

## CECC Annual Report 2021

### KEY FINDINGS

#### TIBET

- 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 last round of negotiations, the ninth, was held in January 2010.
- The Party and government continued to restrict, and seek to control, the religious practices of Tibetans. Officials in Tibetan areas of China continued to enforce restrictions on religious observance or expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays.
- The Party and government 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 only to the individual in question and members of the Tibetan Buddhist religious community.
- For the first year since 2010, the Commission did not observe any reports of Tibetan self-immolations. A previously unreported self-immolation brought the number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reportedly focusing on political or religious issues to 151. Shurmo self-immolated in a September 2015 protest and died the same day in the hospital.
- In August 2020, top Communist Party leadership convened the Seventh Tibet Work Forum in Beijing municipality. Communist Party leaders attended the two-day symposium, where in an address Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping said that the Party's policies on Tibet were "completely correct" and called for the continued "sinicization" of Tibetan Buddhism and increased efforts to shape public opinion to support Party policy on "ethnic unity."
- 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 speech. Notable cases this past year included those of songwriter **Khadro Tseten**, sentenced to seven years in prison for writing a song praising the Dalai Lama; **Rinchen Tsultrim**, a Bon monk imprisoned for his online writing about Tibetan culture and politics; and **Tenzin Nyima** (or Tame), a 19-year-old Tibetan Buddhist monk who died in January 2021 after severe mistreatment in official custody.

## 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 last round of negotiations, the ninth, was held in January 2010.
- The Party and government continued to restrict, and seek to control, the religious practices of Tibetans. Officials in Tibetan areas of China continued to enforce restrictions on religious observance or expressions of faith, including by prohibiting individuals from participating in religious events or celebrating holidays.
- The Party and government 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 only to the individual in question and members of the Tibetan Buddhist religious community.
- For the first year since 2010, the Commission did not observe any reports of Tibetan self-immolations. A previously unreported self-immolation brought the number of Tibetan self-immolations since 2009 reportedly focusing on political or religious issues to 151. Shurmo self-immolated in a September 2015 protest and died the same day in the hospital.
- In August 2020, top Communist Party leadership convened the Seventh Tibet Work Forum in Beijing municipality. Communist Party leaders attended the two-day symposium, where in an address Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping said that the Party’s policies on Tibet were “completely correct” and called for the continued “sinicization” of Tibetan Buddhism and increased efforts to shape public opinion to support Party policy on “ethnic unity.”
- 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 speech. Notable cases this past year included those of songwriter **Khadro Tseten**, sentenced to seven years in prison for writing a song praising the Dalai Lama; **Rinchen Tsultrim**, a Bon monk imprisoned for his online writing about Tibetan culture and politics; and **Tenzin Nyima** (or Tame), a 19-year-old Tibetan Buddhist monk who died in January 2021 after severe mistreatment in official custody.

### *Recommendations*

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

- 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.
- Work with government officials, parliamentarians, and non-governmental organizations in like-minded countries to pressure 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 for the peaceful exercise of their rights.
- Urge the Chinese government to invite representatives of international organizations 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.

## TIBET

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

During the Commission's 2021 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, the last round of which, the ninth, was held in January 2010. Chinese government and Communist Party officials denounced the Dalai Lama and his representatives in public statements.<sup>1</sup>

### *Tibetan Self-Immolation*

The Commission did not observe reports of Tibetan self-immolations occurring during the 2021 reporting year, the first year since 2010 in which no self-immolations were reported. In January 2021, the Tibetan government-in-exile shared news of a previously unreported self-immolation from 2015, attributing the delay in reporting to "repressive policies and internet censorship . . . in Tibet."<sup>2</sup> On September 17, 2015, **Shurmo** self-immolated in a protest in Xiaqu (Shagchu or Shagchukha) town, Biru (Driru) county, Naqu (Nagchu) prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region.<sup>3</sup> Police reportedly seized him at the scene and took him to a local hospital, where he died the same day.<sup>4</sup> Police reportedly detained three of Shurmo's relatives, but further information about them or their detentions was not available.<sup>5</sup> Shurmo's death brings the number of self-immolations since 2009 in Tibetan areas of China reported to focus on political or religious issues to 151.<sup>6</sup> Of these self-immolations, 133 were reportedly fatal.<sup>7</sup>

### *Religious Freedom for Tibetans*

The Chinese Communist Party and government continued to restrict, and seek to control, 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.<sup>8</sup> The management of Tibetan Buddhism formally falls under the jurisdiction of the Buddhist Association of China, one of five state-controlled religious organizations, while Chinese Communist Party and government officials exercise supervision and guidance over Tibetan Buddhist monastic and educational institutions through the United Front Work Department's National Religious Affairs Administration. [For more information on religion in China, see Section II—Freedom of Religion.]

During the 2021 reporting year, Party and government organizations, including United Front Work Department branches and monastic management committees,<sup>9</sup> continued to target Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns with propaganda on Party and government policy on ethnic and religious issues in ideological education sessions held at monastic institutions and other sites.<sup>10</sup> These propaganda efforts incorporate into monastic curricula<sup>11</sup> the study of

Chinese legal provisions, including the Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas,<sup>12</sup> the PRC National Security Law,<sup>13</sup> and the PRC Anti-Secession Law;<sup>14</sup> and Party ethnic and religious policy initiatives, including the “sinicization” of religion<sup>15</sup> and the Seventh Tibet Work Forum.<sup>16</sup> The International Campaign for Tibet noted that such propaganda efforts “require the monastic community to hold the Communist doctrine and leaders as [a] higher authority than [Buddhist] canons even on spiritual matters,” posing a “threat to the survival of . . . Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture.”<sup>17</sup>

#### RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

During the 2021 reporting year, authorities in Tibetan areas restricted access to Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions, including monasteries and temples, and issued prohibitions on forms of religious worship, particularly during major religious events or around the times of politically sensitive anniversaries.

- In July 2020, authorities ordered monasteries in Gansu, Qinghai, and Sichuan provinces to be closed to visitors to prevent gatherings celebrating the Dalai Lama’s July 6 birthday.<sup>18</sup>
- Officials in Lhasa municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), limited Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims’ and worshippers’ access to the Jokhang temple, a major Tibetan Buddhist temple, and surrounding areas of the city, while allowing tourist groups to visit.<sup>19</sup>
- Local officials in Lhasa municipality issued a notice in July 2020 reducing the amount of burnt smoke offerings allowed to be made at Lhasa religious sites.<sup>20</sup> Officials reportedly cited increasing levels of air pollution in the city as the reason for the restrictions.<sup>21</sup> Local residents reportedly feared that the restrictions could be extended across all of the TAR.<sup>22</sup>
- In March 2021, police in Zaduo (Dzatoe) county, Yushu (Yulshul) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai, interrogated four Tibetan men after they climbed a mountain to burn incense and perform prayers.<sup>23</sup> Authorities released three of them, but continued to hold **Thubten Phuntsog** on unknown charges.<sup>24</sup>
- Around the time of the Tibetan New Year (*Losar*) in February 2021, authorities in some Tibetan areas, including Qinghai and Sichuan provinces and the Tibet Autonomous Region, closed or limited access to major cultural and religious sites to pilgrims and visitors.<sup>25</sup>
- Shortly after the Tibetan New Year, officials responsible for monasteries in Gansu, Qinghai, and Sichuan provinces prohibited worshippers from gathering at the monasteries to observe a major religious festival, Monlam Chenmo.<sup>26</sup> Authorities reportedly cited public health concerns over the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic as cause for the orders.<sup>27</sup>

#### DEATH OF DZA BONPO MONK TENZIN NYIMA

Following a series of public protests in late 2019 near Wenbo (Bonpo) town, Shiqu (Sershul) county, Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Au-

tonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, local authorities detained local residents and dozens of monks at Wenbo's Dza Bonpo Monastery.<sup>28</sup> In August 2020, authorities detained Dza Bonpo monk **Tenzin Nyima** (or Tame) again after he reportedly shared news of the detentions online.<sup>29</sup> In October, authorities released him to his family in critical condition after severe mistreatment in custody.<sup>30</sup> Tenzin Nyima died on January 19, 2021, at the age of 19.<sup>31</sup>

After international reports on his death emerged, local authorities reportedly cracked down on Wenbo residents. International rights organizations published reports on the crackdown, in which a local Party secretary led an inspection visit to Wenbo<sup>32</sup> and a counterterrorist detachment of the People's Armed Police (PAP) raided residents' homes.<sup>33</sup> PAP officers detained an unknown number of local residents in connection with sharing news of Tenzin Nyima's death on the social media platform WeChat.<sup>34</sup> Officials confiscated images of the Dalai Lama, replaced them with images of Chinese Communist Party leaders, and in a March 17 town meeting, ordered residents to sign an agreement not to keep pictures of the Dalai Lama.<sup>35</sup> Officials also forced local residents to download software to their phones that would allow authorities access to their data.<sup>36</sup>

#### *The Dalai Lama and Reincarnation*

The Chinese Communist Party and government seek to exercise control over the selection and recognition of reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist religious figures, particularly major reincarnated lineages such as the Dalai Lama. The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, who in July 2021 reached the age of 86, has lived in India since fleeing into exile in 1959.<sup>37</sup> Chinese officials have denounced the Dalai Lama and his followers as "separatists" seeking to "split the motherland."<sup>38</sup>

Chinese officials claim legal authority to recognize and select reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist teachers, including the Dalai Lama, under the provisions of the 2007 Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>39</sup> 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 reincarnation is a matter only for the individual in question, in consultation with the religious community of Tibetan Buddhists, not the Chinese Communist Party or government.<sup>40</sup> In the statement, the Dalai Lama explicitly rejected the Chinese government's claim that it has authority over the recognition and validation of reincarnated teachers.<sup>41</sup>

At an August 2020 meeting of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Communist Party Committee's National Security Committee, TAR Party Secretary Wu Yingjie named the 14th Dalai Lama as a threat to political security in Tibet.<sup>42</sup> Wu called on Party cadres to focus on fighting separatism as part of efforts to ensure political security.<sup>43</sup> Wu also called for greater emphasis on using education to instill loyalty to the Party among Tibetans and "exposing and criticizing" the Dalai Lama and the "Dalai clique" as "reactionaries" in order to urge Tibetans to distance themselves from the Dalai Lama.<sup>44</sup>

In January 2021, Zhu Weiqun, director of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference’s Ethnic and Religious Affairs Committee and former deputy director of the United Front Work Department, said that the Dalai Lama alone did not have the authority to determine the circumstances of his reincarnation or who a subsequent Dalai Lama would be.<sup>45</sup> In his remarks, Zhu responded to the December 2020 passage of the Tibetan Policy and Support Act (Public Law No. 116–260), denouncing what he described as U.S. interference in China’s internal affairs and collusion between the United States and the “Dalai clique.”<sup>46</sup> Chinese officials continued<sup>47</sup> to require that applicants for some civil service or government-affiliated positions denounce the Dalai Lama to be eligible for hiring.<sup>48</sup>

Chinese authorities continued to penalize Tibetans for expressions of reverence for the Dalai Lama through criminal and other punishments:

- In July 2020, Chinese officials sentenced two Tibetan songwriters to prison in connection with their writing and sharing online of songs praising the Dalai Lama. Authorities in Zeku (Tsekhog) county, Huangnan (Malho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, initially detained lyricist **Khadro Tseten**, singer **Tsego**, and an unidentified woman in April 2019 after they posted the songs to the social media platform WeChat.<sup>49</sup> The court sentenced Khadro Tseten to seven years in prison and Tsego to three years on charges of “subversion of state power” and “leaking state secrets.”<sup>50</sup>
- Also in July 2020, public security officials in Maqin (Machen) county, Guoluo (Golog) TAP, Qinghai, detained **Lhundrub Dorje** for sharing recordings of the Dalai Lama’s teachings and content related to the Tibetan government-in-exile on social media platforms WeChat and Weibo.<sup>51</sup> Authorities reportedly accused him of sharing content related to “Tibetan independence” around the time of the March 10 anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan uprising.<sup>52</sup> In December 2020, the Guoluo TAP Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to one year in prison for “inciting separatism.”<sup>53</sup>
- In October 2020, Qinghai authorities sentenced **Tashi Gyal** to imprisonment in connection with his past use of WeChat to share audiovisual content, including teachings given by the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan flag, and the Tibetan government-in-exile. Maqin county officials first detained Tashi Gyal in May 2020 over photographs and videos he shared in WeChat groups in 2014 and 2015.<sup>54</sup> The Guoluo TAP Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to one year in prison on the charge of “inciting separatism.”<sup>55</sup>

### The 11th Panchen Lama

In a June 2020 letter published in August 2020, five United Nations human rights experts wrote to the Chinese government to demand more information on the whereabouts and condition of **Gedun Choekyi Nyima**, recognized by the Dalai Lama in 1995 as the 11th Panchen Lama, and to “express grave concern” over his continued disappearance.<sup>56</sup> Three days after the Dalai Lama announced the 1995 recognition, Chinese authorities detained Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his parents, and have held them incommunicado at an unknown location or locations since.<sup>57</sup> In response to the UN experts’ letter, the Chinese delegation to the UN wrote that the Dalai Lama’s recognition of Gedun Choekyi Nyima as Panchen Lama “was illegal and without effect” and claimed that he and his parents wished to avoid “interference in their current, normal lives.”<sup>58</sup>

### GYALTSEN NORBU

During the 2021 reporting year, the Chinese Communist Party and government continued to promote the public profile of Gyaltzen Norbu, whom Chinese authorities claim as the 11th Panchen Lama. Gyaltzen Norbu, who has served as a vice president of the Buddhist Association of China since 2010 and member of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference Standing Committee since 2013,<sup>59</sup> undertook a tour of the Tibet Autonomous Region in summer 2020,<sup>60</sup> and in September 2020 chaired a meeting of the TAR branch of the Buddhist Association of China.<sup>61</sup> In public remarks, Gyaltzen Norbu spoke in support of Party policy on religion in Tibet, calling for further “sinicization” of Tibetan Buddhism<sup>62</sup> and continued education campaigns targeting monastic institutions,<sup>63</sup> and praising Party governance for improving the lives of local residents.<sup>64</sup>

### *The Seventh Tibet Work Forum*

In August 2020, the Standing Committee of the Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau (Politburo) convened the Seventh Tibet Work Forum in Beijing municipality. In remarks delivered at the forum, Chinese Communist Party General Secretary and President Xi Jinping declared that Party policies in Tibetan areas were “completely correct.”<sup>65</sup> Xi called for the continuing “sinicization” of Tibetan Buddhism, and for Tibetan Buddhism to be “guided to adapt to socialist society.”<sup>66</sup> In calling for Party and government policies toward Tibetan areas to focus on “ethnic unity,” Xi stressed the importance of shaping public understanding of Tibet as an integral part of China—in line with Party and government doctrine that Tibet has historically been part of China—as well as broadening “public participation in opposing separatism” and “strengthening all ethnic groups’ identification with the great motherland (*weida zuguo*), the Chinese nation (*minzu*), the Chinese culture, the Chinese Communist Party, and socialism with Chinese characteristics.”<sup>67</sup> The Sixth Tibet Work Forum took place in 2015.<sup>68</sup> Continuing the practice begun with 2010’s Fifth Work Forum, the Seventh Work Forum also covered Tibetan areas out-



side of the Tibet Autonomous Region, in Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces.<sup>69</sup>

**Reports of Mass Labor Training and Transfer Programs  
in the Tibet Autonomous Region**

In September 2020, researcher Adrian Zenz and Reuters independently published reports on the existence of large-scale labor training and transfer programs operating in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).<sup>70</sup> Both Zenz and Reuters referred to TAR government documents and official reports setting out plans targeting farmers and pastoralists for large-scale transfer to state-organized job placements in both the TAR and other locations across China.<sup>71</sup> Zenz wrote that the training programs had “numerous coercive elements,”<sup>72</sup> including military-style drills and political education and a focus on marginalized sectors of the population,<sup>73</sup> though some Tibet experts cautioned that without further evidence, reports of coerced labor could not be confirmed.<sup>74</sup> At an October press conference, TAR Party Secretary Wu Yingjie and TAR government chairman Qizhala (Che Dralha in Tibetan) referred to the labor training and transfers as part of “poverty alleviation” efforts.<sup>75</sup> [For more information on “poverty alleviation” and reports of forced labor, see Section II—Business and Human Rights and Section IV—Xinjiang.]

*Control of Expression and the Free Flow of Information*

CONTROL OF EXPRESSION

Authorities in Tibetan areas of China sought to regulate and control expression in Tibetan areas, in particular targeting speech critical of the Chinese government and Communist Party or their policies. In November 2020, three government agencies in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) jointly issued a notice prohibiting the use of internet communications for “separatist activities or activities that harm national unity.”<sup>76</sup> The notice does not provide for new criminal penalties or new types of prohibited activities, but reiterates TAR authorities’ focus on residents’ use of telecommunications networks to discuss politically unacceptable topics or engage in expression characterized by Chinese authorities as criminal.<sup>77</sup>

RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION

Chinese authorities continued to monitor or restrict contact between Tibetans in Tibetan areas of China and individuals or groups abroad, including by detaining those found to have contact with Tibetans in exile in India or who have shared information within Tibetan areas about Tibetans living abroad. Representative examples of Tibetans detained for sharing information follow.

- In June 2020, authorities in Lhasa municipality, TAR, detained Tibet University student **Kunsang Gyaltzen**.<sup>78</sup> Sources initially published in December 2020 reported that police detained him in connection with sharing “unauthorized” publications about Tibetan history and politics.<sup>79</sup>

- Police in Chenduo (Tridu) county, Yushu (Yulshul) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, detained **Dokya** and **Dragpa** in October 2020 in connection with a WeChat discussion group they ran.<sup>80</sup> The two reportedly created and managed a WeChat group dedicated to Tibetan culture and traditional crafts.<sup>81</sup>
- Reports emerged in November 2020 about the case of **Rinchen Tsultrim**, a Bon monk at Nangzhig Monastery in Aba (Ngaba) county, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.<sup>82</sup> Authorities detained him in August 2019 in connection with posts he made on online forums and his personal website about Tibetan politics, culture, and history.<sup>83</sup> Security officials had previously detained Rinchen Tsultrim and placed him under surveillance because of his contacts with Tibetans living in India and his distribution within Tibetan areas of religious writings he had received from abroad.<sup>84</sup> An unknown court later sentenced him to a prison term of 4 years or 4 years and 6 months.<sup>85</sup>
- Police in Qumalai (Chumarleb) county, Yushu TAP, detained **Kakho** and **Namyag** in January 2021.<sup>86</sup> The two ran a WeChat discussion group, and shortly before their detentions reportedly shared information in the group regarding elections for the Tibetan government-in-exile.<sup>87</sup>
- Chenduo county police detained three teenagers, **Sanggye Tso**, **Dradul**, and **Kansi**,<sup>88</sup> in February 2021 reportedly because they failed to register with local authorities a WeChat group they ran.<sup>89</sup> Police reportedly tortured Dradul in custody, breaking his legs and beating him, resulting in his hospitalization.<sup>90</sup>

#### ACCESS TO TIBETAN AREAS

During the Commission’s 2021 reporting year, Chinese authorities continued to enforce heavy restrictions on access to Tibetan areas, particularly the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), with foreign journalists and diplomats facing especially stringent limits. The TAR remains the only province-level administrative division with restrictions on tourist entry, and it is also the only province-level administrative division to require all foreigners to apply for approval to visit.<sup>91</sup> The U.S. Department of State, in its report to Congress on reciprocal access to Tibet and Tibetan areas, found that Chinese officials “systematically impeded travel” and “regularly denied requests by international journalists, diplomats, and other officials” to visit these areas.<sup>92</sup> The Foreign Correspondents’ Club of China’s annual report found that central Chinese officials tightly controlled foreign journalists’ ability to independently report in Tibetan areas by limiting access to only state-organized reporting trips, and requiring all journalists to apply for approval to visit the TAR.<sup>93</sup>

#### *Language and Cultural Rights*

Although China’s Constitution and laws contain provisions affirming the freedom of ethnic minorities to “use and develop”<sup>94</sup> their languages, authorities continued to threaten linguistic rights

in Tibetan areas, including through active efforts to institute policies promoting or enforcing the use of Mandarin instead of Tibetan, as well as policies of neglect with regard to minority languages. Chinese ethnic policy ignores unrecognized linguistic communities, including in Tibetan areas of China,<sup>95</sup> and users of languages without official recognition lack access to official support in education and other government services.<sup>96</sup>

During the Commission’s 2021 reporting year, authorities in Tibetan areas continued to expand the role of Mandarin and shrink the space for Tibetan or other languages in educational settings, in line with developments in other ethnic autonomous areas of China.<sup>97</sup> In many Tibetan areas, education is offered almost entirely using Mandarin as the language of instruction,<sup>98</sup> while in some areas authorities prohibit private instruction in Tibetan.<sup>99</sup> Observers criticized the continuing erosion of Tibetan-language instruction as part of policies meant to coercively assimilate Tibetans into the Han majority.<sup>100</sup> The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which China is a State Party,<sup>101</sup> recognizes and protects the rights of ethnic and linguistic minority groups to use their languages.<sup>102</sup> Observers expressed concern over a work report issued in January 2021 by the Legislative Affairs Commission of the National People’s Congress Standing Committee (NPCSC)<sup>103</sup> that found the use of ethnic minority languages in teaching to be unconstitutional.<sup>104</sup> [For more information on the NPCSC report and ethnic minority language education, see Section II—Ethnic Minority Rights.]

In January 2021, Chinese authorities released Tibetan language rights advocate **Tashi Wangchug** from prison upon completing a five-year sentence on the charge of “inciting separatism.”<sup>105</sup> Authorities detained him in 2016 and sentenced him in 2018 after he spoke with the New York Times about his advocacy for Tibetan-language education; prosecutors used his interview with the New York Times as evidence against him at trial.<sup>106</sup> Observers and rights organizations expressed concern that even after release from prison, Tashi Wangchug would not truly be free, because of a five-year post-imprisonment term of deprivation of political rights as part of his sentence.<sup>107</sup>

#### *Development Policy in Tibetan Areas*

This past year, Chinese Communist Party and government officials touted the results of a national “poverty alleviation” campaign, culminating in President and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping’s declaration in February 2021 that China had achieved “complete victory” over poverty,<sup>108</sup> although some experts called into question the official claims.<sup>109</sup> In October 2020, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Secretary Wu Yingjie announced that the TAR had seen a “major victory” in the campaign, saying that as of the end of 2019, “poverty alleviation” policies had lifted 628,000 individuals out of poverty and removed 74 county-level administrative divisions from official classification as impoverished.<sup>110</sup>

While officials celebrated economic development achievements in Tibetan areas as improving residents’ material quality of life, reports indicated a continuing pattern of Chinese authorities implementing development policy without taking into account local Ti-

betans' wishes, and in some cases punishing Tibetan opposition. Authorities continued resettlement programs for nomads and herders as part of "poverty alleviation" efforts.<sup>111</sup> In at least one case authorities placed residents who complained in short-term detention.<sup>112</sup>

- **Development as a tool to secularize Tibetan society.**

Officials in Tibetan areas tied economic development policy to religious policy, suggesting that Tibetans' religious practice was at odds with improved material well-being.<sup>113</sup> In October 2020, TAR Party Secretary Wu Yingjie called for Party development policy to "treat religion rationally" and "dilute the negative influence of religion."<sup>114</sup> As an example of societal problems that "poverty alleviation" efforts were meant to address, TAR government chairman Qizhala (Che Dralha) referred to "the negative influence of religion that emphasizes the next life."<sup>115</sup>

- **Forced relocation from national parks.** Authorities continued work on establishing a system of national parks, with some parks located in Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan provinces. Although state media reported that projects like the national parks system promoted economic development for resident herders and farmers by providing new job opportunities,<sup>116</sup> authorities forcibly relocated Tibetan pastoralists in order to accommodate official development goals.<sup>117</sup>

- **Continued railway construction.** Construction began on a segment of the railway line planned to link Lhasa municipality, TAR, and Chengdu municipality, Sichuan province.<sup>118</sup> The segment under construction, between Linzhi (Nyingtri) municipality, TAR, and Ya'an municipality, Sichuan, is scheduled for completion in 2030.<sup>119</sup> It would be the second major rail link connecting the TAR to the Chinese rail network, after the Qinghai-Tibet railway, completed in 2006.<sup>120</sup>

- **Detentions.** Chinese authorities in Tibetan areas continued to punish Tibetans for expressing opposition to government policy regarding local development. In one example, in August 2020, police in Yushu (Yulshul) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, detained two men, **Dokyab** and his nephew **Gyaltsen**, after Dokyab organized Tibetan residents to oppose local government development initiatives.<sup>121</sup> Dokyab reportedly warned herders against giving up their tenure rights to grazing land at a public meeting in Qumalai (Chumarleb) county, Yushu TAP, organized by local officials to promote the land transfers.<sup>122</sup>

## Notes to Section V—Tibet

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., “Changzhu Rineiwa daibiao tuan fayan ren Liu Yuyin jiu Meiguo changzhu tuan juban shezang xianshang huodong fabiao tanhua” [Permanent mission at Geneva spokesperson Liu Yuyin issues comments on U.S. permanent mission holding online activities on Tibet], Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 4, 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Central Tibetan Administration, “2015 Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest News Surfaces More than 5 Years Later,” January 12, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Central Tibetan Administration, “2015 Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest News Surfaces More than 5 Years Later,” January 12, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Central Tibetan Administration, “2015 Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest News Surfaces More than 5 Years Later,” January 12, 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Central Tibetan Administration, “2015 Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest News Surfaces More than 5 Years Later,” January 12, 2021.

<sup>6</sup> This cumulative total does not include six deaths by self-immolation of Tibetans in 2012 and 2013. “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, January 10, 2017. See also International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolations,” last updated January 13, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> CECC, *2018 Annual Report*, October 10, 2018, 294–95; CECC, *2019 Annual Report*, November 18, 2019, 295; CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 327.

<sup>8</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by UN General Assembly resolution 217A (III) of December 10, 1948; 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.

<sup>9</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, “Party Above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries,” March 2021. Monastic management committees are organized as joint monastic-official bodies to monitor resident monks and nuns at monastic institutions.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., “Rikaze shi Zhashi Lunbu si guan wei hui zuzhi kaizhan minzu tuanjie ji aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu xilie huodong” [Shigatse municipality’s Tashi Lhunpo monastery management committee organizes events on ethnic unity and patriotic education], Tashi Lhunpo Monastery Management Committee, reprinted in Tibet Autonomous Region United Front, September 28, 2020; “Qinghai quansheng Zangchuan Fojiao nigu ‘ai dang ai guo ai shehui zhuyi’ zhuti jiaoyu peixun ban zai Guide kaiban” [Qinghai province-wide training and education session on “Love the Party, love the country, love socialism” held for Tibetan Buddhist nuns in Trika], United Front Work Department, May 26, 2021; International Campaign for Tibet, “Party Above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries,” March 2021; Human Rights Watch, “China: New Political Requirements for Tibetan Monastics,” October 30, 2018.

<sup>11</sup> International Campaign for Tibet, “Party Above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries,” March 2021, 13, 16, 17.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., “Naqu shi Suo xian Nimalin si guanweihui kaizhan ‘Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa’ xuanjiang huodong” [Sog county, Nagchu municipality’s Nyimaling monastery holds propaganda events on “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas”], Sog County United Front, August 5, 2020; “Linzi shi zhengxie weiyuan xuanjiang tuan xu Bomi xian Quzong si xuanjiang Zhongyang Diqi ci Xizang Gongzuo Zuoanhui jingshen Dang de Shijiu jie Wu Zhongquanhui jingshen ji ‘Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa’” [Nyingchi municipal political consultative conference propaganda team visit Bomi county’s Quzong monastery to teach about spirit of the Seventh Central Tibet Work Forum, spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the Nineteenth Party Congress, and “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas”], Bomi County Committee United Front, November 13, 2020.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., “Changdu shi Luolong xian Xiapu si guanweihui zuzhi kaizhan ‘Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Guo’an Fa’ he ‘Xianggang Guo’an Fa’ xuanjiang huodong” [Lhorong county, Chamdo municipality’s Xiapu monastery management committee organizes “PRC National Security Law” and “Hong Kong National Security Law” propaganda activities], Tibet Autonomous Region United Front, December 25, 2020; “Diebu xian wei tongzhan bu kaizhan ‘Guojia Anquan Jiaoyu Ri’ xuanchuan jiaoyu huodong” [Tewo county committee UFWD holds “National Security Education Day” propaganda and education events], Gansu United Front Work Department, April 19, 2021.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., “Diebu xian wei tongzhan bu kaizhan ‘Guojia Anquan Jiaoyu Ri’ xuanchuan jiaoyu huodong” [Tewo county committee UFWD holds “National Security Education Day” propaganda and education events], Gansu United Front Work Department, April 19, 2021.

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., “Rikaze shi Zhashi Lunbu si guanweihui dangzu shuji, zhuren Nima Qionglashenru Sangzhuzi qu Hao si Jiangluo si Sangzhu Quxiang si xuanjiang Zhongyang Diqi ci Xizang Gongzuo Zuoanhui jingshen” [Shigatse municipality’s Tashi Lhunpo monastery management committee Party organization secretary and chair Nima Qionglashenru deepens propaganda on spirit of the Seventh Central Tibet Work Forum at Samdrubzhe district’s Hao monastery, Jiangluo monastery, and Sangzhu Quxiang monastery], Shigatse Municipal Committee United Front, reprinted in Tibet Autonomous Region United Front, October 29, 2020.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., “Rikaze shi Zhashi Lunbu si guanweihui dangzu shuji, zhuren Nima Qionglashenru Sangzhuzi qu Hao si Jiangluo si Sangzhu Quxiang si xuanjiang Zhongyang Diqi ci Xizang Gongzuo Zuoanhui jingshen” [Shigatse municipality’s Tashi Lhunpo monastery management committee Party organization secretary and chair Nima Qionglashenru deepens propaganda on spirit of the Seventh Central Tibet Work Forum at Samdrubzhe district’s Hao monastery, Jiangluo monastery, and Sangzhu Quxiang monastery], Shigatse Municipal Committee United Front, reprinted in Tibet Autonomous Region United Front, October 29, 2020; “Linzi shi zhengxie weiyuan xuanjiang tuan xu Bomi xian Quzong si xuanjiang Zhongyang Diqi ci Xizang Gongzuo Zuoanhui jingshen Dang de Shijiu jie Wu Zhongquanhui jingshen ji ‘Zangchuan Fojiao

Huofu Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa” [Nyingchi municipal political consultative conference propaganda team visits Bomi county’s Quzong monastery to teach about spirit of the Seventh Central Tibet Work Forum, spirit of the Fifth Plenum of the Nineteenth Party Congress, and “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas”], Bomi County Committee United Front, November 13, 2020; “Diqing Degian: Yanmenxiang siyuan guanliju zuzhi chuanda xuexi Zhongyang Diqi ci Xizang Gongzuo Zuotanhui jingshen” [Degian, Diqing: Yanmenxiang monastery management bureau organizes study of spirit of Seventh Central Tibet Work Forum], Degian County Committee United Front, reprinted in Yunnan United Front, November 25, 2020.

<sup>17</sup>International Campaign for Tibet, “Party Above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries,” March 2021, 2, 3.

<sup>18</sup>“Tibetan Monasteries Closed to Outside Visitors on Dalai Lama’s Birthday,” *Radio Free Asia*, July 10, 2020; Tibet Watch, “Authorities Order Tibetan Monasteries to Close on Dalai Lama’s Birthday,” August 14, 2020.

<sup>19</sup>Tibet Watch, “Tibetans Blocked from Buddhist Sites in Lhasa While Chinese Tourists Allowed In,” August 12, 2020; “Worship Area in Front of Lhasa’s Jokhang Temple Closed Following Repairs,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 2, 2020.

<sup>20</sup>“China Bans Smoke Offerings outside Lhasa’s Jokhang Temple,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 17, 2020; Zhamo, “Zhonggong dangju yi ‘huanbao’ mingyi fengbi Xizang Lasa duochu weisanglu” [CCP authorities shutter many Lhasa, Tibet, offering furnaces in the name of “environmental protection”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 17, 2020.

<sup>21</sup>“China Bans Smoke Offerings outside Lhasa’s Jokhang Temple,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 17, 2020; Zhamo, “Zhonggong dangju yi ‘huanbao’ mingyi fengbi Xizang Lasa duochu weisanglu” [CCP authorities shutter many Lhasa, Tibet, offering furnaces in the name of “environmental protection”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 17, 2020.

<sup>22</sup>Zhamo, “Zhonggong dangju yi ‘huanbao’ mingyi fengbi Xizang Lasa duochu weisanglu” [CCP authorities shutter many Lhasa, Tibet, offering furnaces in the name of “environmental protection”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 17, 2020.

<sup>23</sup>Tibet Watch, “Tibetans Detained and Interrogated for Burning Incense,” April 16, 2021. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2021-00066 on Thubten Phuntsog.

<sup>24</sup>Tibet Watch, “Tibetans Detained and Interrogated for Burning Incense,” April 16, 2021.

<sup>25</sup>“Curfew Imposed in Tibetan Areas of Qinghai Ahead of Lunar New Year,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 1, 2021; “China COVID-19 Restrictions Close Temples in Lhasa for Tibetan New Year,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 10, 2021; “Gatherings Banned in Tibetan Areas of China During Lunar New Year,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 16, 2021.

<sup>26</sup>“China Tightens Restrictions on Tibetan New Year Events, Citing COVID-19 Concerns,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 23, 2021; Tibet Watch, “Tibetan Monasteries Barred from Organising Religious Festival,” March 5, 2021.

<sup>27</sup>“China COVID-19 Restrictions Close Temples in Lhasa for Tibetan New Year,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 10, 2021; “China Tightens Restrictions on Tibetan New Year Events, Citing COVID-19 Concerns,” *Radio Free Asia*, February 23, 2021; Tibet Watch, “Tibetan Monasteries Barred from Organising Religious Festival,” March 5, 2021.

<sup>28</sup>CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 328–29.

<sup>29</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China: Tibetan Monk Dies from Beating in Custody,” January 21, 2021; Free Tibet, “19-Year-Old Tibetan Monk Tenzin Nyima Dies from Injuries after Police Detention,” January 22, 2021.

<sup>30</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China: Tibetan Monk Dies from Beating in Custody,” January 21, 2021; Free Tibet, “19-Year-Old Tibetan Monk Tenzin Nyima Dies from Injuries after Police Detention,” January 22, 2021.

<sup>31</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China: Tibetan Monk Dies from Beating in Custody,” January 21, 2021; Free Tibet, “19-Year-Old Tibetan Monk Tenzin Nyima Dies from Injuries after Police Detention,” January 22, 2021.

<sup>32</sup>People’s Government of Wenbo Town, Shiqu County (@wbzrmzf), “Zhou renda fu zhuren, xian wei shuji Yuan Mingguang yixing gongzuo zu shenru wozhen jiancha zhidao gongzuo” [Prefectural people’s congress vice chair and county [Party] committee secretary Yuan Mingguang and work team deepen [Wenbo] town’s inspection and guidance work], WeChat post, accessed April 13, 2021.

<sup>33</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Counterterrorism Police ‘Clean Up’ after Tibetan Monk’s Death,” April 7, 2021; Tibet Watch, “Search Operations Conducted to Find the Source of Tenzin Nyima’s News,” April 9, 2021.

<sup>34</sup>Lobsang Tenchoe, “China Equates Possession of Dalai Lama’s Portrait to Illegal Possession of Arms,” *Tibet Express*, April 9, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “Counterterrorism Police ‘Clean Up’ after Tibetan Monk’s Death,” April 7, 2021; Tibet Watch, “Search Operations Conducted to Find the Source of Tenzin Nyima’s News,” April 9, 2021.

<sup>35</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Counterterrorism Police ‘Clean Up’ after Tibetan Monk’s Death,” April 7, 2021; Tibet Watch, “Search Operations Conducted to Find the Source of Tenzin Nyima’s News,” April 9, 2021.

<sup>36</sup>Human Rights Watch, “Counterterrorism Police ‘Clean Up’ after Tibetan Monk’s Death,” April 7, 2021.

<sup>37</sup>Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Brief Biography,” accessed May 9, 2020.

<sup>38</sup>See, e.g., Central 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; “Changzhu Rineiwa daibiao tuan fayan ren Liu Yuyin jiu Meiguo changzhu tuan juban shezhang xianshang huodong fabiao tanhua” [Permanent mission at Geneva spokesperson Liu Yuyin issues comments on U.S. permanent mission holding online activities on Tibet], Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 4, 2020.

<sup>39</sup> State Administration for Religious Affairs, *Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo Zhuanshi Guanli Banfa* [Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism], issued July 18, 2007, effective September 1, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Reincarnation,” September 24, 2011.

<sup>41</sup> Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Reincarnation,” September 24, 2011.

<sup>42</sup> Chang Chuan and Chen Yuejun, “Wu Yingjie: Hen zhua jiding weiwen cuoshi luoshi quebao shehui daju hexie wending” [Wu Yingjie: Fiercely take charge of implementing the established stability maintenance measures, ensure society’s general harmony and stability], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *Chinese Communist Party News*, August 26, 2020.

<sup>43</sup> Chang Chuan and Chen Yuejun, “Wu Yingjie: Hen zhua jiding weiwen cuoshi luoshi quebao shehui daju hexie wending” [Wu Yingjie: Fiercely take charge of implementing the established stability maintenance measures, ensure society’s general harmony and stability], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *Chinese Communist Party News*, August 26, 2020.

<sup>44</sup> Chang Chuan and Chen Yuejun, “Wu Yingjie: Hen zhua jiding weiwen cuoshi luoshi quebao shehui daju hexie wending” [Wu Yingjie: Fiercely take charge of implementing the established stability maintenance measures, ensure society’s general harmony and stability], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *Chinese Communist Party News*, August 26, 2020.

<sup>45</sup> Lu Mei, “Zhongguo jidian mian dui mian: Mei ‘shezang fa’an’ wuquan ganshe Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo zhuanshi shiwu” [China focus face to face: U.S. “Tibet Act” has no right to interfere in Tibetan Buddhist Living Buddha reincarnation matters], *China News Service*, January 14, 2021.

<sup>46</sup> Lu Mei, “Zhongguo jidian mian dui mian: Mei ‘shezang fa’an’ wuquan ganshe Zangchuan Fojiao Huofo zhuanshi shiwu” [China focus face to face: U.S. “Tibet Act” has no right to interfere in Tibetan Buddhist Living Buddha reincarnation matters], *China News Service*, January 14, 2021.

<sup>47</sup> CECC, *2020 Annual Report*, December 2020, 327.

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., “2020 nian Xizang ji shaoshu minzu gaoxiao biyesheng kaolu quwai gongwuyuan gonggao” [Announcement for 2020 Tibetan ethnic minority higher education graduates on testing to be public servants outside the region], Tibet Autonomous Region Party Committee Organization Department, reprinted in Tibet Autonomous Region Human Resources and Social Security Department, October 9, 2020; “Xizang Zizhiqiu gewutuan wudao yanyuan zhaopin gonggao” [Recruiting announcement for Tibet Autonomous Region song and dance troupe performers], Tibet Autonomous Region Human Resources and Social Security Department, December 1, 2020; “Motuo xian Renmin Yiyuan shouci mianxiang shehui zhaopin zhuan ye jishu ren yuan,” [Motuo [Metog] County People’s Hospital makes first public recruitment for expert technical staff], Motuo County People’s Government, December 3, 2020.

<sup>49</sup> Sanggye Dondrub, “Bod mi gnyis la btson ‘jug khrims thag bcad’ [Two Tibetans sentenced to prison], *Tibet Times*, July 13, 2020; Yangchen Dolma, “Two Tibetans Jailed over a Song Praising His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet,” *Tibet Post International*, July 13, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Two Tibetans Imprisoned for a Song Praising the Dalai Lama,” July 15, 2020.

<sup>50</sup> Sanggye Dondrub, “Bod mi gnyis la btson ‘jug khrims thag bcad’ [Two Tibetans sentenced to prison], *Tibet Times*, July 13, 2020; Yangchen Dolma, “Two Tibetans Jailed over a Song Praising His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet,” *Tibet Post International*, July 13, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Two Tibetans Imprisoned for a Song Praising the Dalai Lama,” July 15, 2020.

<sup>51</sup> Rights Defense Network, “Yin zhuanfa, fabiao zhufu Xizang liumang zhengfu gongzuo ren yuan he Dalai Lama de tuwen shipin Qinghai Guoluo Zangren mumun Lezhi Duo jie bei panxing 1 nian” [Golog, Qinghai, Tibetan herder Lhundrub Dorje sentenced to 1 year because of reposting and sending images and video of greetings to exiled Tibetan government workers and the Dalai Lama], December 23, 2020; “Tibetan Nomad Jailed for One Year for Dalai Lama Posts,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 29, 2020.

<sup>52</sup> Rights Defense Network, “Yin zhuanfa, fabiao zhufu Xizang liumang zhengfu gongzuo ren yuan he Dalai Lama de tuwen shipin Qinghai Guoluo Zangren mumun Lezhi Duo jie bei panxing 1 nian” [Golog, Qinghai, Tibetan herder Lhundrub Dorje sentenced to 1 year because of reposting and sending images and video of greetings to exiled Tibetan government workers and the Dalai Lama], December 23, 2020; “Tibetan Nomad Jailed for One Year for Dalai Lama Posts,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 29, 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Rights Defense Network, “Yin zhuanfa, fabiao zhufu Xizang liumang zhengfu gongzuo ren yuan he Dalai Lama de tuwen shipin Qinghai Guoluo Zangren mumun Lezhi Duo jie bei panxing 1 nian” [Golog, Qinghai, Tibetan herder Lhundrub Dorje sentenced to 1 year because of reposting and sending images and video of greetings to exiled Tibetan government workers and the Dalai Lama], December 23, 2020; “Tibetan Nomad Jailed for One Year for Dalai Lama Posts,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 29, 2020.

<sup>54</sup> Rights Defense Network, “Zangqu wangluo yanda xia, Qinghai Guoluo mumun Zhaxi Jia yin 5 nian qian Weixin fatie bei zhuisu panxing 1 nian” [Under internet crackdown in Tibetan areas, Golog, Qinghai, herder Tashi Gyal sentenced to 1 year because of WeChat posts made 5 years previously], March 18, 2021; Kalsang Jinpa, “Bod mi bkra shis rgyal zhu ba zhig la lo gcig gi btson ‘jug khrims thag bcad yod ‘dug’ [Tibetan Tashi Gyal sentenced to one year in prison], *Tibet Times*, March 20, 2021; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Imprisons Tibetan Nomad for ‘Illegal Contents’ He Had Shared Online Five Years Ago,” March 22, 2021.

<sup>55</sup> Rights Defense Network, “Zangqu wangluo yanda xia, Qinghai Guoluo mumun Zhaxi Jia yin 5 nian qian Weixin fatie bei zhuisu panxing 1 nian” [Under internet crackdown in Tibetan areas, Golog, Qinghai, herder Tashi Gyal sentenced to 1 year because of WeChat posts made 5 years previously], March 18, 2021; Kalsang Jinpa, “Bod mi bkra shis rgyal zhu ba zhig la lo gcig gi btson ‘jug khrims thag bcad yod ‘dug’ [Tibetan Tashi Gyal sentenced to one year in prison], *Tibet Times*, March 20, 2021; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Im-

prisons Tibetan Nomad for ‘Illegal Contents’ He Had Shared Online Five Years Ago,” March 22, 2021.

<sup>56</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Mandates of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, the Special Rapporteur on minority issues, and the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, AL CHN 12/2020, June 2, 2020.

<sup>57</sup>UN Human Rights Council, Mandates of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, the Special Rapporteur on minority issues, and the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, AL CHN 12/2020, June 2, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2004-00835 on Gedun Choekyi Nyima, 2004-01274 on Dechen Choedron, and 2004-01336 on Konchog Phuntsog.

<sup>58</sup>The Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva and Other International Organizations in Switzerland, No. GJ/40/2020, July 8, 2020.

<sup>59</sup>“Banchan E’erdeni Queji Jiebu” [Panchen Erdini Choekyi Gyalpo], Buddhist Association of China, accessed March 31, 2021.

<sup>60</sup>Tibet Watch, “Chinese State-Appointed Panchen Lama Visits Lhasa,” August 19, 2020.

<sup>61</sup>Wang Shu and Zhao Yao, “Shiyi shi Banchan zhuchi zhaokai Foxie Xizang fenhui dishiyi jie er ci huiyi bing zuo baogao” [Eleventh Panchen Lama presides over the second meeting of the eleventh BAC Tibet branch and makes report], *China Tibet Online*, September 14, 2020.

<sup>62</sup>See, e.g., Yang Chenchen, “Banchan: Zongjiao yao yushi jujin, buduan tisheng zhongguohua shuiping” [Panchen Lama: Religion must keep up with the times, continuously raise the level of sinicization], *China News Service*, reprinted in *Tibet Online*, August 6, 2020.

<sup>63</sup>Wang Shu and Zhao Yao, “Shiyi shi Banchan zhuchi zhaokai Foxie Xizang fenhui dishiyi jie er ci huiyi bing zuo baogao” [Eleventh Panchen Lama presides over the second meeting of the eleventh BAC Tibet branch and makes report], *China Tibet Online*, September 14, 2020.

<sup>64</sup>Zhao Yao and Zheng Shuo, “Shiyi shi Banchan zhutuo Yadong cunmin: Ba shenghuo guohao, shou hao bianjing mei yi cun guotao” [Eleventh Panchen Lama entrusts Yadong villagers to: live well, and defend every border inch of the country’s territory], *China Tibet Online*, September 30, 2020.

<sup>65</sup>“Xi Jinping: Quanmian guan che xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue jianshe tuan jie fuyu wenming hexie mei li de shehui zhuyi xiandaihua xin Xizang” [Xi Jinping: Comprehensively implement the Party’s strategy on governing Tibet in the new era, establish a united, prosperous, civilized, harmonious, and beautiful new Tibet with socialist modernization], *Xinhua*, August 29, 2020.

<sup>66</sup>“Xi Jinping: Quanmian guan che xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue jianshe tuan jie fuyu wenming hexie mei li de shehui zhuyi xiandaihua xin Xizang” [Xi Jinping: Comprehensively implement the Party’s strategy on governing Tibet in the new era, establish a united, prosperous, civilized, harmonious, and beautiful new Tibet with socialist modernization], *Xinhua*, August 29, 2020.

<sup>67</sup>“Xi Jinping: Quanmian guan che xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue jianshe tuan jie fuyu wenming hexie mei li de shehui zhuyi xiandaihua xin Xizang” [Xi Jinping: Comprehensively implement the Party’s strategy on governing Tibet in the new era, establish a united, prosperous, civilized, harmonious, and beautiful new Tibet with socialist modernization], *Xinhua*, August 29, 2020; “Xinhua Headlines: China Sets Policy Directions for Developing Tibet,” *Xinhua*, August 29, 2020. See also James Leibold, “China’s Ethnic Policy under Xi Jinping,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, October 19, 2015.

<sup>68</sup>CECC, *2015 Annual Report*, October 8, 2015, 300.

<sup>69</sup>“Xi Jinping: Quanmian guan che xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue jianshe tuan jie fuyu wenming hexie mei li de shehui zhuyi xiandaihua xin Xizang” [Xi Jinping: Comprehensively implement the Party’s strategy on governing Tibet in the new era, establish a united, prosperous, civilized, harmonious, and beautiful new Tibet with socialist modernization], *Xinhua*, August 29, 2020; CECC, *2010 Annual Report*, October 10, 2010, 217.

<sup>70</sup>Adrian Zenz, “Xinjiang’s System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, September 22, 2020; Cate Cadell, “Exclusive: China Sharply Expands Mass Labor Program in Tibet,” *Reuters*, September 22, 2020.

<sup>71</sup>Adrian Zenz, “Xinjiang’s System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, September 22, 2020; Cate Cadell, “Exclusive: China Sharply Expands Mass Labor Program in Tibet,” *Reuters*, September 22, 2020; “Guanyu cu jin nongmumin you zuzhi kua quyu zhuan yi ju ye de gongzuo fang’an” [Work plan for advancing organized cross-regional employment transfers for farmers and herders], Tibet Autonomous Region Human Resources and Social Security Department, July 17, 2020; Zheng Lu and Yuan Haixia, “1-7 yue Xizang nongmumin zhuan yi ju ye 54.3 wan ren” [From January to July, 543,000 Tibetan farmer and herders [in] employment transfers] *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *Tibet Online*, August 12, 2020.

<sup>72</sup>Adrian Zenz, “Xinjiang’s System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, September 22, 2020.

<sup>73</sup>Adrian Zenz, “Xinjiang’s System of Militarized Vocational Training Comes to Tibet,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, September 22, 2020.

<sup>74</sup>Gabriel Lafitte, “Tibetan Forced Labour in China’s Factories,” *Rukor* (blog), March 18, 2021; Robert Barnett, “China’s Policies in Its Far West: The Claim of Tibet-Xinjiang Equivalence,” *Asia Unbound* (blog), Council on Foreign Relations, March 29, 2021.

<sup>75</sup>State Council Information Office, “Guowuyuan Xinwenban jiu ‘shenru guan che xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue Xizang lishixing xiaochu jue du pinkun’ youguan qingkuang juxing xinwen fabuhui” [State Council Information Office holds press conference on the situation of “deeply implementing the Party’s strategy for governing Tibet in the new era, Tibet eliminates absolute poverty for the first time in history”], October 15, 2020.

<sup>76</sup>Tibet Autonomous Region Public Security Bureau, Tibet Autonomous Region Internet Information Office, and Tibet Autonomous Region Communications Administration, “Xizang Zizhiqu



guanyu bude liyong xinxi wangluo shishi fenlie guojia, pohuai guojia tongyi huodong de tonggao” [Tibet Autonomous Region notice on prohibiting using information networks for activities that split the country or harm national unity], issued November 24, 2020.

<sup>77</sup>Tibet Autonomous Region Public Security Bureau, Tibet Autonomous Region Internet Information Office, and Tibet Autonomous Region Communications Administration, “Xizang Zizhiqu guanyu bude liyong xinxi wangluo shishi fenlie guojia, pohuai guojia tongyi huodong de tonggao” [Tibet Autonomous Region notice on prohibiting using information networks for activities that split the country or harm national unity], issued November 24, 2020.

<sup>78</sup>“Bod kyi slob chen slob ma zhig gar song cha med du gyur” [Tibetan university student disappears], *Tibet Times*, December 7, 2020; “Tibetan Woman Detained, Threatened in Qinghai over Calls for Democracy,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 8, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2021-00045 on Kunsang Gyaltzen.

<sup>79</sup>“Bod kyi slob chen slob ma zhig gar song cha med du gyur” [Tibetan university student disappears], *Tibet Times*, December 7, 2020; “Tibetan Woman Detained, Threatened in Qinghai over Calls for Democracy,” *Radio Free Asia*, December 8, 2020.

<sup>80</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi gnyis ‘dzin bzung byas ‘dug’ [Two Tibetans detained], *Tibet Times*, October 12, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2020-00249 on Dokyab and 2020-00251 on Drappa.

<sup>81</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi gnyis ‘dzin bzung byas ‘dug’ [Two Tibetans detained], *Tibet Times*, October 12, 2020.

<sup>82</sup>Pasang Tsering, “Grwa rin chen tshul khriims ‘dzin bzung byas te go thos med par gyur” [Monk Rinchen Tsultrim detained, nothing more is known], *Tibet Times*, November 27, 2020; “Zhonggong yi ‘shexian shandong fenlie guojia’ de zuiming feifa jubu Aba Zangren renqing chizhen” [CCP illegally detained Ngaba Tibetan Rinchen Tsultrim for “inciting separatism”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 27, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Monk Held Incommunicado for Over One Year,” December 2, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2020-00311 on Rinchen Tsultrim.

<sup>83</sup>Pasang Tsering, “Grwa rin chen tshul khriims ‘dzin bzung byas te go thos med par gyur” [Monk Rinchen Tsultrim detained, nothing more is known], *Tibet Times*, November 27, 2020; “Zhonggong yi ‘shexian shandong fenlie guojia’ de zuiming feifa jubu Aba Zangren renqing chizhen” [CCP illegally detained Ngaba Tibetan Rinchen Tsultrim for “inciting separatism”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 27, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Monk Held Incommunicado for Over One Year,” December 2, 2020.

<sup>84</sup>Pasang Tsering, “Grwa rin chen tshul khriims ‘dzin bzung byas te go thos med par gyur” [Monk Rinchen Tsultrim detained, nothing more is known], *Tibet Times*, November 27, 2020; “Zhonggong yi ‘shexian shandong fenlie guojia’ de zuiming feifa jubu Aba Zangren renqing chizhen” [CCP illegally detained Ngaba Tibetan Rinchen Tsultrim for “inciting separatism”], *Voice of Tibet*, November 27, 2020; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Monk Held Incommunicado for Over One Year,” December 2, 2020.

<sup>85</sup>“Dge ‘dun pa rin chen tshul khriims lags su lo bzhi’i khriims thag bcaid pa” [Monk Rinchen Tsultrim sentenced to four years], *Voice of Tibet*, April 8, 2021 (4 years); “Rnga yul snang zhig dgon pa’i grwa rin chen tshul khriims ‘dzin bzung” [Monk Rinchen Tsultrim, of Ngaba’s Nangzhig monastery, detained], *Voice of America*, April 8, 2021 (4.5 years); Choekyi Lhamo, “Tibetan Monk Held Incommunicado Sentenced to Four Years in Prison,” *Phayul*, April 8, 2021.

<sup>86</sup>“Liang ming jingnei Zangren yin zhuanfa liuwang Zangren daxuan yuyin xunxi zao bu” [Two Tibetans in Tibet detained for sharing information on Tibetan exile elections], *Voice of Tibet*, January 14, 2021; Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi khag cig la ‘os bsdu’i gnas tshul bsgrags pa’i nyes ming gyogs” [Tibetans accused of the crime of sharing elections information], *Tibet Times*, January 12, 2021. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2021-00010 on Kakho and 2021-00011 on Namyag.

<sup>87</sup>“Liang ming jingnei Zangren yin zhuanfa liuwang Zangren daxuan yuyin xunxi zao bu” [Two Tibetans in Tibet detained for sharing information on Tibetan exile elections], *Voice of Tibet*, January 14, 2021; Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi khag cig la ‘os bsdu’i gnas tshul bsgrags pa’i nyes ming gyogs” [Tibetans accused of the crime of sharing elections information], *Tibet Times*, January 12, 2021.

<sup>88</sup>Kansi was identified in reports only by a pseudonym.

<sup>89</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi gsum ‘dzin bzung byas te gar song cha med du gyur” [Three Tibetans detained, nothing more is known], *Tibet Times*, February 19, 2021; Free Tibet, “Three Tibetan Teens Arrested, and One Tortured for Failure to Register WeChat Group,” March 4, 2021. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2021-00049 on Sanggye Tso and 2021-00056 on Dradul.

<sup>90</sup>Dondrub Tashi, “Bod mi gsum ‘dzin bzung byas te gar song cha med du gyur” [Three Tibetans detained, nothing more is known], *Tibet Times*, February 19, 2021; Free Tibet, “Three Tibetan Teens Arrested, and One Tortured for Failure to Register WeChat Group,” March 4, 2021.

<sup>91</sup>U.S. Department of State, “Report to Congress on Access to Tibetan Areas of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Sec. 4 of the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018, PL 115–330//22USC 1182,” August 5, 2020; Foreign Correspondents’ Club of China, *Track, Trace, Expel: Reporting on China Amid a Pandemic*, March 2021, 8, 11.

<sup>92</sup>Department of State, “Report to Congress on Access to Tibetan Areas of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Sec. 4 of the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018, PL 115–330//22USC 1182,” August 5, 2020.

<sup>93</sup>Foreign Correspondents’ Club of China, *Track, Trace, Expel: Reporting on China Amid a Pandemic*, March 2021, 8, 11.

<sup>94</sup>PRC Constitution, passed and effective December 4, 1982 (amended March 11, 2018), art. 4; *Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Minzu Quyu Zizhi Fa* [PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law], passed May 31, 1984, effective October 1, 1984, amended February 28, 2001, art. 10; *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. 8.

<sup>95</sup>See, e.g., State Council Information Office, “Minzu Quyu Zizhi Zhidu zai Xizang de Chenggong Shijian” [Successful Practice of Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet], September 6, 2015, sec. 6. The State Council white paper on the ethnic autonomy system in the Tibet Autonomous Region notes bilingual education policy in Tibetan and Chinese, but does not mention use of any other languages in schools or any other context.

<sup>96</sup>Gerald Roche, “Articulating Language Oppression: Colonialism, Coloniality and the Erasure of Tibet’s Minority Languages,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 53, no. 5 (2019): 498.

<sup>97</sup>See, e.g., “Tibetan School Year Begins under New Restrictions, Mandarin-only Instruction,” *Radio Free Asia*, September 12, 2020; “Tibetan Private Language Schools Closed Down in Sichuan,” *Radio Free Asia*, June 3, 2021.

<sup>98</sup>Human Rights Watch, “China’s ‘Bilingual Education’ Policy in Tibet: Tibetan-Medium Schooling under Threat,” March 4, 2020, 23, 25, 34–36; Tibet Advocacy Coalition, “Assaulting Identity: China’s New Coercive Strategies in Tibet,” March 21, 2021, 12–13; “Tibetan Private Language Schools Closed Down in Sichuan,” *Radio Free Asia*, June 3, 2021.

<sup>99</sup>See, e.g., “Tibetan Private Language Schools Closed Down in Sichuan,” *Radio Free Asia*, June 3, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “China’s ‘Bilingual Education’ Policy in Tibet: Tibetan-Medium Schooling under Threat,” March 4, 2020, 53–55;

<sup>100</sup>See, e.g., Tibet Advocacy Coalition, “Assaulting Identity: China’s New Coercive Strategies in Tibet,” March 21, 2021, 5, 8, 9–13.

<sup>101</sup>UN Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of the Child, accessed April 26, 2021. China signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child on August 29, 1990, and ratified it on March 2, 1992.

<sup>102</sup>Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 44/25 of November 20, 1989, entry into force September 2, 1990, art. 30.

<sup>103</sup>Shen Chunyao, Legislative Affairs Commission, National People’s Congress Standing Committee, “Quanguo Renmin Daibiao Dahui Changwu Weiyuanhui Fazhi Gongzuo Weiyuanhui guanyu 2020 nian bei’an shencha gongzuo qingkuang de baogao” [Report of the Legislative Affairs Commission of the National People’s Congress Standing Committee regarding the status of filing and review work in 2020], January 27, 2021.

<sup>104</sup>Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China’s Rubber-Stamp Parliament Declares Use of Minority Languages ‘Unconstitutional,’” January 27, 2021; Free Tibet, “Teaching Tibetan Language in Tibetan Schools Declared ‘Unconstitutional,’” February 1, 2021.

<sup>105</sup>Liang Xiaojun (@liangxiaojun), “Juxi: jintian, Zhaxi Wense you Qinghai sheng Chenduo xian Sifa ju de renyuan jiehui Yushu, . . .” [Reports: today, Tashi Wangchug was taken back to Yulshul by Tridu county, Qinghai province, justice bureau personnel . . .], Twitter, January 28, 2021, 5:23 a.m. For more information on Tashi Wangchug, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2016-00077.

<sup>106</sup>Chris Buckley, “A Tibetan Tried to Save His Language. China Handed Him 5 Years in Prison,” *New York Times*, May 22, 2018.

<sup>107</sup>“Tibetan Language Activist Tashi Wangchuk Released from Prison after Five-Year Term,” *Radio Free Asia*, January 28, 2021; Liang Xiaojun (@liangxiaojun), “Juxi: jintian, Zhaxi Wense you Qinghai sheng Chenduo xian Sifa ju de renyuan jiehui Yushu, . . .” [Reports: today, Tashi Wangchug was taken back to Yulshul by Tridu county, Qinghai province, justice bureau personnel . . .], Twitter, January 28, 2021, 5:23 a.m.

<sup>108</sup>“Xi Jinping: Zai quanguo tuopin gongjian zongjie biaozhang dahui shang de jianghua” [Xi Jinping: Remarks at concluding honors meeting for national poverty alleviation campaign], *Xinhua*, February 25, 2021.

<sup>109</sup>“Experts Question China’s Claim of ‘Victory’ in Anti-Poverty Drive in Tibet,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 27, 2020.

<sup>110</sup>State Council Information Office, “Guowuyuan Xinwenban jiu ‘shenru guanche xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue Xizang lishixing xiaochu juegui pinkun’ youguan qingkuang juxing xinwen fabuhui” [State Council Information Office holds press conference on the situation of “In-depth implementation of the Party’s strategy for governing Tibet in the new era, Tibet eliminates absolute poverty for the first time in history”], October 15, 2020.

<sup>111</sup>Tibet Watch, “Chinese Authorities Relocate Over Fifty Tibetans,” July 13, 2020; Xu Meihui, “Beijing yuanjian Qinghai Yushu 10 nian lai jieju 1405 hu kunnan qunzhong zhufang wenti” [In 10 years of Beijing helping Yulshul, Qinghai, 1,405 households’ mass housing difficulties resolved], *Beijing News*, reprinted in *China Tibet Online*, August 24, 2020; “Experts Question China’s Claim of ‘Victory’ in Anti-Poverty Drive in Tibet,” *Radio Free Asia*, October 27, 2020; Jun Mai, “Tibetan Herders Get Used to Their New Lives as China Tackles Poverty,” *South China Morning Post*, November 1, 2020.

<sup>112</sup>Tibet Watch, “Chinese Authorities Seize Land in Eastern Tibet,” September 16, 2020.

<sup>113</sup>Chang Chuan and Chen Yuejun, “Wu Yingjie zhuchi zhaokai Xizang Zizhiqiangwei changweihui huiyi” [Wu Yingjie convenes meeting of Tibet Autonomous Region Party Standing Committee], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *People’s Daily*, October 14, 2020; State Council Information Office, “Guowuyuan Xinwenban jiu ‘shenru guanche xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue Xizang lishixing xiaochu juegui pinkun’ youguan qingkuang juxing xinwen fabuhui” [State Council Information Office holds press conference on the situation of “In-depth implementation of the Party’s strategy for governing Tibet in the new era, Tibet eliminates absolute poverty for the first time in history”], October 15, 2020; “China Wants to Build a Tibet with More Wealth and Less Buddhism,” *Bloomberg*, October 30, 2020; Yew Lun Tian, “In Tibet, China Preaches the Material over the Spiritual,” *Reuters*, November 2, 2020. See also Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Distorted Development: Chinese Discourse on the Right to Development and Its Implementation in Tibet,” February 2021.

<sup>114</sup>Chang Chuan and Chen Yuejun, “Wu Yingjie zhuchi zhaokai Xizang Zizhiqiangwei changweihui huiyi” [Wu Yingjie convenes meeting of Tibet Autonomous Region Party Standing Committee], *Tibet Daily*, reprinted in *People’s Daily*, October 14, 2020.

<sup>115</sup> State Council Information Office, “Guowuyuan Xinwenban jiu ‘shenru guanche xin shidai Dang de zhizang fanglue Xizang lishixing xiaochu juehui pinkun’ youguan qingkuang juxing xinwen fabuhui” [State Council Information Office holds press conference on the situation of “In-depth implementation of the Party’s strategy for governing Tibet in the new era, Tibet eliminates absolute poverty for the first time in history”], October 15, 2020.

<sup>116</sup> See, e.g., Song Minghui, “Rang mumin chengwei jidi jiangyuan shengtai shouhu de zhongyao lilian” [Turning herders into a major force for polar water source environmental protection], *Qinghai Daily*, reprinted in *China Tibet Online*, May 8, 2021.

<sup>117</sup> “Thousands of Tibetans Driven from Their Homes by China to Make Way for National Park,” *Radio Free Asia*, September 9, 2020. See also Tibet Watch, “Chinese Authorities Seize Land in Eastern Tibet,” September 16, 2020.

<sup>118</sup> “China to Build Another Railway Linking Tibet with Sichuan,” *Global Times*, November 2, 2020; “Railway Planned for Tibet Will Strengthen China’s Regional Control: Experts,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 4, 2020; Sudha Ramachandran, “Tibet Railway Network Speeding Up to the Indian Border,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, December 6, 2020.

<sup>119</sup> “China to Build Another Railway Linking Tibet with Sichuan,” *Global Times*, November 2, 2020; “Railway Planned for Tibet Will Strengthen China’s Regional Control: Experts,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 4, 2020; Sudha Ramachandran, “Tibet Railway Network Speeding Up to the Indian Border,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, December 6, 2020.

<sup>120</sup> “Railway Planned for Tibet Will Strengthen China’s Regional Control: Experts,” *Radio Free Asia*, November 4, 2020; Sudha Ramachandran, “Tibet Railway Network Speeding Up to the Indian Border,” *China Brief*, Jamestown Foundation, December 6, 2020.

<sup>121</sup> “Tibetan Uncle and Nephew Arrested for Urging Resistance to Chinese Land Grab,” *Radio Free Asia*, August 24, 2020. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2020-00196 on Dokyab and 2020-00197 on Gyaltzen.

<sup>122</sup> “Tibetan Uncle and Nephew Arrested for Urging Resistance to Chinese Land Grab,” *Radio Free Asia*, August 24, 2020.