedures' mandate holder who was able to undertake an official fact-finding mission to Tibet was Manfred Nowak—then special rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment—in 2005.<sup>39</sup>

China's inconsistent Potemkin shows for foreigners provide no meaningful validation of China's claims nor the actual reality on the ground. This fact alone should motivate the international community to continue to firmly press on the questions already submitted and call China to account for any refusal to prove its claims that the Tibetan people face no discrimination or persecution under its iron-clad control.

### **Recommendations to the United States government**

- Use its voice and vote at the United Nations Human Rights Council proceedings to hold the Chinese government accountable for its severe and increasing human rights abuses inflicted on the Tibetan people.
- Continue to advocate for full, unfettered access to Tibet by an independent human rights review mechanism.
- Fully implement the Tibetan Policy and Support Act requirements to press the Chinese government to return to the negotiating table with Tibetan leadership, without preconditions, to find a mutually beneficial agreement to end the China-Tibet conflict, including building on the UPR to formulate international coalitions.
- Fully implement the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act.

- Actively and directly counter the pervasive Chinese propaganda regarding the Tibetan people, their religion, culture, and His Holiness the Dalai Lama.
- Use all available tools, including sanctions, to hold the Chinese government accountable for its brutal occupation of Tibet.

<sup>1</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, *Tibetan monasteries face tighter control under new religious financial management measures*, 1 June 2022; <https://savetibet.org/tibetan-monasteries-face-tighter-control-under-new-religious-financial-management-measures/>

<sup>2</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, *UN experts write to China on Panchen Lama, reincarnation rules*, 4 August 2020; <https://savetibet.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/08042020-UN.pdf>; Full text of communication from five UN experts (Special Procedures) to the Chinese government about the ongoing enforced disappearance of the Panchen Lama, 2 June 2020; <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gld=25294>

<sup>3</sup> Buddhist Association of China, *Outline of the Five-Year work plan for adhering to the Sinicisation of Buddhism [2019-2023]*, 14 November 2019 [in Chinese]; <http://www.chinabuddhism.com.cn/e/action/Showinfo.php?classid=506&id=40672>

<sup>4</sup> China Tibet News, *Regulations on the establishment of a model area for ethnic unity and progress in the Tibet Autonomous Region*, 15 January 2020 [in Chinese]; [http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content\\_10887.html](http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content_10887.html); China Tibet News, *Regulations on the establishment of a model area for ethnic unity and progress in the Tibet Autonomous Region*, 15 January 2020 [in Chinese]; [http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content\\_10887.html](http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content_10887.html); China Tibet News, *Regulations on the establishment of a model area for ethnic unity and progress in the Tibet Autonomous Region*, 15 January 2020 [in Chinese]; [http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content\\_10887.html](http://epaper.chinatibetnews.com/xzrb/202001/15/content_10887.html)

<sup>6</sup> Since 2009, at least 159 Tibetans have committed self-immolation to protest against Chinese repressive policies, the lack of fundamental freedoms and to ask for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet. See <https://savetibet.org/tibetan-self-immolations/>

<sup>7</sup> Tibet Action Institute, *Separated from their families, hidden from the world - China's Vast System of Colonial Boarding Schools Inside Tibet*, December 2021; [https://s7712.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2021\\_ColonialBoardingSchoolReport\\_Digital.pdf](https://s7712.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2021_ColonialBoardingSchoolReport_Digital.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, *Tibetans sent to mainland Chinese schools under guise of "progress"*, 12 January 2021; <https://savetibet.org/tibetans-sent-to-mainland-chinese-schools-under-guise-of-progress/>

<sup>9</sup> New York Times, *One Nation Under Xi: How China's Leader Is Remaking Its Identity*, 11 October 2022; <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/11/world/asia/xi-jinping-china-nationhood.html>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> 2007 Research report by the TAR Bilingual Education Commission cited in Ma Rong, *The Process of Bilingual Education Development in the TAR since 1951*, 2013; in *Minority Education in China: Balancing Unity and Diversity in an Era of Critical Pluralism* 101 (James Leibold & Yangbin Chen eds.), 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Human Rights Watch, *They Say We Should Be Grateful" Mass Relocation and Relocation Programs in Tibetan Areas of China*, 4 June 2013; [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/tibet0613webwcover\\_0.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/tibet0613webwcover_0.pdf); CGTN, *Tibet: How China's toughest battleground defeated absolute poverty?*, 16 October 2020; <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2020-10-16/How-Tibet-eliminated-absolute-poverty-despite-harsh-climate--UDkSdO4J5S/index.html>; Xinhua, *Massive nomad settlement to protect "mother river"*, 1 December 2012; <http://en.people.cn/90882/8041990.html>; China Daily, *Over 1 million Tibetan nomads choose settlement*, 6 July 2012; [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-07/06/content\\_15555645.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-07/06/content_15555645.htm); China Daily, *Families moving into the modern era*, 7 August 2015, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/tibet50years/2015-08/07/content\\_21525294.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/tibet50years/2015-08/07/content_21525294.htm)

<sup>17</sup> Human Rights Watch, *They Say We Should Be Grateful" Mass Relocation and Relocation Programs in Tibetan Areas of China*, 4 June 2013; [https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/tibet0613webwcover\\_0.pdf](https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/tibet0613webwcover_0.pdf); CGTN

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Regulations of the People's Republic of China on nature reserves*, in FAOLEX, <https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/en/c/LEX-FAOC011954/>

<sup>21</sup> State Council of the People's Republic of China, *Half of Tibet set as ecological protection zone*, 12 October 2022; [http://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202210/12/content\\_WS6346005cc6d0a757729e118c.html](http://english.www.gov.cn/news/topnews/202210/12/content_WS6346005cc6d0a757729e118c.html)

<sup>23</sup> Nyima, Y., & Yeh, E., *The Construction of Consent for High-altitude Resettlement in Tibet. The China Quarterly*, 2023; pages 254 and 429-447.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Adrian Zenz, *Xinjiang's System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet*, 22 September 2020; in *China Brief* 2020, Volume: 20, issue: 17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> UN Human Rights Council, A/HRC/51/26, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Tomoya Obokata", p.8.

<sup>29</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, *Environmental defenders of Tibet*, June 2022; [https://savetibet.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/2205-ICFT-Report\\_V8.pdf](https://savetibet.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/2205-ICFT-Report_V8.pdf)

<sup>30</sup> Radio Free Asia, *Tibetan writer given 10-year prison term in secret trial*, 10 December 2021; <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/trial-12102021135859.html>; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, *Eminent Tibetan scholar Go Sherab Gyatso sentenced to ten years in prison*, 13 December 2021; <https://tchrd.org/eminent-tibetan-scholar-go-sherab-gyatso-sentenced-to-ten-years-in-prison/>

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- <sup>31</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, *Tibetan monk dies after beating in custody: pattern of torture and mistreatment in Tibet must end*, 22 January 2021; <https://savetibet.org/tibetan-monk-dies-after-beating-in-custody-pattern-of-torture-and-mistreatment-in-tibet-must-end/>
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