Curriculum Vitae

Tshering Chonzom Bhutia, PhD

Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi Founding Trustee, Centre for Development Studies, Shimla

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AREAS OF INTEREST

Negotiation theory and conflict resolution; international relations theory; Domestic sources of China's foreign policy; Sino-Tibetan dialogue process; Comparative of India and China's minority policies; China's Belt and Road in the context of its link to China's western region and South Asia; Sino-Nepal (connectivity) relations; political economy of Chinese development policies in Tibet; Dynamics of international involvement in the Tibet issue; Tibet factor in India-China relations & Tibetan question in India; Post-14th Dalai Lama contingencies

RESEARCH PROJECTS

ICSSR Research Project (in the major sponsored category), 'Indian and Chinese ethnic minority policies: Comparing and Contrasting the Indo-Naga and the Sino-Tibetan Cases'

EDUCATION

Phd (awarded in 2014), Center for East Asian Studies, Chinese Division, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

Thesis - 'Applying Negotiation Theory to the Sino-Tibetan Talks, 1979-2006'.

MPhil (2005), Center for East Asian Studies, Chinese Division, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. Dissertation - 'Issues of Sovereignty, Ethnicity and Nationality in the People's Republic of China: A Case of Tibet'.

MA in Politics (with specialization in IR) (2003), School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

BA (Hons.) in English (2001), Lady Shriram College, Delhi University, New Delhi, India.

Short course (2008), Historiography and Research Methodology, Indian Council for Historical Research (ICHR), Delhi.

Diploma (2007), National Development Course, Republic of China, 23 June-6 July 2008.

Workshop (2016) 'Inculcating Ontological Competence: Seeing the World/Cosmos through Multiple Ontological Lenses', Organized by International Research on India and International Studies (IRIIS) in Collaboration with Department of Political Science, University of Delhi & Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, 13-14 January.

CURRENT & PAST POSITIONS

Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi (from 1 April 2015 - Ongoing)

Visiting Associate Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi (1 July 2014-31 March 2015) www.icsin.org

Programme Coordinator, Heinrich Boll Foundation, India Office, New Delhi (28 August 2008-28 February 2013) www.in.boell.org

Programme Coordinator/Assistant Fellow/Assistant Editor/Web Administrator, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi (September 2006-October 2007) www.dalitstudies.org.in

Research Officer, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (August 2004-February 2005) www.ipcs.org

Editor and Founder, *Tibetan World* magazine (April 2004-July 2005).

AWARDS & FELLOWSHIP

International Visitor Leadership Programme (IVLP) titled 'U.S. Foreign Policy: The Decision-Making Process', Supported by the United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., 3-21 July 2017.

Teaching Fellowship, Southwest Minzu University, Chengdu, Sichuan, China, 25 May-24 June 2017.

Project Grant under the Sponsored Research Project programme of the ICSSR entitled 'Indian and Chinese ethnic minority policies: Comparing and Contrasting the Indo-Naga and the Sino-Tibetan Cases' awarded by the Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR). Amount: 30 lacs. Duration: 2 years, 2015-17. Grant No: F.No.ST- 03/2014-15/ICSSR/RPS.

Best Researcher Award (9 August 2008), Center for East Asian Studies, Chinese Division, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. Details available on CEAS Blog:

http://seasofjnu.blogspot.com/2008_08_01_archive.html

Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship (2007-2008), University Grants Commission.

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

'The Dalai Lama's Reincarnation Debate: Unraveling Hype, Identifying Interests', *China Report*, Vol. 51, Issue 3, August 2015, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

'The Fourth "Forum on the Development of Tibet": A Review', *China Report*, Vol. 51, Issue 1, February 2015, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 66-75.

'Chinese Preconditions and Tibetan Initiatives: Negotiating Narratives', *China Report*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2008, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp.185-193.

Contributions to Edited Volumes

'The Chinese Communist Party in Tibet: Negotiating Dissent, Development and Dialogue', in C V Ranganathan and Sanjeev Kumar (Eds.), *The 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China: A Major Turning Point for China*, New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2013, ISBN NO: 978-81-8274-724-1.

'China's Minorities: State of Research in India', in book titled *Chinese Studies in India and Indian Studies in China*, to be jointly published by the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India and the Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, China (Forthcoming).

Working/ Occasional Papers

'Conflict and Cooperation in the Indo-Naga and the Sino-Tibetan peace processes: Issues, actors and approaches', ICS Occasional Paper (Forthcoming).

'China's Minorities: State of Research in India', *ICS Working Paper*, September 2015, http://www.icsin.org/publications/chinas-minorities-state-of-research-in-india

Select Other Publications

'Tibet's Role in China's Belt and Road', chapter in Stiftung Asienhaus and Chinadialogue, 2017 (eds) Silk Road Bottom-up: Regional Perspectives on 'Belt and Road Initiative', https://www.eu-china.net/uploads/tx_news/Broschuere_Silk_Road_Bottom-Up_2017_.pdf

'The Politics of Reincarnation: India, China, and the Dalai Lama - Will the Dalai Lama reincarnate in Tawang?', *The Diplomat*, 20 April 2017, http://thediplomat.com/2017/04/the-politics-of-reincarnation-india-china-and-tibet/

'Does Tibet's New Governor Signal Change?', *The Diplomat*, 19 January 2017, http://thediplomat.com/2017/01/does-tibets-new-governor-signal-change/

- 'Tibet and China's 'Belt and Road', *The Diplomat*, 30 August 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2016/08/tibet-and-chinas-belt-and-road/
- 'A Review of the 2016 Forum on the Development of Tibet', *ICS Analysis*, No 42, August 2016, http://www.icsin.org/publications/a-review-of-the-2016-forum-on-the-development-of-tibet
- 'A Chinese Cab Driver and the Sino-Tibetan Problem', *The Diplomat*, 30 June 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/a-chinese-cab-driver-and-the-sino-tibetan-problem/
- 'Tibet, Taiwan and China A Complex Nexus', *The Diplomat*, 24 November 2015, http://thediplomat.com/2015/11/tibet-taiwan-and-china-a-complex-nexus/
- 'The Tibet issue in India-China relations: Destabilizing but Dynamic', *China-India Brief*, Centre on Asia and Globalisation, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, 28 October -12 November 2015, http://lkyspp.nus.edu.sg/cag/publication/china-india-brief/china-india-brief-62
- 'China's White Paper on Tibet, 2015: The Case of an Empty Vessel?', *Tibetan Review*, 23 April 2015, http://www.tibetanreview.net/chinas-white-paper-on-tibet-2015-the-case-of-an-empty-vessel/
- 'Will He or Won't He? The Dalai Lama's Reincarnation Issue', *ICS Analysis*, Institute of Chinese Studies, No. 27, February 2015, http://icsin.org/ICS/ICSAnalysispdf/37.pdf
- 'Impasse Yet Again: Beijing's Failure to Acknowledge the Dalai Lama's Increasing Moderation', *ICS Analysis*, Institute of Chinese Studies, No. 18, October 2014, http://www.icsin.org/ICS/ICSAnalysispdf/22.pdf
- 'Self-immolations, the Tibet Question and the Way Forward', *ICS Analysis*, Institute of Chinese Studies, No. 7, March 2013, http://www.icsin.org/ICS/ICSAnalysispdf/8.pdf
- 'After the Storm: Status Quo of the Sino-Tibetan Talks and the Situation of the Tibetans in Exile', 4 November 2008, *Briefing Paper*, Heinrich Boll Foundation, India.
- Co-Authored with Prashant Negi, 'The Arrow and the Olive Branch: Conceptualizing Social Exclusion in Tibet', *World Focus*, Issue 340, April 2008.
- 'Protests in Tibet and Political Posturing: The Problematique', World Focus, Issue 340, April 2008.

'The Protests in Tibet - What caused it?', *Phayul*, 24 March, 2008, http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=20010&article=The+Protests+in+Tib et+%e2%80%93+What+caused+it%3f&t=1&c=4

'Sino-Tibetan Dialogue - A Mid-Term Appraisal', World Focus, Issue 315, March 2006.

'India-China Relations (Until Atal's Visit): A Review', *Tibetan World*, Vol. I, Issue 10, April 2005.

'The 1989 Arms Embargo and China', *Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 2005: 8-9.

http://www.ipcs.org/China_east_asia_articles2.jsp?action=showView&kValue=161 6&keyArticle=1009&issue=1009&status=article&mod=a

'Reflections on the Dalai Lama's Interview with Time', *Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 7, No. 11, November 2004: 7-8.

http://www.ipcs.org/China_east_asia_articles2.jsp?action=showView&kValue=154 9&keyArticle=1009&issue=1009&status=article&mod=a

'Leadership Change in China - Nature and Implications', *Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 2004: 1-2.

http://www.ipcs.org/China_east_asia_articles2.jsp?action=showView&kValue=152 5&keyArticle=1009&issue=1009&status=article&mod=a

'Cross-Straits Dispute - The Watchword is Peace', *Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 7, No. 10, October 2004: 4-5.

http://www.ipcs.org/China_east_asia_articles2.jsp?action=showView&kValue=150 2&keyArticle=1009&issue=1009&status=article&mod=a

Newspapers/Blogs

Tibet, the 19th Party Congress and China's United Front work, *ICS Delhi Blog*, 1 November 2017, https://icsdelhiblogs.wordpress.com/2017/11/01/tibet-the-19th-party-congress-and-chinas-united-front-work/

(With Kishan S. Rana), 'White Papers: The Importance of Public Communication', ICS Delhi Blog, 21 January 2017, https://icsdelhiblogs.wordpress.com/2017/01/21/white-papers-the-importance-of-public-communication/

'Tibetan Confidence in India has increased, but will Modi give in to China?', *Hindustan Times*, 19 September 2014,

http://www.hindustantimes.com/comment/analysis/tibetan-confidence-in-india-has-increased/article1-1266011.aspx#sthash.e0q0veD8.dpuf

^{&#}x27;Trespassers Please Excuse', Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 6 May 2008.

Book Reviews

Tibet: an Unfinished Story By Lezlee Brown Halper and Stefan Halper (India: Hachette, 2014), in *The Book Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 12, December 2014.

Muslim, Trader, Nomad, Spy: China's Cold War and the People of the Tibetan Borderlands By Sulmaan Wasif Khan (University of North Carolina Press), in China Journal (Forthcoming).

SELECT PRESENTATIONS

Lectures

- 'State of Contemporary Tibetan Studies: A Report of the Conference on "Modern Tibet" at Johns Hopkins University', Lecture at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 28 September 2016.
- 'Tibet Factor in Sino-Indian relations', Lecture at the International Campaign for Tibet, Washington DC, US, 8 September 2016.
- 'Mapping Minorities and the State in China', Lecture to the ICS Interns, ICS, Delhi, India, 1 July 2016.
- 'India-China relations and the Tibet issue: Current Perceptions and Future Dynamics', Lecture at the Chongqing Academy of Social Sciences, Chongqing, China, 9 May 2016.
- 'India-China and the Tibet issue', Lecture at the Social Development and Western China Development Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, Sichuan, China, 6 May 2016.
- 'Asia-Pacific Situation and Regional Integration', Lecture at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 27 January 2016.
- 'Research Methodology', Lecture at the Academic Staff College, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India, 12 September 2015.
- 'Give up "splittist activities" Its Meaning and Significance: Review of recent Chinese responses to Internationalization of the Tibet issue', Lecture at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 22 July 2015.
- 'A Dynamic Model of the Sino-Tibetan Negotiation Process', Lecture at the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 9 August 2013.

Panelist

'Tibet and the 19th Party Congress', ICS Writers Workshop on *CPC's 19th Congress*, Organised by the Institute of Chinese Studies, at Council for Social Development, New Delhi, 9 September 2017.

'China's Preference Ordering: Tibet or Tawang?', at Roundtable Discussion titled *Chinese Stance on Arunachal*, Organised by Institute of Chinese Studies, at ICWA, Sapru House, New Delhi, 24 May 2017.

'Interrogating Tibet's Place in the "Belt and Road" and as a "Bridge to South Asia", International Conference titled 'Belt and Road' Initiative and South Asia: Building Trust and Cooperation, Co-organised by China West Normal University, Nanchong and The Charhar Institute, at Nanchong, China, 18-19 April 2017.

'Chinese Society: State of Minorities', Workshop titled *Developing China Studies in Indian Higher Education*, Co-organized by Harvard-Yenching Institute, United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia and Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 18-20 January 2017.

'The Sino-Tibetan conflict: Look back while looking ahead', at the Symposium titled 'Asian Century?', organised by the Global Cooperation Initiative and the Forum 2000, Delhi, India, 23 November 2016.

'The Current Impasse in the Sino-Tibetan Dialogue: Explanations from bargaining theory', at Conference titled *Modern Tibet*, at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, US, 6 September 2016.

'Education and Quotas for minorities in China: Preliminary notes from the field', Centre for Tibetan and South Asia Studies, ISAS, Sichuan University, China, 20 July 2016.

'Prof. Dawa Norbu and Tibet Factor in India-China Relations', International Conference titled *Second Symposium in memory of Prof Dawa Norbu*, JNU and *Tibetan Review*, at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, 7 April 2016.

'Tibet Factor in India-China Relations: Recent Dynamics', Symposium on *India-China Relations*, Institute of Chinese Studies and Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi, Delhi, India, 14 March 2016.

'Methodological issues in Tibetan Studies', Workshop titled *Borders in Global South*, Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, 19 February, 2016.

'China's OBOR Initiative: Internal imperatives versus external skepticism', Symposium titled *OBOR*, *Asian Connectivity and Regional Integration*, Institute for Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University, Beijing, China, 16 December 2015.

'Tibet issue and India-China relations: Making sense of the complexity and interdependence', Conference titled *India-China Relations: Conflict or Cooperation*, Department of Defence Studies, Meerut College, Meerut, India, 28-29 November 2015.

Valedictory Speech at the Conference titled 'Young Tibetan Research Scholars Conference', Tibet Policy Institute, Dharamsala, India, 21-22 October 2015.

'Introduction to Chinese History', On the occasion of *ICS Annual Day*, Vasant Valley School, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi, India, 28 August 2015.

'The China-India-Nepal trilateral: Looking back, but moving forward', Conference titled *One Belt, One Road and Regional Cooperation in China-India-Nepal Trilateral Dialogue*, China West Normal University, Nanchong, Sichuan and the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi at China West Normal University, Nanchong, China, 7-8 May 2015.

'Chinese Society (with special focus on Minorities): Research in India', Conference titled *Chinese Studies in India and Indian Studies in China*, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India and the Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, China, at Sichuan University, India, 4-5 May 2015.

'Minorities and the State in China', Conference titled *Focus China*, Institute of Chinese Studies and Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi University, at LSR, New Delhi, India, 26 March 2015.

'Leadership Transition in the People's Republic of China: Impact on Tibet policy', Panel Discussion, JNU Tibet Forum, at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, 18 March 2013.

'Sustaining the Trilateral: Lessons from India-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trialogue', Inaugural Meeting of the China-India-Nepal Trilateral, Nepal Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Kathmandu, Nepal, 30 January 2013.

'The CPC's Performance in China's Minority Areas: Tibet', Seminar, Indian Council for World Affairs (ICWA), Sapru House, New Delhi, India, 8-9 October 2012.

'The Sino-Tibetan Negotiations: There is More than What Meets the Eye', Fourth All India Conference of China Studies, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, 8-9 November 2011.

'Tibet Factor in India's Relations with China: To Be or Not to Be', Seminar on *Sixty Years of the People's Republic of China*, Department of East Asian Studies, Delhi University and Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 7 October 2009.

'In a Post-Dalai Lama Situation: Contending Perspectives and Approaches', (presented in absentia by Dr. Dibyesh Anand, Associate Professor, University of Westminster, UK), Westminster University, London, UK, 22 May 2009.

'Issues of Sovereignty, Ethnicity and Nationality in the PRC and the Tibetan Question', Workshop on *Emerging East Asia: Contemporary Developments*, Centre for East Asian Studies, SIS, JNU, New Delhi, India, 13 August 2008.

Discussant

'China in the neighbourhood: Strategic inferences for Northeast India' by Namrata Goswami, Institute of Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi, India, 14 November 2014.

Commentator

'Panel 1: Tibet and PRC: Establishing Constructive Engagement and Negotiations', Conference titled *The Five-Fifty Forum: "Shaping Tibet's Political Future"*, Organised by the Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala, India, 5-8 October 2017.

Chair

Session on "Tibet and International Politics", International Conference titled 3rd Symposum in Memory of Dawa Norbu, Organised by JNU Tibet Forum, at JNU, New Delhi, India, 7 April 2017.

Lecture titled 'Thousand Year Old Tabo Monastery in Spiti and Conservation Issues due to Climate Change' by Col Virendra S Verma, Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi, India, 27 July 2016.

Panel titled 'A Social Science Perspective', Conference on *Modern Tibet*, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, US, 6 September 2016.

Seminar titled 'Beyond Barbed Wires: Discussing the Deoli Experience', Documentary Screening and Presentations, Delhi, India, 7 October 2015, Institute of Chinese Studies, http://www.icsin.org/activity/show/beyond-barbed-wires-discussing-the-deoli-experience

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Manuscript Review: China Report, India Quarterly

Dissertation Examiner: Jawaharlal Nehru University

Contributor: The Indian Economist

Delegate:

Part of International Conference and Delegation Visit to Tibetan area in Yunan, China, Hosted by the Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, China, 18-24 July 2016.

Part of 'India-China Think Tank Delegation' from India to Beijing and Shanghai, Hosted by China Foreign Affairs University and Chinese Embassy, New Delhi, December 2015.

Part of a three-member delegation from India to the Second China-India-Nepal Trilateral Cooperation Conference titled *One Belt, One Road and Regional Cooperation: China-India-Nepal Trilateral Dialogue*, China West Normal University, Nanchong, Sichuan, in collaboration with the Institute of Chinese Studies and the Nepal Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Kathmandu, 7-8 May 2015.

Founding Trustee: Centre for Development Studies, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh since September 2014.

Delegate: Part of a three member delegation from India to Kathmandu to launch the initiative 'China-India-Nepal Trilateral Cooperation' (NIC), hosted by the Nepal Institute of International and Strategic Studies in collaboration with the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, China Institute of International Studies, Beijing, Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa and Centre for South Asia-West Cooperation and Development Studies Sichuan University, Sichuan, 30 January 2013. http://www.ekantipur.com/the-kathmandu-post/2013/01/31/nation/nepal-india-china-cooperation-quest-for-trilateral-partnership-begins/244761.html

Founding Member: Tibet Forum, JNU, 2008; & Tibetan World Magazine, 2004.

Designed and Developed the website of Centre for East Asian Studies, JNU, http://www.jnu.ac.in/SIS/CEAS/index.htm

SELECT MEDIA APPEARANCES

Media Panels

Panel Discussion on '100 years of Simla Agreement', *A Page from History*, anchored by Nilanjan Mukhopadhyay, Lok Sabha TV, 11 November 2013, 8 pm.

Interviews

Interview by Lobsang Shashtri for VoA Radio programme titled "Good Morning Tibet", on 29 July 2017, Voice of America,

https://www.voatibetanenglish.com/a/3945096.html

Interviewed by Devadeep Chowdhury for article, '特別ルポ インド北東部「中印紛争の地」 チベット出身住民、中国の野望に怒りあらわ ダライ・ラマ14世講演に1万8千人', Sankei Shimbun, 14 April 2017,

http://www.sankei.com/world/news/170414/wor1704140009-n1.html

Interview and Coverage of Lecture at International Campaign for Tibet, 8 September 2016 by *Radio Free Asia*, Washington DC, US, http://vhpd.rfa.org.edgesuite.net/20160910/1251/1_c4vg9u74_1_xirvl70x_1.mp4

Interviewed by *Voice of America* for report on the event 'Second Symposium in memory of Prof Dawa Norbu' held at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 7 April 2016.

Interviewed by Suhasini Haidar for article, 'Tibetans-in-exile vote for a new political leader', *The Hindu*, 21 March 2016,

http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/tibetansinexile-vote-for-a-new-political-leader/article8377894.ece

Interviewed by Sina Nadine Tegeler on 'Indian Democracy, Elections and Society', at Berlin, Germany, 16 July 2009, http://www.boell.de/weltweit/asien/asien-7194.html

Interviewed by Britta Petersen for article, 'Tibeter fahnden nach neuer Strategie', *Financial Times Deutschland*, 12 November 2008.

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE

In charge of editing work at ICS - Weekly Wednesday Seminar Reports, Special Lectures and select Conferences from 2014 till December 2016.

Guest Editor, 'Democratization in Exile: The Case of Tibet', Lecture by Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, Head of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala, at the The Sixth Annual Dr. K. R. Narayanan Memorial Lecture Series, Dr. K. R. Narayanan Centre for Dalit and Minorities Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India, 30 November 2012.

Assistant Editor at Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (Previous employment).

In charge of editing work at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies - Web Articles (Previous employment).

Editor and Founder, *Tibetan World magazine* (April 2004-July 2005) www.tibetanworldmagazine.com

LANGUAGES SPOKEN

English, Tibetan, Hindi, Nepali, Nagamese

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