

Overcoming Obstacles:

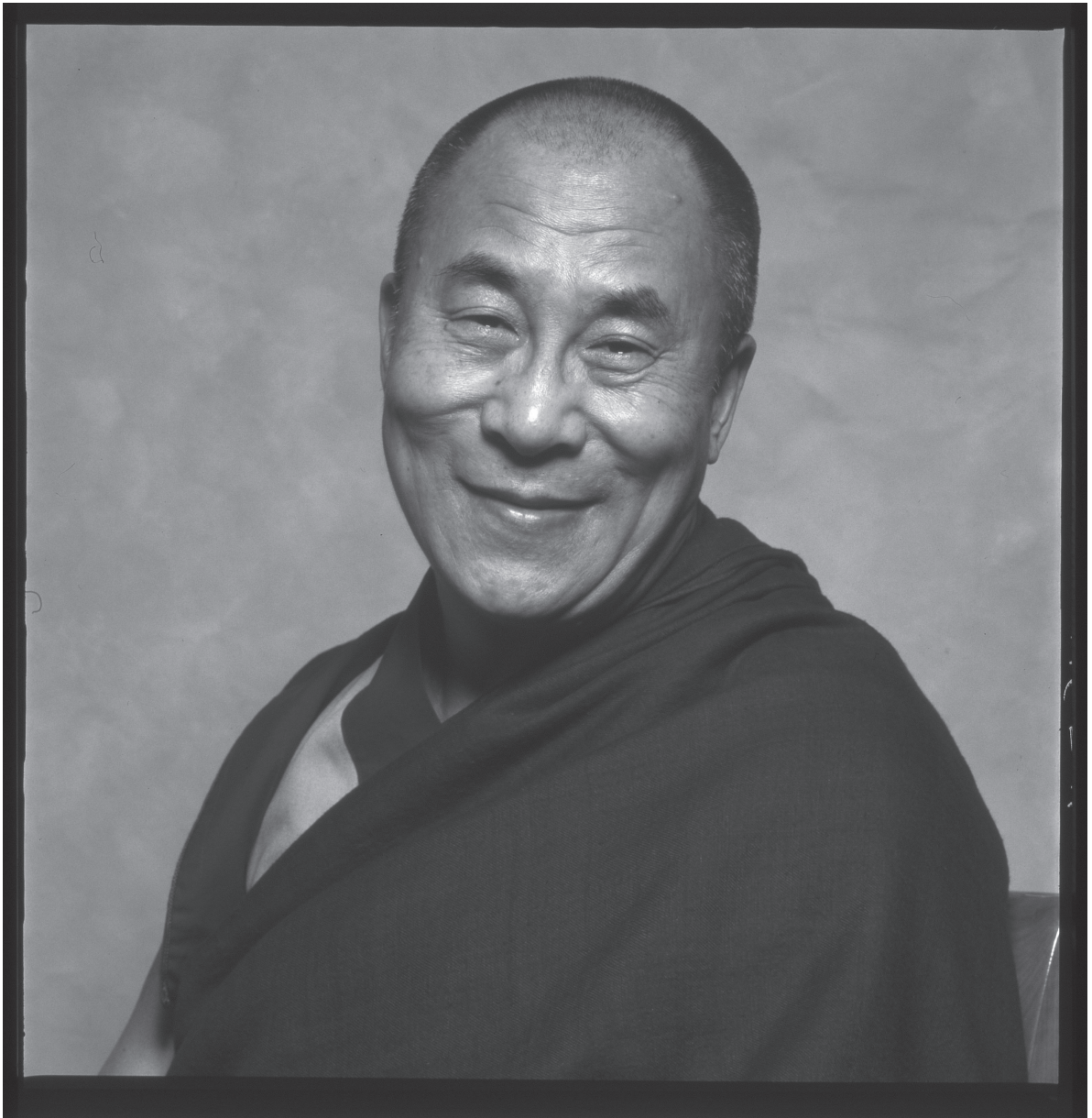
Protecting Tibetan
Religious Identity

Australia Tibet Council 2022



Overcoming Obstacles:

Protecting Tibetan
Religious Identity



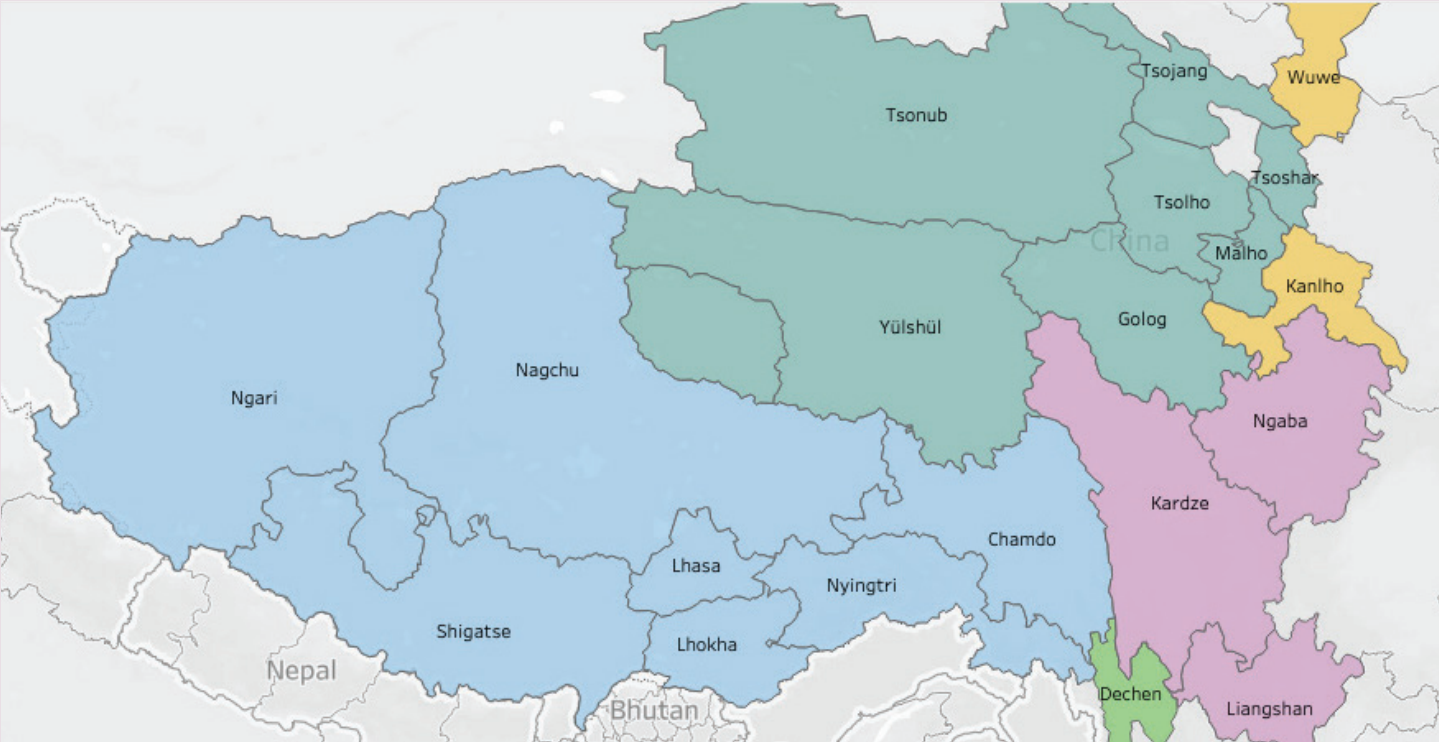
“We have witnessed protests and demonstrations in almost all parts of Tibet... which are the outburst of long pent-up physical and mental anguish of the Tibetans and the feeling of deep resentment against the suppression of the rights of Tibetan people [and] lack of religious freedom”

His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 2008

Table of Contents

1	Executive summary
4	Controlling the Dalai Lama
6	Panchen Lama: More than just a stolen child
8	Destructive Chinese Government policies
11	Tibetan Buddhism is unique
14	Destruction of temples and monasteries
17	Targeting of monks and nuns
21	Laypeople targeted for their religious beliefs
23	Separated from family, language and religion
26	Gendered and sexual-based violence
27	Constant oppression
28	An experience shared
29	Conclusion and recommendations
31	References
i	Map of Tibet

Map of Tibet in Prefectures



- Tibetan areas now incorporated into Tibet Autonomous Region
- Tibetan areas now incorporated into Sichuan
- Tibetan areas now incorporated into Yunnan
- Tibetan areas now incorporated into Qinghai
- Tibetan areas now incorporated into Gansu

Executive summary

Overcoming obstacles is a part of Tibetan Buddhism.

Since 1949, one of the largest obstacles to overcome has been the invasion and occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Government. When Chinese forces invaded Tibet in 1949, it was clear to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that Tibetan Buddhism was a threat to their ability to control the Tibetan people. Famously when Mao Zhedong met the Dalai Lama in 1950, the Communist Party leader told the Dalai Lama that “religion is poison”.

Since that time, the CCP has sought to separate Tibetans from their beliefs by force, via the destruction of monasteries, the destruction of temples, forcing monks and nuns to disrobe, and the arrest and torture of monks, nuns and high lama’s.

Tibetan identity and religion are knitted together. Tibetan history and traditions are inseparable from Tibetan Buddhism and for Tibetan people their daily lives and cultural interactions are interwoven with religious identity.

Tibetans are not and do not identify as an ‘ethnic minority’ or people indigenous to China. They are Tibetan people – an occupied people – with their lands currently colonised by China. Attacks on Tibetan Buddhism are attacks on Tibetan identity. The measures that the CCP has put in place to control Tibetan Buddhism are actually measures designed to control all Tibetan people and are designed to fundamentally break down the relationship Tibetan people have with Tibetan Buddhism.

In spite of the Chinese Constitution (Article 36) guaranteeing that “citizens of the Peoples Republic

of China (PRC) enjoy the freedom of religious belief”, the CCP is, at every turn, violating their constitution when it comes to Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.

The CCP want Tibetans to see themselves as Chinese people with state-sanctioned cultural elements (such as folk songs and traditional dress), this would match the viewpoint of Chinese Authorities, who see Tibetans as an ‘ethnic minority’.

However, even after seven decades of colonial occupation, Tibetan people remain steadfastly resolved that they are independent occupied people and push back against any measures to destroy their history, culture, language or religion.

This report seeks to outline the systemic attacks on Tibetan religious identity. The impacts on Tibetan Buddhism outlined in this report are not the result of a single malformed policy or an incompetent or overzealous local governor. It is a systemic top-down attack on the very core of Tibetan identity.

The primary obstacles for Tibetan Buddhism in Tibet are CCP attacks on religious freedoms as outlined by this report:

- Attacks on the Dalai Lama and the malevolent efforts of the CCP to control the future succession of the Dalai Lama.
- The kidnapping and disappearance of the Panchen Lama, as both an attack on the position of Panchen Lama and also an attack on the future succession of the Dalai Lama.
- The Sinicisation of Tibetan Buddhism by CCP policies, state control and surveillance.

- The destruction of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries.
- Attacks on Tibetan monks and nuns.
- Restrictions on lay Tibetan practitioners.
- Tibetan children forced into CCP boarding schools, separating them from their families, language, culture and religion.

Recommendations

This report centres around three core recommendations for the Australian Government — each having the potential to generate significant change in Tibet. These are:

Policy to protect the future succession of the Dalai Lama

As this report will outline, the CCP are manoeuvring to try to control the lineage and succession of the Dalai Lama. Recognising that they cannot control the current Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, the CCP has made it clear that they intend to manipulate the process of finding the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama when the unfortunate time comes of his passing.

The US have recognised this threat and countered it with the *Tibetan Policy and Support Act*, which has made it official United States policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government. Chinese officials that interfere in the process of selecting Tibetan Buddhist leaders would be subject to sanctions under the global *Magnitsky Act*.

Australia should adopt a similar policy position to its ally and commit to a policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government.

Magnitsky Act

With the *Autonomous Sanctions Amendment (Magnitsky-style and Other Thematic Sanctions) Act 2021* passed in December 2021, Australia should equal the measures of our allies in the USA, UK, Canada and EU who have already placed sanctions on the CCP officials: Zhu Hailun, Wang

Junzehng, Wang Minghsan and Chen Minggu, in order to send a clear message about the genocide and human rights violations against Uyghur people. Australia should investigate the role Chen Quanguo has played in designing and enforcing CCP policies to restrict religious freedoms in both Tibet and East Turkistan (Uyghur areas) as well as other CCP officials.

Australia should join with our allies in AUKUS, the Quad and the Five Eyes, and enact Magnitsky sanctions on Chinese officials responsible for policies of oppression, and human rights violations against Tibetan people.

Reciprocal access to Tibet

Australia should adopt Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation in a similar style to the US. Currently, there are no travel restrictions when CCP officials visit Australia, conversely Australian citizens are not afforded the same courtesy when travelling to Tibet.

Currently, even travellers with Chinese visas are required to get a special permit to visit Tibet — without it access to Tibet is denied. Chinese authorities limit access to Tibet to Australians regardless of whether you are an Australian parliamentarian or diplomat, journalist, or a Tibetan-Australian citizen seeking to visit family or make a religious pilgrimage.

Since 2018, the US has adopted the *Reciprocal Access to Tibet Bill*. This bill requires the Department of State to report to Congress annually regarding the level of access Chinese authorities granted U.S. diplomats, journalists, and tourists to Tibetan areas in China.

Under the US *Reciprocal Access to Tibet Bill*, CCP officials or individuals involved in the formulation or execution of policies related to restricting access for foreigners to Tibetan areas can be denied entry the United States.

Australia must adopt Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation to open Tibet up to Australian parliamentarians, diplomats, journalists or any other Australian citizen (including Tibetan-Australians) who wish to travel to Tibet, whether it is to visit family, undertake a religious pilgrimage or investigate China's gross human rights violations and CCP policies aimed at destroying Tibetan religious identity.

Multilateral action and the UN

Australia should undertake multilateral actions with our alliances, such as AUKUS, the Five Eyes and the Quad. Acting in unison against CCP officials to reject CCP policies aimed at destroying Tibetan religious identity is an effective strategy.

The Australian Government should demand that the United Nations Human Rights Council should act on the recommendations made in the joint statement by the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council on June 26, 2020, “*UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China,*” and take all appropriate measures to monitor Chinese human rights practices, including in Tibet (both inside and outside the Tibet Autonomous Region).

UN action needs to be taken to:

- Investigate the whereabouts of the Panchen Lama, Gendhun Choekyi Nyima.
- Ensure that the best interests of the child are taken into account as a primary consideration in all decisions concerning Tibetan children, in line with the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. Priorities should include the protection of every child’s right to privacy, a family environment, education, and physical and mental health.
- Allow the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and UN Special Procedures immediate,

meaningful, and unfettered access to Tibet and ensure they are granted access to colonial boarding schools; monasteries and access to freely investigate the concerns of layperson Tibetans about the restrictions placed on their religious practice.

The gross human rights violations and attempts by the CCP to destroy Tibetan religious identity can only be curtailed and stopped by strong measures, such as using Magnitsky sanctions and Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation, and by multilateral action from global leaders.

Australia must not wait for China to interfere in the future succession of the Dalai Lama, Australia should be unequivocal in its rejection of CCP manoeuvrings to control the institution and role of the Dalai Lama. ■

Controlling the Dalai Lama

“It’s all about a long-term historical project to control the next Dalai Lama, even if you can’t control this one.” Robert Barnett, a Tibet scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (McNeil 2021).

Controlling the Dalai Lama is central to CCP attacks on Tibetan religious identity

A primary hindrance for the CCP is the unwavering loyalty Tibetan people have to the 14th Dalai Lama, despite constant attacks by the CCP on the Dalai Lama over the seven decades of occupation. Tibetans, even young Tibetans, are steadfastly faithful to the Dalai Lama, because of the leadership of the Dalai Lama and also because of the fundamental importance of the position of the Dalai Lama to Tibetan history, culture and religious identity.

Since the Dalai Lama escaped into exile in 1959, the CCP has banned his image. Carrying or possessing a photo of the Dalai Lama brings with it harsh penalties, including imprisonment. The enforcement of the photo ban continues with increased zeal. A mass detention occurred in August 2021 when Chinese authorities in Sichuan arrested 60 Tibetans for keeping pictures of the Dalai Lama, including 19 monks and 40 people whose houses had been searched (ANI News 2021). The Central Tibetan Administration reported that the Sichuan crackdown continued bringing the total to 113 Tibetans detained for possessing an image of the Dalai Lama (Reporter 2021) in this incident.

In 2007, the Chinese Government announced “Measures of the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism”, stating that all reincarnated lamas must have government approval.

The measures, which are deliberately targeted at one of the core belief systems of Tibetan Buddhism, reveal the CCP’s agenda to undermine and supplant the Tibetan religious hierarchy and weaken the authority of legitimate Tibetan religious leaders including the Dalai Lama (US State Department 2007).

To implement these “Measures of the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism”, the monastic community is prevented from using its traditional method of recognising reincarnate teachers, instead the community is required to follow the reincarnation processes promulgated by the CCP to install its approved candidate.

The International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) report, *‘Party Above Buddhism: China’s Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries’*, finds “the procedure for searching for the reincarnation of Buddhist teachers requires following only the controversial method of drawing lots from the golden vase. To ensure its control on reincarnate lamas — most importantly the reincarnation of the current 14th Dalai Lama — the CCP has adopted regulations that decree the search for reincarnate lamas should only happen within China’s borders and be approved by Beijing.”

The CCP keeps a database of “living Buddhas” maintained by the Buddhist Association of China which the authorities describe as a ‘protection’ against fraudulence, although it is undoubtedly part of their more systematic approach to control Tibet and Tibetans.

Tibetan delegates at the March 2016 Party meetings of the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference affirmed this new layer of control, saying: "The highest level of living Buddhas must be approved by the central government ... Other Living Buddhas must be approved by local governments."

The system operates by issuing permits to those who can be recognised officially as reincarnate Tibetan lamas, but is itself open to corruption in terms of back-door payments to those in charge of providing permits. Names with biographical details are maintained on the list and Zhu Wei-qun, the former deputy head of the United Front Work Department (**UFWD**), was cited as saying that: "The system will strike a heavy blow to the Dalai Lama, as he has been utilising his religious status to ratify Living Buddhas at will – which is against religious tradition – in an attempt to control Tibetan monasteries and divide the country" (International Campaign for Tibet 2016).

According to the Chinese Government, those who are not part of this list are not to be recognised as authentic. The Dalai Lama, globally acknowledged head of Tibetan Buddhism's largest school, is *not* found on this database (Tibet Watch 2016).

The reason for controlling the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama was stated by Zhu Wei-qun: "...anyone who has the title of Dalai Lama will have the political power in the region. For this reason, from long ago, the central Government has never given up, and

will never give up, the right to decide the question of reincarnation of the Dalai Lama" (Asia News 2015).

This confirms that control of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is aimed at cementing control of the Tibetan people for the CCP through both Tibet's traditional religious authority and Tibet's traditional political authority.

Australia must condemn interference now

To counter this interference, the US Congress has implemented the Tibetan Policy and Support Act which makes it official United States policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government. ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government makes a strong commitment to protect the office of the Dalai Lama and the religious rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people by adopting the policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government.

More than just a stolen child

The office of the Panchen Lama is integral to Tibetan Buddhism.

The role is important in itself but also has vital importance in the recognition and selection of the future Dalai Lama.

The world was shocked on 17 May 1995, when six-year-old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima was kidnapped by the Chinese Government. This was three days after he was recognised by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama. Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the rightful 11th Panchen Lama, has not been seen since.

The reason Gedhun Choekyi Nyima was kidnapped and has been disappeared was because of the importance of the Panchen Lama in recognising and selecting the Dalai Lama. Since 1617, the roles of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama have been intertwined and the two Lama's are considered to be the most important figures in Tibetan Buddhism.

The previous incarnation of the Panchen Lama (the 10th Panchen Lama) was the contemporary of the current Dalai Lama, with the two being only teenagers when China invaded Tibet. After the Dalai Lama fled Tibet in 1959 at only 24 years old, the 10th Panchen Lama was the highest Tibetan Lama remaining in Tibet. He remained steadfastly true to his Tibetan identity and to the people of Tibet, often criticising the CCP at great cost to his safety. When, in 1964, the 10th Panchen Lama announced to a gathering of 10,000 people that "His Holiness the Dalai Lama will return to his golden throne. Long Live His Holiness", he was arrested and tortured in prison.

However, the Chinese authorities were never able to control the 10th Panchen Lama, who was openly defiant of the Chinese occupation of Tibet and said:

"Once a nationality's language, costume, customs and other important characteristics have disappeared, then the nationality itself has disappeared too – that is to say, it has turned into another nationality... if there are no national language and other characteristics, then there can be no continued existence and development of the nationality" (10th Panchen Lama's 70,000 Character Petition, 1962)

Since the suspicious death of the 10th Panchen Lama in 1989, the CCP has been determined to control the position of the Panchen Lama because of the open defiance of the 10th Panchen Lama to their occupation of Tibet and, most importantly, because of the central role the Panchen Lama plays in the selection of the future Dalai Lama.

When the 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, was disappeared in 1995 by the CCP he was only six years old – making him at the time the world youngest political prisoner. Chinese interference in Tibetan Buddhism did not end at this reprehensible act. The CCP went further and installed their own Panchen Lama, a boy called Gyaltsen Norbu, who is the son of two Communist Party members. Gyaltsen Norbu is known by Tibetans as the *Panchen Zuma* (fake Panchen) and is widely considered by Tibetans to be a puppet Lama and political tool of the CCP.

The kidnapping of the legitimate 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, and the installation



The only known photo of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima. In 1995 a list of possible candidates for the next Panchen Lama was sent to the Dalai Lama (living in exile in India), and on 15 May he announced that Gedhun Choekyi Nyima had been recognised as the 11th Panchen Lama. Three days later, the Chinese government abducted the child and his family. None of them have ever been seen or heard from again.

of the CCP-appointed Gyaltzen Norbu shows the lengths the CCP will go to both disrupt and destroy Tibetan Buddhism both now and in the future, as the CCP have exposed their long term plans to control the future succession of the Dalai Lama via their approved and controllable 'leaders'. ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government and other governments demand the release of the 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima. Furthermore, that they take action to investigate his whereabouts and ensure he is alive and well.

Recommendation: That the Australian Government take the threat to the future succession of the Dalai Lama seriously and adopt a policy "that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese government."

Destructive Chinese Government policies

Chinese Government policies are aimed at destroying Tibetan religious identity.

The policy of ‘Sinicisation’ is top driven with President Xi Jinping taking a personal interest. According to the Taiwan Times, in April of 2016, while speaking at the National Religious Work Conference, President Xi said that the religious groups should: “...merge religious doctrines with Chinese culture, abide by Chinese laws and regulations, and devote themselves to China’s reform and opening-up drive and socialist modernisation in order to contribute to the realisation of the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation (Buckton 2020).”

This quote captures the concept of Sinicisation of religion directly from the leadership of the CCP. It is a demand that Tibetan Buddhism becomes Han-Chinese Buddhism with socialist characteristics and submit to laws and regulations aimed at its annihilation.

More recently, President Xi reinforced this direction when he spoke in 2020 at the 7th Central Symposium on Tibet Work. The Taiwan Times reports that Xi stressed that “Tibetan Buddhism should be guided in adapting to the socialist society and should be developed in the Chinese context (Buckton 2020).” Xi carries forward the Sinicisation policy into every CCP forum as if on a personal mission to remake Tibet as Chinese.

The Official Communique from the 6th Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee, held in 2021, referred to Tibetan language and moves by the CCP to have Tibetan replaced by Mandarin in Tibetan Buddhism, reported by the Wall Street Journal in November 2021 (Rekjong 2021). The

author concluded that: “The ultimate goal is for future lamas and monks to learn Buddhism only in Mandarin — paving the way for the erasure of the Tibetan language.”

Radio Free Asia (RFA) reports that this policy is being implemented in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, that classroom texts have already been ordered to be translated from Tibetan to Mandarin. Monks and nuns are required to learn Mandarin and converse only in Mandarin. RFA quotes an honoured Buddhist scholar, Geshe Lhakdor, as saying:

“There is no good intention behind this plan. Rather, it is aimed at China’s Sinicisation of Tibetan Buddhism, and even though a few Tibetan scholars and researchers participated in this meeting, they were forced to do so in spite of their reluctance (Kunchok, Dickyi, and Finney 2021)”.

The CCP is attempting to centre Xi Jinping within Tibetan religious life. Buddhist temples are being “turned into shrines celebrating Xi Jinping, China’s President for Life. His picture adorns the walls, his recorded voice booms out of the loudspeakers, and it is his “Thought” — not Buddha’s — that the monks are now required to meditate upon (Mosher 2020).”

The New York Post has reported on the new set of rules, introduced in 2020, “Control Measures for Religious Groups” which essentially extends CCP control into all aspects of religious life and inserts Xi Jinping thought into religious texts such as Buddhist meditations or the Christian Bible (Mosher 2020).

New Party Gods

Chinese government policies now require Tibetan monks and nuns to hold political doctrine and government leaders as higher authority than Buddhist teachings - even on spiritual matters.

The government has implemented a three-year ideological control program targeting monks and nuns which directs participants to integrate President Xi Jinping's ideas on religion into the practice of Tibetan Buddhism.

By manufacturing a monastic leadership compliant to government leaders and doctrine, the Chinese government has violated and diluted the authenticity of Tibetan Buddhism.



Over the last decade, the CCP has ratcheted up its attempts to control Tibetan religion and religious identity. Statements by President Xi at the 6th Ethnic Policy Conference in August 2021 indicate there is more to come. Two quotes from President Xi's speech illustrate the central coordination and planning of the attack on Tibetan Buddhism and the cultural genocide of Tibetans:

“Only through fostering a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation and all ethnic groups jointly safeguarding national security and social stability can the infiltration and subversion

of extremist and separatist thoughts be resisted and the aspiration of the people of all ethnic groups for a better life be fulfilled”

“Ethnic separatism and religious extremism should be continuously eliminated (XinHua 2021).”

The context for these statements is a growing body of evidence that not only Tibetans and Uyghurs but other ethnic minority groups and their religions in China are under attack.

We need to understand the terminology used by Xi. ‘Strong sense of community for the Chinese nation’ means adherence to a monoculture based on CCP and Han Chinese cultural and political norms and the use of a single language, Mandarin.

When Xi mentions ‘extremist and separatist thoughts’ he is referring to any independent thought that differs from the CCP, religious observance the CCP doesn’t agree with, resistance to Sinicisation, resistance to the destruction of language, and so on.

His reference to ensuring ‘ethnic separatism’ and ‘religious extremism’ are ‘continuously eliminated’ reveals Xi desire to destroy existing culture and religion among the ethnic populations and replace them with a monoculture.

This 2021 conference will guide CCP ethnic policy and influence religious policy in China for the next few years, if not decades.

The attacks on language in Tibetan Buddhism reflect the widespread attempts to supplant the Tibetan language with Mandarin for all Tibetans — a long term CCP goal — and includes schools

attached to monasteries being closed and/or bulldozed to prevent children from learning the Tibetan language. This combination can leave no doubt that the aim is to eliminate Tibetan, Tibetan culture and Tibetan religious identity.

This is despite the Chinese Constitution (Article 36) guaranteeing that “citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of religious belief” and the CCP’s 2008 ‘White Paper on Protection and Development of Tibetan Culture’ stating that use of the spoken and written Tibetan languages are guaranteed by law and, furthermore, that the state has placed Tibetan Buddhism under effective protection as part of traditional Tibetan culture.

There can be no doubt that these legal assurances and the articles of the Chinese Constitution are not only not being adhered to, but that the Chinese Government is acting in an unconstitutional manner and failing to adhere to its own laws. ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government should use Magnitsky sanctions against the CCP Officials implementing and enforcing the destruction of Tibetan Buddhism.

Tibetan Buddhism is unique

Globally there are different schools of Buddhism each with some unique characteristics.

Theravada Buddhism is practised predominantly in South East Asia (Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos), Mahayana Buddhism is practised in the North East of Asia, in parts of China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, while in Japan, Mahayana Buddhism has also developed the Zen Buddhist practice.

Tibetan Buddhism (also known as Vajrayana Buddhism), while close to Mahayana Buddhism, is separate and unique in its nature.

Tibetan Buddhism is practised in Tibet and Bhutan, where it is the dominant religion, and also has adherents in the regions surrounding the Himalayas (such as Nepal, where it is the second most widely practised religion, and parts of India such as Ladakh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh), in much of Central Asia, in the Southern Siberian regions such as Tuva, and in Mongolia.

Buddhism became a major presence in Tibet towards the end of the 8th century CE where it quickly spread and became a cornerstone of Tibetan life, integrated into Tibetan culture and traditions as well as the Tibetan state and its identity as a theocratic nation, as the Dalai Lama traditionally has been both the spiritual leader of Tibet and the political leader of Tibet.

Modern Tibetan Buddhism has four main traditions and a pre-Buddhist practice:

Nyingmapa: Founded by Padmasambhava, this is the oldest school, noted in the West for the teachings of the Tibetan Book of the Dead.

Kagyupa: Founded by Tilopa (988–1069), a prominent figure of this tradition is the Karmapa. Historically important Kagyupa teachers include Naropa, Marpa, and Milarepa.

Sakyapa: This tradition was established by the “Five Venerable Supreme Masters” who became known as Sachen, or “Great Sakyapa”

Gelugpa: Founded by Tsong Khapa Lobsang Drakpa (also called Je Rinpoche) (1357 – 1419). With a name meaning ‘The Virtuous School’, this tradition is headed by the Dalai Lama.

Bön: The pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, Bön is a Tibetan religious tradition with many similarities to Tibetan Buddhism and also many unique features.

Tibetan Buddhism has unique features

Tibetan Buddhism has special features, including the practice of incarnation of teachers or “lama”, rich visual symbolism and important roles for rituals and initiations, mantras and meditation practices.

Supernatural beings are prominent in Tibetan Buddhism. Buddhas and bodhisattvas abound, spirits taken from earlier Tibetan religions continue to be taken seriously as protectors of Tibetan Buddhism and influence the relationship Tibetans have with their land, including with sacred mountains, rivers and areas made sacred by the placement of mani stones, Buddhas and mantras carved into mountainsides. Tibetan Buddhism informs the way Tibetan people view their lands.

This metaphysical context has allowed Tibetan Buddhism to develop a strong artistic tradition, and paintings, tangka and statues are used as aids

to understanding Buddhist teachings and practice and are part of all levels of society.

In Tibetan Buddhism, pictures, temples, statues and public prayer wheels and flags provide an ever-present reminder of the spiritual domain in the physical world.

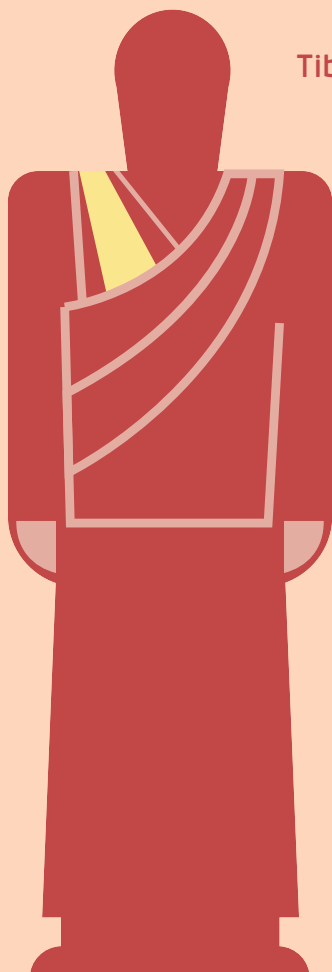
Tibetan Buddhism is central in both monastic communities and among laypeople

Pilgrimage is an important part of Tibetan Buddhist practice for both the sangha (religious communities of monks and nuns) and laypersons.

Other practices common to both the sangha and laypeople in Tibet include: meditation and the chanting of mantras, prostrations at Tibetan Buddhist sites, the use of prayer wheels, mala beads (prayer beads) and prayer flags.

A cornerstone of Buddhist life, the kora is an act of devotion carried out day and night across the Himalayas, as Tibetans and followers of Tibetan Buddhism perform circular pilgrimages around their most sacred sites, spinning prayer wheels, and reciting mantras as they walk. Tibetan people have often had this simple religious practice restricted and controlled by Chinese officials.

The national and cultural identity of Tibet is inextricably linked to Tibetan Buddhism. For centuries, the monastic community has served as the custodian of Tibetan Buddhism.



Tibet's monks and nuns have kept alive their traditional religious system and rich culture throughout the ebbs and flows in Tibet's history.

Their words and deeds act as moral and ethical guidance for the society to follow. This has been achieved through the unbroken transmission of teaching lineages - despite decades of intense obstacles.

The monastic community has been on the front lines of resistance to protect religious freedom and Tibetan identity. In the late 1980s, Tibetan monks and nuns participated in large numbers in public protests against the Chinese government's policies in Tibet.

In 2008, Tibetan monks and nuns were an important part of the resistance across the Tibetan plateau that resulted in a crackdown by the Chinese authorities. The monastic community is therefore the single most targeted group in Tibet.

Cultural events such as festivals, important ceremonies and funerals are steeped in Tibetan Buddhist practices and traditions and Tibetan laypeople have close relationships with and support monasteries as well as relying on the monks to organise cultural events and religious rituals.

Tibetan Buddhism is entwined with the Tibetan state, and every part of Tibetan history, culture and traditions have a relationship with Tibetan Buddhism. Prior to China's invasion of Tibet in 1949, Tibet was considered a theocracy with no separation between the state and religion. This entwined nature is a major impediment to Chinese authorities establishing any legitimacy in Tibet and failing to capture the hearts and minds of Tibetan people – in response the CCP has sought to try to destroy Tibetan Buddhism and forcibly separate Tibetan people from their integral religious identity. ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government commits to opening up Tibet, to diplomats, journalists and Australian Tibetans wishing to return to Tibet to visit family or take part in religious pilgrimage via a Reciprocal Access to Tibet bill.

ATC also recommends that the Australian Government use Magnitsky sanctions against the CCP officials implementing and enforcing restrictions of Tibetan Sangha or Tibetan laypeople in practising Tibetan Buddhism, via CCP restrictions on pilgrimage, undertaking the kora, restricting prayer and meditation at temples and restricting Tibetan religious or cultural festivals and significant Buddhist practice.

How Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation works

Since 2018, the US has adopted the *Reciprocal Access to Tibet Bill*. This bill requires the Department of State to report to Congress annually regarding the level of access Chinese authorities granted U.S. diplomats, journalists, and tourists to Tibetan areas in China. Such assessment includes a comparison with the level of access granted to other areas of China, a comparison between the levels of access granted to Tibetan and non-Tibetan areas, and a description of the measures that impede the freedom to travel in Tibetan areas.

Under the US *Reciprocal Access to Tibet Bill*, CCP officials or individuals involved in the formulation or execution of policies related to access for foreigners to Tibetan areas may not enter the United States if there are still requirements that foreigners must receive official permission to enter the Tibet Autonomous Region, or travel restrictions on US diplomats, officials, journalists, and citizens to Tibet Autonomous areas in Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan, and Gansu Provinces.

Destruction of temples and monasteries

Chinese authorities continue to destroy Tibetan temples and monasteries.

Tibetan religious heritage has been under attack since the early days of China's invasion and illegal occupation of Tibet with the destruction of temples and monasteries, as well as the destruction of sacred books and objects. In those first years over 6,000 monasteries were destroyed (The Office of Tibet 2020) and the countless sacred objects and manuscripts held in them. We will never know the true extent of the destruction of important Tibetan religious and cultural history undertaken by the CCP.

The destruction and desecration of temples continued unabated until limited reforms, led by Xi Zhongxun (father of Xi Jinping), were introduced for a short period in 1980, and limited religious practice was allowed again. The gradual reconstruction of monasteries started, however, they were rebuilt with Chinese rather than Tibetan features, which were early signs of 'Sinicisation'.

Destruction of temples, Buddha statues and religious text cannot be seen as anything other than an attack on Tibetan religious identity, as Tibetan temples were all built by Tibetan Buddhist followers. All decorations—plated statues, elaborate frescoes, and expensive silk hangings—were bought and paid for by donations. These temples are often historic buildings with unique architectural features, but even modern temples and monasteries are built by Tibetan communities and the collective importance of their Tibetan religious identity.

Destruction of Tibetan Buddhist culture and heritage continues to this day. President Xi is

leading the current campaign to destroy both Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture. Following are just some recent examples of the ongoing destruction.

- 2016:** Chinese authorities demolished most of Larung Gar, Tibet's largest centre for Buddhist studies, banishing about half the population, allowing only 5000 monks and nuns to remain.
- 2019:** Around 3500 monks and nuns were forcibly evicted from the Yarchen Gar Tibetan Buddhist Institute (UNPO 2019).
- 2019:** Chinese authorities demolished the Serthar Buddhist Institute, one of the most important Buddhist learning centres in Tibet (Harding). The institute had been the home to almost 9,000 students. Kembo Tenkyong, one of the two monks who smuggled out video footage, said "this proves that China's propaganda that Tibetans enjoy religious freedom is untrue (Harding 2002)."
- 2020:** Fuyun Temple, a fusion of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism, was demolished by authorities. The temple had been expanded by authorities only a couple of years prior. In 2019, CCP authorities had demanded the removal of traditional Tibetan prayer flags and two Tibetan style bronze Buddha statues (Yong 2020). Removing traditional Tibetan statues and prayer flags relates directly to the aim of President Xi for Tibetan Buddhism to be 'Sinicised'.
- July 2021:** Authorities in Gansu forcibly expel Tibetan monks and nuns from Kharmar Monastery, forcing them to de-robe and

renounce their monastic life. Located in Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture (an area traditionally part of Tibet), the monastery had been destroyed in 1958 during the cultural revolution (Lhamo 2021).

December 2021: CCP authorities demolished a 99-foot-tall Buddha and 45 huge prayer wheels and burned prayer flags erected near Drakgo Monastery in Sichuan (CTA 2021). At least 6 Tibetans were detained for protesting this destruction.

Videos of the defrocking and forced renouncement of monks and nuns from Kharmar Monastery were shared on various social media platforms.

In one clip, nuns are seen praying while staging a sit-in protest in front of the monastery under a huge banner. The banner hung by the nuns reads, “Forceful eviction of the monastic community is not tolerable by national law”. Another clip shows scores of nuns being forcefully dragged by plain-clothes detectives outside the temple, while other nuns were seen exiting the monastery’s assembly

Destruction at Yanchen Gar

Chinese authorities have implemented mass expulsions causing the displacement of monks and nuns, the discontinuation of studies, and the decline of monastic institutes. This is exemplified in the mass expulsion of monks and nuns at Yachen Gar and Larung Gar monasteries.

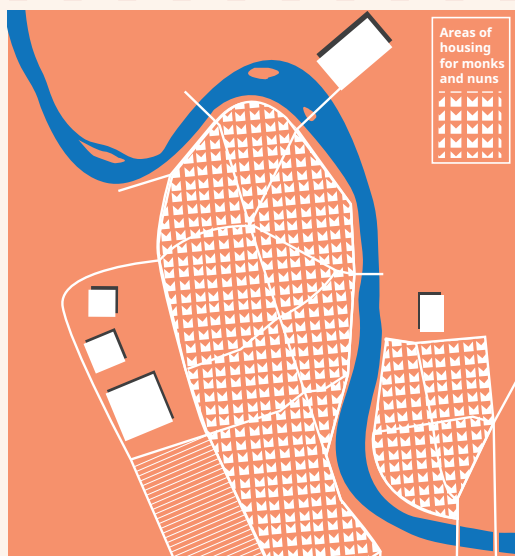
In early 2019, over 6,000 monks and nuns were expelled from Yachen Gar and satellite images have verified the large-scale demolition of almost half of the complex’s iconic monastic living quarters.

In 2017, over 6,700 monks and nuns were expelled from Larung Gar and over 1,500 dwellings were razed to the ground.

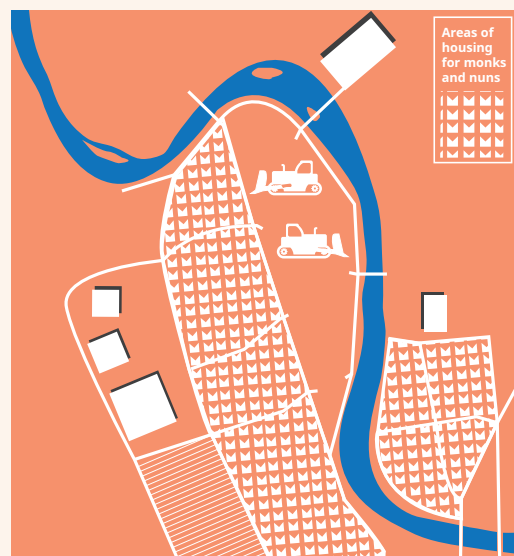
Housing for monks and nuns at Yanchen Gar

April 2018

Each icon represents
500 monks or nuns



August 2019



hall. In another shocking clip, a monk was seen standing on the edge of the monastery's roof threatening to jump off it if the officials did not "go away" (Qiao 2021).

These examples are a small sample of the destruction that is still occurring to temples and monasteries, it does not include the destruction of buildings attached or associated with temples and monasteries, such as monastery schools. For example, at the end of October 2021, the Gedhen Nangten Buddhist School associated with Ganden Rabten Namgyalling Monastery in a Tibetan area now incorporated into Sichuan was demolished (CTA 2021). There have been many of these schools demolished and closed by CCP authorities across Tibet.

The destruction of monasteries, temples and forced evictions of Tibetan monks and nuns show that Chinese authorities are not committed to

Article 36 of the Chinese Constitution guaranteeing that "citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of religious belief", or any other law that purportedly guarantees the protection of Tibetan Buddhism. Indeed, there is clearly a predominate policy of Sinicisation of Tibetan Buddhism being directed by CCP leadership including, but not limited to, Xi Jinping. ■

Recommendation: that the Australian Government should use Magnitsky sanctions against the CCP officials implementing and enforcing the destruction of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, temples, Buddha statues and other sacred religious sites.

Targeting of monks and nuns

Monks and nuns continue to be targeted by the CCP.

From the earliest days of the brutal occupation of Tibet, the CCP has targeted monks and nuns as the keys to controlling both Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetans. The destruction of monasteries was accompanied by the defrocking of hundreds of thousands of monks and nuns, and any displays of religiosity were strictly forbidden and harshly punished.

Monks and nuns were, and continue to be, forcibly removed from monasteries and nunneries, defrocked, and restricted from continuing in monastic life. Monks and nuns have been subject to arbitrary arrest, disappearance, imprisonment, torture, forced labour, surveillance, and re-education camps. Many have died in custody due to torture.

The imprisonment of monks and nuns has been a staple for the CCP. Monks, nuns and lay people detained on religious matters make up the majority of Tibetan political prisoners.

The US Department of State *2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: China - Tibet*, published in April 2022 states:

“Outside observers examined publicly available information and, as of late May, identified between 500 and 2,000 Tibetans known or believed to be detained or imprisoned by PRC authorities in violation of international human rights standards. Of the 115 cases for which there was information available on sentencing, punishment ranged from 15 months to life imprisonment. These data, for both overall

detentions and sentencing, were believed to cover only a small fraction of the actual number of political prisoners.”

It has been widely reported that detention in Tibet includes the use of torture, forced labour and death. In 2016, Human Rights Watch undertook a study of the years 2013–2015 and found that there were 14 deaths reported whilst in custody or shortly after custody from beatings and other mistreatment (Quanguo 2016).

Little has changed in the five years since the Human Rights Watch report. Deaths in or shortly after custody are reported on a regular basis despite China’s tightening of communication controls in Tibet. In January 2021 it was reported a 19-year-old Tibetan monk Tenzin Nyima succumbed to the brutal injuries inflicted on him during his imprisonment. He died at home after authorities had summoned his family and told them to take him from the prison in a comatose state in October 2020.

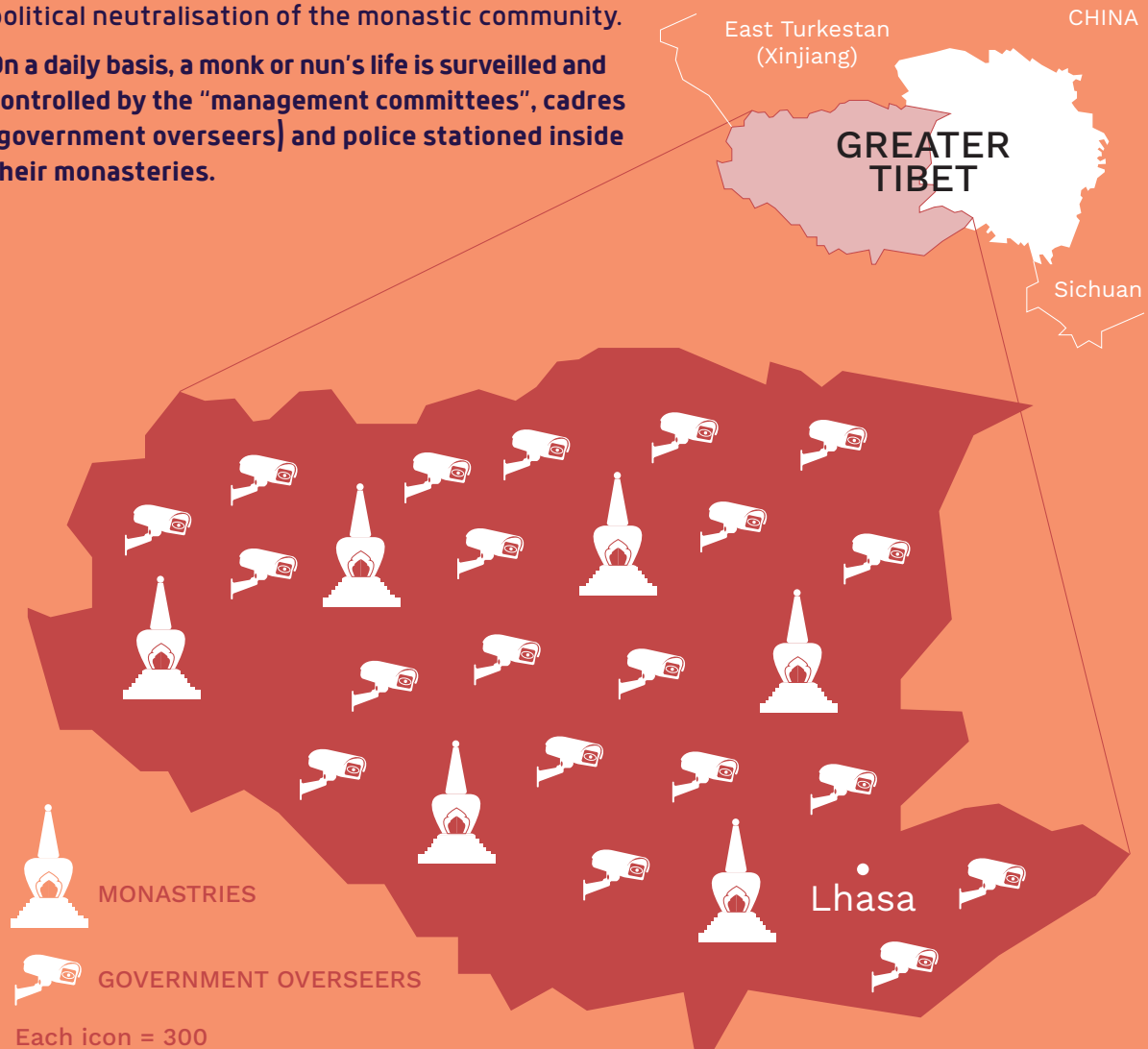
The abuses do not stop at death. As outlined, reincarnations are controlled, and after death monks and nuns may also face ‘erasure’, as has happened to Tulku Tenzin Delek, a popular religious teacher. Tulku Tenzin Delek died in prison in 2015 after severe beatings and torture. In 2021, some six years after his death, authorities are erasing his name from the records and banned any discussion of him (Kunchok, Dickyi, and Finney 2021). Authorities ensured they left nothing, even seizing and destroying a life-size statue of Tulku Tenzin Delek intended for display in India (Damdul 2022).

Monks and nuns are still arrested and detained on an arbitrary basis. Two monks were arrested

Big Brother is watching

The surveillance and control of Tibetan monks and nuns is done through a sophisticated network of both human and electronic means with the goal of political neutralisation of the monastic community.

On a daily basis, a monk or nun's life is surveilled and controlled by the "management committees", cadres (government overseers) and police stationed inside their monasteries.



and detained in August 2021 in Drakgo County in Kham Karze. Details are still unclear, but it appears they were detained as the monastery ran Tibetan language, culture and religious classes (Tibet Net 2022).

In December 2021, Tibetan monk Tenzin Dargye was detained and is being held incommunicado and no information is available. However, reports indicate he has been charged for having a photo of the Dalai Lama and other sensitive material on his phone (Lhamo 2021). The report indicates that

several other monks are thought to have been arrested at the same time.

Re-education programs, labelled 'Patriotic' Education, are widely reported and are widespread in Tibet and are used by the CCP against monks, nuns, laypeople, nomads, and others.

Monks and nuns expelled from monasteries and nunneries are subject to patriotic re-education, often as part of forced labour. ICT's report '*Party Above Buddhism*' (International Campaign for Tibet 2021) outlines many instances of 'patriotic'

or ‘political’ education and highlights that many of those expelled from Larung Gar were forced into political re-education, which included singing nationalistic songs praising the CCP and motherland, dressing in fatigues, and denouncing the Dalai Lama.

Tibet Watch’s report *‘Tibet’s Intolerable Monasteries’* (Tibet Watch 2016) found that ‘patriotic re-education’ programmes became systematic around 1995. ‘Work teams’ of cadres deliver the re-education programmes on a regular and recurring basis. The re-education program involves monks and nuns being taught to love China and the CCP, forced to denounce the Dalai Lama and required to admit that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. Those who refuse to sign documents where they formally denounce the Dalai Lama and accept China’s distorted version of history are often incarcerated, tortured and forced to leave their monastic institutions.

“They usually used to carry out the patriotic re-education programmes through many ways, but the main object and meaning of it were the same — to criticise His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Sometimes they brought documents to our monastery which were difficult to read and told us to sign them. They advised us to sign it, saying that it wasn’t a big matter, but after we signed it we came to know those documents were against His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Tibet Watch 2016).”

Monasteries and nunneries are under heavy surveillance. The ICT’s *‘Party Above Buddhism’* report establishes the high level of surveillance by Chinese authorities. As with every crossroad and neighbourhood in Tibet, security cameras have been installed inside all monasteries and nunneries to record even the slightest sign of dissent.

In the 1980s, authorities replaced temple monastic bodies with ‘democratic management committees’ for monasteries and nunneries composed of government officials and ‘patriotic’ monks (Tibet Watch 2016).

ICT’s report also outlined how the CCP intrudes into the day-to-day activities of individual monasteries. Monasteries and nunneries have ‘work teams’, comprised of CCP cadres, close by or stationed inside the monastery walls. Attendance at religious gatherings and festivals



Venerable Bagdro – Monk, political prisoner, and human rights warrior.

A lifetime ago on 5th March 1988 a young monk and his colleagues from Ganden Monastery participated in a protest on the last day of Choetrul Monlam Chenmo (The great Prayer Festival) outside the Jokhang Temple.

Ven. Bagdro recalls the monks shouting, “Tibet is an independent country”, “China out of Tibet”, “Tibet belongs to Tibetans” and “Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet”.

He was shot and lost a significant amount of blood, and was stoned in the head, during the PLA’s indiscriminate shooting of the protestors. Ven. Bagdro reports seeing many shot dead, many dying in hospital, many injured. The Chinese state denies there were any deaths or injuries.

He was arrested and detained on 18th April and charged with “manslaughter and counter-revolutionary activities”. He was sentenced to three years in prison.

Ven. Bagdro was tortured in prison with guards putting “their cigarettes out on my face, used electric shocks, and putting my feet in ice until the skin came off”.

Released after 4 years, and suffering health problems related to the torture, he fled over the Himalayas. After years advocating for the protection of Tibetan religious identity, Australia gave him refugee status and he resides in New South Wales.

is often restricted, whether they are public or private and heavily armed security forces intimidating religious gatherings are a common scene, and travel restrictions are routinely placed on monks and nuns (International Campaign for Tibet 2021).

The CCP are aware how central Tibetan monasteries and nunneries, and the religious communities within them, are to Tibet's religious and cultural identity. Monasteries are places of historical significance, with historical artefacts and, importantly, the verbal transmission of Buddhist teachings. Constant attacks on Tibetan sangha drives at the heart of Tibetan religious identity. ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government commits to opening up Tibet, to diplomats, journalists and Australian Tibetans wishing to return to Tibet to visit family or take part in religious pilgrimage via a Reciprocal Access to Tibet bill.

ATC also recommends that the Australian Government should use Magnitsky sanctions against the CCP officials responsible for torture and gross human rights violations and also responsible for implementing and enforcing CCP directives to destroy Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and the forced 'defrocking' of Tibetan monks and nuns.

Laypeople targeted for their religious beliefs

The CCP has not stopped at the physical destruction of temples and religious items, or the control of monks and nuns, it has reached all the way to lay believers of Tibetan Buddhism who face restrictions on their everyday religious practices and beliefs.

One of the most identifiable visual expressions of Tibetan Buddhism are the colourful prayer flags that fly throughout Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal, and neighbouring areas. This act of peaceful prayer is under threat.

In June 2020, Radio Free Asia reported that Chinese authorities were tearing down prayer flags, and ordering community meetings (Bowman 2020). A source said: “...the authorities have now set out to root out this Tibetan tradition of hanging prayer flags everywhere, directing local officials, the heads of monasteries, and relevant authorities at the district and township level to carry out the order.”

Simply possessing an image of the Dalai Lama is outlawed and is sufficient for lay people to be detained. In September 2021 in Dza Wonpo, 113 Tibetans were arrested for possessing a photo of the Dalai Lama, most were lay people (CTA 2021). Many of those detained are still under detention. Reports from Dza Wonpo indicate that heavy day-to-day surveillance is constant with reports of house-to-house inspections happening regularly.

Restrictions on religious freedom have a direct and significant impact on lay Tibetans. Free Tibet reported that “pilgrimages to sacred sites are strictly controlled...Mining or other resource

exploitation on sacred sites is commonly permitted and often provokes protest” (Free Tibet 2021).

In early 2021, under the pretext of COVID restrictions, Kora circumambulations were banned and discouraged. It should be noted Tibet had no COVID cases when the restriction was put in place, and Chinese tourists were still being encouraged to travel — exposing the true nature of the decree was to curtail Tibetan Buddhist practice, not to restrict virus transmission.

Widespread reports reveal that large gatherings of Tibetans are perceived as a threat by authorities and as a result, security forces are often deployed at prayer festivals and other religious gatherings.

Free Tibet reported that, in July 2013, Chinese security forces “opened fire on a crowd in Tawu County, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, that had gathered to celebrate the Dalai Lama’s birthday” (Free Tibet 2021).

Funerals are seen as a threat. The bodies of self-immolation protesters who die at the scene or in custody are often cremated by police to prevent normal religious ceremonies and memorial prayer services are often banned (Free Tibet 2021).

Religious expression has long been banned for CCP officials, CCP members, and government employees who were members of the CCP in Tibet. Human Rights Watch reported in 2019 that this ban now extended to retired CCP officials and to government employees, regardless of whether the latter was a party member (Human Rights Watch 2019).

Laypeople as targets

On 29th April 2020, a 20-year-old young man, Wangchen, was detained for conducting a prayer vigil and protesting for the return of the Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choeyki Nyima, who was disappeared by authorities at age six. Three others were arrested at the same time, with one who was disabled released soon after.

Whilst attending court his appearance created concerns that Wangchen had been tortured. He was sentenced to four years and six months imprisonment, whilst the other two were fined and ordered to attend classes on “issues of national security” for six months.

Wangchen’s whereabouts are unknown.

On the same day his aunt, Acha Dolkar, was arrested and charged with sharing news outside of the region that Wangchen had been arrested and the details. She was also charged with endangering national security and state secrets.

Dolkar was released on 15 August 2020, in very poor health with her body covered in bruises and damage to her arms and legs. Her brother believes the damage to her limbs was caused by hard labour and moving rocks as prison labour, an illegal act of forced labour by prison authorities as international conventions prohibit the use of political prisoners for labour.

She is effectively under house arrest and forbidden from contacting the public using social media or the phone.

The ban includes the Kora, and it is easy to imagine these restrictions being extended to everyday Tibetans, as outlined previously such a ban was put in place for lay people under the pretext of COVID prevention in early 2021.

Tibetan parents have been told that they cannot carry rosaries, prayer wheels, or other religious items onto school grounds. Family members visiting children at schools are also forbidden from reciting mantras, or other prayers (Dickyi and Finney 2021). ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government commits to opening up Tibet, to diplomats, journalists and Australian Tibetans wishing to return to Tibet to visit family or take part in religious pilgrimage via the Reciprocal Access to Tibet bill.

ATC also recommends that the Australian Government should use Magnitsky sanctions against the CCP officials implementing and enforcing restrictions on Tibetans from practising Tibetan Buddhism, as it violates Chinese Constitution, Article 36, guaranteeing that “citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of religious belief”.



Separated from family, language and religion

Tibetan children are being separated from their families, their language and religion.

From the age of four, local officials are telling families it is “mandatory to send the children to boarding schools and if families do not comply, they are asked to pay a fine. Sometimes the officials tell the families that if they don’t send their [first] child to boarding school, then their second or third child will never be allowed to enroll. With [these] different methods, they are coercing the family to comply. So, usually out of fear, the family sends their children to boarding schools (Tibet Action Institute 2021).”

The removal of Tibetan children and separating them from their religion has been occurring since the earliest years of the illegal occupation of Tibet. The investigative report of the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) in 1959 noted the deportation of 20,000 Tibetan children to China (International Commission of Jurists 1959).

More than 60 years later, in 2021, the report *‘Separated from their Families, Hidden from the World: China’s Vast System of Colonial Boarding Schools Inside Tibet’* (Tibet Action Institute 2021), identifies the extent and impacts of today’s CCP policy to separate children from their families, culture and religion.

The report identifies an estimate of more than 800,000 Tibetan children in CCP-run boarding schools. An alarming figure considering that the population of Tibet is estimated to be 6.2 million people — it means that currently, nearly one in every six Tibetans are in a CCP-controlled institution separated from their families and religion.

The report found that “Students are at risk of losing their mother tongue and connection to their cultural identity” because:

1. Classes are primarily taught in Mandarin;
2. They live apart from their families and communities and are, therefore, unable to practice their religion or access the most authentic expressions of Tibetan culture and traditions; and
3. They are subjected to a highly politicised curriculum intended to make them identify as Chinese.

The explosion of boarding schools is linked to the destruction of monasteries and the desire to control Tibetan religious and cultural expression, with monasteries, their associated schools and even Tibetan community schools bulldozed and destroyed.

The Sinicisation of students and culture is the primary reason Tibetan community and Tibetan language schools are being bulldozed and closed. Chinese authorities regard Tibetans as ethnic minority people, and officials pressure children to have an education based only on CCP propaganda and restricted to the Mandarin language, containing no Tibetan language and no Tibetan Buddhism. This represents the Sinicisation of Tibetan children and is at the core of cultural genocide.

The Colonial Schools report identifies that this approach “seeks to achieve long-term political control through cultural uniformity, supplanting the identities and distinct cultures of Tibetans, Uyghurs, and other groups under CCP rule with — in Xi’s words — ‘a strong sense of community for the Chinese nation’ in order to ensure the ‘enduring stability of the Party and the country’ (Tibet Action Institute 2021).”

Monasteries have been banned from teaching the Tibetan language and cultural history to school-going children. For example, the Chinese



Tibetan children are being physically separated from their families. The consequences of isolation and lack of family upbringing become even more devastating as the colonial boarding school system in Tibet grows to include younger and younger students (Tibet Action Institute 2021).

authorities of Qinghai's Nangchen County issued an urgent notice "prohibiting the monasteries from holding classes and called for 'ideological education of parents and children' to quell the 'strength of the opposition' (Tibet Action Institute 2021)."

In addition to banning monasteries from teaching children, the Chinese Government has been shutting down primary and Tibetan community schools in Tibet with reports indicating recent closures in the Tibetan areas of the Chinese provinces of Qinghai (Woesser and Zenz, n.d.), Sichuan (Woesser and Zenz, n.d.) and Huangnan (TCHRD 2021). It appears the aim of these closures is to force Tibetan children into faraway boarding schools where they will be unable to learn the Tibetan language, religion, culture and history.

Chen Kuiyuan, then Secretary of the CCP in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) said that the goal of China's education system in Tibet is to indoctrinate Tibetans:

"The success of our education does not lie in the number of diplomas issued to graduates from universities, colleges ... and secondary schools. It lies, in the final analysis, in whether

our graduating students are opposed to or turn their hearts to the Dalai Clique and in whether they are loyal to or do not care about our great motherland and the great socialist cause (Minority Rights Group International 2007)."

Over the duration of the illegal occupation of Tibet, the CCP's approach to eliminating the religious instruction of children has shifted. International Campaign for Tibet found that "the earlier methods of forcibly removing children from their homes have been replaced by incentives and regulatory measures that encourage children toward a Chinese-style education, while punishing them and their parents if children are found to be participating in religious activities (International Campaign for Tibet 2012)."

The options for religious education and education based on the Tibetan language, culture and history have been, or are being, destroyed by the Chinese Government. Children are also being denied the ability to participate in their religious heritage outside of school hours, denying the rights of parents to determine the religious education of their children.

Tibetan children are banned from participating in any religious activities even during the vacations. The Tibet Bureau, in its handbook on CCP atrocities, found that if “Tibetan students are found to be participating in religious activities, the parents will be subjected to disciplinary actions and penalties” (Woesser and Zenz 2021). International Campaign for Tibet’s report ‘60 Years of Chinese Misrule’ found that “those who are taken to monasteries on their own time have been threatened with expulsion from school (International Campaign for Tibet 2012).”

Chinese authorities place restrictions on students from participating in religious activities. For example, in May 2020, in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, students were banned from participating in activities to observe the Buddhist holy month of *Saga Dawa*, an important Buddhist festival commemorating Buddha’s birth, enlightenment, and death. Parents were warned they would face severe consequences (TCHRD 2021).

Students additionally lose access to their religion while at boarding school. China has a policy of separating religion and education, and when students are always ‘on campus’, this effectively means that religious observation is eliminated. Such bans often do not exist on paper and are missed by research that relies purely on documentary evidence, as are actions by school administrators that restrict Tibetan students’ access to religious activities (Tibet Action Institute 2021).

One boarding school principal in the TAR, for example, detailed how on major religious holidays, his school assigns personnel to intercept students on the street and escort them back to school if they try to take part in local religious events. A teacher in Mili Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan stated that for those “who [wish to] take a leave of absence on the pretext of going home to participate in religious activities, we generally do not give approval (Tibet Action Institute 2021).”

In Lhasa, school children — along with Tibetan government workers and retirees — are barred from visiting the Jokhang Temple, widely considered to be the most important and sacred temple in Tibet. Such strict control of religious pursuits combined with long periods away from home means boarding school students are growing up with very little contact with the religious and cultural traditions that form an integral part of Tibetan life (Tibet Action Institute 2021). ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government should adopt Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation to open up Tibet to investigation and scrutiny from Australian parliamentarians, Australian journalists and diplomats so that these egregious crimes against children can be further investigated and exposed. The CCP have effectively cut Tibet off from the world, allowing authorities to implement outdated and atrocious colonialist policies separating children from their families, their language, their culture and their religion.

As Australia has apologised for our own colonialist past and harmful policies of separating first nations children from their families, Australia should lead the way in taking multilateral action by imposing targeted sanctions on Chinese officials, including the Provincial Party Secretaries and heads of government bodies overseeing the colonial boarding school system, under the Magnitsky Act, noting that these sanctions will be more effective if pursued multilaterally.

Recommendations to the United Nations

- The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights should urgently visit Tibet and ensure immediate, meaningful, and unfettered access to investigate the situation of Tibetan children in China’s state-run colonial boarding schools; and
- The United Nations Human Rights Council should act on the recommendations made in the joint statement by the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council on June 26, 2020, “UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China,” and take all appropriate measures to monitor Chinese human rights practices, including in Tibet (both inside and outside the Tibet Autonomous Region).
- Ensure that the best interests of the child are taken into account as a primary consideration in all decisions concerning Tibetan children, in line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Priorities should include the protection of every child’s right to privacy, a family environment, education, and physical and mental health.

Gendered and sexual-based violence

In addition to the harsh and unjust treatment of Tibetans we have outlined, Tibetan women and girls face extra peril under the CCP's push to sinicise Tibet, Tibetan culture and Tibetan religion.

Women of all ages face arbitrary detention and prison and the regularly reported torture and abuse such as beatings, but they also face even harsher treatment.

The Taiwan Times in February 2021 published their investigation “*How Chinese Police Torture Tibetan Women and Nuns Inside Tibet*”. It reports the process starts at arrest, where female prisoners are strip-searched and then brutally interrogated (Buckton 2021). The report also indicates sexual abuse and rape were common place, with sex-based verbal abuse a regular occurrence. It also reported special forms of torture for women include the use of dogs, electric batons on external genitalia, and other sexual assaults such as rape by electric cattle prod, even the cutting off of breasts.

The ICJ Legal inquiry (Beck 1960) also reported differentiated treatment between women and men with nuns receiving the harshest treatment occurring from the earliest days of the illegal occupation.

Children forced away to boarding schools face enormous problems as we have outlined. However, female children forced into boarding schools face an even harsher burden than boys with reports of rape, sexual harassment, beatings, and bullying.

“...Many times, it was just random men and they were not even from school. It was not uncommon that a Chinese male teacher barged into the girls room, and raped or sexually assaulted the school girls. Day or night, we were not safe, constantly in fear of something happening to us. At that time, most of us were 11-13 years old. When the girls didn't comply, they were slapped and kicked. The

Chinese male teachers used to call me in their chamber and inappropriately touched and sexually harassed me. I don't know how I survived it, my mother had already passed away then. I couldn't tell anybody what was happening to me (Tibet Action Institute 2021).” ■

Recommendation: The Australian Government apply Magnitsky laws to sanction CCP officials involved in, or the condoning of, sexual and gender-based violence and human rights violations of women and girls.

A nun's story

Many thousands of nuns have been detained, arrested, imprisoned, tortured and killed since the illegal occupation of Tibet began.

Understandably many do not talk about what happened to them, particularly the additional abuse they suffered in the form of rape and other sex-based crimes and abuses.

The Taiwan Times recently recounted one such story: Gyaltsen Chodon, a nun, aged 22, was imprisoned for peacefully demonstrating. Now living in Dharamsala, she related her experience: “They used the prods like toys, enjoying themselves especially when they applied them to our private parts. They actually laughed as they did these things. ‘You're garbage’, they said forcing us to answer to names like pig, horse, donkey, cow.”

The International Campaign for Tibet has recently launched the story of nine Tibetan nuns – *Tibet in Chains: The Stories of Nine Tibetan Nuns*. Available at <https://savetibet.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/ICT-Tibet-in-Chains.pdf>

Constant oppression

People under constant oppression with no avenue for legitimate protest are pushed to desperation

We cannot conclude this report on the impacts on monks, nuns, laypeople, women and children without making reference to the at least 157 recorded cases of self-immolation, many of which were religious people, monks or nuns representing the broad spectrum of Tibetan society.

We do not know how many are yet to be reported with news emerging in 2021 of a previously unknown self-immolation from 2015 of a 25-year-old man and the detention of three of his family members (CTA 2021).

2022 has been a difficult year for Tibetans and Tibet supporters with already two men self-immolating in protest of China's occupation and oppression in Tibet.

On 27 March 2022, an 81-year-old Tibetan man named Taphun self-immolated in front of a police station near Kirti Monastery in a protest against the Chinese government's oppression (Radio Free Asia 2022), and, earlier in 2022, a popular Tibetan musician, Tsewang Norbu, self-immolated in Lhasa, tragically he was only 25 years old.

Self-immolation is a difficult concept to understand, as are the motivations with most inquiry focusing on despair and desperation as root motivations and concluding that in the case of Tibetans self-immolation is a response to the severe repression of Tibetan culture and religion imposed by the CCP.

It is important to remember that people given no hope, no chance for democratic empowerment, no opportunity to protest are pushed into desperation, and desperate people do desperate things.

China's reaction to self-immolations has included threatening and detaining the family members of those who set fire to themselves and banning any form of funeral rites for the dead protesters (Tibet Watch 2016). The CCP blame the Dalai Lama rather than the true cause — their own policies of brutal repression and assimilation.

The Congressional-Executive Commission on China reported that in 2011, at the height of a self-immolation wave, a then key CCP official from UFWD, Zhu Weiqun, directly blamed the Dalai Lama for self-immolations to European Union officials (CECC 2011).

The Dalai Lama has never advocated for self-immolation and indeed is a Nobel Peace Prize recipient for his leadership and consistent advocacy for a non-violent, negotiated solution to end the brutality, human rights abuses and oppression of Tibetan people.

Self-immolation would not be occurring if it were not for CCP policies relating to Tibet, particularly towards Tibetan religious identity. ■

Recommendations to the United Nations Human Rights Council that they should act on the recommendations made in the joint statement by the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council on June 26, 2020, "UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China," and take all appropriate measures to monitor Chinese human rights practices, including in Tibet (both inside and outside the Tibet Autonomous Region).

An experience shared

The experience of Tibetans is shared by other people occupied by China (termed ethnic minorities by the CCP), particularly the Uyghurs and other Turkic peoples of East Turkestan (CH: Xinjiang).

There are many similar and shared experiences and shared history under the illegal occupation of the CCP. Not the least of which are the family connections of President Xi, whose father Xi Zhongxun headed East Turkestan and who subsequently spearheaded reforms in both regions in the 1980s. This personal connection has led to Xi being personally involved in the affairs of these two regions.

Another shared experience is the impact of Chen Quanguo, former CCP Secretary of both the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) (2011–2016) and East Turkestan (2016–2021). Chen was replaced in December 2021, and, as a reward for his draconian efforts – first in Tibet and then in East Turkestan – he is expected to be elevated to the key position of Vice-Premier at the 2022 CCP congress. Chen Quanguo is subject to Magnitsky sanctions from the US and UK.

Chen Quanguo took many of his ideas, and much of what he first implemented and created in Tibet, to East Turkestan. For example, the long-standing practice of arbitrary detention used in Tibet became widely used by regional officials under Chen in both Tibet and East Turkestan. In Tibet, Chen was well known for exercising stringent state control over Buddhist monasteries, and using the same methods Chen has since dramatically intensified security in mosques and Islamic schools in East Turkestan.

Experts say East Turkestan has been turned into a surveillance state that relies on cutting-edge technology to monitor millions of people (Dennis, Maizland, and Lindsay 2021). This form of surveillance had already been trailed by Chen in Tibet. Chen also took with him the grid

neighbourhood system he developed and refined in Tibet and implemented it in East Turkestan – a system in which cities and villages were split into squares of about five hundred people. Each square has a police station that closely monitors inhabitants by regularly scanning their identification cards, taking their photographs and fingerprints, and searching their cell phones, and facial-recognition cameras are everywhere. The Government also collects and stores citizens' biometric data through a required program advertised as 'Physicals for All' (Dennis, Maizland, and Lindsay 2021).

Under Chen it became commonplace for cadres to be placed into Tibetan homes and subsequently into Uyghur homes in East Turkestan. Human Rights Watch identified more than 20,000 cadres in 2011 in Tibet. Perfected in Tibet, cadres have now been recruited to stay in Uyghur homes and report on any perceived "extremist" behaviours.

As we have documented, the destruction of religious institutions has been a mark of the illegal occupation of Tibet by the CCP since the beginning. In a mirror of those actions in East Turkestan, officials have destroyed thousands of mosques. Imams in Xinjiang face similar issues as those faced by monks and nuns in Tibet — arrest, imprisonment, torture, forced labour, re-education camps and deaths in custody. Tibetan lay people are detained for having a picture, Uyghurs are detained for a beard that is too long or carrying prayer beads). ■

Recommendations to the United Nations Human Rights Council, that they should act on the recommendations made in the joint statement by the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council on June 26, 2020, "UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China," and take all appropriate measures to monitor Chinese human rights practices, including in Tibet (both inside and outside the Tibet Autonomous Region).

Conclusion and recommendations

As this report has shown, Tibetan religious identity is under severe attack by the CCP on many fronts. Tibetan Buddhism is under immediate threat.

We have outlined the destruction of the physical religious heritage of Tibet from temples to prayer wheels, to statues, books and manuscripts. We also outlined how the destruction continues today.

The succession of the Dalai Lama is a key focus of the CCP's efforts to control Tibetan religious identity with specific laws enacted to give the CCP control of the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. We have shown the CCP design is for both political and religious control of Tibetans, through controlling the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

The kidnapping of the Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, at only six-years-old and his continued disappearance for 27 years shows the extent the CCP will go to disrupt Tibetan Buddhist practice and exposes their plan for the future succession of the Dalai Lama.

The CCP has been shown in this report to have attacked every layer of Tibetan religious identity. It has done so in temples and schools and broader society. Monks, nuns and other religious people have been specifically targeted. We have highlighted how gender-based violence as well as torture is used to intimidate Tibetans.

We have shown the colonialist assimilationist policies currently being implemented by the CCP through the act of coercing and forcing Tibetan children into CCP-run boarding schools. These boarding schools are an attack on Tibetan religious identity, separating children from their religion, language and denying parents their rights to determine the religious education of their children.

This report highlighted the growing role of the policy to sinicise Tibetan Buddhism by replacing Tibetan language in text and instruction with Mandarin. Forcing monks and nuns to only speak

in Mandarin, and destroying Tibetan language schools run by monasteries is an attack on Tibetan religious identity.

The role of President Xi Jinping's policy of 'Sinicisation' has been highlighted throughout this report as the central driver of attempts to destroy Tibetan religious identity.

This report has demonstrated the systemic, top-down nature of the attacks on Tibetan Buddhism and the overall intention which is the assimilation of Tibetan people into the Chinese state and identity.

Tibet is a colonised, occupied land, and Tibetan religious identity is attached to Tibetan national identity, which is why the CCP have been so systemic and comprehensive in their attacks on Tibetan Buddhism.

Australia Tibet Council believes the Australian Government can act swiftly and strongly in these matters using multilateral mechanisms and their allies in AUKUS, the Quad and the Five Eyes.

This report centres around three core recommendations for the Australian Government – each having the potential to generate significant change in Tibet – these are:

ATC recommends Australia adopt a policy to protect the future succession of the Dalai Lama

The CCP are manoeuvring to try to control the lineage and succession of the Dalai Lama. Recognising that they cannot control the current Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, the CCP have made it clear that they intend to manipulate the process of finding the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama, when the unfortunate time comes of the passing of the Dalai Lama.

The US have recognised this threat and countered it with their *Tibetan Policy and Support Act*. This makes it official US policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists

to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government. Chinese officials that interfere in the process of selecting Tibetan Buddhist leaders would be subject to sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act, including denial of entry into the United States.

Australia should adopt a policy position, stating categorically “That the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese government.”

ATC recommends Australia use the Magnitsky Act to limit gross human rights abuses in Tibet

With the Autonomous Sanctions Amendment (Magnitsky-style and Other Thematic Sanctions) Act 2021 enacted in December 2021, Australia should equal the measures of our allies in the USA, UK, Canada and EU, who have already placed sanctions on the CCP officials.

Australia should join with our allies in AUKUS, the Quad and the Five Eyes, and enact Magnitsky sanctions on Chinese officials responsible for policies of oppression, and human rights violations against Tibetan people.

Reciprocal access to Tibet

Australia should adopt Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation in a similar style to the US, restricting the travel of CCP officials who are responsible for the enforced isolation of Tibet via travel restrictions. Australia should focus on opening up Tibet and push back against Chinese Authorities limiting access to Tibet to Australians.

Australia must adopt Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation to open Tibet up to Australian parliamentarians, diplomats, journalists or any other Australian citizen (including Tibetan-Australians) who wish to travel to Tibet, whether it is to visit family, undertake a religious pilgrimage or investigate China’s gross human rights violations and CCP policies aimed at destroying Tibetan religious identity.

Multilateral action and the UN

Australia should undertake multilateral actions with our alliances, such as AUKUS, the Five Eyes and the

Quad, acting in unison against CCP officials, and to reject CCP policies aimed at destroying Tibetan religious identity.

The Australian Government should demand that the United Nations Human Rights Council act on the recommendations made in the joint statement by the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council on June 26, 2020, “UN experts call for decisive measures to protect fundamental freedoms in China,” and take all appropriate measures to monitor Chinese human rights practices, including in Tibet (both inside and outside the Tibet Autonomous Region).

UN action needs to be taken to:

- Investigate the whereabouts of the Panchen Lama, Gendhun Choekyi Nyima.
- Ensure that the best interests of the child are taken into account as a primary consideration in all decisions concerning Tibetan children, in line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Priorities should include the protection of every child’s right to privacy, a family environment, education, and physical and mental health.
- Allow the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and UN Special Procedures immediate, meaningful, and unfettered access to Tibet, and ensure they are granted access to colonial boarding schools, monasteries, and access to freely investigate the concerns of layperson Tibetans about the restrictions placed on their religious practice.

The gross human rights violations and attempts by the CCP to destroy Tibetan religious identity can only be curtailed and stopped by strong measures, such as using Magnitsky sanctions, Reciprocal Access to Tibet legislation and by multilateral action from global leaders. Australia must not wait for China to interfere in the future succession of the Dalai Lama, Australia should be unequivocal in its rejection of CCP manoeuvrings to control the institution and role of the Dalai Lama. ■

References

- ANI News. 2021. "Chinese authorities arrest 60 Tibetans for keeping pictures of Dalai Lama." August 29, 2021. <https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/chinese-authorities-arrest-60-tibetans-for-keeping-pictures-of-dalai-lama20210829214910/>.
- Asia News. 2015. "CHINA - TIBET CCP 'will never give up right to choose next Dalai Lama.'" AsiaNews, 01/12, 2015. <https://www.asianews.it/news-en/CCP-will-never-give-up-right-to-choose-next-Dalai-Lama-36026.html>.
- Beck, Jan. 1960. "Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic." International Commission of Jurists. <https://www.icj.org/el-tibet-y-la-republica-popular-de-china-el/>.
- Bowman, Margaret. 2020. "China Orders Prayer Flags Taken Down in Tibet in an Assault on Culture, Faith." Radio Free Asia, June 17, 2020. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/flags-06172020090200.html>.
- Buckton, Mark. 2020. "The Sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism By China." The Taiwan Times, December 12, 2020. <https://thetaitimes.com/the-sinicization-of-tibetan-buddhism-by-china/>.
- Buckton, Mark. 2021. "How Chinese Police Torture Tibetan Women & Nuns Inside Tibet - Pt.I." The Taiwan Times, February 4, 2021. <https://thetaitimes.com/how-chinese-police-torture-tibetan-women-nuns-inside-tibet-pt-i/>.
- Carr, Bob. 2010. "The Cunning Monk | Thoughtlines with Bob Carr." Thoughtlines with Bob Carr. <https://bobcarrblog.wordpress.com/2010/10/28/the-cunning-monk/>.
- Carrico, Kevin. 2015. "Tibetan Buddhist Self-Immolation - Oxford Handbooks." Oxford Handbooks Online. <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935420.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935420-e-22>.
- CECC. 2011. "Special Report: Tibetan Self-Immolation - Rising Frequency, Wider Spread, Greater Diversity." Congressional-Executive Commission on China. <https://www.cecc.gov/publications/issue-papers/special-report-tibetan-self-immolation-rising-frequency-wider-spread>.
- CTA. 2021. "CTA mourns death of Tibetan self-immolator Shurmo. Total known self-immolations in Tibet reach 155." Central Tibetan Administration. <https://tibet.net/cta-mourns-death-of-tibetan-self-immolator-shurmo-total-known-self-immolations-in-tibet-reaches-155/>.
- CTA. 2021. "Crackdown on Dza Wonpo continues, 113 Tibetans detained in total." Central Tibetan Administration, September 3, 2021. <https://tibet.net/crackdown-on-dza-wonpo-continues-113-tibetans-detained-in-total/>.
- CTA. 2021. "Tibetan Buddhist school in Kham Drakgo forcibly demolished." Central Tibetan Administration. <https://tibet.net/tibetan-buddhist-school-in-kham-drakgo-forcibly-demolished/>.
- CTA. 2021. "'Cultural Revolution like crackdown': China demolished a sky-high Buddha statue and 45 huge prayer wheels in Drakgo, Tibet." Central Tibetan Administration. <https://tibet.net/cultural-revolution-like-crackdown-china-demolished-a-sky-high-buddha-statue-and-45-huge-prayer-wheels-in-drakgo-tibet/>.
- Damdul, Dorjee. 2022. "Statue of revered Tibetan monk seized by Chinese police." Central Tibetan Administration, January 15, 2022. <https://tibet.net/statue-of-revered-tibetan-monk-seized-by-chinese-police/>.
- Dennis, Patrick, Lindsay Maizland, and James M. Lindsay. 2021. "China's Repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang." Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-repression-uyghurs-xinjiang>.
- Dickyi, Tenzin, and Richard Finney. 2021. "No Religion in Tibetan Schools, China Tells Parents." Radio Free Asia. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/schools-05102021144812.html>.
- Free Tibet. 2021. "China's control of religion in Tibet | Free Tibet." Free Tibet |. <https://freetibet.org/religious-freedom>.
- Harding, Luke. 2002. "Smuggled video reveals how Chinese destroyed Tibetan Buddhist centre." The Guardian, April 18, 2002. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/19/china.lukeharding>.
- Hong, Brendon. 2018. "How Xi Jinping Became a God (At Least to Goatherders)." The Daily Beast, March 10, 2018. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/how-xi-jinping-became-a-god-at-least-to-goatherders>.
- Human Rights Watch. 2019. "China: Ban on Tibet Religious Activity Toughened." Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/09/11/china-ban-tibet-religious-activity-toughened>.
- International Campaign for Tibet, August 15, 2007: "New measures on reincarnation reveal party's objectives of political control", <https://www.savetibet.org/new-measures-onreincarnation-reveal-partys-objectives-of-political-control/>;
- International Campaign for Tibet. 2012. "HBRC06HT Reply form test." International Campaign for Tibet. <https://savetibet.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Cultural-Genocide-in-Tibet-single-pages-2-1.pdf>.
- International Campaign for Tibet. 2012. "60 Years of Chinese Misrule | Arguing Cultural Genocide in Tibet." International Campaign for Tibet. <https://savetibet.org/60-years-of-chinese-misrule-arguing-cultural-genocide-in-tibet/>.
- International Campaign for Tibet. 2016 "The 'poisonous fruit' of Tibet's religious policy as China publishes 'Living Buddha' database" <https://savetibet.org/the-poisonous-fruit-of-tibets-religious-policy-as-china-publishes-living-buddha-database/>
- International Campaign for Tibet. 2021. "Party above Buddhism: China's Surveillance and Control of Tibetan Monasteries and Nunneries," Report. 1st ed. Party Above Buddhism. <https://savetibet.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/party-above-buddhism-a4-030921.pdf>.
- International Commission of Jurists. 1959. "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law." International Commission of Jurists. <http://www.icj.org/wp-content/uploads/1959/01/Tibet-rule-of-law-report-1959-eng.pdf>.
- Kunchok, Sangyal, Tenzin Dickyi, and Richard Finney. 2021. "China Pushes New Plan For Tibetan Buddhist Study in Chinese Only." Radio Free Asia, October 5, 2021. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/plan-10052021152731.html>.
- Kunchok, Sangyal, Tenzin Dickyi, and Richard Finney. 2021. "China erases memories of popular Tibetan monk who died in prison." Radio Free Asia. <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/erases-10282021150335.html>.
- Lhamo, Choekyi. 2021. "Chinese authorities forcibly shutdown monastery in Gansu." Phayul, August 3, 2021. <https://www.phayul.com/2021/08/03/45950/>.
- Lhamo, Choekyi. 2021. "Tibetan monk detained in Sershul County." Phayul, December 19, 2021. <https://www.phayul.com/2021/12/19/46545/>.
- McNeil, Sam. 2021. "China offers glimpse of Tibetan life without the Dalai Lama." AP News, June 16, 2021. <https://apnews.com/article/dalai-lama-tibet-china-europe-business-ee607f3daa747b03414c972541251306>.
- Minority Rights Group International. 2007. "China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalization and Rising Tensions." Minority Rights Group. <https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-165-China-Minority-Exclusion->

Marginalization-and-Rising-Tensions.pdf.

Mosher, Steven W. 2020. "How Xi Jinping destroyed religion and made himself God." New York Post, February 1, 2020. <https://nypost.com/2020/02/01/how-chinas-xi-jinping-destroyed-religion-and-made-himself-god/>.

The Office of Tibet. 2020. "Invasion & After." Office of Tibet. <https://tibetoffice.org/invasion-after>.

Qiao Long, Xiaoshan Huang, and Chingman, Radio Free Asia 2021. "Local Government in Gansu Shuts Down Tibetan Temple Evicts Monks, Nuns

Quanguo, Chen. 2016. "Detention and Prosecution of Tibetans under China's "Stability Maintenance" Campaign | HRW." Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/05/22/relentless/detention-and-prosecution-tibetans-under-chinas-stability-maintenance>.

Radio Free Asia Tibet service (2022) "81-year-old Tibet man dies after self-immolation protest at Kirti Monastery" <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/ngaba-immolation-04032022060549.html>

Rekjong, Dhondup T. 2021. "Xi Jinping's War on Tibetan Buddhism - WSJ." The Wall Street Journal, November 18, 2021. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/xi-jinping-war-on-tibetan-buddhism-lanugage-china-monks-education-unity-sixth-plenum-11637269866>.

Reporter, Staff. 2021. "Crackdown on Dza Wonpo continues, 113 Tibetans detained in total." Central Tibetan Administration, September 3, 2021. <https://tibet.net/crackdown-on-dza-wonpo-continues-113-tibetans-detained-in-total/>.

TCHRD. 2021. "2020 Annual Report: Human Rights Situation in Tibet - Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy." Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. <https://tchrd.org/2020-annual-report-human-rights-situation-in-tibet/>.

TCHRD. n.d. "Tibetan Political Prisoner Database." Home · Uwazi. Accessed February 15, 2022. <https://tppd.tchrd.org/>.

The 10th Panchen Lama, 1962. "The 70,000 Character Petition"

Tibet Action Institute. 2021. "Separated from their Families, Hidden from the World: China's Vast System of Colonial Boarding Schools Inside Tibet." Tibet Action Institute. https://s7712.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/2021_ColonialBoardingSchoolReport_Digital.pdf.

Tibet Net. 2022. "Two Tibetan monks held incommunicado for five months; Chinese government's poultry and pig farming projects in Drakgo." Central Tibetan Administration, January 14, 2022. <https://tibet.net/two-tibetan-monks-held-incommunicado-for-five-months-chinese-governments-poultry-and-pig-farming-projects-in-drakgo/>.

Tibet Watch. 2016. "Tibet's "Intolerable" Monasteries: The Role of Monasteries in Tibetan Resistance since 1950." Intolerable Monasteries. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c6d7c35b2cf790541327f25/t/5c9227ca24a694ccc84d9d00/1553082326180/tibets_intolerable_monasteries.pdf.

UNPO. 2019. "UNPO: Tibet: Chinese Authorities Keep Demolishing Buddhist Religious Centres." Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. <https://unpo.org/article/21601>.

US State Department. 2007. "Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism (ICT Translation)." Congressional-Executive Commission on China. <https://www.cecc.gov/resources/legal-provisions/measures-on-the-management-of-the-reincarnation-of-living-buddhas-in-0>.

US State Department. 2022. "2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: China (Includes Hong Kong, Macau, and Tibet) section: Tibet. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/china/tibet/>

Woesser, Tsering, and Adrian Zenz. 2021. "100 Atrocities of CCP in Tibet." Tibet Office, Brussels. <https://tibet.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/100-Atrocities.pdf>.

Xinhua. 2021. "Xi Focus: Xi stresses high-quality development of parties work on ethnic affairs." Xi Focus: Xi stresses high-quality development of Party's work on ethnic affairs, August 28, 2021. http://www.news.cn/english/2021-08/28/c_1310154568.htm.

Yan, Mo. 2019. "China: List of Political Prisoners Detained or Imprisoned as of October 10, 2019 (1,598 cases)." Congressional-Executive Commission on China. <https://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/documents/CECC%20Pris%20List%2020191010.pdf>.

Yong, Wang. 2020. "A Thousand-Year-Old Tibetan Buddhist Temple Destroyed in Shanxi." Central Tibetan Administration. <https://tibet.net/a-thousand-year-old-tibetan-buddhist-temple-destroyed-in-shanxi/>.

This report was written by Dr Zoë Bedford and Harvey Purse
for the Australia Tibet Council.

For further information on the issues raised in this report,
please email tibet.council@atc.org.au

©Australia Tibet Council 2022

www.atc.org.au





 **AUSTRALIA
TIBET
COUNCIL**
www.atc.org.au