

IX. Tibet

TIBET

Findings

- The Commission did not observe any interest from People's Republic of China (PRC) officials in resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. The last round of negotiations was held in January 2010. The Dalai Lama announced that a future reincarnation of the Dalai Lama would be born "in the free world."
- The PRC continued to restrict and seek to control the religious practices of Tibetans, the majority of whom practice Tibetan Buddhism, unduly limiting Tibetans' freedom of religion and belief. The PRC continued to assert control over the process of selection and recognition of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnated teachers, including the Dalai Lama. The National Religious Affairs Administration revised the *Measures on the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples*, increasing requirements on monasteries and nunneries to adhere to Chinese Communist Party political doctrine and placing new bureaucratic demands on monastic leadership.
- PRC authorities continued a program of mass expulsions and demolitions, begun in 2016, at Larung Gar Buddhist Academy, a major Tibetan Buddhist educational and training center. In November and December 2024, several hundred officials were stationed at the complex, and authorities pressured monastic residents to leave, ultimately expelling around 1,000 monks and nuns.
- The Commission did not observe reports of Tibetan self-immolations occurring during the 2025 reporting year, the third year since 2021 in which no self-immolations were reported to have occurred. The Commission has observed reports of 154 self-immolations since 2009 that were due to political or religious issues in Tibetan areas.
- PRC officials took steps this past year to further restrict the space for independent Tibetan education, ordering the temporary closure of at least one major non-state Tibetan school and forcing hundreds of young Tibetan novice monks to leave monastery-affiliated schools and instead enroll at state-run residential schools.
- In contravention of international human rights standards, PRC officials punished residents of Tibetan areas for the exercise of their protected rights, including expression of religious belief, protest against or criticism of Party or government policy, and free speech and assembly. Notable cases this past year included those of **Jampa Choephel**, a monk sentenced to one year and six months in prison for sharing a speech by the Dalai Lama on social media; **Sherab** (or Jamyang Legshe) and **Gonpo Tsering**, senior monks sentenced to four and three years, respectively, for protesting against construction of a hydroelectric dam; and **Gonpo Namgyal**, a language rights advocate who died due to torture in custody.

TIBET

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

During the Commission's 2025 reporting year, the Commission did not observe any interest or progress on the part of the People's Republic of China (PRC) toward resuming formal negotiations with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. The last round of such negotiations was held in January 2010.¹

In line with his 2011 statement on planning around the question of reincarnation,² the Dalai Lama announced in a book published in March 2025 that a future reincarnation of the Dalai Lama would be born "in the free world."³ In response, a PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson claimed that the Dalai Lama was "engaged in separatist activities under the guise of religion" and pointed to PRC legal provisions⁴ asserting the power of the government to select the Dalai Lama, saying "the reincarnation of Living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations."⁵

Self-Immolations

The Commission did not observe reports of Tibetan self-immolations occurring during the 2025 reporting year, nor did new reports of past self-immolations emerge. This was the third consecutive year in which no self-immolations were reported to have occurred.⁶ The Commission has observed reports of 154 self-immolations since 2009 that were due to political or religious issues in Tibetan areas.⁷

Religious Freedom for Tibetans

The PRC continued to restrict and seek to control the religious practices of Tibetans, particularly practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism.⁸ International observers and rights advocacy groups reported on continuing violations of international human rights standards, including the right to freely worship and to choose one's own religion, that result from PRC religious policy and its implementation.⁹ PRC officials exercise political control and supervision of Tibetan Buddhist monastic and educational institutions through the National Religious Affairs Administration (NRAA), a Party office under the United Front Work Department, and through the Buddhist Association of China, the supervisory organization for Buddhism operating under the NRAA.¹⁰ [For more information on religion and religious policy in China, see Chapter 3—Freedom of Religion.]

During the 2025 reporting year, Chinese Communist Party and government organizations continued to target Tibetan Buddhist monks, nuns, and laypersons in political propaganda campaigns.¹¹ As part of these campaigns, Party and government officials held events, including lectures, study sessions, and competitions, at religious and lay sites to expound on Party policies and reinforce Party control over religious life.¹² In these events, often presented as visits to monastic institutions, Party officials responsible for religious policy stressed Party leadership and oversight of religious institutions, and the responsibility of monastic leaders to ensure that religious personnel follow Party dictates.¹³ At these propaganda events,

Party officials instructed monastics and laypersons on policies or legal provisions restricting religious life, such as the Party and government's assertion of control over the recognition of reincarnated teachers like the Dalai Lama,¹⁴ and lectured on major Party policy decisionmaking events, including the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.¹⁵ Party outreach to Tibetans also emphasized Party ethnic policy, including the requirement to learn and use Mandarin Chinese.¹⁶ [For more information on language rights in Tibet, see Language and Cultural Rights in this chapter.]

In November 2024, the National Religious Affairs Administration issued a revised version¹⁷ of the 2010 *Measures on the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples*,¹⁸ increasing requirements on monasteries and nunneries to adhere to Chinese Communist Party political doctrine and placing new bureaucratic demands on monastic leadership.¹⁹ The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy found that the new measures “systematically enforce the Chinese Communist Party’s ideological control over Tibetan Buddhism by embedding political loyalty requirements into religious administration”²⁰ through, among other new provisions, mandating that administrators of Tibetan Buddhist monastic institutions “support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system”²¹ and requiring administrators to conduct political education for monks and nuns to reinforce Party religious policies.²²

EXPULSIONS AT LARUNG GAR

PRC authorities continued a program of mass expulsions and demolitions, begun in 2016, at Larung Gar Buddhist Academy, a major Tibetan Buddhist educational and training center in Serta (Seda) county, Kardze (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.²³ In November and December 2024, several hundred officials were stationed at the complex, and authorities pressured monastic residents to leave, ultimately expelling around 1,000 monks and nuns.²⁴ The expulsions brought the resident population of Larung Gar to 5,000, down from a high of approximately 40,000 in the early 2000s, and authorities planned to demolish residences exceeding the 5,000-person limit.²⁵ The officials stationed at Larung Gar prohibited photography and videography in the complex and have reportedly restricted discussions about Larung Gar on social media platforms.²⁶

THE DALAI LAMA

Reports continued to emerge this year of Chinese authorities penalizing Tibetans for expressions of reverence for the Dalai Lama, including through harassment and surveillance, detention, and imprisonment. Chinese authorities regularly punish Tibetans for possessing or sharing writings, teachings, or recordings of the Dalai Lama.²⁷ Authorities in Tibetan areas reportedly detained Tibetans in connection with online discussions of the Dalai Lama, praying for him, or displaying or sharing his image. In one case, in March 2024, authorities in Rebgong (Tongren) city, Malho (Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, detained **Jampa Choephel**, a monk at Pangkar Thang Monastery in Rebgong, after he reportedly shared a speech by the Dalai Lama over the social

media platform WeChat.²⁸ In August 2024, a court sentenced him to one year and six months in prison, and on September 22 he was transferred to a prison in Xining municipality, the capital of Qinghai.²⁹ Local authorities reportedly withheld information about Jampa Choephel's detention from his family in Rebgong and threatened them with retaliation if they inquired into his condition.³⁰

DISAPPEARANCE AND DEATH OF HUNGKAR DORJE RINPOCHE

In August 2024, Hungkar Dorje Rinpoche, abbot of Lungngon Monastery in Gade (Gande) county, Golog (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai, disappeared following conflict with Chinese authorities over his public advocacy for linguistic rights for Tibetans and his refusal to comply with official religious and educational directives.³¹ Hungkar Rinpoche went into hiding in Vietnam until his detention on March 25, 2025, by PRC and Vietnamese authorities.³² Three days later, he was transferred to PRC custody, and died the same day in Ho Chi Minh City.³³ Groups including the Tibetan government in exile called for an independent investigation into the cause and nature of his death, as Lungngon monks who traveled to Vietnam alongside PRC officials to receive his body were allowed to view only his face.³⁴ In April 2025, authorities in the area around Lungngon Monastery restricted public discussion of Hungkar Rinpoche's death, inspecting local residents' phones, banning public commemorations, and detaining an unknown number of individuals in connection with sharing information about his death online.³⁵

Language and Cultural Rights

China's Constitution and laws affirm the freedom of ethnic minorities to "use and develop"³⁶ their languages, yet this past year Chinese authorities continued to threaten linguistic rights in Tibetan areas, including through implementation of policies promoting or enforcing the use of Mandarin Chinese instead of Tibetan or other local languages, as well as policies of neglect with regard to minority languages.³⁷ PRC ethnic policy ignores unrecognized linguistic communities, including in Tibetan areas,³⁸ and individuals or communities with languages that lack official recognition are deprived of access to official support in education and other government services.³⁹ China is a State Party to the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child,⁴⁰ which recognizes and protects the rights of ethnic and linguistic minority groups to use their languages.⁴¹ [For more information on language rights and ethnic policy, see Chapter 6—Ethnic Minority Rights.]

SCHOOL CLOSURES THREATEN TIBETAN EDUCATIONAL AND LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

PRC officials took steps this past year to further restrict the space for independent Tibetan education,⁴² forcing hundreds of young Tibetan novice monks to leave monastery-affiliated schools and instead enroll at state-run residential schools, and ordering the closure of at least one major non-state Tibetan school.⁴³ In July 2024, authorities in Dzoegé (Ruo'ergai) county, Ngaba (Aba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP), Sichuan province, ordered

more than 300 novice monks aged 15 and under who were studying at a school affiliated with Dzoegé's Lhamo Kirti Monastery to disrobe and enroll at state-run schools in September.⁴⁴ In October, authorities ordered the remaining student monks at the Lhamo Kirti school, ages 15 to 18, to leave the school as well.⁴⁵ Similarly, around the same time, authorities in Ngaba (Aba) county, Ngaba T&QAP, ordered approximately 1,000 student monks at a school attached to Ngaba county's Kirti Monastery to leave the school for state boarding schools.⁴⁶

Also in July 2024, the independent Ragya Gangjong Sherig Norbuling school in Machen (Maqin) county, Golog (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, closed on the orders of Golog and Qinghai Party officials.⁴⁷ The school had operated for three decades offering Tibetan-language education in northeastern Tibet.⁴⁸ Local officials reportedly demanded that the school's founder transfer control of the school to the government or close the school.⁴⁹ Students from Ragya Gangjong Sherig Norbuling were reportedly registered at a state-run school in the Golog area for the 2024–2025 school year.⁵⁰ In April 2025, the school's founder reportedly told students and their family members that authorities had granted permission to reopen the school, though the date of reopening was not announced, and reporting suggested that the curriculum would change from what it was prior to the 2024 closure.⁵¹

Some Tibetan children sent to state-run boarding schools experienced abusive and neglectful conditions.⁵² In September 2024, *Radio Free Asia* published video of five former Tibetan novice monks from Muge Monastery, in Zungchu (Songpan) county, Ngaba (Aba) T&QAP, who escaped from a residential boarding school in the area, which authorities required them to attend after ordering their expulsion from the monastery.⁵³ In the video, several of the children referred to the boarding school as “like a prison” and described discriminatory treatment they had received there, saying that school officials beat them, denied them adequate food, and forced them into “political education” in contrast to the curriculum offered to other, non-monastic students.⁵⁴ The Tibet Action Institute, an international Tibetan advocacy organization, reported that the students were among 140 Muge monks whom authorities placed in local residential schools after their removal from the monastery.⁵⁵

PRC officials sought to limit the sharing of information about linguistic and cultural rights, including about the forced closures of independent schools, and punished Tibetans for expressions of opposition to official cultural policy, as illustrated in the following cases:

- In July or August 2024, police in Nagchu (Naqu) municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region, detained **Zomkyi**, a Nagchu resident whose brother was a student at Ragya Gangjong Sherig Norbuling school.⁵⁶ Nagchu police reportedly accused Zomkyi of “spreading misinformation” about the school online around the time of its closure.⁵⁷ Further information on Zomkyi's case, including her whereabouts and condition in custody, was unavailable.⁵⁸
- Following the forced closure of schools affiliated with Lhamo Kirti Monastery and Kirti Monastery, located in, respectively, Dzoegé and Ngaba counties, Ngaba T&QAP, local authorities

inspected monks' phones to see if they had been sharing information about the schools and confiscated phones from monks who they alleged had done so.⁵⁹

- On September 1, 2024, police in Derge (Dege) county, Kardze (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan, detained **Tashi Nyima**, a Tibetan live-streamer also known as Gang Lhaja, days after ordering the social media platform Kuaishou to suspend Tashi Nyima's ability to share live videos.⁶⁰ Reports did not identify the location where police held Tashi Nyima, but said that they beat him in custody prior to his release on September 3.⁶¹ Tashi Nyima films and shares live videos featuring Tibetan-language content, including games and interviews quizzing participants on their Tibetan knowledge.⁶² The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy reported that shortly before his suspension, Tashi Nyima announced plans for a tour across the Tibetan plateau.⁶³

- In December 2024, reports emerged regarding the May 2024 detentions of approximately 20 Tibetans over their language rights advocacy in Darlag (Dari) county, Golog (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province.⁶⁴ Authorities detained **Gonpo Namgyal**,⁶⁵ leader of Darlag's Ponkor township, **Tenpa Dargye**,⁶⁶ *khenpo* (abbot) of a nearby Tibetan Buddhist monastery, and nine others⁶⁷ in connection with a "Language Protection Association" in Ponkor led by Tenpa Dargye.⁶⁸ Prior to their detentions, the members of the association reportedly organized Tibetan-language education for Darlag-area residents and encouraged them to speak and use Tibetan.⁶⁹ Authorities released Gonpo Namgyal from custody on December 15, 2024, and he died three days later, reportedly due to injuries suffered under severe torture in detention.⁷⁰ Following Gonpo Namgyal's death, witnesses reported seeing evidence of torture on his body, including signs of electrical burns.⁷¹ Further information on the detainees' conditions, exact whereabouts, and the criminal charges against them was unavailable.⁷²

Restrictions on the Freedom of Expression, the Free Flow of Information, and Access to Tibet

Chinese authorities continued⁷³ to restrict contact between Tibetans in Tibetan areas of China and individuals or groups abroad, including by punishing or threatening to punish those found to have contact with Tibetans in exile—often those in India—or who have shared information in Tibet about Tibetans living abroad.⁷⁴ Chinese authorities also strictly monitored online communications to find and punish Tibetans who Chinese authorities alleged had committed crimes online.⁷⁵ Examples of Tibetans detained by Chinese authorities in connection with their exercise of freedom of expression or sharing information include the following:

- In early September 2024, authorities in Ngaba (Aba) county, Ngaba (Aba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP), Sichuan province, took into custody at least three Tibetan residents of Ngaba county over their contact with individuals outside Tibet.⁷⁶ The detainees included brother and sister **Tsering Tashi** and **Wangkyi**, and monk **Lobsang**

Samten of Ngaba's Kirti Monastery.⁷⁷ Authorities reportedly detained Tsering Tashi and Wangkyi after they contacted someone in southern India and detained Lobsang Samten after he contacted someone outside Tibet to dedicate prayers.⁷⁸ Sources were unable to obtain further details on their detentions, noting increasing restrictions on communications in the Ngaba area around the time of their detentions.⁷⁹

- Tibetan entrepreneur and language rights activist **Tashi Wangchug** served 15 days' administrative detention beginning in October 2024.⁸⁰ Cybersecurity police in Yulshul (Yushu) city, Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, detained Tashi Wangchug on suspicion of "picking quarrels and provoking trouble," accusing him of criticizing government agencies on social media platforms.⁸¹ Tibet Watch reported that in the months leading up to his detention, Tashi Wangchug shared content on his social media accounts including video of police removing a prayer flag from his home and a photo of Ragya Gangjong Sherig Norbuling school after authorities ordered its closure in July 2024.⁸² Tashi Wangchug previously served a five-year prison sentence from 2016 to 2021 for "inciting separatism" due to his language rights advocacy.⁸³

PRC official interference in the free flow of information in and out of Tibet, using means including online censorship, surveillance of social media, and punishment of individuals or groups sharing information about Tibet, often prevents timely reporting on developments inside Tibet. Information on some cases of political or religious detention pre-dating the Commission's 2025 reporting year only emerged months or years later; examples of these cases follow.

- In May 2024, authorities in Lhasa municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region, detained **Losal**, a monk at Lhasa's Sera Monastery, on suspicion of contacting people outside Tibet and sharing information with them.⁸⁴ Information on where exactly authorities held Losal was unavailable, but officials reportedly beat him while he was in custody and denied him medical care.⁸⁵ Officials did not inform Losal's family of his condition until October 21, 2024, when they returned his body to his family; Losal's exact date of death was unknown.⁸⁶

- Kirti Monastery monk **Lobsang Thabkhe** was initially detained in June 2023 in Ngaba (Aba) county, Ngaba T&QAP, after authorities accused him of maintaining contacts outside China and publishing books he had received from Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in India.⁸⁷ In September 2024, *Radio Free Asia* reported that after a closed trial, an unidentified court had sentenced Lobsang Thabkhe to three years in prison.⁸⁸ According to Tibet Watch, authorities accused him of "inciting separatism," and following sentencing held him in Deyang Prison, located in Jingyang district, Deyang municipality, Sichuan.⁸⁹

- In June 2025, *Radio Free Asia* and *Voice of Tibet* reported that authorities had sentenced two senior monks from Yena Monastery,⁹⁰ in Derge (Dege) county, Kardze (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan, in connection with mass protests against the planned construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Drichu (Jinsha) River that threatened Yena and other area monasteries and

villages.⁹¹ Sources did not report the dates of the trials or sentencing, the exact charges against the monks, or the court(s) that sentenced them, but **Sherab** (also reported as Jamyang Legshe)⁹² received a four-year prison sentence, and **Gonpo Tsering**⁹³ a three-year sentence.⁹⁴ Authorities reportedly tortured Gonpo Tsering in custody so severely that he was hospitalized in intensive care in Chengdu municipality, Sichuan.⁹⁵

ACCESS TO TIBET REMAINS HEAVILY RESTRICTED

The U.S. State Department reported that in 2024 PRC authorities continued to heavily restrict access to Tibetan areas of China, particularly the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).⁹⁶ U.S. officials unsuccessfully applied to visit the TAR five times in 2024; the TAR remained the only province-level administrative division for which official permission was required for foreign officials to visit.⁹⁷ PRC authorities did not impose similar restrictions on access to Tibetan areas in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, or Yunnan provinces—for either foreign officials or journalists—but employed “conspicuous surveillance to intimidate, monitor, and harass travelers” in Tibetan areas outside the TAR.⁹⁸ Tibetan-Americans had “a stricter screening process” in applying for Chinese visas compared to other U.S. nationals, with requirements for more burdensome supporting documentation, and reported “more frequent harassment by security officials” in Tibet compared with other areas in China.⁹⁹

2025 Dingri Earthquake

Following a major January 2025 earthquake in the TAR, observers raised concerns over how relief efforts were hampered by a lack of government transparency and over the impact on affected residents’ rights. The earthquake struck on January 7, 2025, with an epicenter beneath Dingri county, Shigatse (Rikaze) municipality, TAR.¹⁰⁰ Chinese official media reported a death toll of 126, with several hundred more injured and tens of thousands displaced or forced to evacuate, but reporting from other outlets raised doubts about the veracity or accuracy of the official numbers.¹⁰¹ *Radio Free Asia* reported that at least 100 people died in Dramtso (Changsuo) township, Dingri, alone.¹⁰² The earthquake and its aftershocks reportedly caused serious damage across affected areas, including to several monasteries in Dingri.¹⁰³

Local authorities imposed restrictions on travel into the region affected by the earthquake and tried to prevent unauthorized photography or filming of damaged areas.¹⁰⁴ Government officials reportedly also prohibited independent distribution of relief and aid supplies, instead confiscating supplies at travel checkpoints.¹⁰⁵ One week after the earthquake, the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) announced that it had investigated 21 cases of internet users accused of spreading “false” information online about the earthquake and its aftermath.¹⁰⁶ In a set of “model cases” published with the announcement, MPS accused three partially anonymized individuals of “disturbing social order” by sharing posts on social media platforms that said the death toll from the earthquake was higher than official figures.¹⁰⁷ MPS wrote that all of the people investigated had admitted their guilt and had been warned or issued administrative fines.¹⁰⁸

TIBETAN ENVIRONMENTAL WHISTLEBLOWER IMPRISONED

In mid-October 2024, **Tsongon Tsering**, a resident of Tsaruma (Cha'erma) township, Khyungchu (also Kakhog or Marthang; Chinese: Hongyuan) county, Ngaba (Aba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan, posted a video online in which he denounced local officials for failing to adequately address the environmental and potential property damage caused by the sand mining of a local river by Anhui Xianhe Construction Engineering Company and called on the PRC central government to intervene.¹⁰⁹ Following the video's posting, local police reportedly briefly summoned Tsongon Tsering and other Tsaruma residents for questioning, and authorities took down the video he posted as well as his account on the social media platform WeChat.¹¹⁰ Several days later, authorities brought Tsongon Tsering in for more questioning and subsequently held him in detention.¹¹¹ In late November, reports emerged that the Hongyuan County People's Court had sentenced Tsongon Tsering on October 27 to eight months in prison for "disrupting social order."¹¹² Authorities told Tsongon Tsering's family that his sentence could still be extended, though the legal basis for this was unclear.¹¹³ In January 2025, authorities reportedly extended his sentence by another eight months.¹¹⁴ On January 21, three U.N. special rapporteurs wrote to the Chinese government inquiring into Tsongon Tsering's case, expressing concern over possible violations of his freedom of expression and ability to engage in environmental advocacy.¹¹⁵

Notes to Chapter 14—Tibet

¹⁴Report to Congress on Tibet Negotiations, Section 613(b) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2022 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note), *U.S. Department of State*, accessed May 16, 2025.

²Statement of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, on the Issue of His Reincarnation,” *Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*, September 24, 2011.

³His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Voice for the Voiceless: Over Seven Decades of Struggle with China for My Land and My People,” *HarperCollins*, 2025; Taejun Kang, “Dalai Lama Says His Successor Will Be Born in ‘Free World,’ outside China,” *Radio Free Asia*, March 11, 2025.

⁴See, e.g., State Administration for Religious Affairs, “藏传佛教活佛转世管理办法” [Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism], issued July 18, 2007, effective September 1, 2007.

⁵“2025年3月11日外交部发言人毛宁主持例行记者会” [Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson Mao Ning holds regular press conference on March 11, 2025], *PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, March 11, 2025.

⁶Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2024,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, December 2024, 242; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2023,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, May 2024, 285; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2022,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, November 2022, 283.

⁷Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” January 10, 2017; International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation Fact Sheet,” accessed April 3, 2025; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2022,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, November 2022, 283. This cumulative total does not include six deaths by self-immolation of Tibetans in 2012 and 2013.

⁸See, e.g., Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2024,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, December 2024, 242–44; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2023,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, May 2024, 285–87; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2022,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, November 2022, 283–87.

⁹“Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” *United Nations*, adopted December 10, 1948, art. 18; “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” *United Nations*, adopted December 16, 1966, entry into force March 23, 1976, art. 18; “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” *United Nations Treaty Collections*, Chapter IV Human Rights; “Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties,” adopted May 23, 1969, entered into force January 27, 1980, art. 18. China has not ratified the ICCPR, but signed the treaty on October 5, 1998, which obligates it to refrain from acts that would defeat the treaty’s purpose.

¹⁰See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Buddhist Association of China Takes a Leading Role in China’s Attempts to Control and Forcibly Reshape Tibetan Buddhism,” May 29, 2024; International Campaign for Tibet, “Party above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries,” March 2021, 10–11.

¹¹For past Commission coverage, see, e.g., Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2024,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, December 2024, 242–43; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2023,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, May 2024, 285–87; Congressional-Executive Commission on China, “Annual Report 2022,” *U.S. Government Publishing Office*, November 2022, 283–87.

¹²See, e.g., Nagchu Municipality Committee United Front Work Department, “那曲市宗教界深入开展‘三个意识’教育暨寺庙僧尼书法比赛” [Nagchu municipal religious sector thoroughly launches “three consciousnesses” education and calligraphy competition for temple monks and nuns], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, October 30, 2024; Ngari Prefecture Committee United Front Work Department, “阿里地区开展宗教界代表人士2024年‘三个意识’教育及‘爱国爱教’巡回宣讲活动” [Ngari prefecture holds 2024 “three consciousnesses” education and “love the country, love religion” touring propaganda events for representatives from religious sector], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, November 26, 2024.

¹³See, e.g., “日喀则市定日县举办2024年第二期全县宗教教职人员培训班” [Dingri county, Shigatse municipality, holds 2024’s second all-county religious personnel training], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, September 2, 2024; Chamdo Municipality Committee United Front Work Department, “昌都市委书记庄劲松在芒康县维色寺和盐井天主教堂调研” [Chamdo Municipal Committee Secretary Zhuang Jingsong inspects Weise Monastery and Yerkalo Catholic Church in Markham county], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, October 30, 2024.

¹⁴See, e.g., Nang County, Nyingtri Municipality, Committee United Front Work Department, “朗县宗教界‘三个意识’教育党政干部宣讲组开展巡回宣讲活动” [At Nang county religious sector’s “three consciousnesses” education, Party and government cadre propaganda group holds touring propaganda activities], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, November 7, 2024.

¹⁵See, e.g., Nang County, Nyingtri Municipality, Committee United Front Work Department, “林芝市朗县县委书记刘正伟深入宗教领域开展‘三个意识’教育宣讲” [In Nyingtri municipality, Nang county committee secretary Liu Zhengwei joins religious sector to hold “three consciousnesses” education lecture], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, October 14, 2024.

¹⁶See, e.g., Lhasa Municipality Committee United Front Work Department, “拉萨市委统战部开展党的二十大三中全会精神送教上门宣传服务活动” [Lhasa Municipality Committee United Front Work Department holds door-to-door propaganda and service activities for the spirit of the Third Plenum of the Party’s 20th Committee], *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, September 12, 2024; Danzeng Gawa, “康马县举办铸牢中华民族共同体意识主题演讲比赛” [Khangmar county holds speech competition on topic of forging common consciousness of the Chinese nation], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *Tibet Autonomous Region United Front Work Department*, July 10, 2024.

¹⁷National Religious Affairs Administration, “藏传佛教寺庙管理办法” [Measures for the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples], issued November 30, 2024, effective January 1, 2025.

¹⁸State Administration for Religious Affairs, “藏传佛教寺庙管理办法” [Measures for the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples], issued September 30, 2010, effective November 1, 2010.

¹⁹“China’s Revised Religious Measures Tightens State Control over Tibetan Buddhism,” *Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy*, February 14, 2025.

²⁰“China’s Revised Religious Measures Tightens State Control over Tibetan Buddhism,” *Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy*, February 14, 2025.

²¹National Religious Affairs Administration, “藏传佛教寺庙管理办法” [Measures for the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples], issued November 30, 2024, effective January 1, 2025, art. 10.

²²National Religious Affairs Administration, “藏传佛教寺庙管理办法” [Measures for the Management of Tibetan Buddhist Temples], issued November 30, 2024, effective January 1, 2025, art. 11.

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