

V. Tibet

Findings

- The Commission did not observe any interest or progress on the part of Chinese Communist Party and government officials in resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama's representatives. The negotiations have been stalled since the ninth round of negotiations was held in January 2010.
- The Party and government continued to use legal and policy measures to manage and shape the religious practices of Tibetans. Tibetan Buddhism is one of five state-recognized religions, and falls under the formal jurisdiction of the state-controlled Buddhist Association of China, which this year issued two revised measures governing the credentialing of Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel and the hiring of monastic leaders at Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions.
- Officials in Tibetan areas of China continued to enforce restrictions on religious observance and expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays. Authorities in Sichuan province continued to carry out evictions of monks and nuns and demolition of monastic residences at the Yachen Gar Tibetan Buddhist complex.
- The Chinese government and Communist Party continued to assert control over the processes of selection and recognition of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnated teachers, including the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhist leaders outside China maintained that the decision to reincarnate, or not, belongs to the individual in question and members of the Tibetan Buddhist religious community.
- The frequency of Tibetan self-immolation continued to decline. The Commission observed reports of only one Tibetan self-immolation, bringing the total number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reportedly focusing on political or religious issues to 150. Yonten, a 24-year-old nomad and former monk, fatally self-immolated in November 2019.
- The Tibet Autonomous Region government passed regulations on "ethnic unity" that mandate acceptance and promotion of Party and government ethnic and religious policy across a wide variety of social sectors and at multiple levels of society. The regulations include vague language providing for criminal sanctions for those who have "irresolute stances and attitudes in the fight against separatism."
- In contravention of international human rights standards, security officials continued to punish residents of Tibetan areas of China for the exercise of their protected rights, including expression of religious belief, protest against or criticism of government or Party policies, and free expression.

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Recommendations

Members of the U.S. Congress and Administration officials are encouraged to:

- Enact the Tibetan Policy and Support Act (H.R. 4331/S. 2539) to reaffirm U.S. support for the protection of human rights and religious freedom in Tibet and the preservation of Tibet's distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic identity; to promote interagency coordination on Tibetan issues; and to confirm as U.S. policy that the question of succession or reincarnation for the 14th Dalai Lama is a matter solely reserved for the Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people.
- The Administration should appoint a high-level official, at or above the rank of Under Secretary of State, to the position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues.
- Encourage the Chinese government and Communist Party to respect, as a matter of the right to religious freedom and as recognized under Chinese and international law, that it is the right of Tibetan Buddhists to identify and educate all religious teachers, including the Dalai Lama, in a manner consistent with Tibetan Buddhist practices and traditions. Urge the Chinese government to cease treating the Dalai Lama as a security threat, and encourage the resumption of genuine dialogue, without preconditions, between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.
- In interactions with Chinese officials, call for the release of Tibetan political prisoners currently detained or imprisoned for the peaceful exercise of their human rights. The records of detained Tibetans in the Commission's Political Prisoner Database provide a useful resource for such advocacy. Urge the Chinese government and its law enforcement and security forces to end the use of arbitrary detention, disappearance, beatings, torture, and intimidation to suppress and punish Tibetans' peaceful exercise of their rights.
- Urge the Chinese government to invite a representative of an international organization to meet with **Gedun Choekyi Nyima**, whom the Dalai Lama recognized as the 11th Panchen Lama, and his parents, all three of whom disappeared shortly after his recognition as Panchen Lama in 1995.

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Status of Negotiations Between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama or His Representatives

During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, the Commission did not observe any interest on the part of Chinese Communist Party and government officials in resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama's representatives, which have been stalled since the ninth round of negotiations was held in January 2010. Chinese government and Party officials denounced the Dalai Lama and his representatives in public statements.¹

Religious Freedom for Tibetans

The Party and government continued to use national-level laws and regulations, in conjunction with provincial- and local-level legal measures, in attempts to manage and shape the religious practices of Tibetans, particularly practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism. International observers and rights advocacy groups expressed concern that Chinese religious policy and its implementation continue to violate international human rights standards, including the right to freely worship and to choose one's own religion.² Several national measures deal with Tibetan Buddhism specifically, with the management of Tibetan Buddhism formally under the jurisdiction of the Buddhist Association of China, one of five state-controlled religious organizations. [For more information on religion in China, see Section II—Freedom of Religion.]

During the 2020 reporting year, several national-level measures governing Tibetan Buddhism were passed or came into effect:

In July 2019, the Buddhist Association of China revised two measures regulating the credentialing of all Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel, namely monks and nuns, and including "living Buddhas" (*huofo*),³ and regulating the hiring of monastic leaders at Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions.⁴ Both revised measures retained identical provisions requiring that Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel support the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and government, including opposing "separatism" and supporting the Party's leaders.⁵ The revised measures added language requiring support from religious personnel for the Party's policy goal of "the sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism."⁶

Both measures also kept provisions establishing punishments, including suspension or cancellation of religious credentials and suspension or removal from one's religious post, for religious personnel who violate certain guidelines.⁷ The Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel prohibit behavior that harms ethnic unity or social stability or promotes separatism,⁸ and include a new provision punishing religious personnel who organize or conduct unauthorized religious activities.⁹ The Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries contain similar provisions prohibiting monastic leaders from engaging in "separatist activities" and activities that "harm ethnic unity and social stability" and "separatist activities,"¹⁰ and from "receiving the support of overseas organizations and individuals."¹¹

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In November 2019, the National Religious Affairs Administration passed the Measures for the Management of Religious Groups as part of the implementation of the 2018 Regulations on Religious Affairs.¹² The Measures, which took effect in February 2020, require religious organizations to support the Communist Party's political leadership of China and the policy of "sinicizing religion"¹³ and subordination of religious organizations to supervision and oversight by governmental religious affairs bureaus.¹⁴ Under the Measures, religious organizations are also required to publicize Communist Party religious policies and national laws and regulations on religion to both religious leaders and believers.¹⁵ [For more information on the Measures, see Section II—Freedom of Religion.]

Authorities in Tibetan areas of China also enforced restrictions on religious observance and expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays. A Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Committee document obtained by Human Rights Watch in summer 2019 ordered local offices to collect information on retired government workers who performed the Tibetan devotional practice of *kora*, or circumambulation at sacred places and religious sites.¹⁶ The document also requested that local offices recommend punishments for those found to be performing the *kora*.¹⁷ In December 2019, authorities in Lhasa municipality, TAR, reportedly banned students, school officials, and government workers from celebrating Ganden Ngachoe, a Tibetan Buddhist religious festival.¹⁸ In May 2020, TAR officials prohibited Party cadres, retirees, and students from participating in religious events during the holy month of Saga Dawa.¹⁹

Authorities in Baiyu (Palyul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, continued extensive evictions and demolition work, begun in 2016,²⁰ at Yachen Gar, a Buddhist institute and monastic complex in Baiyu. In summer 2019, authorities restricted entry to and exit from the complex to only those with travel authorization from a local monastery's management committee,²¹ and by July expelled from the complex at least 3,600 monks and nuns.²² By the end of August, authorities demolished the homes of 3,000 nuns,²³ and by October demolished between 5,000 and 6,000 homes for monks and nuns.²⁴ Authorities reportedly held 70 expelled nuns in detention for two to three months and forced them to undergo "patriotic education."²⁵ In early 2020, reports emerged that a nun expelled in May 2019 and held for a period in detention had committed suicide to avoid undergoing further "patriotic education."²⁶

THE DALAI LAMA AND REINCARNATION

A policy priority for the Chinese Communist Party and government is exercising control over the selection and recognition of reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist religious figures. Chief among them is the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, who in July 2020 reached the age of 85, and who has lived in India since fleeing into exile in 1959.²⁷ Chinese officials regularly describe the Dalai Lama and his followers as "separatists" seeking to "split the motherland."²⁸

Chinese officials claim legal authority to recognize and select reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist teachers, including the Dalai Lama,

through the 2007 Measures on the Management of Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism.²⁹ The Dalai Lama issued a statement in September 2011 describing the religious foundations of reincarnation and the historical context of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnation, and outlining his own plans for reincarnating, stressing that how and even whether to reincarnate is a decision for the individual in question, in consultation with the religious community of Tibetan Buddhists, not the Chinese Communist Party or government.³⁰ In the statement, the Dalai Lama explicitly rejected the Chinese government's claim that it has authority over the recognition and validation of reincarnate teachers.³¹ In October 2019, the Dalai Lama reportedly suggested that the tradition of reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism should end.³²

Chinese authorities continued to penalize Tibetans for expressions of reverence for the Dalai Lama through criminal and other punishments. Reports emerged in the 2020 reporting year on two cases of Tibetans detained in connection with expressing devotion to the Dalai Lama. In March 2019, authorities in Rikaze (Shigatse) municipality, TAR, detained **Wangchug**, a businessman and resident of Nielamu (Nyalam) county, Rikaze, reportedly for sharing the Dalai Lama's teachings and a book written by the Dalai Lama's brother over the social media platform WeChat.³³ Local officials reportedly later canceled Wangchug's family members' welfare benefits and restricted their ability to travel.³⁴ In May 2019, police in Gangcha (Kangtsa) county, Haibei (Tsojang) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, detained **Thubten Pema Lhundrub** after he prayed to the Dalai Lama.³⁵

Detentions during the 2020 reporting year included the following:

- In July 2019, police in Ruo'ergai (Dzoege) county, Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, held **Rinso**, a Tibetan resident of Ruo'ergai, in detention for 10 days after he reportedly shared a photo of the Dalai Lama on WeChat to celebrate the Dalai Lama's birthday on July 6.³⁶
- On various dates in 2019,³⁷ authorities in parts of Sichuan province searched Tibetans' homes for images of the Dalai Lama. Police in Baiyu (Palyul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, reportedly beat Tibetans in possession of photographs of the Dalai Lama and detained those who prayed for his long life.³⁸
- In late September, police in Shiqu (Sershul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, detained monk **Sonam Yonten**, of Shiqu's Bumnying Monastery, reportedly for possession of a banned image of the Dalai Lama.³⁹ Local authorities heightened security measures around October 1, 2019, the 70th observance of China's National Day, with armed police conducting searches of pedestrians.⁴⁰
- In late December 2019, police in Zuogong (Dzogang) county, Changdu (Chamdo) municipality, TAR, detained **Jampal Dorje** and his son **Tsewang Gyurme** after they used their mobile phones to listen to the Dalai Lama's teachings and to call their family members in India.⁴¹ After obtaining their relatives' phone numbers, authorities made the two men sign a document promising not to call their family or listen to the Dalai Lama's teachings and released them with a warning.⁴²

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Chinese authorities have also required opposition to the Dalai Lama as a condition for public employment. In an October 2019 public examination announcement seeking university graduates for government positions by the TAR Human Resources and Social Security (HRSS) Department, applicants were required not only to support the Communist Party's political leadership, but also to have a "resolute stance on . . . exposing and criticizing the Dalai Lama."⁴³ Provisions containing identical language appeared in other hiring announcements seeking applicants from the TAR, including an August 2019 announcement seeking TAR graduates to work in Zhejiang province⁴⁴ and an October announcement from the Guangdong province and Linzhi (Nyingchi) municipality, TAR, HRSS Departments seeking ethnic minority university graduates.⁴⁵

The 11th Panchen Lama

In September 2019, a Chinese representative to the United Nations reiterated the Chinese government's position that the Dalai Lama's May 1995 recognition of **Gedun Choekyi Nyima** as the 11th Panchen Lama was "illegal and ineffective."⁴⁶ Three days after the Dalai Lama announced the recognition, Chinese authorities detained Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his parents, and have held them incommunicado at an unknown location or locations since.⁴⁷ During the Commission's 2020 reporting year, Chinese government officials maintained that Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his parents did not want to be contacted⁴⁸ and that he was employed and "living [. . .] a normal life."⁴⁹

Tibetan Self-Immolation

In its 2020 reporting year, the Commission observed reports of one self-immolation in Tibetan areas of China, bringing to 150 the number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reported to focus on political or religious issues.⁵⁰ On November 26, 2019, Yonten, a 24-year-old Tibetan nomad and former Kirti Monastery monk, carried out a fatal self-immolation in Mai'erma (Me'uruma) town, Aba (Ngaba) county, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.⁵¹ Reports characterized Yonten's self-immolation as a protest against the Chinese government and its policies in Tibetan areas.⁵² Local police reportedly held his relatives for questioning before returning his remains to them.⁵³

Governance and Policy

ETHNIC UNITY REGULATIONS

On January 11, 2020, the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) People's Congress passed the TAR Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress,⁵⁴ which mandate acceptance and promotion of Communist Party and government ethnic and religious policy across a wide variety of social sectors and at multiple levels, including prefectural and local governmental agencies,⁵⁵ businesses,⁵⁶ religious organizations,⁵⁷ and individual families.⁵⁸ Provisions enlisting organizations or individuals to promote ethnic unity work include:

- **“Sinicizing religion.”** The Regulations require religious bodies and educational institutions to “persevere on the path of sinicizing religions in this country,”⁵⁹ and mandate that religious affairs bureaus guide religious organizations in propaganda education on ethnic unity thought, laws and regulations, and ethnic and religious policy.⁶⁰
- **Media and press.** The Regulations order media enterprises including television broadcasters, publishers, and internet service providers to cooperate with ethnic unity propaganda work, including by participating in celebrations of a yearly “ethnic unity propaganda activities month” in September and Serfs Emancipation Day, celebrated in March since 2009.⁶¹
- **Education.** The Regulations mandate that educational institutions and cultural enterprises such as museums include educational content on ethnic unity in their curricula or programming.⁶²
- **Criminalizing expression.** Article 46 of the Regulations provides for criminal sanctions for those who disseminate speech or spread information harmful to ethnic unity and progress,⁶³ or those who “[harm] national security and unity with irresolute stances and attitudes in the fight against separatism.”⁶⁴

Similar ethnic unity regulations have been passed in previous years in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region⁶⁵ and Qinghai⁶⁶ and Yunnan⁶⁷ provinces, the latter two of which contain Tibetan autonomous areas. [For more on ethnic policy, see Section II—Ethnic Minority Rights.]

Control of Expression and the Free Flow of Information

CONTROL OF EXPRESSION

Authorities in Tibetan areas of China sought to regulate and control speech critical of the Chinese government and Communist Party or their policies in Tibetan areas, and to compel expressions of gratitude or appreciation for the government and Party. Officials in various parts of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) compelled residents to participate in celebrations of China’s National Day (October 1).⁶⁸ In September 2019, police in Daqian (Tarchen) township, Seni district, Naqu (Nagchu) municipality, TAR, detained six Tibetan men because they did not comply with orders for residents to display Chinese flags and learn songs praising the Communist Party in advance of National Day.⁶⁹ Authorities reportedly forced the men to attend political education sessions and dispatched armed police to the home village of one of the detainees.⁷⁰

Dza Bonpo crackdown. In November 2019, police in Shiqu (Sershul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, detained four monks from Shiqu’s Dza Bonpo Monastery after they staged a pro-independence protest at local government offices.⁷¹ Authorities later detained the monks’ teacher in connection with their protest,⁷² as well as a 15-year-old monk who expressed support for the protest online.⁷³ Police also detained two laypersons who protested for Tibetan independence and in support of the detained monks at a local police station later that month.⁷⁴ Following the protests, authorities sent additional secu-

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rity personnel to the area⁷⁵ and detained at least 30 local residents for sending information of the protests outside China.⁷⁶

In March 2020, Party-controlled media reported on new measures, effective in September 2019, aimed at controlling illegal and unauthorized media and publishing in the TAR. The Measures for Rewarding Reporting on “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work, jointly issued by four TAR agencies,⁷⁷ provide for monetary rewards⁷⁸ for individuals who report the publication or broadcast of banned content to one of the issuing agencies, the TAR “Eliminating Pornography and Illegal [Content]” Work Small Leading Group.⁷⁹ The Measures include provisions regarding copyright infringement,⁸⁰ obscenity and pornography,⁸¹ and publishing or broadcasting without official authorization,⁸² in addition to a list of banned political content types.⁸³ An international rights advocacy organization criticized the Measures for “criminaliz[ing] any legitimate criticism”⁸⁴ of Chinese authorities by banning the publication of content critical of the Chinese government or political system⁸⁵ and content that promotes a “high degree of autonomy”⁸⁶ or the “Middle Way.”⁸⁷

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Chinese authorities continued to monitor or restrict contact between Tibetans in China and individuals or groups outside China, including by detaining those found to have contact with Tibetans in exile in India. Beginning in April 2020, authorities in Dingri county, Rikaze (Shigatse) municipality, TAR, investigated between 4,000 and 5,000 families who had relatives living in India or Nepal, recording their personal information, including social media accounts.⁸⁸ Examples of detentions from this reporting year included:

- **Lhadar:** detained in Seni district, Naqu (Nagchu) municipality, TAR, in October 2019, reportedly for “leaking state secrets” by sending information abroad.⁸⁹
- **Lubum Dorje and Tsegan:** detained in Xiahe (Sangchu) county, Gannan (Kanlho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu province, in December 2019 in apparent connection with using WeChat to contact people outside China.⁹⁰

Language Rights

Although China’s Constitution and laws contain provisions affirming the freedom of ethnic minorities to “use and develop”⁹¹ their languages, developments in the 2020 reporting year indicate that authorities continue to threaten minority linguistic rights, including through policies of neglect. Chinese ethnic policy ignores unrecognized linguistic communities, including in Tibetan areas of China,⁹² and users of languages without official recognition lack access to official support in education and other government services.⁹³

During the Commission’s 2020 reporting year, authorities in Tibetan areas of China continued to increase the role of Mandarin and decrease the role of Tibetan and other languages in educational settings.⁹⁴ A March 2020 Human Rights Watch report on recent developments in educational language policy in the Tibet Autonomous Region described a policy of “cultivated ambiguity” in

which formally bilingual education in reality prioritizes instruction in Mandarin.⁹⁵ In Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP), Sichuan province, officials announced that Mandarin would become the language of instruction for all subjects except Tibetan-language class beginning in summer 2020.⁹⁶ Tibetans in Aba expressed concerns over the policy change, saying that it violated legal protections for linguistic and cultural rights and would harm educational outcomes for students.⁹⁷ International rights groups have criticized this shift for threatening Tibetans' right to mother-tongue education.⁹⁸

In some cases, authorities have punished residents of Tibetan areas of China who have expressed criticism of or dissatisfaction with Chinese language or cultural policies. During the 2020 reporting year, information emerged about at least two such cases:

- **Sichuan province.** On September 19, 2019, police in Aba (Ngaba) county, Aba T&QAP, Sichuan, detained **Sonam Palden**, a 22-year-old monk at Aba county's Kirti Monastery.⁹⁹ Sources told foreign journalists and rights groups that his detention was connected with his posts to the social media platform WeChat.¹⁰⁰ In a post dated September 18, Sonam Palden expressed concern over the status of the Tibetan language and the negative effects of Chinese government language policy on Tibetan culture.¹⁰¹
- **Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).** In December 2019 and January 2020, human rights advocacy groups reported on the case of **Tsering Dorje**, whom authorities in Lazi (Lhatse) county, Rikaze (Shigatse) prefecture, TAR, took into custody in February 2019, after he spoke by phone with his brother in India about the importance of Tibetan-language education.¹⁰² Public security officials at the Dingri County PSB Detention Center in Rikaze reportedly beat him, and released him around a month later after warning him not to discuss his detention with others.¹⁰³

Coronavirus in Tibetan Areas

In response to the novel coronavirus pandemic that began in Wuhan municipality, Hubei province, at the end of 2019, authorities in Tibetan areas of China ordered public health measures such as restrictions on travel, bans on public events and gatherings, and closure of public establishments.¹⁰⁴ The height of the pandemic at its epicenter in Wuhan in late February 2020 coincided with the Tibetan New Year (*Losar*) on February 24, prompting the cancellation of New Year's festivities in Lhasa municipality.¹⁰⁵ Officially as part of the response to the pandemic, authorities in Tibetan areas also punished individuals for "spreading disinformation" or "rumors" related to the virus.¹⁰⁶ Authorities warned, fined, or ordered individuals to serve terms of administrative detention, and ordered online discussion groups closed.¹⁰⁷ International observers and rights advocacy organizations expressed concern that officials violated citizens' rights to expression by conflating protected speech with misinformation harmful to public health.¹⁰⁸ [For more on COVID-19, see Section II—Public Health.]

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Development and the Environment

The Commission observed no evidence during its 2020 reporting year that Chinese Communist Party or government authorities solicited systematic or representative input from the Tibetan population on economic development or environmental protection in Tibetan areas of China. Official media described developmental policies as beneficial in terms of both economic development and environmental protection.¹⁰⁹ Ongoing resettlement of nomadic Tibetan populations was similarly portrayed as a measure meant to improve the resettled nomads' livelihoods and quality of life.¹¹⁰ While climate change remained a major threat to the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods in Tibetan areas of China,¹¹¹ economic development projects reportedly also presented a threat, including some projects meant for environmental protection or sustainable development.¹¹²

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reported in September 2019 that the effects of climate change on the world's cryosphere could have continuing serious effects on the Tibetan Plateau, including altered precipitation and weather patterns, increased melting of glacial and other ice deposits, and deterioration of permafrost.¹¹³ These climatic changes have had further detrimental effects on water quality, groundwater availability, and civil infrastructure.¹¹⁴

Chinese authorities in Tibetan areas continued to punish Tibetan expressions of dissatisfaction over developmental initiatives and environmental policy.¹¹⁵ In one high-profile case during this reporting year, in December 2019, authorities in Gande (Gade) county, Guoluo (Golog) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, sentenced Tibetan anticorruption advocate **Anya Sengdra**¹¹⁶ to seven years in prison on the charges of "picking quarrels and provoking trouble"¹¹⁷ and "gathering a crowd to disturb social order."¹¹⁸ Upon Anya Sengdra's initial detention in 2018, his wife wrote that authorities detained him in retaliation for his allegations that local officials in Jiangqian (Kyangche) township, Gande, had embezzled or misused poverty alleviation funds allocated to assist resettled nomads.¹¹⁹ The Gande procuratorate noted as criminal behavior his management of several WeChat discussion groups in which he discussed official malfeasance and local environmental issues.¹²⁰ Information emerged in September 2019 that authorities detained nine other Tibetans¹²¹ connected with Anya Sengdra's case;¹²² the Gande court sentenced eight of them to unknown prison terms in December (the other detainee, Anya Sengdra's brother **Jamtri**, died in late 2019 before sentencing).¹²³

Notes to Section V—Tibet

¹Central People's Government, "Xinwen ban jiu Xizang Zizhiqu 'jiaqiang minzu tuanjie jianshe meili Xizang' juxing fabu hui" [Information office holds press conference on Tibet Autonomous Region's "strengthen ethnic unity, build a beautiful Tibet"], September 12, 2019; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "2019 nian 10 yue 29 ri Waijiaobu fayanren Geng Shuang zhuchi lixing jizhehui" [Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson Geng Shuang holds regular press conference on October 29, 2019], October 29, 2019. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson referred to the Dalai Lama as "a political exile who has long used the guise of religion to carry out separatist anti-China activities abroad."

²Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948, art. 18; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 18.

³Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019. For the previous version of the Measures, see Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], passed May 8, 2009, issued and effective January 10, 2010.

⁴Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019. For the previous version of the Measures, see Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel at Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], passed September 22, 2011, issued and effective November 3, 2011.

⁵Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(1); Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(2).

⁶Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(1); Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 3(2).

⁷Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 11; Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 10.

⁸Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Jiaozhi Renyuan Zige Rending Banfa* [Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 11(1, 7).

⁹*Ibid.*, art. 11(8).

¹⁰Buddhist Association of China, *Zangchuan Fojiao Simiao Zhuyao Jiaozhi Renzhi Banfa* [Measures for Appointing Principal Professional Religious Personnel in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries], revised and effective July 24, 2019, art. 10(1).

¹¹*Ibid.*, art. 10(2).

¹²State Council, *Zongjiao Shiwu Tiaoli* [Regulations on Religious Affairs], issued November 30, 2004, revised June 14, 2017, effective February 1, 2018; National Religious Affairs Administration, *Zongjiao Tuanti Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of Religious Groups], passed November 1, 2019, effective February 1, 2020.

¹³National Religious Affairs Administration, *Zongjiao Tuanti Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of Religious Groups], passed November 1, 2019, effective February 1, 2020, art. 5.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, art. 6.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, art. 17.

¹⁶Human Rights Watch, "China: Ban on Tibet Religious Activity Toughened," September 11, 2019.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸"China Sets New Restrictions on Tibetan Religious Festival in Lhasa," *Radio Free Asia*, December 20, 2019.

¹⁹Nima, "Fojiao 'Saga Dawa' qjian, Zhonggong jinzhi jingnei Zangren canyu zhuanjing lifo deng zongjiao huodong" [During Buddhist month of Saga Dawa, Communist Party bans Tibetans in country from participating in kora and other religious activities], *Voice of Tibet*, May 28, 2020.

²⁰Human Rights Watch, "China: 1,000 Evictions from Tibetan Buddhist Centers," September 14, 2016. For previous reporting on evictions and demolitions at Yachen Gar and Larung Gar, see CECC, *2017 Annual Report*, October 5, 2017, 303–4; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, 292–3. Larung Gar is another Tibetan Buddhist monastic complex, located in Seda (Serthar) county, Ganzi.

²¹"Travel Restrictions Imposed on Sichuan's Yachen Gar Buddhist Center," *Radio Free Asia*, July 15, 2019.

²²Free Tibet, "Further Evictions and Repression at Yachen Gar," July 8, 2019; "Thousands More Expelled from Sichuan's Yachen Gar Buddhist Center," *Radio Free Asia*, July 18, 2019.

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²³“Photo Shows Dramatic Demolition of Yachen Gar Buddhist Complex,” *Radio Free Asia*, August 28, 2019; Free Tibet, “China Has Destroyed Large Areas of One of Tibet’s Biggest Buddhist Sites, Satellite Images Reveal,” September 30, 2019.

²⁴“Yachen Gar Demolition Has Displaced as Many as 6,000 Monks and Nuns,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 1, 2019.

²⁵Free Tibet, “Further Evictions and Repression at Yachen Gar,” July 8, 2019.

²⁶Duanyun, “Xizang Yaqing Si yi nishi bei quzhu hou you zao qiangpo jiaoyu zhong ziyi er wang” [After expulsion from Tibet’s Yachen Gar, nun also forced into education, ends up hanging herself], *Voice of Tibet*, February 12, 2020; “Tibetan Nun Expelled from Buddhist Center Commits Suicide in Internment Camp,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 14, 2020.

²⁷Office of the Dalai Lama, “Brief Biography,” accessed May 9, 2020.

²⁸See, e.g., State Council, “Xinwen ban jiu Xizang Zizhiqu ‘jiaqiang minzu tuanjie jianshe meili Xizang’ juxing fabuhui” [Information office holds press conference on Tibet Autonomous Region’s “strengthen ethnic unity, build a beautiful Tibet”], September 12, 2019.

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³²Shri Puri, “Reincarnation Feudal, Should End Now: Dalai Lama amid Successor Row with China,” *Times of India*, October 26, 2019.

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⁴⁵Guangdong Province Human Resources and Social Security Department and Linzhi Municipality Human Resources and Social Security Bureau, “2019 nian Guangdong sheng shiye danwei gongkai zhaopin Xizang ji shaoshu minzu gaoxiao biyesheng gonggao” [2019 Guangdong province employment announcement for recruiting ethnic minority higher education graduates from Tibet], October 31, 2019, 3.3.

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⁴⁹“Clustered ID: IE on Older Persons & SR on Right to Development—9th Meeting, 42nd Regular Session Human Rights Council” [Webcast], *United Nations Web TV*, September 11, 2019, 1:52:43.

⁵⁰This cumulative total does not include six deaths by self-immolation of Tibetans in 2012 and 2013, four of which were reportedly property-related protests, and two of which were initially reported as accidental and later as self-immolations. “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, updated January 10, 2017; CECC, *2017 Annual Report*, October 5, 2017, 301–2; CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 294–95; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 295. See also International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolations,” December 2, 2019.

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⁵⁵*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 9, 12, 31, 39, 40, 41. Article 9 requires the regional government to oversee implementation of the measures as planned by county-level jurisdictions and carried out by township-level jurisdictions. Article 31 of the Regulations provides for the governmental recognition of model governments, work units, corporations, and individuals. Article 12 requires governments at all levels to “comprehensively strengthen education in the language and script used commonly in the nation,” referring to standard Mandarin. See also *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guojia Tongyong Yuyan Wenzhi Fa* [PRC Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language], passed October 31, 2000, effective January 1, 2001, art. 2.

⁵⁶*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 20, 21.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, arts. 19, 30.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, art. 24.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, art. 19.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, art. 30.

⁶¹*Xizang Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Mofan Qu Chuangjian Tiaoli* [Tibet Autonomous Region Regulations on Establishing a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress], passed January 11, 2020, effective May 1, 2020, arts. 25, 27; Laba Ciren and Gama Duoje, “Sheli ‘Xizang Baiwan Nongnu Jiefang Jinian Ri’ jielu jiu Xizang nongnu zhidu de fandong yu he’an” [Establishment of “Tibetan Serfs Emancipation Day” exposes reactionary and dark nature of old Tibet’s system of serfdom], *Xinhua*, January 19, 2009, reprinted in CCTV.

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⁶⁵*Xinjiang Weiwu’er Zizhiqu Minzu Tuanjie Jinbu Gongzuo Tiaoli* [Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Regulations on Ethnic Unity and Progress Work], passed December 29, 2015, effective January 1, 2016.

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