

Annual Report

Human Rights Situation in Tibet

2013



Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy
www.tchrd.org

Contents

Executive Summary	1
Civil and Political Rights	5
Religious Repression	43
Crackdown on Self-immolation Protests	59
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	68
Development of Disparity	84
Excerpts from Interviews Taken in Amdo, Tibet	121
Understanding Internally Displaced Persons (Special Emphasis: Tibetan Displacement)	145
The Re-education of Tibet:Examining the Human Rights Implications of ‘Patriotic Education’ in Tibet	153
List of Self-immolation Protests Inside Tibet	162
TCHRD Political Prisoners Database	184

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

2013 was Xi Jinping's first full year as the President of the People's Republic of China (PRC). During Xi Jinping's first year, the PRC released numerous human rights and reform documents for its second Universal Periodic Review and in its 3rd Plenum Decision. These human rights documents describe human rights successes and reforms that do not exist in the PRC and least of all in Tibet. The PRC released these documents as 27 Tibetans committed self-immolation protests in Tibet demanding human rights and freedom and Xi Jinping fought against non-approved reform efforts. The total number of known self-immolation protests has now reached 125.

In April 2013, the Party's central committee issued a secret internal directive known as Document No. 9 that prohibited speaking about Western constitutional democracy, promoting the universal value of human rights, promoting civic participation, and promoting media independence. These basic values were labeled as subversive and undermine the idea that Xi Jinping is serious about implementing reform. In accordance with the anti-reform rhetoric, "mass-line" policy was launched in Tibet in 2013. The Party Secretary for Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Chen Quanguo, recognized that there were two new battlefields in Tibet the CCP needed to control: traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, television, and journals; and the internet.

The "mass-line" policy brought together various pre-existing and newly created mass propaganda and mass surveillance systems under a single policy. The effects of the "mass-line" policy were demonstrated in Diru (Ch: Biru) County in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, TAR. From 8 September 2013 to 5 October 2013, in less than a month, some 18,000 Chinese cadres entered Diru to make Tibetans fly the PRC's flag next to their prayer flags. When Tibetans refused and protested, they were beaten, fired upon with live ammunition, and arrested en masse. In September 2013, the PRC sent 60,000 cadres into TAR—approximately one cadre for every 50 people in TAR.

The "mass-line" policy and other harsh measures used in Tibet have undermined the hope for real, meaningful reform in the PRC. Instead, the human rights situation in Tibet continued to get worse in 2013. The PRC continued many of its policies of violently suppressing peaceful protests and imprisoning Tibetans artists, monastics, and relatives of self-immolators. Additionally, many of the policies the PRC has implemented for years have reached a point where they are beginning to cause permanent damage to Tibetan culture and the environment.

China's first set of human rights documents praised the PRC's success in human rights. It talked almost exclusively about how the economic development of the PRC had helped human rights. To make this argument the PRC needed to provide data that hid the dire situation of Tibetans and other economic minorities. The PRC accomplished this by only looking at the PRC as a whole and not looking at or providing data concerning ethnic minorities. For example, the PRC announced that it had fulfilled a Millennium Development Goal of reducing maternal mortality ratio (MMR) by two-thirds. However,

the MMR in rural Tibet is 13-16 times higher than the national average. This disparity is lost when the data focuses on development in the PRC as a whole and not in specific areas like Tibet.

In Tibet, Tibetans are suffering. The PRC's forcible resettlement of nomads has resulted in the almost complete destruction of their way of life. The nomads are not consulted and rarely paid the compensation they were promised. Many are forced to live in newly built urban areas that cannot sustain their way of life and where they receive less government support than parts of Tibet with a large migrant Chinese population. It is estimated that by the end of 2013, 90% of all Tibetan nomads living in Qinghai Province, which contains parts of Tibetan provinces of Amdo and Kham, will be resettled.

Ostensibly, the nomads are forced off their land to protect the environment. In reality, the nomads are replaced by State Owned Enterprises that build mines to extract natural resources from the Tibetan Plateau. Large quantities of oil, gold, lithium, copper, chrome, and other natural resources are extracted in Tibet and then sent east. Profits from these minerals do not reach Tibetans who do not operate or own the mines. The extraction of natural resources, and other industries brought into Tibet, pollutes the air and drinking supplies.

In 2013, Tibetans staging peaceful protests against the mining operations were violently suppressed. These Tibetans were protesting the loss of the rights the PRC claims to protect and as a result were subjected to further human rights abuses that the PRC refuses to acknowledge. In 2013, Tibetans continued to be tortured, arrested without reason, and sent to detention centers without due process. TCHRD has recorded the details of 119 Tibetans who were either arrested or sentenced in 2013; two Tibetans each received death sentence and suspended death sentence. A significant number of Tibetans were released from Re-education Through Labour camps in 2013.

In the reporting year, Tibetans in Tibet continued to face hardships in travelling outside Tibet and also within Tibet due to restrictions placed by the Chinese government. A total of 157 Tibetans managed to evade arrest in the hands of Chinese border guards and flee into exile in India.

In response to the increasing number of Tibetans committing self-immolations to protect the PRC's occupation and policies, the PRC's response to self-immolations became more severe. In 2012, people in the same family or village as a self-immolator were subjected to political education campaigns and other punitive measures. In 2013, the PRC began sending people associated with self-immolators to prison or reeducation through labor.

The PRC has also responded to the self-immolations by striking preventing Tibetans from performing religious funeral rites for self-immolators. This is the only way for the PRC to strike against the deceased self-immolators who can no longer be imprisoned, beaten, or tortured. This renewed assault on freedom of religion is an expansion of policies already existing in the PRC. In the first two weeks of 2013, the PRC arrested fourteen senior monks at Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries and the Jokhang Temple for "political reeducation."

The use of “political reeducation” campaigns has existed since the mid-1990s but after 2008, it has been used much more frequently, not only against monasteries and monastics but also against secular writers, poets, and intellectuals. This is not only an attack on freedom of expression and dissent in Tibet. It is an attack on Tibetan creativity and culture. Like the persecution of nomads and religious institutions, the persecution of artists for vague offenses like “political activities” is designed to undermine Tibetan culture. In 2013, at least 8 Tibetan artists were detained or arrested by the PRC.

The assaults on Tibetan culture appear to be designed, in part, to sanitize Tibetan culture and make it more tourist-friendly. In 2013, the PRC began major construction in Lhasa to make the city more appealing to tourists from eastern parts of the country. This includes the construction of shopping malls and parking structures around ancient Tibetan religious sites like the Jokhang Temple. In 2013, 100 experts sent a letter to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Xi Jinping warning of the destruction of Tibetan cultural history. An estimated 15 million Chinese tourists visited Lhasa in 2013. To accommodate the tourists, State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and multinational corporations, such as Intercontinental Hotels, have started building the infrastructure, including roads, hotels, airports, and railways.

In 2013, the PRC finished implementing the “Grid” system in Lhasa. This surveillance system works with pre-existing infrastructure to ensure that the police can watch and control everything that happens in Lhasa. There is talk of expanding the system to other Tibetan cities in the future. In 2013, the use of surveillance was used to monitor the movement and activities of Tibetans places subject to a crackdown.

The increased assaults on Tibetan culture have all come during a year when the PRC announced numerous “reforms.” These reforms include abolishing reeducation through labor, a form of arbitrary detention based on the gulags that allowed the police to unilaterally send a person to a labor camp for up to four years. However, while these reforms are encouraging they have not yet been implemented. Despite the promising rhetoric coming from the PRC, in 2013 increased crackdowns, violence, cultural destruction, and surveillance have been much more real than any proposed reforms.

In this annual report, we will discuss in detail the human rights situation in Tibet focusing on Civil and Political Rights, Religious Repression, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Religious Repression, the PRC’s western development strategy, and self-immolations. Also included in the report are research papers produced in collaboration with human rights students at the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada.

The 2013 Annual Report includes fresh data from Tibet. This data consists of exclusive interviews and photographs of Tibetans living in Tibet. Rikzang Drolma, a Canadian scholar specializing in Chinese history, took all the interviews and photos published in this report (unless specified otherwise). The interviews are of Tibetans from Amchok (Ch: Amuqu), Labrang (Ch: Xiahe), Rebkong (Ch: Tongren), Chentsa (Ch: Jianzha), Machen (Ch: Dawu), Mangra (Ch: Guinan), and Golok (Ch: Guoluo)

concerning the self-immolation protests, nomad resettlement, censorship, language rights and land rights. The updated TCHRD Political Prisoner Database is included at the end of the report.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

How can one express Tibet's calamity and suffering in only a few words?

~ Tsering Wooser¹

Introduction

Human rights are the most basic rights and liberties a person is entitled to, for they are based on the dignity shared by all human beings. Human rights are universal, inalienable, indivisible and deeply interdependent. There is a traditional conceptual distinction between civil and political rights, on one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights ("ESC rights") on the other. This chapter will focus on civil and political rights, which are necessary for a just, democratic society based on the rule of law, as they provide the conditions for the participation, construction and development of individuals in society.

Rights pertaining to civil and political freedoms include the right to life, the prohibition of torture and ill-treatment, the right to liberty and security, equality before courts and tribunals, freedom of movement, the right to privacy, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression and right to information, and freedom of association.

Nevertheless it must be stressed that the enjoyment of all human rights is interlinked. As we will see in this chapter, violations of civil and political rights often entail violations of ESC rights (for example, when a person is arbitrarily detained and denied medical treatment), and also many times the violation of a civil right leads to the breach of other civil rights (for instance, when a person is arbitrarily detained and subjected to torture or ill-treatment during confinement). Therefore, human rights, regardless of their nature (political, civil, economic, social or cultural), are all equally important, and the distinction made between these two categories of rights is artificial and induced by historical reasons and in some cases political.²

Human rights are enshrined in norms and treaties (both international and domestic legislation), customary international law, and other sources. On the international level, the most fundamental human rights norms form the "International Bill of Human Rights", which encompasses the Universal Declaration of Human Rights³, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁴ and two of

1 PEN International, The Pen Report, Creativity and Constraint in Today's China, 3 May 2013, p. 17, <http://www.pen-international.org/newsitems/china-report/>

2 FAQ on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Factsheet 33, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, p.8, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/PublicationsResources/Pages/FactSheets.aspx>

3 Full text available in English: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng> and in Tibetan: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=tic>

4 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

its Optional Protocols⁵ and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights⁶.

Over the years, the international community has expanded and developed the body of international human rights law through a series of human rights treaties that set out obligations and commitments that State Parties are bound to respect. The core international human rights instruments include, in addition to the ones conforming to the International Bill of Human Rights, other international treaties, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance⁷.

This chapter will analyze the status of civil and political rights in Tibet during 2013. The People's Republic of China (hereinafter PRC) has not changed its extremely poor record on civil and political rights, with well-documented grave human rights violations⁸ amounting to crimes against humanity.⁹ In 2013, the PRC issued two White Papers ("Development and Progress of Tibet"¹⁰ and "Progress in China's Human Rights in 2012")¹¹ that allow us to form an idea of PRC's perception of human rights and how that flawed perception colors its policy on Tibet. The PRC has linked human rights to economic development, promoting two major assumptions: 1) Economic development is the best way to foster human rights, and therefore, a division is to be made between economic and social rights (which are a priority for PRC) and civil and political rights. 2) Socialism is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of civil and political rights in the PRC.

As for the first assumption, the PRC maintains that "the development and progress of Tibet serves the fundamental interests of the people of all ethnic groups in Tibet. The development and progress of Tibet is the cause of the Tibetan people (...). It {economic development} is a great practice for respecting and guaranteeing human rights".¹² As we will show in detail in this chapter, economic growth and increasing purchasing power have not improved civil and political conditions. For instance, during 2013 the PRC conducted a widespread, systematic crackdown in Tibet of protesters exercising their rights to freedom of religion and peaceful assembly. Nevertheless, in the same paper, the PRC

5 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/OPCCPR1.aspx> <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/2ndOPCCPR.aspx>

6 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>

7 For a more detailed overview on the core international human rights instruments as well as their monitoring bodies, see the website of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CoreInstruments.aspx>

8 See TCHRD Annual Reports from 1996-2012: <http://www.tchrd.org/category/annual-reports/>

9 Ending Impunity: Crimes Against Humanity in Tibet, TCHRD, 1 September 2013, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/164663089/Ending-Impunity-Crimes-Against-Humanity-Tibet>

10 Development and Progress of Tibet, October 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-10/22/c_132819442.htm

11 Progress in China's Human Rights in 2012, May 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-05/14/c_132380706.htm

12 Supra note 10.

praises itself for respecting freedom of religion: “The Central Government and the government of the TAR [Tibet Autonomous Region] fully respect citizen’s freedom of religious belief, respect and protect all religions and sects and protects normal religious activities and beliefs according to the law”.¹³ This claim becomes more paradoxical in light of another paragraph regarding freedom of religion, in which the PRC asserts its administration over religious affairs: “The citizens’ rights to the freedom of religious belief are protected. China upholds the policy of freedom of religious belief, and ensures its citizens’ freedom of religious belief as an important part of their human rights. The Chinese government exercises administration over religious affairs by law, and protects the legitimate rights and interests of religious groups”.¹⁴ The control exercised by the PRC over religious beliefs and practices contradicts the PRC’s assertions of protecting freedom of religion.

As for the second assumption, the PRC uses the same paradoxical rhetoric when, on one hand, it affirms that “the socialist road of political development with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of civil rights and political rights in China”¹⁵ and that “... by adhering to the path of socialism in the arms of the Chinese nation, the people of all ethnic groups in Tibet have become masters of their own country, society and fate”,¹⁶ while on the other it brutally represses any expression deemed “disruptive of social stability” or “separatist activities”. The pretext for this repression is that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and exiled Tibetans are accused of violating the Chinese Constitution and laws: “The 14th Dalai Lama and his clique in exile are conducting separatist activities for a long time to sabotage the development and stability of Tibet (...). In recent years, they have put forward the so-called concepts of “Greater Tibet” and a “high degree of autonomy”, which in fact go against China’s actual conditions, and violate the Constitution and relevant laws”.¹⁷

TCHRD, in its response to the PRC’s White Paper, “Progress in China’s Human Rights in 2012”, has clearly pointed out the “underlying philosophy” that underpins Chinese rhetoric on human rights: “(...) China’s white paper is oblivious to the indivisible and universal nature of human rights, and that guaranteeing human rights requires action and not just mere hollow proclamations”.¹⁸

Lastly, a reference to the PRC’s National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015)¹⁹ is required. Under this Plan, the PRC has outlined its vision on human rights in the medium term. The Plan reaffirms the PRC’s prioritizing of ESC rights over civil and political rights (“The Chinese government will continue to give priority to the protection of the people’s rights to subsistence and

13 Id.

14 Supra note 11.

15 Id.

16 Supra note 10.

17 Id.

18 China rejects universality of human rights in latest white paper, TCHRD, 21 May 2013, http://www.tchrd.org/2013/05/china-rejects-universality-of-human-rights-in-latest-white-paper-2/#_edn1

19 National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015), http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-06/11/c_131645029.htm.

development” ...),²⁰ while leaving civil and political rights as a vague objective (“The objectives in the implementation of the Plan are as follows ... Providing effective protection to the citizens’ civil and political rights according to the law...”).²¹ The Plan implicitly admits the existence of grave breaches of human rights, such as torture, when it refers to the redress of these grievances when they occur (“Preventive and remedial measures against extortion of confession by torture and collecting evidence through other illegal methods will be enforced; and no one will be forced to prove himself or herself guilty”).²² Most dramatically, it does not recognize or mention many civil and political rights, such as the right to freedom of expression, the right of freedom of association and the right of peaceful assembly. The Plan also lacks concrete targets, indicators and specific benchmarks in order to carry out and assess the objectives set therein.²³

In summation, the respect, protection and fulfillment of human rights in the PRC remain a matter of profound concern. The PRC continues to repeatedly commit grave violations of civil and political rights and, as this chapter will demonstrate, Tibet has one of the lowest possible ratings in political rights and civil liberties²⁴ and constitutes the scenario of numerous and most serious breaches of basic freedoms.²⁵

FREEDOM FROM TORTURE

“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”. (Art. 5 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (hereinafter UDHR- 1948)

“No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation”. (Art. 7 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights -hereinafter ICCPR- 1966)

“(...) The term “torture” means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such a purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, pushing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected to having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity”. (Art. 1 Convention against Torture, and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment -hereinafter CAT- 1984)

Freedom from torture is a fundamental human right and is considered an international customary

20 Id.

21 Id.

22 Id.

23 TCHRD has also pointed out the empty objectives and proclamations poured out by China in the White Paper “Progress in China’s Human Rights in 2012”, in what seems to be a trend in China’s official discourse on human rights, supra note 18.

24 Freedom House, Report on Freedom in the World 2013, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013>.

25 Amnesty International, Annual Report 2013, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/region/china/report-2013>

norm, which means that it enjoys universal protection and is binding on all States. Torture refers to one of the most heinous crimes against the inherent human dignity and personal integrity, carried out by a person or group of persons acting in their capacity of public officials or with their consent. PRC has signed and ratified the Convention Against Torture (CAT), the international human rights treaty that bans torture. PRC has also signed in 1998, but not yet ratified, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Nevertheless, even if the ICCPR is not legally-binding until ratification, by signing it, the PRC has committed itself not to violate the objectives and aims of the ICCPR.²⁶

According to both article 2 of the CAT and the United Nations Human Rights Committee's (HRC) interpretation of article 7 of ICCPR²⁷, it is not sufficient that States prohibit torture; States must guarantee an effective protection and implement measures of control and accountability: those individuals found guilty must be punished and victims must have the right to redress and seek a compensation. According to HRC, corporal punishment, solitary confinement and incommunicado detention may be understood within the scope of the article, as well as when this treatment is committed by "people acting in their official authority, outside their official capacity or in a private capacity".²⁸

2013 has witnessed the systematic violation of the right of freedom from torture and ill-treatment in Tibet. According to Human Rights Watch, there has been well- documented widespread use of torture, ill treatment and coercion of Tibetans in detention.²⁹ Some cases point to the use of torture to extract confessions from the detainees: for instance, on 31 January 2013 two Tibetan men, Lobsang Konchok, 41, a monk at Kirti Monastery, and his nephew Lobsang Tsering, 31 and former monk, were sentenced to death with two years' reprieve and to 10 years in prison respectively, on charges of incitement to homicide, in connection with self-immolation protests. The verdict relied on the confessions they gave during their five-month detention, when the use of torture is common.³⁰ Due to widespread use of severe torture in prison, during 2013 many Tibetans have been released from jail in extremely poor health conditions:

- Tsultrim Kalsang, 26, a monk from Nyatso Zilkar Monastery was detained along four other fellow monks by Chinese security forces in 2012. In 2013, he was hospitalized for months due to the injuries suffered during detention, where he was severely beaten and tortured.³¹

26 See article 17(2) of Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, <http://www.worldtradelaw.net/misc/viennaconvention.pdf>

27 Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 20: Article 7 (Prohibition of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment), pp. 201-202, http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=HRI%2fGEN%2f1%2fRev.9%20%28Vol.%20I%29&Lang=en

28 Id.

29 China: stop sentencing Tibetans for "inciting" immolations, Human Rights Watch, 1 February 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/02/01/china-stop-sentencing-tibetans-inciting-immolations>

30 Id.

31 Two Tibetans, monk and singer, sentenced to prison, TCHRD, 13 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/two-tibetans-monk-and-singer-sentenced-to-prison/>

- Two Tibetan monks, Lobsang Ngodup, 34, and Soepa, 35, were released on 10 March 2013, after suffering torture in jail. Lobsang Ngodup had to be hospitalized right after his release and Soepa is reported to have lost mental stability as a result of the torture.³²
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- Jigme Gyatso was released on 3 April 2013 after spending 17 years in prison. During his imprisonment he was subjected to electrocution with electric batons and brutal beatings. Even after his release, he continues to suffer from weak eyesight, heart complications, kidney disorder and difficulty walking.³³
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- Yonten Sangpo³⁴ was released on 21 April 2013, in extremely poor health due to mistreatment by Chinese police officers during his arrest and detention. He has difficulty in speaking due to a gunshot wound in his jaw and movement restrictions caused by an injury to his spine. He was detained in February 2012, during a raid conducted by Chinese police in search of the leaders of the protest that took place in Drango (Ch: Luhuo) in January 2012. His two older brothers died in the raid.³⁵
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- Lodroe Gyatso was released on 2 May 2013 in poor health, caused by ill-treatment in prison, after completing a 21-year jail term in a Chushul prison near Lhasa.³⁶
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- Sonam Rinchen³⁷ was detained and disappeared in February 2012, when protesting against Chinese policies in Drango County. He was released on 24 July 2013, also in poor health conditions, due to abuse endured in police custody.³⁸
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- Tamdin Tsering, from Tsekhog (Ch: Zeku) County in Malho (Ch: Huangnan) Prefecture, Qinghai Province, detained since December 2012 “on suspicion of involvement in the self-immolation of a young student”, was released from prison on 29 July 2013. He suffered from malnutrition and poor health due to harsh treatment in jail.³⁹
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- Shedrub Lhamo, 40, nun at Ganden Choeling Nunnery, was released from jail on 24 August 2013, after being tortured while in custody.⁴⁰
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32 Monk hospitalized, another has lost mental stability on release from prison, TCHRD, 15 April 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/04/monk-hospitalized-another-has-lost-mental-stability-on-release-from-prison/>

33 Prominent political prisoner in critical condition on release after 17 years, TCHRD, 3 April 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/04/prominent-political-prisoner-in-critical-condition-on-release-after-17-years/>

34 [Updated] Twelve known Tibetans missing after Drango crackdown, TCHRD, 26 March 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/03/updated-twelve-known-tibetans-missing-after-drango-crackdown/>

35 Tibetan Injured in Clash Freed From Jail in ‘Poor Health’, Radio Free Asia, 4 November 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/freed-11042013152242.html>

36 Another Tibetan prisoner released in poor health, Radio Free Asia, 3 May 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/released-05032013161353.html>

37 Update on Drango Protest, TCHRD, 25 January 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/01/update-on-drango-protest/>

38 Id.

39 Tibetan prisoners are released in poor health after abuse in jail, Radio Free Asia, 31 July 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/released-07312013165242.html>

40 Tibetan released prematurely in “poor health”, Phayul, 11 September 2013, <http://www.phayul.com/news/tools/print.aspx?id=33983&t=1>

- Another resident in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sonam Choegyial, was released on 7 September 2013, after serving seven months of a three-year term, in poor health.⁴¹
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- Lodro Paldren, a monk from Beri Monastery in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, was subjected to severe torture in jail. He was detained in 2008, along with two other monks, for calling out for freedom in Tibet and the return of the Dalai Lama, and was temporarily freed this year to seek medical treatment. He is said to be in critical condition at hospital.⁴²

Other Tibetans still remain in prison, suffering torture and ill-treatment. That is the case of the Tibetan political prisoner Rongyal Adrak, who is currently serving the seventh year of his eight-year prison sentence for being one of the first Tibetans to publicly demand Tibet's freedom and the return of the Dalai Lama. He is subjected to frequent beatings in prison.⁴³

On 26 June 2013, to mark the 26th anniversary of the entry into force of the Convention Against Torture, TCHRD issued a statement calling on the PRC to fulfill its obligation to prevent torture and punish torturers.⁴⁴ TCHRD highlighted that the implementation of the CAT by the PRC remains superficial and lacks effective mechanisms and laws to prevent torture. The PRC has also refused to become part of the Optional Protocol to the CAT⁴⁵, which establishes a Sub-committee on the Prevention of Torture with competency to conduct country visits and make recommendations and observations to the Member States. The statement also pointed out that the mistreatment of Tibetans during interrogation and detention is not uncommon: beatings with rifles and electric batons, the use of torture techniques like the "Tiger Chair" and the "Death Bed", and solitary confinement for months are frequent practices suffered by Tibetans in jail.⁴⁶

In November 2013, Chinese Supreme Court issued an order prohibiting the use of torture to extract confessions, specifying that using "freezing, starving, extreme heat, fire branding or extreme exhaustion" to extract confessions is considered torture and, therefore, illegal.⁴⁷ The Third Plenum of the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) held in November 2013 passed a resolution calling for the prohibition of torture to extract confessions as well as the prohibition of corporal punishment and abuse.⁴⁸ While these announcements are welcome, it still remains to be seen

41 Id.

42 Tibetan prisoner in failing health following harsh treatment in jail, Radio Free Asia, 24 September 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/health-09242013165258.html>

43 Tibetan prisoner who sparked freedom call in poor health, Radio Free Asia, 2 August 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/sparked-08022013162314.html>

44 TCHRD remembers torture victims, call on China to eradicate torture, 26 June 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/06/tchrd-remembers-torture-victims-calls-on-china-to-eradicate-torture/#more-2251>

45 <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/OPCAT.aspx>

46 Supra note 44.

47 China's top court bans police from torturing suspects, BBC, 21 November 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-25029934>

48 CCP Central Committee Resolution concerning Some Major Issues in Comprehensively Deepening Reform, China Copyright and Media, 15 November 2013, (34), <https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2013/11/15/ccp->

whether this prohibition will be effectively enforced.

RIGHT TO LIBERTY AND SECURITY

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile”. (Art. 9 UDHR 1948)

“Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance to such procedure as are established by law. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. It shall not be the general rule that persons awaiting trial shall be detained in custody, but release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial, at any other stage of the judicial proceedings, and, should occasion arise, for execution of the judgment. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that that court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation”. (Art. 9 ICCPR)

2013 has witnessed a significant increase of arbitrary arrests and detentions in Tibet. Most of these arrests have taken place during peaceful protests, where Tibetans expressed their opposition to Chinese policies, particularly the “mass-line” policy, the implementation of which has seen a sharp rise in intrusive mass surveillance and propaganda campaigns and control of Tibetans. Diru (Ch: Biru) County located in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), has been the epicenter of the confrontations between Tibetans and Chinese security forces. The unrest began on 28 September 2013, when local Tibetans in Mowa Village refused to fly Chinese flags on their rooftops, as it was mandated by the PRC’s “Nine Must Haves” campaign. On that day as protests spread, 40 Tibetans from neighboring villages (Taklha, Baro, Neshod, and Taring villages) were beaten up and detained by Public Security Bureau (PSB) officers.⁴⁹ The crackdown increased through October and November, with numerous arrests and detentions, on charges such as “revealing State secrets” or “keeping photographs of the Dalai Lama and patriotic songs on mobile phones”.⁵⁰

All the detentions lack basic procedural guarantees, and detainees are often held incommunicado and disappeared. Such is the case of Dorje Dragtsel, who disappeared in Nagchu on 3 October 2013, and is believed to have been detained. Dorje Dargtsel had participated in earlier protests against the decision of the Chinese government to deploy permanent cadres in Diru County. His detention triggered a protest in Dathang Township, where local Tibetans demanded the immediate release of

central-committee-resolution-concerning-some-major-issues-in-comprehensively-deepening-reform/

49 Beatings, detention, threats after Tibetans reject China’s “Mass line” policy in Diru, TCHRD, 5 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/beatings-detention-threats-after-tibetans-reject-chinas-mass-line-policy-in-diru/>

50 China disappears more Tibetans in Diru as crackdown spreads, TCHRD, 19 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/china-disappears-more-tibetans-in-diru-as-crackdown-spreads/>

Dorje Dargtsel, that was violently suppressed by security forces using guns and iron batons⁵¹, and according to other sources, tear gas too, against protesters⁵².

Sometimes during the detainee's arbitrary detention, the detainee is also tortured and denied medical treatment. On 29 September 2013, Tsering Gyaltzen, 25, was one of the 40 Tibetans battered and arrested during the crackdown in Mowa Village. Despite the seriousness of his injuries, he was denied medical treatment for about a week. His medical treatment was then used for more arbitrary detentions. A friend of his, named Choezin, disappeared when he went to visit Tsering Gyaltzen at the hospital⁵³. Tibetan writer Tsultrim Gyaltzen (pseudonym: "Shogdril"), 27, who was detained on 11 October 2013 at his home by a group of County PSB officers, also disappeared. He was accused of having "engaged in separatist activities and disrupted social stability by spreading rumors" during the recent unrest in Diru County. His friend Yugyal, 26, was arrested the next day on similar charges⁵⁴. Both of them remain disappeared and their whereabouts are unknown. Their disappearances have provoked new protests in Diru, which had been crushed by Chinese police with more detentions.⁵⁵

Similarly, Tenzin Rangdol, 34, was arrested on 18 October 2013, and was held incommunicado by the police in Shagchu (Ch: Xiaqu) town in Diru County. His arrest sparked an overnight protest outside the local government office in Shagchu town, and the following day more than ten protesters were arrested.⁵⁶

On 14 November 2013, another Tibetan man, Thupten Gyaltzen aka Thupgyal, 27, was detained and disappeared by local PSB officers in Sog (Ch: Suo) County, which neighbors Diru County in Nagchu Prefecture. At the time of this writing there is no information on the charges against Thupgyal, but some sources speculated he might have been arrested on charges of "maintaining contacts with exile separatists".⁵⁷ As we will see later in this chapter (see "Right to freedom of opinion and expression"), many writers and artists have also been arbitrarily detained and disappeared for exercising their right to freedom of speech.

51 Diru under lockdown: One Tibetan sentenced; more injured by gunshots and disappeared, TCHRD, 8 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/diru-under-lockdown-one-tibetan-sentenced-more-injured-by-gunshots-and-disappeared/>

52 Tibet: Chinese police 'fired into the protesters', BBC, 9 October 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-24442218>

53 Id.

54 Crackdown in Diru widens: Tibetan writer and former policeman detained, TCHRD, 14 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/crackdown-in-diru-widens-tibetan-writer-and-former-policeman-detained/>

55 No let-up in Diru crackdown: 17 Tibetans detained as party officials greet armed police, TCHRD, 8 November 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/11/no-let-up-in-diru-crackdown-17-tibetans-detained-as-party-officials-greet-armed-forces/>

56 China disappears a father of three, arrests 10 others in ongoing crackdown in Diru, TCHRD, 21 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/china-disappears-tibetan-father-of-three-arrests-10-others-in-ongoing-crackdown-in-diru/>

57 Tibetan man disappeared amid heavy surveillance in Sog County, TCHRD, 14 November 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/11/tibetan-man-disappeared-amid-heavy-surveillance-in-sog-county/>

On 23 November 2013, three monks from Tarmoe Monastery were arbitrarily detained and held in police custody. One of them, a senior Buddhist master and scholar, Ngawang Jamyang, died while in custody and his body was handed over to his family with clear signs of torture.⁵⁸

Many arbitrary detentions occur in the context of the right to petitioning and/or have, as a consequence, the confinement of the person in a “Re-education Through Labor” camp. These two “modalities” of arbitrary arrest will be briefly analyzed in this section:

1. Right to Petitioning:

In China there is a system, known as “Letters and Visits”,⁵⁹ that allows citizens to submit grievances against government officials or government processes to higher authorities. It originated during China’s Imperial days, when individuals were allowed to seek further justice for their grievances by taking their case to the emperor. In Imperial times, people would travel to the capital and would throw themselves at the feet of the emperor, begging him to grant them their rightful justice.⁶⁰

This medieval form of getting justice has persisted over the centuries. Nowadays, the top officials of the Chinese Communist Party have supplanted the emperor in receiving the petitions. The petitioning system implies that the decisions on a wide range of disputes are left to the discretion of government officials. This administrative (non-judicial) form of seeking redress from a higher government authority is one of the few methods of accountability available to rural Chinese citizens who have suffered abuse at the hands of local officials. In 2013, official Chinese media reported that 6 million petitions were submitted from January to October.⁶¹

Nevertheless, what was meant to be an instrument to obtain effective justice from higher authorities has been corrupted into an instrument that exposes the petitioners to abhorrent abuses from the same officials they are trying to seek reparation from.⁶² Local officials are penalized by Beijing for petitioners coming from their jurisdictions. As a result, many local officials fiercely try to prevent petitioners from submitting their petitions, hiring thugs (called “retrievers”) to “dissuade” petitioners from continuing with their petitioning, often by beating up the petitioner. Many petitioners have also suffered arbitrary detention and confinement in the “black jails” as well as in mental hospitals, where

58 Diru Crackdown: Senior Tibetan Buddhist scholar beaten to death in police custody, TCHRD, 19 December 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/12/diru-crackdown-senior-tibetan-buddhist-scholar-beaten-to-death-in-police-custody/>

59 See the official Chinese Government website of the State Bureau of Letters and Visits in Beijing: http://english.gov.cn/2005-10/02/content_74182.htm

60 James Reynolds, Petitions in China, BBC, 9 April 2009, http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/thereporters/jamesreynolds/2009/04/petitions_in_china.html

61 China receives fewer complaints in last 10 months, Global Times, 28 November 2013, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/828393.shtml#.UpwGi6zLdx8>

62 An extraordinary documentary by Chinese director Zhao Liang, titled “Petition: The Court of Complaints” provides a through picture of the petitioning system by following some petitioners in Beijing along the years. For a review on the documentary, see Elisabeth M. Lynch, Movie Review: Zhao Liang’s “Petition the Court of Complaints”, 8 February 2010, <http://chinalawandpolicy.com/tag/state-bureau-of-letters-and-calls/>

they have been subjected to further human rights violations including torture, denial of food and medical care, extortion, physical and psychological abuses.⁶³

The PRC recently announced a reform of the petitioning system, by ending the practice of rewarding local governments for reducing petitions⁶⁴. In late November 2013, the deputy chief of the State Bureau for Letters and Visits, Xu Jie, was removed from office for “suspected serious violations of party discipline and law”, a euphemism for corruption.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, Tibetan petitioners continue to be detained and suffer from police intimidation for attempting to deliver petitions to Beijing. In 2013, several cases of abuses were committed against local Tibetans. In early August, four Tibetan laymen were released after being detained and arrested for two weeks, for having petitioned in Beijing. The four men were petitioning for the release of Trulku Tenzin Delek, a reincarnated lama and philanthropist who is serving life imprisonment on trumped-up charges of masterminding a series of bomb attacks in Chengdu city. The men were asked to pay an arbitrary fine in order to be released, but they refused.⁶⁶

In the same month, hundreds of Tibetans protesting against illegal mining activities in Gedrong area in Dzatoe (Ch: Zaduo) County, in Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, were beaten, tear gassed and at least eight were detained. Chinese authorities threatened Tibetans with severe punishment (including arrest and imprisonment) if protests continued. These protests echoed in the petition filed by Yushu Tibetans in 2010, calling for a thorough investigation of those responsible for illegal mining activities and environmental pollution, which clearly violates the PRC’s Environmental Protection Act.⁶⁷

In October 2013, a group of 16 elderly Tibetans was forced to end a month-long sit-in they staged in Village No. 1 in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. They started the sit-in at the site that had belonged to them but was seized in 1986 by the local government, under the promise that the affected families would obtain compensation, with each member from affected families getting government jobs. The compensation never materialized and on 14 September 2013 the aggrieved group submitted a petition to the local authorities demanding compensation and began a sit-in demonstration. On 20 October 2013, the group was forced to end its sit-in demonstration under threats of imprisonment. Since 1986, the group has petitioned

63 For a detailed and comprehensive report on “black jails” and the abuses suffered by petitioners, see An Alleyway in Hell, China’s abusive “Black Jails”, Human Rights Watch, 2009, <http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2009/11/12/alleyway-hell-0>

64 China Quietly Launches Reform of Petitioning System: Paper, Caijing, 11 November 2013, <http://english.caijing.com.cn/2013-11-11/113549129.html>

65 China Probes Petitions Bureau Official, The Wall Street Journal, 29 November 2013, <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2013/11/29/china-starts-probe-of-senior-petitions-bureau-official/>

66 China releases four Tibetans detained for petitioning in Beijing, TCHRD, 6 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/china-releases-four-tibetans-detained-for-petitioning-in-beijing/>

67 Yushu mine protest crackdown exposes China’s ‘nature reserve’ sham, TCHRD, 24 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/yushu-mine-protest-crackdown-exposes-chinas-nature-reserve-sham/>

local authorities over 50 times demanding that the local government comply with its obligation to compensate them.⁶⁸

2. Re-Education Through Labor (RTL):

The Re-Education Through Labor system (Ch: lao jiao) was implemented in 1957 during Mao Zedong's rule, as a punishment for "counterrevolutionaries". RTL allows the detention of individuals and the subsequent forced labor of the detainees for up to four years, with the sole decision of the Public Security Bureau (PSB).

To date, RTL has been used widely in Tibet and other parts of the PRC⁶⁹ as a means of persecuting human rights defenders, petitioners, intellectuals and political dissidents, who are considered a threat to the PRC's unity or security.⁷⁰ In the RTL camps human rights violations are common, with widespread use of physical and mental torture.⁷¹

Due to the increasing criticism of this system over the past years, Chinese government announced at the beginning of 2013 its intention to "stop using" the RTL⁷². Chinese President Xi Jinping is supposed to be a firm opponent of labor camps, due to his father's confinement in one during the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, some sources admitted the Chinese President's plan to abolish RTL faced the opposition from the conservative factions of the Communist Party⁷³. On 28 December 2013, China announced the abolition of RTL as news trickled in from Tibet about the closure of a few RTL facilities and release of some Tibetan prisoners. Although RTL abolition is welcome, China has yet to address the systemic flaws that perpetuate arbitrary arrest, detention, and torture.

The Third Plenum of the CCP held in November 2013 announced again the abolition of RTL and its replacement by "community correction institutions".⁷⁴ The document does not specify the date for bringing RTL to an end, and some voices have already warned of the possibility that the Government

68 'Occupy Movement' in Tibet: Chinese police force elderly Tibetans to end sit-in demonstration against land grab in Ngaba, TCHRD, 31 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/occupy-movement-in-tibet-chinese-police-force-elderly-tibetans-to-end-sit-in-demonstration-against-land-grab-in-ngaba/>

69 Amnesty International estimates that during 2012 hundreds of thousands of people in China have been arbitrarily detained and placed in administrative detention, including RTL camps; see Amnesty International Report 2013 "The State of the World's Human Rights", May 2013, p.62, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/state-of-the-world-2013>

70 Universal Periodic Review and China's Human Rights Record in Tibet, TCHRD, July 2013, p. 25, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/154291994/Universal-Periodic-Report-China-s-Human-Rights-Record-in-Tibet>

71 Teng Biao, To Remember Is to Resist, 12 February 2013, <http://seeingredinchina.com/2013/02/12/to-remember-is-to-resist-an-exploration-of-re-education-through-labor-by-teng-biao/>

72 China: Fully Abolish Re-Education Through Labor, Human Rights Watch, 8 January 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/01/08/china-fully-abolish-re-education-through-labor>

73 INSIGHT-Failure to end China's labour camps show limits of Xi's power, Reuters, 7 November 2013, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2013/11/06/china-politics-xi-idINDEE9A50FT20131106>

74 Supra note 48.

dilutes the changes or sets up a similar system under a different name.⁷⁵ Amnesty International has expressed its concern that this decision will be a “cosmetic measure” unless a “fundamental change in policies that drive the punishment and targeting of individuals, petitioners, human rights activists and Falun Gong members” takes place.⁷⁶

In 2013, Tibetans continued to be sentenced to RTL for exercising their rights to freedom of religion, peaceful assembly and freedom of expression. Monks and nuns are especially targeted, according to a veteran Tibetan official of the CCP whose identity is kept anonymous for security reasons and who has written a book exposing the PRC’s abuses of Tibetans: “(...) During the so-called “patriotic education campaign” which takes place once a year in all monasteries, the monks are required to distance themselves from the Dalai Lama. Many were temporarily or permanently banned from monasteries and some lamas were imprisoned or sent to re-education camps. (...)”.⁷⁷ In fact, in July 2013 four monks from Nyatso Zilkar Monastery were released following their incarceration in a RTL camp in 2012 in Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai Province. Three of the monks (Lobsang Samten, Lobsang Nyima and Sonam Gewa) were detained on charges of being the “ringleaders” of a peaceful demonstration that took place in Trindu (Ch: Chenduo) County in February 2012, during which they called for the return of the Dalai Lama, the release of the 11th Panchen Lama and for the promotion and protection of Tibetan language and culture. During their confinement they were forced to carry out hard labor and daily mandatory military exercises. The fourth monk, Tenzin Sherab, was detained and sentenced to one year for distributing a newspaper that allegedly contained information on a self-immolation protest. He was tortured and beaten up at the RTL camp, and also forced to work in the prison factory for 16 hours a day.⁷⁸

FREEDOM OF TRAVEL

“Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country”. (Art. 13 UDHR)

“Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.

Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.

The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in

⁷⁵ China to Ease Longtime Policy of 1 Child Limit, International New York Times, 15 November 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/16/world/asia/china-to-loosen-its-one-child-policy.html>

⁷⁶ China: Abolition of labour camps must lead to wider detention reform, Amnesty International, 15 November 2013, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/china-abolition-labour-camps-must-lead-wider-detention-reform-2013-11-15>

⁷⁷ Andreas Lorenz, ‘Anything but Humane’: Tibetan Exposes China from the Inside, Spiegel, 6 July 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/tibetan-official-to-expose-chinese-abuses-from-the-inside-in-book-a-911405-2.html>

⁷⁸ Four Tibetan monks released from Chinese labour camp, TCHRD, 13 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/four-tibetan-monks-released-from-chinese-labour-camps/>

the present Covenant. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country” (Art. 12 ICCPR)

During 2013 the PRC has stiffened its policy of hampering the freedom of travel of Tibetans by restricting the issuance of passports. According to Robert Barnett, director of the Modern Tibetan Studies Institute at Columbia University (US), the current passport restriction is a response to an event in 2011, when a large group of Tibetans was granted permission to travel to Nepal, and went on to India to attend religious teachings of the Dalai Lama. When they got back, many of them were detained, forced to attend political re-education, and had their passports confiscated.⁷⁹

In 2012, Chinese government implemented a new electronic passport system, which required all Tibetans in Tibet to surrender their passports in order to have them replaced by the new electronic ones. However, the new passports have not been issued, depriving Tibetans of the possibility of travelling abroad.⁸⁰ For example, of a group of young Tibetan students from Qinghai Province in July 2013, who were selected based on their academic performance to attend schools in Japan and the US, could not get passports and, as a result, were unable to travel abroad. The Chinese authorities’ refusal to issue their passports sparked protests in front of Xining government offices, with the students demanding to be allowed to travel abroad to study.⁸¹

Even before the PRC withdrew all Tibetan passports, Tibetans faced a long and discriminatory process to obtain a passport. Tibetan applicants are required to sign a document guaranteeing that he/she won’t become engaged into “illegal activities” or activities deemed “harmful to the nation”. In the event that Tibetans are granted a passport and travel abroad, they must return it to the Chinese authorities within a week after arrival.⁸² Other times, as it will be further explained later (see “Right of Association” section), Tibetans holding a valid passport (such as human rights activists) are denied to leave the country.

Travelling to TAR has also become an arduous venture for foreigners willing to visit the region and/or inform about Tibet’s situation. The PRC requires two special permits to access Tibet: the so-called “Tibet Entry Permit”, that allows the entry to most of the TAR areas, and the “Alien Travel Permit”, that authorizes the entry to the “restricted areas” in Tibet. These two permits may be obtained through a Chinese travel agency, but diplomats, journalists and government officials have to apply through the Foreign Affairs Office of the TAR government.⁸³ Foreign journalists seeking to report from Tibet

79 China to Tibetans: Stay Put, The Atlantic, 31 January 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/01/china-to-tibetans-stay-put/272709/>

80 China’s latest restrictions for Tibetans: no passports, The Washington Post, 23 January 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/01/23/chinas-latest-restriction-for-tibetans-no-passports/>

81 Tibetan Students Denied Permission to Travel for Overseas Study, Radio Free Asia, 4 October 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/travel-10042013153826.html>

82 Tibetans Face Passport Dilemmas, Radio Free Asia, 20 January 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/passports-01202013213254.html>

83 Tibet Travel Permits-Tibet Visa 2013, Access Tibet Tour, <http://www.accesstibettour.com/travel-permit.html>

are particularly targeted and their movements in Tibetan areas highly restricted and monitored: the Foreign Correspondents' Club of China (FCCC),⁸⁴ consisting of foreign journalists working for foreign media outlets in PRC, reported in its 2013 annual survey as one its greatest concerns "the continuing restrictions on journalists' movements in Tibetan-inhabited areas of China".⁸⁵ In the same survey reporters have exposed that officials in Qinghai warned them "all Tibetan-inhabited areas of China are off-limits to the foreign press".⁸⁶ Tibet scholar Carole McGranahan, a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Colorado Boulder, has stated that there are more foreign journalists in North Korea than Tibet.⁸⁷

EQUALITY BEFORE THE COURTS AND TRIBUNALS: FAIR TRIAL AND DUE PROCESS OF LAW

"Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him". (Art. 10 UDHR)

"Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed". (Art. 11 UDHR)

"All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law". {...} (Art. 14.1 ICCPR)

"Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law". (Art. 14.2 ICCPR)

"In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:

(a) To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;

(b) To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate

84 <http://www.fccchina.org/>

85 Annual Working Conditions Survey, FCCC, 11 July 2013, http://china.usc.edu/%28A%280GtCiGuzzgEkAA AAMzcxNjVkJNTQtY2ViNC00MzNhLTkyZWYtZjY5MmU1YmFhY2M37BUbXYPBjU_2g7HfhXLd9Rj58Gs1%29S%283tyrvrvsuabz5q455jx0sy45%29%29/ShowArticle.aspx?articleID=3162&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1

86 Id.

87 North Korea is more accessible to foreign journalists than Tibet is, The Washington Post, 17 December 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/12/17/north-korea-is-more-accessible-to-foreign-journalists-than-tibet-is/>

with counsel of his own choosing;

(c) To be tried without undue delay;

(d) To be tried in his presence, and to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance, of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where the interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case if he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;

(e) To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;

(f) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;

(g) Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt". (Art. 14.3 ICCPR)

The independence of the judiciary is a required element for access to an effective justice. Due to the interference and corruption of the Party bodies that are above them, which make decisions regarding financial and personnel matters that affect local courts, the PRC's courts and tribunals are unable to exercise independent judicial powers.⁸⁸

By the end of October 2013, the Chinese Supreme Court called on the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to "resolutely implement the courts' independent exercise of judicial authority based on constitutional principles, and resolutely resist all forms of local and departmental protectionism" and stated that external interferences should be put to an end, by eliminating "power, money, allegiances, relationships and other extrajudicial disturbances". The Supreme Court has even posted on its website a new topic of discussion on judicial reform, in the framework of a project co-sponsored with Qinghua University.⁸⁹

Despite this call, Chinese lawyers like Li Jinglin and Wang Yajun are skeptical that the judicial independence can be achieved without major reforms to the PRC's political system. Former top Party official, Bao Tong, disclosed that judicial independence is banned by the Xi Jinping's government as one of the seven taboos for public discussion (along with universal values, press freedom, civil society, citizens' rights, the historical mistakes of the Chinese Communist Party and the financial and political elite),⁹⁰ which, in fact, would reinforce Chinese lawyers' skeptical view.

In Tibetan areas there are no basic judicial guarantees in the Chinese courts. In 2013, there were cases of Tibetans sentenced in show trials that lacked basic procedural and judicial guarantees. Two of the cases that served as illustrative examples occurred on 31 January 2013. In Kanlho (Ch: Gannan)

88 Call for Independent Courts Won't Mean Real Change in China: Lawyers, Radio Free Asia, 30 October 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/lawyers-10302013104930.html>

89 Susan Finder and the Supreme's Court Monitor, "Communist Party Political-Legal Committees Come out of the Closet and Onto the Web", 8 November 2013, <https://chinasp.wordpress.com/2013/11/08/communist-party-political-legal-committees-come-out-of-the-closet-and-onto-the-web/>

90 Supra note 88.

Prefecture in Gansu Province, six Tibetans were sentenced to jail (spanning three to twelve year prison terms) for their alleged involvement in the self-immolation of a Tibetan the year before. In Ngaba (Ch: Aba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province, two Tibetan men, Lobsang Kunchok, 40, and Lobsang Tsering, 31, were sentenced to death penalty with two years reprieve and deprivation of political rights, and with a ten-year jail term and deprivation of political rights for three years, respectively, on “intentional homicide” charges, for “inciting self immolation”. The process showed the lack of judicial guarantees for the detainees: both were detained incommunicado for three months, before the charges against them were made public; they were denied their right to choose their own lawyer (they were appointed Chinese Government lawyers); and Chinese Administration exerted political pressure on the court, seeking a guilty verdict. The spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Hong Lei, publicly declared: “We hope through the sentencing of these cases, the international community will be able to clearly see the evil and malicious methods used by the Dalai clique in the self-immolations and condemn their crimes”.⁹¹

TCHRD has documented several other cases of detention on unknown charges and incommunicado detention in Tibet, which again violates the right to fair trial and due process of law. The targeted victims are not only intellectuals and artists, as we will examine in a specific section of this chapter, but also monks, nuns and political dissidents. For instance, on 11 March 2013, Tritsun aka Tri Bhoe Trak, 26, a monk from Tongkyap Monastery, was detained by the police, who did not provide any explanation on the reasons for his detention, and has been held incommunicado since then. Although the charges against Tritsun have not been made public, he is believed to have been detained in connection with his book “Breath of Truth” (Tib: denpai khalang), released in March 2013 and whose content deals with essays on self-immolations.⁹² On 24 April 2013, Lobsang Tenzin, the longest-serving political prisoner in Tibet, was released after completing a 25-year term for a crime he never committed. In spite of having served the entire sentence imposed on him, he is currently being held under house arrest and with access only to family members.⁹³

RIGHT TO PRIVACY

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks”. (Art. 12 UDHR).

“No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks”. (Art. 17 ICCPR)

91 Tibetans sentenced for ‘murder’ at show trial to discredit self-immolation protests, TCHRD, 1 February 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/02/tibetans-sentenced-for-murder-at-show-trial-to-discredit-self-immolation-protests/>

92 Monastery under siege as monks face expulsion while another detained for writing a book on immolations, TCHRD, 19 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/monastery-under-siege-as-monks-face-expulsion-while-another-detained-for-writing-book-on-immolations/>

93 Former longest-service political prisoner still under house arrest after release, TCHRD, 25 May 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/05/former-longest-serving-political-prisoner-still-under-house-arrest-after-release/>

After the crackdown on popular Tibetan protests that took place in TAR and neighboring Tibetan autonomous areas in Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan provinces in 2008, the PRC's policies on Tibet have been directed to control and prevent⁹⁴ any criticism or dissent that could pose a threat to the maintenance of "social stability".⁹⁵

Since 2011, three major systems aimed at controlling and establishing a tight surveillance over Tibetan population have been established in TAR: 1) The so-called campaign "Solidify the Foundations, Benefit the Masses", started on 10 October 2011, with a three-year duration; 2) the "Six Ones", a system of information gathering to monitor monks and nuns in Tibetan monasteries which was implemented in November 2011; and 3) the "Grid" system, introduced in 2012 and expanded in 2013.

Far from promoting "stability maintenance", these systems actually entail a grave breach of the right to privacy as well as other rights like freedom of expression, freedom of religion and freedom of association.

The campaign "Solidify the Foundations, Benefit the Masses" is described by Chinese propaganda as a means of improving living conditions and prosperity in rural Tibet. This description hides the real purpose of the campaign, which is to target and classify Tibetans according to their religious beliefs and political ideas.⁹⁶ Under this campaign, teams of cadres are sent to the villages to supposedly improve the facilities and infrastructures, but their instructions set two priorities: first, to expand the role and size of the Communist Party in the village; and, second, "to maintain stability by carrying out activities against the Dalai clique".⁹⁷ Yu Zhengsheng, the PRC's official in charge of minority and religious affairs, in a public speech on 14 February 2013, made a call for the supporters of the Dalai Lama to be "resolutely ground to dust".⁹⁸

The new "Grid system" implemented in 2013 is officially regarded as a tool designed to improve public access to basic services, such as providing employment, education for children and medical care services. It consists of a new administrative level in the Chinese administration in rural and urban areas, and the offices established employ civilian staff and are directed by a Communist Party member.

94 China: Alarming New Surveillance, Security in Tibet, Human Rights Watch, 20 March 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/03/20/china-alarming-new-surveillance-security-tibet>

95 China: 'Benefit the Masses' Campaign Surveilling Tibetans, Human Rights Watch, 19 June 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/06/18/china-benefit-masses-campaign-surveilling-tibetans>

96 Human Rights Watch has reported the case of a village work cadre team in Takse (Dazi) County, in Lhasa Prefecture, which questioned all the inhabitants of the village, including children, and classified them into a threefold category: 1) Those who want wealth and are supporters of the system. 2) Those who secretly pray and support the Dalai Lama but don't go public. 2) Those who refuse re-education and don't have faith in motherland and party. The village people classified under the third category were taken to re-education in March 2013. Id.

97 Id.

98 "Important guiding points from Yu Zhengsheng and Guo Shengkun relayed and studied at the TAR Party Standing Committee meeting: Guaranteeing full efforts in ensuring stability and harmony throughout society, produce excellent results for ushering in the two national level meetings victoriously," Chinatibetnews, 17 March 2013, http://tb.chinatibetnews.com/zhengfuzx/2013-02/17/content_1174989.htm, cited by Human Rights Watch, Id.

Regardless of the emphasis placed by authorities on the social nature of the system, the Grid system is consistent with the “social stability maintenance” policy and aims at increasing surveillance and monitoring of “special groups” in the TAR, especially those who have returned from exile in India. The Grid system moves a step forward to establish a tighter control over the Tibetan population. It builds upon other pre-existing measures, like the creation of more than 600 “convenience posts” located across Tibet, which is equipped with high-tech computers and video devices to monitor daily life, and the emergence of civilian volunteer security groups (“Red Armband Patrols”). The Red Armband Patrols have been carrying out intrusive searches in Tibetan homes, looking for photographs of the Dalai Lama and other material deemed “political”, in a rampant violation of the individuals’ right to privacy⁹⁹ and right to freedom of religion.

In 2013, protests held by local Tibetans against the increasing surveillance and interference of the PRC’s “mass line policy” promoted by the President Xi Jinping were severely contested by police forces. Since 10 September 2013, over 18,000 Chinese cadres have been sent to Diru to reinforce the “mass line policy”, with Diru County becoming the flashpoint of serious clashes between armed Chinese security forces and local population. As discussed (see “Right to Liberty and Security”), on 28 September 2013 Tibetans in Mowa village started a protest against the “Nine Must Haves” campaign,¹⁰⁰ which mandates the flying of the PRC’s five starred flags on the rooftops of the Tibetan houses, a space traditionally reserved for hoisting sacred prayer flags. During the confrontation that took place in Mowa village, the police beat and detained many Tibetan protesters and as the crackdown spread, around 40 Tibetans of the neighboring villages of Taklha, Baro, Neshod and Taring, who called on local authorities to put an end to the use of force on Tibetans, suffered the same fate.¹⁰¹ In retaliation for the protests, authorities have threatened local Tibetans with the deprivation of basic economic, social and cultural rights, announcing that children would be expelled from school, sick villagers would be denied access to health care in hospitals and the harvesting of the medicinal plant Yartsa Gunbu, main source of income for many villagers, would be prohibited. During October and November 2013 further restrictions and increased surveillance have been implemented in Diru area, and in addition to the wave of detentions and arrests, new security checkpoints, blockade of communications and seizure of cell phones have become a common practice.¹⁰²

99 Alarming New Surveillance, Security in Tibet, Human Rights Watch, 20 March 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/03/20/china-alarming-new-surveillance-security-tibet>. See also ‘Nets in the Sky, Traps on the Ground’, Radio Free Asia, 21 March 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/nets-03212013161127.html>

100 During November 2013, other Tibetan areas have joined to defy the order to fly Chinese flags, like Kardze (Ganzi) County, in the Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and in Dzatoe (Zaduo) County, in Qinghai province’s Yushu (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture; see More Tibetan Areas Defy Orders to Fly Chinese Flag, Radio Free Asia, 8 November 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/defy-11082013153145.html>.

101 Beatings, detention, threats after Tibetans reject China’s ‘Mass Line’ policy in Diru, TCHRD, 5 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/beatings-detention-threats-after-tibetans-reject-chinas-mass-line-policy-in-diru/>. See also This is what happens when Tibetan villages refuse to fly the Chinese flag, The Washington Post, 4 October 2013, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/10/04/this-is-what-happens-when-tibetan-villages-refuse-to-fly-the-chinese-flag/>.

102 Id.

Following the 8 October 2013 crackdown on local Tibetans in Diru County, Chinese authorities issued a notification addressed to several “convenience police posts” in Lhasa City, with the purpose of monitoring and providing real time information on the movements and activities of Nagchu Tibetans visiting Lhasa. Police officers have been instructed to use secret codes to identify local Tibetans from different counties of the Nagchu Prefecture.¹⁰³

In monasteries and nunneries, monks and nuns have also been subjected to violations of their right to privacy and freedom of religion during 2013. In March 2013, a special campaign to search and seize personal cellphones of Tibetans in monastic institutions was launched. A “special cellphone inspection work team” from Beijing arrived in Lhasa on 8 March 2013 to initiate a tour on different monasteries (Drepung, Sera, Ganden) and temples (Ramoche and Tsuglakhang), with the purpose of performing security screenings of cellphones owned by monks. The reason behind this campaign was to identify and severely punish those who attempted to share information about Tibet with contacts abroad. Chinese authorities equate actions such as sharing information on human rights abuses in Tibet with criminal activities.¹⁰⁴

In November 2013, the PRC announced the formation of a new “National Security Committee”. The duty entrusted to this body is twofold: 1) the responsibility on domestic security; and, 2) foreign policy. Cybersecurity, relations with Tibet and unrest in Xinjiang will be the main focus of attention of this committee, according to Shi Yinhong, Professor at Renmin University in Beijing and occasional adviser to the government.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, this body could contribute to tighten surveillance on PRC citizens, especially those groups considered “problematic” by the government, like Tibetans and Uighurs.

RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE AND RELIGION

“Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance”. (Art. 18 UDHR)

“Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.”

103 Official Chinese notification puts Nagchu Tibetans under secret surveillance, TCHRD, 11 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/official-chinese-notification-puts-nagchu-tibetans-under-secret-surveillance/>

104 China launches crackdown on personal cellphones in Lhasa, TCHRD, 11 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/china-launches-crackdown-on-personal-cellphones-in-lhasa/>. See also Authorities Restrict Cellphone Use in Lhasa, Radio Free Asia, 11 March 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/restrict-03112013145602.html>

105 China’s new national security committee to blend domestic, foreign duties, Sydney Morning Herald, 14 November 2013, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/chinas-new-national-security-committee-to-blend-domestic-foreign-duties-20131114-2xhrc.html>

No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice.

Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions". (Art. 18 ICCPR)

As the right to freedom of religion is of paramount importance for the Tibetan People, the repression of Tibetan's right to freedom of religion is discussed in detail in another chapter of this Annual Report. This section will focus on the right of freedom of religion in connection with the right of peaceful assembly, as the former, on many occasions, is exercised collectively.

Freedom of religion is under constant threat in Tibet. In its 2013 Annual Report, the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) has labeled the PRC as a "country of particular concern", due to the severe violations of this right that are committed across the country, particularly against Buddhist Tibetans. The report stresses that "religious freedom conditions in Tibetan Buddhist areas of China are worse now than at any time over the past decade"¹⁰⁶.

There was a major crackdown on Tibetans' right to freedom of religion in 2013. On 6 July 2013, the PRC's People's Armed Police beat, tear gassed and fired live ammunition at hundreds of Tibetan worshippers who had gathered to commemorate Dalai Lama's birthday in Tawu (Ch: Dawu/Daofu) County in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, in the Tibetan province of Kham. At least 14 Tibetans were injured; some of them in critical condition, for example Gyen Tashi Sonam, a teacher at Nyatso Monastery who was shot in his head, monk disciplinarian Gyatso, fellow monks Jangchup Dorjee and Lobsang, nun Dolma, and laymen Ugyen Tashi, Nyendak and Sango)¹⁰⁷, and many others were detained. Other Tibetans injured during the crackdown included the Tibetan environmental activist Gyaltsen¹⁰⁸, senior monk Tsewang Choephel¹⁰⁹, Yama Tsering, Dekyi Gonpo aka Goleb, Ngawang and Tamka Choeden¹¹⁰. After the crackdown, the Chinese authorities intensified surveillance of local Tibetans and announced punitive measures against local officials and cadres for their failure to "maintain stability"¹¹¹.

106 USCIRF, Annual Report 2013, p.32, <http://www.uscirtf.gov/images/2013%20USCIRF%20Annual%20Report%282%29.pdf>

107 Tibetans in critical condition after Chinese armed police shoot into crowd celebrating Dalai Lama's birthday, TCHRD, 9 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/tibetans-in-critical-condition-after-chinese-armed-police-shoot-into-crowd-celebrating-dalai-lamas-birthday/>.

108 Environmental activist suffers broken ribs after savage beatings in Tawu, TCHRD, 10 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/environmental-activist-suffers-broken-ribs-after-savage-beatings-in-tawu/>

109 Senior monk among the latest identified in Tawu shootings, TCHRD, 11 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/senior-monk-among-the-latest-identified-in-tawu-shootings-2/>

110 More injured by gunshots than earlier reported in Tawu, TCHRD, 17 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/more-injured-by-gunshots-than-earlier-reported-in-tawu-shootings/>

111 China tightens the screw after shooting Tibetan worshippers in Tawu, TCHRD, 31 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/china-tightens-the-screw-after-shooting-tibetan-worshippers-in-tawu/>

In addition to these dramatic events there were other routine attacks against freedom of religion. These include the criminalization of photos of the Dalai Lama¹¹², the label of “social prisoners” of monks and nuns who leave TAR to further religious studies¹¹³, prison sentences for those who hold prayers for self-immolators¹¹⁴ and the prohibition to hold and attend religious ceremonies¹¹⁵.

RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF OPINION AND EXPRESSION

“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”. (Art. 19 UDHR)

“Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regard any other media of his choice.

The exercise of the rights (...) carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals”. (Art. 19 ICCPR)

Freedom of opinion and expression are fundamental for people to live a life of dignity. These rights are deeply interrelated, with the freedom of expression acting as an instrument to convey, exchange and develop opinions, ideas and information. Freedom of expression can adopt various forms and different means (i.e. written, verbal, audiovisual, electronic, artistic, or physical). Due to the principle of the indivisibility of human rights, the freedoms of opinion and expression are also linked to, and essential for, the full exercise and enjoyment of other fundamental human rights, such as the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of association and right to privacy. In most situations, a violation of freedom of opinion and expression will also involve the breach of at least one the above-mentioned rights.

Freedom of opinion cannot be subjected to any kind of restriction and/or exception, and all forms of opinions fall under the umbrella of this right, “including opinions of a political, scientific, historic,

tchrd.org/2013/08/china-tightens-the-screw-after-shooting-tibetan-worshippers-in-tawu/

112 Tibetan Traveler Sent Back to India over Dalai Lama Photos, Radio Free Asia, 30 July 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/photos-07302013153444.html>; New Crackdown by China on Dalai Lama’s Photos, Radio Free Asia, 22 July 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/photos-07222013170822.html>

113 Two monks flee Tibet’s Nagchu to escape persecution as ‘social prisoner’, TCHRD, 9 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/two-monks-flee-tibets-nagchu-to-escape-persecution-as-social-prisoner/>

114 Two monks sentenced to 3 yrs in prison for holding prayers for self-immolator, TCHRD, 5 June 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/06/two-monks-sentenced-to-3-yrs-in-prison-for-holding-prayers-for-self-immolator/>

115 Authorities Shut Down Tibetan Religious Gathering, Disperse Attendees, Radio Free Asia, 24 July 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/gathering-07242013172056.html>

moral or religious nature”¹¹⁶. Therefore, “the harassment, intimidation or stigmatization of a person, including arrest, detention, trial or imprisonment for reasons of the opinions they may hold” constitutes a violation of this right¹¹⁷.

Freedom of expression includes a wide array of manifestations, such as political discourse, commentary on one’s own and on public affairs, canvassing, discussion of human rights, journalism, cultural and artistic expression, teaching religious discourse and commercial advertising¹¹⁸.

In order to guarantee the full enjoyment of these rights, the absence of press censorship is essential. The freedom of press and media implies that they are “able to comment on public issues without censorship or restraint and to inform public opinion”¹¹⁹.

The scope of the freedom of opinion and expression has expanded greatly due to the emergence of Internet. The World Wide Web has become a major forum for these freedoms and as it has been affirmed by the UN Human Rights Council in a landmark resolution passed in 2012 and backed by the PRC, “... the same rights that people have offline must also be protected online, in particular freedom of expression, which is applicable regardless of frontiers and through any media of one’s choice...”¹²⁰.

Despite their fundamental importance and the fact that most States have enshrined these freedoms in their Constitutions and domestic legislation, in the PRC freedom of opinion and expression are often compromised and citizens are prevented from the full enjoyment of these rights. Article 35 of the Chinese Constitution¹²¹ upholds the right to freedom of speech and press freedom. However, the PRC remains one of the most serious violators of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. All media organizations are subject to strict controls, detailed licensing requirements and government supervision, and journalists must hold a governmental accreditation in order to be able to legally report¹²². Radio and television broadcast journalists must take and pass a government-sponsored exam on Marxism and the ruling principles of the Communist Party¹²³.

116 Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 34: Article 19 Freedoms of opinion and expression, 12 September 2011, pp. 2-4, http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CCPR%2fC%2fGC%2f34&Lang=en

117 Id.

118 Id.

119 Id.

120 Human Rights Council, 20th Session, Agenda item 3, Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development, The promotion, protection and enjoyment of human rights on the Internet, A/HRC/20/L.13, 29 June 2012, http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/alldocs.aspx?doc_id=20280

121 Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, see English version at: http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/2007-11/15/content_1372964.htm

122 Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2013 Annual Report, pp. 64 and 65, <http://www.cecc.gov/publications/annual-reports/2013-annual-report>

123 Id.

2013 has seen a severe crackdown on press freedom and freedom of expression by PRC on Tibetans, with increased censorship laws and internet regulations, bans on journalists and targeting of Tibetan intellectuals and artists in their lawful exercise of these rights.

1) Press freedom in PRC:

Freedom House, who publishes influential reports on the level of freedom in every country, gave the PRC's respect of freedom of the press the lowest possible rating of "Not Free"¹²⁴. Freedom House also recognized that the conditions in Tibet deteriorated in 2013¹²⁵. The Chinese Communist Party maintains strict control over media coverage and exerts severe Internet censorship. Religious minorities, like Tibetans, are particularly at risk, and subject to be detained and imprisoned for "accessing, possessing, or transmitting banned information"¹²⁶. Some Tibetan areas where self-immolations have taken place (especially Sichuan and Gansu Provinces), have suffered from communication shutdowns in an attempt to hinder information from reaching other areas (national and abroad)¹²⁷.

Reporters Without Borders, one of the most prominent and respected global NGOs working on freedom of the press and media, ranks the PRC among the ten countries that least respect media freedom (173rd out of the 179 countries examined in its 2013 World Press Freedom Index), with no signs of improving¹²⁸. The report notes that "{The PRC's} prisons still hold many journalists and netizens, while increasingly unpopular Internet censorship continues to be a major obstacle to access to information"¹²⁹. Informing about the situation of human rights in Tibet is harshly repressed, and Tibetan monks who have sent information pertaining to the situation of human rights in the area have been convicted or disappeared¹³⁰.

In its 2013 report, PEN International documents a similarly bleak scenario for the right to freedom of expression and press freedom in Tibet. The report says censorship facilitates the PRC's policy of violating Tibetans' cultural rights by blocking text messages, Internet access and cellphone services in some TAR areas. The crackdown on freedom of opinion and expression reaches alarming levels, like the detention of Tibetans "for accessing pirated foreign radio and television broadcasts, or listening to or downloading Tibetan songs and ringtones, which are banned"¹³¹. These repressive measures have not curbed Tibetans' initiative to continue to exercise their right to freedom of expression on the

124 Freedom House, China Freedom of the Press 2013 report, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/china>

125 Freedom House, Freedom of the Press 2013 report, page 6, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP%202013%20Booklet%20Final%20Complete%20-%20Web.pdf>

126 Id.

127 Id.

128 Reporters Without Borders, World Press Freedom Index 2013, p.5, <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>

129 Id.

130 Id, p. 10.

131 Supra note 1, p.20.

Internet¹³².

Despite these incriminating reports demonstrating the PRC has not fulfilled its legal obligations (both national and international), PRC officials still claim that there is freedom of expression in the country¹³³. In fact, some Chinese officials seem to think there is too much freedom of expression. They made repeated calls throughout 2013 to set stricter controls over media and press freedom. For instance, in April 2013 Ren Xianliang, Vice Chairman of the All-China Journalists Association and Deputy Director of the Shaanxi Provincial Chinese Communist Party Propaganda Department, published an article in the Red Flag Journal (an influential Communist Party Publication) calling on the Party to manage media in order to ensure Party's leadership and to shut down websites and blogs that "violate laws, regulations or discipline": "(...) The Party managing the media and the Party managing public opinion is similar to the Party managing the Army, and the Party managing the gun, it is the basic and unwavering principle of persisting in the leadership of the Party, and especially under the current circumstances, this can only be strengthened and not loosened. At present, a few netizens use the network to vent personal spite, fabricate rumours or mislead the masses, they even infringe other persons' privacy or commit online crimes; some so-called network elites use sensitive affairs to willfully attack the current system, censure or blacken the Party and the government, or even incite the masses to subvert the Party's leadership and the State regime; some traditional media employees plant the public garden by day, and plant private soil at night, they publish drafts that they cannot openly publish in their own media online, incognito or using an alias, or even sell them to some websites for money. The network is absolutely not outside the law, and must be managed according to the law. If we do not take this serious, but take a laissez-fair attitude, a "broken window" effect is bound to ensue, which will further engender and aggravate online public opinion disorder. In fact, we must dare to boldly confront those powerful media, famous websites, famous bloggers and Weibo bigwigs in terms of management, warn those that should be warned, shut up those that should be shut up, and close those that should be closed"¹³⁴.

That same month, in an internal Party document (known as Document no. 9), the General Office of the Communist Party presented a list of perceived problems and countermeasures to solve them. Among the problems listed was "the Western ideas of the press": press is regarded as wanting to break free from the Party's leadership over media, thus creating chaos for the Party and society. The countermeasure planned to tackle this perceived problem involve strengthening the Party's leadership over media and tracking down individuals responsible for it¹³⁵. More recently, right before

132 Id.

133 See, for instance, the National reports submitted by China for the 2009 and 2013 UPR, where there are frequent allegations of its support to freedom of speech and free flow of information: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/CNSession4.aspx> <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/CNSession17.aspx>

134 Ren Xianliang, *Comprehensively Planning Two Public Opinion Fields, Concentrating Positive Social Energy*, Red Flag Journal, 12 April 2013, <http://theory.rmlt.com.cn/2013/0417/68786.shtml>; For an English translation, see: <https://chinacopyrightandmedia.wordpress.com/2013/04/24/propaganda-directors-call-to-traditional-media-wake-up/>

135 Gao Yu, *Beijing Observation: Regressing Further from 'Five Nos'*, 16 May 2013, <http://seeingredinchina.com/2013/05/16/beijing-observation-regressing-further-from-five-nos-by-gao-yu/>. See also *China Takes Aim At*

the beginning of the Communist Party's Third Plenum held in November 2013, Beijing's party chief and former mayor of the city, Guo Jinlong, affirmed in a public speech that it was necessary to "overcome the wrong belief that the internet is impossible to regulate" and encouraged officials to use "economic, administrative, legal and educational methods" to regain the upper hand "in the battle of public opinions"¹³⁶.

2) Censorship regulations:

In the PRC, criticism of the State is deemed an attempt to influence the population and to incite subversion of State power¹³⁷. Incitement is defined as "spreading rumors or slanders or any other means to subvert state political power or overthrow the socialist system"¹³⁸, and, therefore, any dissident opinion or information is considered a threat to the very foundations of the PRC. From this perspective it is not surprising that digital information, particularly online press, social media services (like microblog networks, known as "weibos") and blogs are seen by Chinese authorities as potential fields to house rumors, and thus closely monitored and censored¹³⁹. In fact, Twitter and Facebook have been banned since 2009, following large scale protests in Xinjiang Province¹⁴⁰. All microblog service providers in the PRC now have internal censorship teams, who receive direct instructions from the government in filtering sensitive posts. These internal censors are notorious for their speed. Most deletions occur within the first minutes the post is submitted¹⁴¹.

Internet censorship is marked by the high deletion rate of certain "sensitive" terms and expressions. A report by the Carnegie Mellon University analyzing 56 million messages from the Chinese microblog site "Sina Weibo" shows that Tibet has a higher rate of deletion than other Chinese regions (approximately 50% of the posts from Tibet and Qinghai that contained sensitive words were deleted, in comparison with the 12% of the blogs coming from Beijing and Shanghai)¹⁴². The most commonly censored terms in Tibet are "Lhasa", "concentration camp", "despicable", "Dalai Lama" and "to Western Ideas, New York Times, 19 August 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/asia/chinas-new-leadership-takes-hard-line-in-secret-memo.html>

136 Beijing Party Chief Urges Tighter Internet Controls, South China Morning Post, 6 November 2013, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china-insider/article/1348866/beijing-party-chief-urges-tighter-internet-controls>

137 That was the charge against Chinese Nobel Peace Laureate Liu Xiabo, currently serving an 11 year term sentence.

138 Art 105. 2 of China's Criminal Code establishes that "*Whoever incites others by spreading rumors or slanders or any other means to subvert state power or overthrow the socialist system shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not more than five years, criminal detention, public surveillance or deprivation of political rights; and the ringleaders and the others who commit major crimes shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not less than five years*". Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Challenged in China, 11 March 2013, p.55, <https://www.cpj.org/reports/2013/03/challenged-china-media-censorship-legal-threats-jail.php>

139 Id, p.6.

140 Clashes in China Shed Light on Ethnic Divide, The New York Times, 7 July 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/08/world/asia/08china.html?_r=0

141 J. R. Crandall and others, The Velocity of Censorship: High Fidelity Detection of Microblog Post Deletions, USENIX Security Paper 2013, available at: <http://www.cs.unm.edu/~crandall/>

142 D. Bamman, B. O'Connor, N. Smith, Censorship and Deletion Practices in Chinese Social Media, First Monday, Volume 17, Number 3, 5 March 2012, <http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/3943/3169>

persecute”. Another study conducted by researchers from Harvard University demonstrates that sometimes it is possible to anticipate an imminent arrest by the higher rates of deletions of specific terms related to that person (such as the name) in the days before the arrest¹⁴³. The censorship’s ultimate objective seeks to restrict collective action in order to prevent social mobilization¹⁴⁴.

In 2013, another means employed by Chinese authorities to limit the right to information in Tibet was the crackdown on satellite dishes in TAR, aimed at impeding the reception of Tibet related radio programs and news from outside the PRC. An official Chinese notification dated 24 January 2013 announced that a 5,000 Yuan fine and “other consequences” would be imposed upon those using satellite dishes and other devices to watch programs on foreign channels¹⁴⁵.

Prospects for a change of policy in the near future regarding censorship appear highly unlikely. Indeed, online freedom has been further curtailed. A recent judicial interpretation by the Chinese government, which came into effect on 10 September 2013, penalizes “online rumors”, rendering the existing crimes of “defamation”, “creating disturbances”, “illegal business operations” and “extortion” applicable to expressions in cyberspace¹⁴⁶. Information pertaining to the Dalai Lama will continue being censored, especially after TAR Party chief Chen Quanguo declared a renewed crusade against the Tibetan spiritual leader. In an article issued in early November 2013, the TAR Party chief encouraged cadres and officials to “strike hard against the reactionary propaganda of the splittists from entering Tibet” and “to work hard to ensure that the voice and image of the party is seen and heard over the vast expanses {of Tibet}... and that the voice and image of the enemy forces and the Dalai clique are neither seen nor heard”. Chen Quanguo said that in order to achieve this, the government would confiscate illegal satellite dishes, increase online monitoring and require Internet and telephone users to be registered under their real names¹⁴⁷.

3) Special targets: Tibetan journalists, writers, intellectuals, artists and activists

2013 proved to be bleak year for the exercise of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. As part of their campaign to silence any criticism over government actions, Chinese officials launched a major crackdown on Tibetan citizen journalists, writers and artists. Many of them have been harassed, detained and imprisoned after informing on human rights conditions in Tibet, writing books on self immolations and other issues regarding Tibet, denouncing Chinese policies in the TAR region or

143 G.King, J. Pan, M.E. Roberts, How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression, *American Political Science Review* 107, n.2, May 2013, <http://gking.harvard.edu/publications/how-censorship-china-allows-government-criticism-silences-collective-expression>

144 Id.

145 Crackdown on satellite dishes, broadcast equipment deepens in Tibet, TCHRD, 29 January 2013, www.tchrd.org/2013/01/crackdown-on-satellite-dishes-broadcasting-equipment-deepens-in-tibet/

146 China: Draconian Legal Interpretation Threatens Online Freedom, Human Rights Watch, 13 September 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/09/13/china-draconian-legal-interpretation-threatens-online-freedom>

147 China says will stamp out Dalai Lama’s voice in Tibet, Reuters, 2 November 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/11/02/us-china-tibet-idUSBRE9A101R20131102>. See also Tibet Party Chief Vows to Mute Dalai Lama, China Digital Times, 2 November 2013, <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2013/11/tibet-party-chief-vows-mute-dalai-lama/>

even singing traditional Tibetan songs. The usual justifications used by Chinese authorities are that the accused Tibetans were “carrying out political activities aimed at destroying social stability and dividing the Chinese homeland”¹⁴⁸, but many of them were also detained on unknown charges¹⁴⁹.

The following are a series of examples of Chinese government crackdown on Tibetan journalists, writers, intellectuals, artists and activists during 2013:

- In February 2013, new information on the disappeared poet Lobsang Namgyal aka “Sangmig”, 26, revealed that he had been secretly detained and disappeared around mid-May 2012. He is now being held at a detention center in Chengdu. No formal charges have been pressed against him. Some sources link Lobsang Namgyal’s arbitrary detention to alleged activities of publishing and distributing speeches of the Dalai Lama and other political contents¹⁵⁰. *“Did you know that in Lhasa, the musicians are all afraid to sing?”* [Tibetan musician in Ngaba (RD)]
- On 23 February 2013, singer Lolo was sentenced to 6 years in prison for the release, in 2012, a music album that contained songs, including the popular and well-known “Raise the Tibetan Flag, Children of Snowland”¹⁵¹.
- On 8 March 2013, writer, blogger and activist Tsering Woeser, held under house arrest in Beijing, was prevented from travelling to the US to receive the 2013 International Women of Courage Award, granted by the US State Department¹⁵². After the announcement of the award, Woeser’s movements were further restricted and monitored¹⁵³.
- On 14 May 2013, writer and monk Gartse Jigme, 36, was sentenced to 5 years in prison in Malho (Ch: Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, for his book on several issues dealing with Tibet, including self-immolations¹⁵⁴.
- In June 2013, singers Pema Trinley, 32, and Chakdor, 32, were secretly sentenced to 2 years in prison in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County in Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan

148 Wave of Arrests Contributes to Tibet’s Growing Isolation, Reporters Without Borders, 16 October 2013, <http://en.rsf.org/chine-wave-of-arrests-contributes-to-16-10-2013,45337.html>

149 Journalists Imprisoned in China, CPJ, 11 March 2013, <https://www.cpj.org/reports/2013/03/challenged-china-media-censorship-graphic-imprisoned.php>

150 Tibetan poet found detained after months of disappearance, TCHRD, 25 September 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/09/tibetan-poet-found-detained-after-months-of-disappearance/>

151 Two Tibetans, monk and singer, sentenced to prison, TCHRD, 13 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/two-tibetans-monk-and-singer-sentenced-to-prison/>

152 Women of Courage Award to Tsering Woeser Affirms US Commitment to Tibet, International Campaign for Tibet, 8 March 2013, <http://www.savetibet.org/women-of-courage-award-to-tsering-woeser-affirms-us-commitment-to-tibet-2/>. In a phone interview to Voice of America conducted that day, Woeser thanked the support and declared her task was to write about Tibet: “*{The award} It is an expression of international and the United States awareness of the current situation of Tibet. I am just a writer who writes information about Tibet (...)*”.

153 Tighter Control on Award Winning Tibetan Writer, Radio Free Asia, 7 March 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/award-03072013134618.html>

154 Tibetan writer sentenced to 5 yrs in prison for writing book on self-immolation, TCHRD, 21 May 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/05/tibetan-writer-sentenced-to-5-yrs-in-prison-for-writing-book-on-self-immolation/>. See also Tibetan monk imprisoned after writing books about Tibet, International Campaign for Tibet, 23 May 2013, <http://www.savetibet.org/tibetan-monk-imprisoned-after-writing-books-about-tibet/>

Province. Both singers had recorded and distributed a music DVD containing songs on the current situation of Tibet as well as songs of praise of the Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and some political exiled leaders. They were arbitrarily detained in 2012 and since then their whereabouts have remained unknown¹⁵⁵.

- On 14 July 2013, singer Kelsang Yarphel, 37, was detained in Lhasa on suspected charge of “singing a politically subversive song” (Bhodpa Tso “Fellow Tibetans”) at a concert in November 2012. Chinese authorities banned and confiscated DVDs of the concert that had been widely distributed across Tibetan areas¹⁵⁶.
- Around August 2013, singer Shawo Tashi was secretly sentenced to 5 years in prison, on the charges of “distributing photographs of self-immolation protesters; helping to write last notes left by self-immolation protesters; participating in protests against Chinese government, and singing patriotic Tibetan songs”. As with many other Tibetans, Shawo Tashi was arbitrarily detained for several months before his sentencing, in Dowa Township in Rebkong (Ch: Tongren) County, in Malho (Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province¹⁵⁷.
- In August 2013, writer Gangkye Drupa Kyab was sentenced to 5 and a half years in prison for allegedly engaging in political activities in Nyagchu (Ch: Yajiang) County in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. He was arbitrarily detained in 2012 and has been held incommunicado since then. Four other Tibetans were also sentenced to jail, for allegedly belonging to a secret group called “The Anti-Communist Party Association”¹⁵⁸.
- On 28 October 2013, nomad and writer Topden aka Dro Ghang Gah was arrested in Shagchu (Ch: Xiaqu) town in Diru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, TAR, along with other eight Tibetans. On 30 November 2013, he was sentenced to five years in prison, for “keeping contacts with Dalai clique and for engaging in activities to split the nation”. His poem “Sad Song of Diru”, which denounces the ongoing crackdown in Diru County, is likely the cause of his jail sentence¹⁵⁹.
- In late November 2013, singers Trinley Tsekar, 22, and Gonpo Tenzin, 25, were arbitrarily arrested in two separate incidents in Diru County. Initially, the formal charges against them were unknown, but sources pointed to their songs containing lyrics calling for the defense and promotion of Tibetan identity and cultural heritage¹⁶⁰. On 19 December 2013, Trinley Tsekar and two other Tibetans, Choekyap and Tselha, were sentenced by the County People’s Court in Diru to varying jail terms (nine, thirteen and three years respectively), on charges related to “separatist

155 Two Tibetan singers secretly sentenced but whereabouts unknown, TCHRD, 13 June 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/06/two-tibetan-singers-secretly-sentenced-but-whereabouts-unknown/>

156 China detains Tibetan singer for “politically subversive” song, TCHRD, 9 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/china-detains-tibetan-singer-for-politically-subversive-song/>

157 Tibetan singer secretly sentenced to five years in prison amid major crackdown in Rebkong, TCHRD, 29 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/tibetan-singer-secretly-sentenced-to-five-years-in-prison-amid-major-crackdown-in-rebkong/>

158 Tibetan writer and four others sentenced to more than five years in prison, TCHRD, 7 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/tibetan-writer-and-four-others-sentenced-to-more-than-5-years-in-prison/>

159 Writer among nine Tibetans sentenced to prison in Diru, TCHRD, 3 December 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/12/writer-among-nine-tibetans-sentenced-to-prison-in-diru/#more-2922>

160 China arrests two Tibetan singers in Diru, TCHRD, 6 December 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/12/china-arrests-two-tibetan-singers-in-diru/>

activities”¹⁶¹. At the time of writing there is no information regarding Gonpo Tenzin’s status.

RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

“Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association”. (Art. 20 UDHR)

“Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests”. (Art. 22.1 ICCPR)

In the PRC, the road to exercise the right to freedom of association such as establishing a non-government organization (NGO) is paved with many bureaucratic obstacles. Extensive documentation requirements as well as other conditions must be observed to have an organization registered as a “civil society organization”, following Chinese official jargon for NGOs¹⁶². In addition to the fulfillment of the numerous requirements, there are broad prohibitions for the development of many activities that are the traditional field of NGOs: organizations working in the areas of advocacy, legal assistance, labor, religion and ethnic minorities affairs are bound to be denied registration and, therefore, excluded. Tibetan organizations are particularly targeted and persecuted. For instance, in May 2012, Chinese authorities in Kardze issued a notification requiring all NGOs in the area to be registered under set criteria or facing the risk of being declared “illegal”¹⁶³. According to the Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, currently there are no independent human rights NGOs officially registered in the PRC¹⁶⁴.

“For Tibetans who have some status in society, or us minor celebrities, we are often harassed in this manner. We have to tip toe around or we could land ourselves in jail.”
[Tibetan musician interviewed in July 2013 in Xining (RD)]

Regardless of the obstacles, over the last years the number of NGOs has grown very fast in the PRC: by June 2013 there were over 500,000 registered social organizations in the country¹⁶⁵. However, due to the difficulties to access registration, many other NGOs are registered either as businesses or remain unregistered¹⁶⁶. Chinese scholars estimate the number of unregistered NGOs in the PRC

161 Diru Crackdown: Three Tibetans sent to prison for up to 13 years, singer gets 9 years in prison, TCHRD, 23 December 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/12/diru-crackdown-three-tibetans-sent-to-prison-for-up-to-13-years-singer-gets-9-years-in-prison/>

162 Social Organizations are divided in a threefold category: 1) Social organizations (membership associations) including trade and professional organizations; 2) Civil non-enterprise institutions (non-profit service providers); 3) Foundations. See The International Center for Non Profit Law, NGO Law Monitor: China, 16 September 2013, <http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/china.html>

163 Id.

164 Violations of the right of NGOs to funding: from harassment to criminalisation 2013 Annual Report, The Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders, 28 February 2013, <http://www.fidh.org/en/human-rights-defenders/Annual-Reports/obs-annual-report-2013-violations-of-the-right-of-ngos-to-funding-from-12892>

165 China supports growth of social organizations, People’s Daily, 23 October 2013, <http://english.people.com.cn/90882/8434519.html>

166 ‘Spring’ in the air for NGOs? China Daily, 17 April 2013, <http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-04/17/>

ranging between 3 million¹⁶⁷ and 10 million¹⁶⁸.

In March 2013, the PRC's National People's Congress announced that requirements to register a "social organization" would be softened and application procedures simplified, by permitting certain organizations to register directly, such as trade associations and chambers of commerce, organizations in the field of commerce, science and technology, and charities. However, political, legal and religious organizations are excluded from this new administrative regime, due to the alleged "problematic" nature of political and legal organizations, and the special regime that rules religious organizations¹⁶⁹.

Despite the apparent public official discourse supporting social organizations, an April 2013 Party document leaked in August (Document no. 9, discussed above in "Right to Freedom of Religion and Expression")¹⁷⁰ cited "civil society" as one of the threats to the Government, and announced aims at furthering ideological control. On 16 September 2013, a group of UN experts issued a joint statement warning of the use such campaigns against Chinese human rights defenders seeking to participate in the PRC's Universal Periodic Review (UPR) scheduled for 22 October 2013 in Geneva, Switzerland. Activists were reportedly harassed, threatened, arrested or banned. The PRC informed the UN experts that it had consulted NGOs in light of the UPR session and that the draft of the national report was available online for comments¹⁷¹.

In a timely response, UN Special Rapporteur of freedom of opinion and expression, Frank La Rue, declared that "nothing can justify excluding legitimate voices through intimidation" and that "access to information and an open space for the free exchange of opinions and ideas are essential to ensure a proper review of the human rights record of any country"¹⁷². The International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) also denounced the scarce participation of civil society allowed by the Chinese Government in the drafting of 2013 the PRC's national UPR report, and confirmed that some human rights activists were denied permission to travel in order to attend the UPR process in Geneva¹⁷³.

[These incidents point to a lack of real commitment by Chinese government to promote civil society](http://www.bjreview.com.cn/nation/txt/2013-04/08/content_16413494.htm)
content_16413494.htm

167 Springtime for NGOs, Beijing Review, 11 April 2013, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/nation/txt/2013-04/08/content_532593_2.htm

168 Civil Society, Chinese Style: The Rise of the non Profit Sector in Post-Mao China, 25 October 2012, <http://www.nonprofitquarterly.org/policysocial-context/21246-civil-society-chinese-stylethe-rise-of-the-nonprofit-sector-in-post-mao-chinaby.html>

169 China rolls out plan to transform govt functions, China Daily, 10 March 2013, http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/10/content_16295022.htm. See also Restructuring plan wins approval from legislators, China Daily, 15 March 2013, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013npc/2013-03/15/content_16309855.htm

170 See supra note 135.

171 UN experts alarmed by reprisals against activists linked to China's international human rights review, OHCHR, 16 October 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13860&LangID=E>

172 Id.

173 ICT highlights Tibet's lack of civil society on the eve of China's rights review in Geneva, ICT, 21 October 2013, <http://www.savetibet.org/ict-highlights-tibets-lack-of-civil-society-on-the-eve-of-chinas-rights-review-in-geneva/>

participation. For instance, during the PRC's first UPR in 2009, one of the recommendations made by the Human Rights Council and accepted by the PRC was to strengthen its engagement with civil society to promote and protect human rights¹⁷⁴.

Conclusion

Widespread violations of civil and political rights have constituted a common feature in Tibet during 2013, consolidating a long-standing trend of deteriorating human rights conditions in Tibet.

Despite the official discourse held in national and international fora, torture and arbitrary detentions remain common punishments for political dissidents and critics of the Chinese regime. The lack of an independent judiciary and effective mechanisms of accountability deny many Tibetans a fair trial and due process of law and penalize them for petitioning for their rights.

The PRC's refusal to issue passports to Tibetans has resulted in a gross violation of their freedom of travel.

Intrusive systems of surveillance and monitoring in Tibet have been implemented and existing ones have been expanded in order to tighter control on Tibetans, in a clear violation of their right to privacy.

Freedom of thought, conscience and religion are constantly hindered in Tibet, and in numerous occasions throughout this year, the collective exercise of the freedom of religion has been violently suppressed.

The right to freedom of expression, particularly freedom of the press, exists on paper but not in practice. Increasing online censorship prevents Tibetans from exercising their right to information. The widespread, systematic crackdown on Tibetan journalists, writers, artists and activists turned 2013 into an extremely dark year for freedom of expression.

Civil society organizations face numerous obstacles to carry on their activities, with Tibetan organizations particularly targeted. Human rights activists are subjected to harassment, threats and arrest.

2013 also saw the re-election of the PRC as a member of the UN Human Rights Council (HRC). This election was extremely contentious, due to the PRC's dismal human rights record, and given the fact that HRC members are supposed to "uphold the highest standards in the promotion and the protection of human rights (...)"¹⁷⁵. Nevertheless, as TCHRD noted when the PRC was elected to the

174 Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, China, A/HRC/1125, 5 October 2009, p.27, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/CNSession4.aspx>

175 UN General Assembly Resolution 60/251, that creates the Human Rights Council, 3 April 2006, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/AboutCouncil.aspx>

HRC, the PRC's membership to the Council poses a serious responsibility on both the PRC and the international community. The PRC must fully engage to improve its human rights record by adopting human rights instruments and implementing effective policies to defend, respect and fulfill human rights, and the international community must supervise that the PRC takes the right steps into that direction as well as render the PRC accountable for long-standing human rights abuses in Tibet¹⁷⁶.

In order to make a contribution to the success of the challenges ahead, TCHRD provides a set of recommendations for the People's Republic of China and the International Community:

1) Recommendations to the People's Republic of China:

- Immediately ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which the PRC signed in 1998.
- Sign and ratify the two Optional Protocols (OP) to the ICCPR. The first OP allows Human Rights Committee to receive communications from individuals from the State Party who claim to be victims of a violation of any right set forth in the ICCPR. The second OP abolishes the death penalty within State Party's territory.
- Sign and ratify the Optional Protocol to the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OP-CAT), which will permit a system of regular visits conducted by an independent Subcommittee to places where individuals are deprived of their liberty, in order to prevent torture.
- Sign and ratify the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (CPEd).
- Implement concrete indicators, benchmarks and planning, as well as specific accountability measures, in order to monitor and guarantee the fulfillment of the goals set out in the National Human Rights Action Plan 2012-2015.
- Fully abolish Re-education Through Labor camps and do not replace them with other 'corrective' measures.
- Revise and reform the Petitioning System, establishing effective mechanisms to guarantee citizens' right to petition and redress in due time, abandon the policy of promoting Party officials with a low petition record, abolish black jails, and punish local officials for the harassment and mistreatment of petitioners.
- Guarantee the independence of the judiciary and require that all citizens be lawfully detained, promptly informed of the charges against them, allowed to select a lawyer of their choice, and tried without undue delay.
- Immediately release all people arbitrarily detained, including protesters, monks and nuns, political dissidents, journalists, writers, artists, and activists. Inform their families of their whereabouts and allow visits.

¹⁷⁶ TCHRD statement on China's election to UN Human Rights Council, TCHRD, 13 November 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/11/tchrd-statement-on-chinas-election-to-un-human-rights-council/>

- Guarantee that human rights are respected during detention: end torture and ill-treatment of suspects, make police officers and officials accountable for human rights violations, and guarantee proper conditions for prisoners, especially access to adequate food and health care.
- Require that right to privacy, freedom of religion and freedom of expression be fully guaranteed in Tibet; stop surveillance campaigns in Tibetan regions, permit all Tibetans to exercise their right of freedom of religion without government interference, and allow the free exercise of the right to information by Tibetans without criminal penalty.
- Provide meaningful consultations with civil society organizations to allow their free participation in human rights issues.
- Grant all Tibetans a valid passport without further delay.
- Allow domestic and foreign media free access to TAR and other Tibetan regions. Provide the conditions for a real fulfillment of the freedom of expression; refrain from harassing and monitoring journalists in their lawful exercise of the right to information.
- Extend invitations to UN officials and independent experts who have requested to visit Tibet, particularly the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and consider to join the 106 States which have extended a standing invitation allowing visits to the country to all UN thematic special procedures¹⁷⁷.

2) Recommendations to the International Community:

- Urge the PRC to fully comply with human rights norms and standards: complying with Human Rights Treaties to which the PRC is already party, and signing and ratifying those to which it is not.
- Urge the PRC to fulfill the obligations it assumed during the 2013 Universal Periodic Review (UPR). In the event that the PRC continues committing gross violations of human rights, raise the issue before the Human Rights Council (HRC) as a legitimate ground for the PRC's expulsion from HRC membership.
- Demand the PRC end the practice of torture, arbitrary detention and enforced disappearances.
- Require the PRC to fully abolish Re-education Through Labor camps, black jails and other illegal detention centers.
- Promote joint-State alliances to demand the immediate release of political dissidents, prisoners of conscience, writers, journalists, artists and activists confined for exercising their freedom of expression and right to information.
- Address human rights conditions in the PRC, and human right abuses in Tibet during official visits to the PRC or visits from the PRC.
- Grant asylum status to Tibetans who are victims of human rights violations and extend, without unnecessary delay, visas to permit Tibetan activists in the PRC and elsewhere to take part in

¹⁷⁷ As of 1 December 2013. See Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council, OHCHR, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/SP/Pages/Introduction.aspx>

international events regarding Tibet.

- Refrain from signing commercial agreements with the PRC without demanding that the PRC address human rights conditions in Tibet, and avoid entering in commercial relations with the PRC that could increase the repression of Tibetans' rights, such as mining activities in TAR and other Tibetan regions.
- Encourage the PRC to extend invitations to UN officials to visit Tibet, particularly the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Special Procedures of the Human Rights Council (Special Rapporteurs, Working Groups and Independent Experts).
- Engage with the exile Tibetan leadership in its efforts to pursue a change of the PRC's policies towards Tibet and to seek a peaceful solution for Tibet's situation through dialogue and negotiation.⁸



Surveillance cameras at the entrance of Gade County, Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD



State-issued TV satellite box, Guinan, Amdo. 2013 © RD



Surveillance cameras at the entrance of Tabo (Ch: Dawu), Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD



A brand-new police station in Maqen, Golok Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD



Surveillance cameras in Rebkong County in June 2013. ©RD



Surveillance cameras in Rebkong County in June 2013. ©RD

RELIGIOUS REPRESSION

'Religious persecution in Tibet is politically motivated, and consciously implemented as policy to realize political ends.'

~ Dr. Ronald Schwartz

Since the invasion of Tibet by China's People's Liberation Army in 1949-50, the Chinese government has maintained a deeply hostile and antagonistic relationship with Tibetan Buddhism. The Chinese government has been aware from the beginning that Tibetan identity is rooted overwhelmingly in Tibetan Buddhist culture. Within a few years following the 1959 Lhasa uprising and the flight of the Dalai Lama and some 100,000 Tibetans into exile in India, the Communists ransacked and completely razed nearly all of Tibet's more than 6,000 monasteries and nunneries. Only thirteen monasteries were spared total destruction, though these too were all extensively damaged.

The enormity of this devastation is difficult to articulate. Tibetan monasteries and nunneries were not only centers of religious learning, they were also the libraries and museums of Tibet, housing centuries of cultural heritage preserved in texts, paintings, and statues.

The Chinese government's antagonism to Tibetan Buddhism was most dramatically illustrated during the Cultural Revolution, when the government killed or imprisoned 93% of the clergy, many of whom were also tortured. During the Cultural Revolution, any expression of religious belief was strictly prohibited and resulted in beatings and imprisonment. In the words of late Prof. Dawa Norbu, during the Cultural Revolution Mao replaced Buddha as 'God' in Tibet. Given the centrality of religion in Tibetan life and identity, nearly all traditional Tibetan customs was outlawed. During the period preceding and throughout the Cultural Revolution, 90% of Tibet's voluminous religious, historic and biographic literature was burned and destroyed. This devastation extends beyond Tibetan cultural heritage and illustrates an attack on an important aspect of global civilization, as Tibet has preserved the Sanskrit Mahayana Buddhist cannon, most of which was lost in India during the destruction of Nalanda University.

Following the total devastation of the Cultural Revolution, there was a period of relative relaxation after 1980, when the Chinese government permitted some semblance of religious practice. This resulted in a huge religious resurgence in Tibet throughout the 1980s, when Tibetans constructed altars in their homes and voluntarily restored the destroyed temples and monasteries. A new generation of young people entered the monasteries, pursuing the religious vocation of being monks and nuns.

In 1987 and 1988, there was a series of pro-independence protests in Lhasa, initially led by monks and nuns but then joined by the lay Tibetans, including many young teenagers, calling for the return of the Dalai Lama and freedom for Tibet. This resulted in mass arrest of many monastics and a tight-

ening control over religious practice throughout Tibet. Hardliners in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) felt vindicated in their view that any degree of religious freedom in Tibet will further Tibetan nationalism and create more obstacles in placing Tibet firmly under Chinese control.

A renewed policy of extreme religious repression was officially approved in June 1994, during the Third Tibet Work Forum held in Beijing. It was at this time that the Chinese government adopted a policy of political re-education—the “Patriotic Education Campaign”—formerly beginning the campaign of publically vilifying the Dalai Lama and the so-called “Dalai clique”. In 1996, the Chinese government extended this policy more forcefully into monasteries, forbidding any display of the Dalai Lama’s picture and sending work teams into monasteries and nunneries throughout Tibet to force monastics to denounce the Dalai Lama and pledge their allegiance to the CCP. The policies developed during the Third Forum, and enforced to this day, illustrate the belief that due to the strong connection with the Dalai Lama and Tibetan national identity, Tibetan Buddhism is fundamentally at odds with the CCP and their rule over Tibet.

While religion remained heavily controlled and restricted throughout the 1990s and 2000s, many of the current policies resulting in religious repression were formed in the wake of the 2008 national uprising throughout Tibet. Given the high involvement of monastics in these largely non-violent protests that swept across the Tibetan plateau, the Chinese government identified the monasteries, institutions and belief systems of Tibetan Buddhism as one of the greatest impediments in fully integrating Tibet. Religious life in Tibet is now totally regulated and controlled, with the Chinese government micromanaging all aspects of religion, both in public and private spheres. Given the importance of Buddhism in Tibetan life, many Tibetans experience these policies as an outright attack on their identity, some describing the current repression as horrendous as during the dark years of the Cultural Revolution.

Though the US Commission on International Religious Freedom has classified China as a “country of particular concern” (CPC) since 1999, making it among the most egregious violators of religious freedom in the world, the 2013 report of the Commission states, “The religious freedom conditions in Tibetan Buddhist areas of China are worse now than at any time over the past decade.” These current policies illustrate the desire to place Tibetan Buddhism completely under the control of the Chinese government. The policies and their enforcement are systematically dismantling the institutions and traditions that have kept the Tibetan Buddhist teachings alive for centuries; they pose the grave danger of eroding the foundations of this unique religious tradition which has followers all over the world particularly in the Buddhist communities scattered all along the Himalayas.

II. Self-immolation

1. Religious Demands of Self-Immolators

Since 2009, there have been a total of 125 known self-immolations inside Tibet. It is significant that

the first self-immolator from inside Tibet was a monk named Tapey from Kirti Monastery. His 27 February 2009 immolation followed an order from local authorities forbidding Kirti monks from observing a traditional prayer festival held after the Tibetan New Year (Losar). In spite of the order, hundreds of Kirti monks gathered outside Kirti's prayer hall to proceed with prayers, but stopped at the urging of senior monks and local officials, who feared the consequences of violating the order. Following the dispersal of the monks, Tapey left the monastery and walked to the crossroads of a market area of Ngaba, where he set himself aflame, raising a homemade Tibetan flag with a photo of the Dalai Lama at the center. He was then shot by People's Armed Police (PAP) personnel.

Two years later, another Kirti monk, Phuntsog, staged the second self-immolation protest inside Tibet. He immolated himself on 16 March 2011, marking the 3rd anniversary of the 2008 Kirti protest when at least 10 Tibetans were shot dead. After extinguishing the flames, police were seen beating Phuntsog before he died. Witnesses of the protest said that prior to being stopped by the police, he shouted slogans including "May His Holiness the Dalai Lama live for 10,000 years!"¹

Of the next seven self-immolations inside Tibet, occurring between August and October of 2011, four were Kirti monks and three were former Kirti monks, though it is not known whether the three chose to disrobe or were forced to by government authorities.² Current or former monastics accounted for the first 22 self-immolations inside Tibet, occurring between 27 February 2009 and 17 February 2012. Many of these self-immolators were heard chanting slogans demanding freedom and the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.³

Though there has subsequently been a shift in the dynamics of the self-immolation protests inside Tibet, with the majority of self-immolators being lay people rather than current or former monastics, the demand for religious freedom and the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet remain the resounding messages of nearly all of the self-immolators. Many self-immolators have also demanded the return of the Karmapa from exile, and the release of the Panchen Lama, who was "disappeared" by the Chinese government 18 years ago.⁴ Several self-immolators are known to have performed their protests with their hands held in prayer and frequently self-immolations have happened within or nearby monasteries, nunneries and stupas (reliquary monuments). Furthermore, there has been a high frequency of self-immolations during or near the time of important religious ceremonies.⁵

With the 2010 breakdown in talks between the Dalai Lama's envoys and Beijing, and the CCP show-

1 Self-immolations by Tibetans. ICT. <http://www.savetibet.org/resources/fact-sheets/self-immolations-by-tibetans>

2 Id.

3 Id.

4 Seventeen years and counting: disappearance of Panchen Lama, TCHRD, 25 April 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/04/seventeen-years-and-counting-disappearance-of-panchen-lama/>

5 Tibetan religious festival marked by two self-immolation death, TCHRD, 9 December 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/12/tibetan-religious-festival-marked-by-two-self-immolation-death/>

ing no willingness to communicate with Dharamsala, more than ever Tibetans inside Tibet accurately feel the painful separation from their spiritual leader. The ceaseless Chinese denigration of the Dalai Lama furthers Tibetan despair, making them increasingly hopeless that they will ever be reunited with their lama. Despite the uniform call of both the UN and human rights organizations to address the root causes of the self-immolations, the Chinese government has responded to these protests with an intensification of the very conditions that drove Tibetans to immolate in the first place. In an anonymous letter by a Tibetan from Ngaba, the author writes people are self-immolating because they “cannot see how to go on living” and “the present repressive and punitive policies are literally tearing out the hearts of the Ngaba people.”⁶ The repeated demand for the return of the Dalai Lama and religious freedom, at the very heart of Tibetan identity, leaves no doubt that there is an intimate connection between ongoing religious repression and Tibetan self-immolation protest.

2. Crackdown on Religious Rites for the Deceased

In Tibetan cultural belief system, the moment of death and the time immediately after are extremely important in determining the future birth of the deceased. After a death, family members generally leave the deceased’s body undisturbed for some days, allowing time for monastics and loved ones to conduct the proper prayers and ceremonies to ensure a positive rebirth. The performance of these religious rituals is thus a crucial responsibility for family members of the deceased as well as the local monastic community.

Since the wave of self-immolations began in 2009, the Chinese government, as if rubbing salt to the wounds, has systematically interfered with the performance of religious ceremonies for the self-immolators.⁷ Following a self-immolation protest, Chinese security officials consistently attempt to confiscate the deceased’s body,⁸ causing confrontations with Tibetans who attempt to protect it, believing the corpse must not be altered until proper ceremonies are conducted. In cases where family members or monasteries are able to keep the body, usually in spite of much resistance from security forces, Chinese authorities typically order the remains to be cremated on the following day, not allowing the necessary time for death rituals.

Following a huge number of self-immolations in October-November 2012, in December, the Chinese government created a new guideline for handling self-immolations called “Opinion on Handling Self-Immolation Cases in Tibetan Areas in Accordance with the Law.” At the heart of the guideline is the criminalization of many actions associated with the self-immolation protests. Under provisions of

6 India: Dalai Lama Prays For Monks, Nun Who Self-Immolated, Huffington Post, 19 October 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/19/india-dalai-lama-prays_n_1019530.html

7 Tibetan mother dies of self-immolation, denied proper cremation by Chinese authorities, TCHRD, 17 April 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/04/tibetan-mother-dies-of-self-immolation-denied-proper-cremation-by-chinese-authorities/>

8 Teenage monk dies of burning protest; fate of body unknown, TCHRD, 22 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/teenage-tibetan-monk-dies-of-burning-protest/>

the guideline, gathering to hold a prayer service or cremation ritual for those who died in self-immolation is illegal, as is “summon[ing] a group to mourn or collect funds for a self-immolator.”⁹

On the basis of these guidelines, on 18 April 2013, the Yazi (Ch: Xunhua) County People’s Court sentenced two monks from Beudo Monastery located in Beudo (Ch: Wendu) Township to three years in prison in connection to the performance of rituals for the 25-year-old Wangchen Norbu, who died during his self-immolation protest on 19 November 2013. Tsondue, about 27, was charged with organizing prayer services for the deceased at Beudo Monastery on 19 November and acting as chief chant-master (Omze) during a prayer session on 21 November. His fellow monk, Gedun Tsultrim, about 30, was charged with collecting donations on behalf of Norbu’s family and arranging vehicles for local Tibetans wishing to visit the deceased home to pay their condolences. They were sentenced after five months of secret detention, during which time their family members were denied any information concerning their whereabouts or wellbeing.¹⁰ Given that the performance of these religious ceremonies is an expected and required duty of monastics, their family members enquired about their whereabouts to the County government office no less than five times during their secret detention.

Similarly, when Tsering Tashi, 22, performed his self-immolation protest on January 12, 2013, on the main street of Amchok (Ch: Amuqu) town of Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, Chinese officials also prohibited any religious ceremonies. Authorities ordered his body to be cremated during the night to prevent a large gathering and banned villagers and monks from Amchok Monastery from offering their condolences to the family. Sources say that Tashi’s mother was soon-after admitted to a hospital after suffering from a stroke caused by the official order banning religious rituals for her son.¹¹

The performance of these religious ceremonies and death rituals is a very important responsibility for monastics and loved ones of the deceased; the ceremonies present the opportunity to grieve for the lost, as well as try to ensure them a positive future. By prohibiting prayer services in monasteries and stopping all condolences to the deceased’s family members, the law amounts to a criminalization of mourning. It outlaws one of the most intimate moments in life and flagrantly violates the most basic of human rights.

III. Control over Monastics

1. Enforced “Patriotic” or “Legal” Education

“How can you cut the root and expect the tree to grow? It is the same if you cut at the root of our

9 Two monks sentenced to 3 yrs in prison for holding prayers for self-immolator, TCHRD, 5 June 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/06/two-monks-sentenced-to-3-yrs-in-prison-for-holding-prayers-for-self-immolator/>

10 Id.

11 Family of Tibetan self-immolator barred from holding religious rituals, TCHRD, 21 January 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/01/family-of-tibetan-self-immolator-barred-from-holding-religious-rituals-2/>

devotion, His Holiness [the Dalai Lama].”

- Tibetan monk, describing his experience of patriotic education¹²

The Patriotic Education campaign was first launched in 1994, but the campaign officially began in Tibetan monasteries and nunneries in 1996. The campaign essentially codified the CCP’s pre-existing policy of antagonisms toward the Dalai Lama and Tibetans’ demands for genuine religious freedom without state interference.

The aims of Patriotic Education are two-fold: 1) to create a love for communism and the Chinese Motherland that surpasses religious devotion, and 2) to force education recipients to denounce the Dalai Lama and the “Dalai Clique.” The name of the campaign, “Love your Country, Love your Religion,” underscores the fundamental aim of the program: to make monastics obedient servants of the state first, and religious practitioners second.

The strict enforcement of patriotic education within monasteries illustrates the CCP’s identification of monks and nuns as among the most dangerous populations harboring “separatist” ideas. On 25 May 1996, Chen Kuiyuan, the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Party Secretary, stated in public, “Monasteries are the most critical places penetrated by the Dalai Clique. These are their conspiring and hiding places. These are also the places where most of their followers reside.”¹³ Chinese officials frequently refer to monasteries as hotbeds of “separatism” and characterize as seditious any deviation from official party line regarding religion.¹⁴

The exact curriculum varies depending on the monastery but it always includes lessons on Chinese law, Communist ideology, the distorted history of Tibet (in which Tibet has been a part of part of China since the 7th century), contemporary politics, and the evils of “splittism” and “separatism.” Following the re-education sessions, monks and nuns are required to sign documentation denouncing the Dalai Lama, recognizing Gyaltzen Norbu, the Chinese appointed 11th Panchen Lama, as the “real” Panchen Lama, and expressing their love of and allegiance to China and the CCP.

By February 1998, 3,993 expulsions, 294 arrests and 14 deaths were recorded in direct connection to China’s “patriotic education.” According to statements made by the CCP, by this time around 30,000 of Tibet’s 46,000 Buddhist monks and nuns had already received “re-education.”¹⁵ Patriotic Edu-

12 When the Sky Fell to Earth: The New Crackdown on Buddhism in Tibet, International Campaign for Tibet http://savetibet.de/fileadmin/user_upload/content/berichte/112004ReligionReport.pdf

13 Religious Repression in Tibet: Special Report 2012, TCHRD, See also <http://thediplomat.com/2013/08/21/the-patriotic-education-of-tibet/2/>

14 International Religious Freedom Report for 2012, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, US Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2012&dclid=208224#wrapper>

15 Over 3,993 monks and nuns expelled: religious repression continues in Tibet, TCHRD, 23 May 1998, <http://www.tchrd.org/1998/05/over-3993-monks-and-nuns-expelled-religious-repression-continues-in-tibet/>

cation contributes in large-part to why Tibetans escape into India. The 2001 International Religious Freedom Report quotes the then UN High Commissioner for Refugees Rudd Lubbers explaining that one-third of Tibetan refugees claim that they left because of the “patriotic re-education” campaigns.¹⁶

Following the 2008 protests, the Patriotic Education campaign has been renewed with even greater vigor. An article in the CCP newspaper *The Tibet Daily* quoted Tibet’s deputy Communist Party Chief telling a group of influential monks that “reinforcing patriotic education” was now a top priority.¹⁷ In April 2008, the CCP began a mass re-education campaign throughout the TAR.

Chinese media acknowledged that a total of 1,200 monks from Drepung and Sera Monasteries had been expelled in 2008. Since that time, hundreds of additional monks have been expelled and arrested from Sera, Ganden, and Drepung, the three great monasteries surrounding Lhasa.¹⁸ Since May 2012, all of the more than 1,700 monasteries and nunneries in the TAR were subject to “legal education” by work teams stationed on site; thus, not a single Tibetan monastery in the TAR is free from direct state interference. Though Beijing had planned to station around 3000 staff members, Tibetan writer Woesser reports that the actual number exceeds 7000.¹⁹

On 14 January 2013, fourteen senior monks from Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries and the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa were detained by Chinese officials and sent to a monastery in Tibetan Nagchu prefecture for “political reeducation.” Among those detained were important teachers, chant leaders, a monastic disciplinarian and a Khenpo (Abbot).²⁰ These three monasteries are amongst the most important and powerful religious institutions in Tibet. For centuries, they have been renowned as the highest centers of learning for Tibetan Buddhism, while the Jokhang Temple, built in the 7th century, is arguably the holiest site in all of Tibet – being the first ever monastery founded in Tibet by emperor Trisong Detsen. The abduction of these senior officials thus illustrates the continued attack on institutions held most dear by Tibetans.

Though the legal education is pervasive in all monasteries in the TAR, the Chinese government has also imposed propaganda campaign in other regions of Tibet; Kirti monastery, in northeastern Tibet, has also become a central target. In April 2011, following the March self-immolation of Kirti monk Phunstog, hundreds of Chinese soldiers sealed off the monastery with armed troops and barbed-wire fences, preventing the monks from leaving and forcing them to rely solely on the local laypeople for

16 The “Patriotic Education” of Tibet (by Anand Upendran), *The Diplomat*, 21 August 2013, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/08/21/the-patriotic-education-of-tibet/2/>

17 China to step up controversial ‘re-education’ campaign for Tibetans, Phayul, 5 April 2008. <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=20342>

18 <http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/en-report-tibet-4.pdf>

19 “Chamdo: Villages and Monasteries are Covered in Five-Starred Red Flags” by Woesser. <http://highpeakspu-reearth.com/2013/chamdo-villages-and-monasteries-are-covered-in-five-starred-red-flags-by-woesser/>

20 Fears of New Crackdown on Monks, Radio Free Asia, 30 January 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/crackdown-01302013151619.html>

their daily food supply. During the day, the Communist work teams interrogated monks about their beliefs while at night, armed soldiers and dogs patrolled the monastery, beating some of the monks.²¹ The entire monastery is now equipped with close-circuit TV and listening devices; hundreds of monks are routinely detained in undisclosed locations, many of whom are subject to torture.²² In fact, Mar Jang Nyug, a dissident author inside Tibet, quoting an eyewitness account, wrote in his book *Ancestors' Tomb* that, because of the Chinese repressive crackdown, “Kirti monastery has become like a leprosy patient.”

The monastery, established in 1870, remains under a state of total martial law. Given its importance in the promulgation of traditional religious study and culture in northeastern Tibet, the current situation in Kirti is analogous to a university such as Harvard or Oxford coming under antagonistic, totalitarian military control. Describing the campaign being carried out in his monastery, the exiled Kirti Rinpoche stated, “Eight hundred Chinese government officials have moved into the monastic compound, and this has been driving the monks to a state of utter fear and desperation. In name it is being called ‘re-education’, but in reality it is nothing but a state of imprisonment for the monks.”²³

The situation at Kirti further deteriorated when, on 21 April 2011, Chinese authorities abducted about 300 monks, under the pretext of carrying out “patriotic education.” Two elderly Tibetans were beaten to death as they tried to prevent the police from carrying the monks away.²⁴ Following a repressive pattern similar to that carried out at other once-powerful monasteries such as Sera, Ganden and Deprung, the Chinese government uses the pretext of patriotic education in order to lessen the monastic population and thus tighten their control over monasteries.

The patriotic education campaign illustrates a major attack on some of the most fundamental principles of Tibetan Buddhism. Like in all religious traditions, to denounce one’s spiritual teacher, the well-spring of knowledge and virtue, is among the gravest of sins in Tibetan Buddhism. The Dalai Lama is not only the most respected figure of the Gelugpa sect, the largest sect of Tibetan Buddhism, he is also the greatest promoter of the non-sectarian (Rime) movement, prompting great love and respect from Tibetan Buddhists of all traditions. Furthermore, for centuries Tibetans of every sect have revered the various Dalai Lamas as living incarnations of the Buddha of Compassion, Chenrezing. He is the most salient symbol of Tibetan faith and, for many, embodies all the qualities most sacred to Buddhism. He is also seen as the very quintessence of Tibetan culture. The banned song of the imprisoned Tibetan singer Phulchung, and the painful sympathy it struck with the majority of Tibetans in and outside Tibet, illustrates it very succinctly:

21 Id.

22 “Kirti Rinpoche Meeting with the Press”, Human Rights in China (HRIC), 16 November 2011, <http://www.hrichina.org/content/5784>

23 Id.

24 March Calls on China for Immediate End Hostilities in Ngaba, *The Tibet Post*, 5 May 2011 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/international/1662-march-calls-on-china-for-immediate-end-hostilities-in-ngaba>

Kind Lama
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
May you sit on the Golden Throne
You are the protector of the Tibetan people

Thus, for a Tibetan to denounce the Dalai Lama is also a denunciation of the core of their faith and culture. Not surprisingly, contrary to the aims of the policy, the CCP's patriotic education has only deepened Tibetan resentment against Chinese rule and united Tibetans in their resistance to CCP authority. Scholar Dr. John Powers of Australian National University stated the patriotic education campaign has "produced [the] spectacular effect of building a unified Tibetan nationalism."²⁵ However, given the statements made by TAR governor Pema Thinley in May 2012 that the campaign was crucial to "resist the infiltration and sabotage from the Dalai clique,"²⁶ the Chinese government is showing no signs of relenting in a policy that assaults the very core of the Tibetan belief system.

2. Trulku Management Measures

On September 1, 2007, the State Administration of Religious Affairs (SARA) released the Management Measures for the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism, (MMR) Order No. 5. This legislation mandates that all reincarnate lamas (trulkus), or "living Buddhas" as called by the Chinese state, must be recognized by the government or they will be deemed "illegal or invalid." This legislation aims not only at directly controlling Tibetan Buddhism now, but also at tightening the CCP's stranglehold over it in the future.

Tibetan Buddhism has a centuries-old tradition of identifying individuals who consciously decide to take rebirth in a particular place for the benefit of others. This practice is unique to Tibetan Buddhism and is the primary method through which Tibetans identify their most important spiritual teachers, such as the leaders of the different Buddhist sects and heads of monasteries.

These new measures by the Chinese government fundamentally undermine the practice of trulku identification, determining trulkus not on the basis of centuries-old religious practices but rather the ideological wishes of the CCP; it essentially codifies into law the actions such as those carried out during the 1995 abduction of the Panchen Lama. The Chinese government is now the ultimate authority to determine whether a particular lama is permitted to reincarnate, whether a monastery can have a trulku in residence, and whether a particular child can be identified as a trulku. The 2008 CECC report also points out, "The MMR includes a provision that could empower authorities to eliminate, over time, all reincarnated teachers located in certain city areas, perhaps even Lhasa, which has the highest urban concentration of Tibetan Buddhist monks and reincarnated teachers anywhere

25 China's "patriotic education" campaign strengthening Tibetan Nationalism. Phayul, 15 April 2009. <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=20666&t=0>

26 China to 'resist sabotage from Dalai clique' with legal education in monasteries, Phayul, 17 May 2012, <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=31409>

in China.”²⁷ It is thus foreseeable that the Chinese government uses this new legislation to entirely eliminate the trulku system from the Buddhist capital of Lhasa, therefore ending the practice that identifies the most important teachers in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Given the complete abandonment of traditional methods for trulku identification, MMR Order No. 5 contradicts the 2011 government-issued White Paper on Tibet, which states, “The Living Buddha reincarnation system, unique to Tibetan Buddhism, is fully respected.”²⁸

The implementation of the policy has had very harmful effects within Tibet. In September 2013, the Chinese authorities indefinitely shut down Shak Rongpo Gaden Dhargyeling Monastery, a Tibetan monastery with more than 300 years of history, for supposedly violating the legislation. The monastery, located in Shakchu (Ch: Xiaqu) Township, Nagchu Prefecture in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), was under intense pressure since 2010, when authorities arrested and sentenced senior spiritual teacher Lama Dawa Rinpoche to seven years in prison on charges he contacted His Holiness the Dalai Lama while searching for the ninth reincarnation of Rogpo Choeje, the head lama of the monastery. The first Rogpo Choeje founded the monastery more than 300 years ago under the guidance of the fifth Dalai Lama.²⁹

Preceding the closure of the monastery, 50 Tibetans were arrested while clashing with members of the “work team” cadres permanently stationed at the monastery. Dolma Yangkey, a 28-year-old mother of two, attempted suicide, citing as reasons both the arrest of her husband and the CCP forcibly placing their own reincarnation as the head of the monastery.³⁰

As trulkus are the most important religious authorities in Tibet and are responsible for identifying other trulkus, the ultimate aim of this legislation is for the CCP to completely usurp the traditional role of the clergy within Tibetan society. So long as the CCP maintains control over the identification of trulkus, they can appoint lamas who act as political servants of the state as opposed to religious teachers. Ultimately, such legislation undermines the entire structure of Tibetan Buddhism, transforming it from an ancient spiritual tradition into a vehicle for the propagation of communist propaganda.

3. Restriction on Movement

Historically, freedom of movement has been a crucial component of religious education for monks and nuns throughout Tibet. Tibetan Buddhism requires practitioners to receive oral transmissions of

27 New Legal Measures Assert Unprecedented Control Over Tibetan Buddhist Reincarnation, Congressional Executive Commission on China, 5 May 2008, <http://www.cecc.gov/publications/commission-analysis/new-legal-measures-assert-unprecedented-control-over-tibetan>

28 China’s White Paper on Tibet, china.org, July 2011, http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/2011-07/12/content_22971483.htm

29 Ancient Tibetan monastery under siege over reincarnation issue; mother of two attempts suicide protest, TCHRD, 10 September 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/09/ancient-tibetan-monastery-under-siege-over-reincarnation-issue-mother-of-two-attempts-suicide-protest/>

30 Id.

texts and meditation practices from master teachers, necessitating both teachers and students are able to travel freely to various monasteries throughout the plateau. Given the importance of these oral transmissions and the teacher-student relationship, this mobility is essential for the continuity of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition.

Following 2008 uprisings, the Chinese government has become increasingly restrictive about the mobility of monastics. These restrictions have become even more stringent in the wake of the self-immolations, such that monks and nuns cannot even leave their monastic grounds in areas where self-immolations and other protests have occurred. This is the case for the monastics of the nearly 500 monasteries and nunneries in the Chamdo area, who have been prohibited from leaving their monasteries since 2012. As procedures to obtain travel permits are difficult, requiring several levels of government involvement, permission to leave is rarely granted: in 2012, not a single monk or nun went to Lhasa and in 2013, only 4 monks obtained permission to travel to Lhasa. If they do not return within the allotted time period, they are charged with resisting the government and severely punished.³¹ Due to these tight restrictions, monastics throughout Tibet frequently wear lay clothes as opposed to their robes while traveling in order to avoid discrimination and arbitrary arrests by the authorities.³²

Even in areas where no self-immolations or political protests have occurred, the Chinese government is increasingly strict. If Tibetans outside the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) wish to visit Lhasa or other locations in the TAR, they must first gain the permission of county authorities, such as the County police station or the County PSB office. In the application process, Tibetans must make a formal pledge not to join any protest activities in the TAR. If Tibetans visit the TAR without government authorization, they are subject to detainment and questioning.³³

These permits are frequently denied, prohibiting religious practitioners from doing pilgrimage and monastics from receiving their traditional religious education. These travel restrictions are particularly difficult for Gelugpa monks, the largest sect of Tibetan Buddhism, as Sera, Ganden, and Drepung, amongst the three most important Gelugpa monasteries in Tibet, are all located in Lhasa. Tashi Lhunpo, the traditional seat of the Panchen Lama and another important Gelugpa monastery, is located in Shigatse, also in the TAR.

The reverse situation is also true—it has become increasingly difficult for monks and nuns from the TAR to travel to other Tibetan regions to pursue a religious education. Given the massive expulsion

31 “Chamdo: Villages and Monasteries are Covered in Five-Starred Red Flags” by Woesser, High Peaks Pure Earth, 24 September 2013, <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2013/chamdo-villages-and-monasteries-are-covered-in-five-starred-red-flags-by-woesser/>

32 International Religious Freedom Report for 2012, US Department of State, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2012&dliid=208224#wrapper>

33 Tibetan farmer escapes imminent arrest for sharing religious texts, TCHRD, 18 February 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/02/tibetan-farmer-escapes-imminent-arrest-for-sharing-religious-texts/>

campaigns carried out at monasteries and nunneries in Lhasa and throughout the TAR post-2008, many monastics are forced to seek educational opportunities in eastern Tibet. Reports from Tibet show that Chinese authorities in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, TAR are persecuting monks and nuns who travel outside the TAR for religious education as “social prisoners” (Tib: chitsok ki tsonpa). If Tibetans from the TAR are caught crossing the border into neighboring Tibetan areas of Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai, they are subject to detainment, harassment and interrogation by local Public Security Bureau (PSB) officers.³⁴

In 2012, government authorities in Gansu Province issued an order to expel all monks who had come from outside Gansu to pursue their religious studies in monasteries located in the province, including the renowned Labrang Tashikyil Monastery, founded Jamyang Shepa, one of the greatest of Gelupa seers. As the abbot is a member of the Buddhist Association of China (BAC), and has repeatedly petitioned the Chinese government, the expulsion has yet to take effect. However, if implemented, it would create numerous problems for the monastery, as many senior monks at Labrang such as Geshes, scripture teachers, and disciplinarians come from Tibetan areas outside Gansu.³⁵

The restrictions on movement, coupled with the monastic expulsion campaigns, seriously erode the lifelong religious training monastics are supposed to receive. In 2006, approximately one third of the monks who escaped into exile had received no religious education at all, while less than 20% had received 10 years or more.³⁶ As Tibetan monks and nuns take lifelong vows they are expected to spend decades studying and practicing the Buddhist teachings, these restrictions represent a serious affront to the foundations of religious education in Tibet.

4. Money Buys Everything: ‘Harmonious Monastery’

When force, intimidation and arrest don’t work, the Chinese government, resorting to the carrot and stick approach, attempts to buy the loyalty of the Tibetan Buddhists through cash. On 19 April 2012, in Lhasa, the Chinese government held a ceremony, presided over by party Secretary of TAR, Chen Quanguo, conferring awards on ‘harmonious’ monasteries and ‘patriotic’ monks and nuns. While giving his speech during the ceremony, Chen declared that “recipients of the first award ceremony for the harmonious model monasteries and law-abiding, patriotic and advanced monks include 59 monasteries and nunneries, 58 Monastery Management Committees (MMCs), 6,773 monks and nuns, and 200 ‘outstanding cadres’ posted in monasteries in recognition of their good work.” He further declared that the ‘law-abiding advanced monks and nuns’ of the Harmonious Model Monasteries shall be awarded with government subsidies, which include free pension, medical insurance and an annual

34 Id.

35 Pressure mounts on Labrang Monastery after expulsion order, TCHRD, 20 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/pressure-mounts-on-labrang-monastery-after-expulsion-order/>

36 The Communist Party as Living Buddha. ICT, <http://www.savetibet.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/2007ReligionReport.pdf>

free health check up.³⁷

Similarly, in December 2012, Chinese officials recognized 100 TAR monasteries and nunneries and over 7,500 “patriotic, law-abiding, and advanced monks and nuns.” An abbot speaking at the ceremony described patriotism toward China as “an unshirkable responsibility” of Tibetan Buddhists and likened “safeguarding the unification of the motherland” to a duty of “disciples of Buddha.”³⁸

IV Crackdown on Religious Festivals

Tibetan Religious holidays and festivals are very sensitive events to the Chinese government, because they are closely connected with Tibetan identity and politics. Festivals such as the Tibetan New Year (Losar), and the Dalai Lama’s birthday (July 6) have often provided the platform needed by Tibetans inside Tibet to gather together and rally around issues that they think are critical to the Tibetan cause. Given that the Dalai Lama is considered as the manifestation of the Tibetan God, Chenresig, his birthday brings back long-suppressed memories of Tibetan cultural, historical and political mythological beliefs. Therefore, celebrations of such seemingly apolitical and religious festivals often end result in political protests by Tibetans inside Tibet, demanding for the return of the Dalai Lama. This year was no exception. On 6 July 2013, during a religious festival organized to celebrate the birthday of the Dalai Lama, monks of Nyatso monastery in Tawo, Kham were brutally shot by the Chinese security forces. More than 10 Tibetans, including monk Tsewang Chophel, were injured and hospitalized. Severe beatings and arrests took place, which prompted angry protests by local Tibetans, eventually leading to the release of the fourteen arrested Tibetans.³⁹

V Conclusion

Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan Buddhists have been ‘double-edged swords’ for the Chinese state. On the one hand, the Chinese constitution guarantees freedom of religion to its citizens, yet on the other hand, it is acutely aware of the threats posed to its control by the ideals of an equally influential religious system. In the case of Tibet, the issue has become more sensitive for China, as Tibetan Buddhism is deeply associated and intertwined with Tibetan nationalism. The worship of the Dalai Lama’s photo is still banned in many areas of Tibet as China construes it as straying from the so-called ‘Party line’ of opposing all ‘splittists’ and “hostile foreign forces”. This is one of the main reasons why the Chinese state is so unrelenting in its campaign to eradicate the influence of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan lamas. The so-called patriotic education campaign, including the campaign to select ‘harmonious’ monasteries, is all aimed to root out the influence of the ‘Dalai clique’ and his

37 China Rewards ‘Harmonious’ Monasteries, ‘Patriotic’ Monks, Nuns; TCHRD, 20 April 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/04/china-rewards-harmonious-monasteries-patriotic-monks-nuns/>

38 Congressional Executive Commission on China, Annual Report 2013 <http://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/AR13DJ.PDF>

39 Senior monk among the latest identified in Tawu shootings, TCHRD, 11 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/senior-monk-among-the-latest-identified-in-tawu-shootings-2/>

‘separatist’ ideas.

The Chinese government has now abandon any effort to show of outward respect for the need to separate between religious freedom and ‘separatist activities’ when it comes to Tibet. The state and its machineries of control in Tibet know that Tibetan Buddhism is the primary motivating and instigator factor of Tibetan nationalist identity, which threatens the ‘harmony and stability’ of China’s rule in Tibet. Unlike in liberal democratic countries, where civil society organizations can help negotiate a compromise between the state and its critics, in Tibet, force and repression are the only measures of securing state control and stability. As a result, the only response to reign in the ‘anti-stability’ elements represented by Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhists is violent repression. However, this strategy has backfired, as it creates more resentment and thus more resistance from the Tibetan Buddhists. China is aware of the fact that its policy in Tibet has failed. In June 2013, Chinese scholar, Jin Wei, director of ethnic and religious studies at the Central Party School in Beijing called for a softer approach to the Dalai Lama, allowing Tibetans inside Tibet to worship the Dalai Lama as a religious leader, testifies this.⁴⁰ But the fact that such a ‘softer approach’ has not been implemented in Tibet as of now evidently proves that the Chinese state fears the potent nationalist fervor that lies beneath Tibetan Buddhism and its sacred manifestations. As a result, Chinese government has no choice, if it were to ensure ‘stability’ and ‘harmony’ in Tibet, but to root out every influence of Tibetan Buddhism and important Tibetan lamas in Tibet. Chen Quanguo, the current party secretary of TAR, puts it rhetorically:

Work hard to ensure that the voice and image of the party is heard and seen over the vast expanses (of Tibet) ... and that the voice and image of the enemy forces and the Dalai clique are neither seen nor heard.⁴¹

40 Bold New Proposal: Welcome signs that some officials are at last starting to question policies on Tibet , The Economist, 22 June 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/china/21579847-welcome-signs-some-officials-are-last-starting-question-policies-tibet-bold-new>

41 Chinese government vows to stamp out the voice of the Dalai Lama in Tibet, The Independent, 2 November 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/chinese-government-vows-to-stamp-out-the-voice-of-the-dalai-lama-in-tibet-8918829.html>



China's People's Armed Police overwhelm a giant Buddha image during the Monlam Chenmo festival at Labrang Monastery in 2012. ©RD



Riot police patrol on foot at Labrang (Xiahe) town during the Monlam Chenmo festival 2012. ©RD



Tibetans look towards China's PAP forces arriving in Labrang during the Monlam Chenmo festival 2012. ©RD

CRACKDOWN ON TIBETAN SELF-IMMOLATION PROTESTS

If we are one family and one of us self immolates, none of us are safe. The government will harass your entire family.

~ Tibetan man interviewed in Tibet's Chentsa County in June 2013

Introduction

Despite constant appeals made by the exiled Tibetan leadership led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Karmapa and the Sikyong Lobsang Sangay 'to refrain from taking drastic measures,' Tibetans inside Tibet in 2013 continued to engage in self-immolation protests to express their resentment against, and disapproval of, Chinese policies in Tibet. In 2013, a total of 27 Tibetans within Tibet committed self-immolation protests. All but one— whose status remains unknown—perished. One of the main reasons Tibetans choose to burn themselves in protest is due to the lack of any space for other forms of expressing dissent and disagreement. In Tibet, traditional means of expressing opposition such as protest marches, sit-ins, and hunger strikes are completely banned. As shown by the fate of Tibetan writers and artists, anyone engaging in free expression of one's ideas, especially ideas that are not in conformity with Chinese government policies, faces enormous risks to their own life and security, including torture and long prison sentences. Under such circumstances, the self-immolators, by setting themselves on fire, are able not only to send their messages to the outside world, but also deny the Chinese government the ability to punish them. The lack of freedom of expression and information inside Tibet has led to some independent observers commenting that 'there are more journalists in North Korea right now than there are in Tibet.'

Tibetan self-immolators come from ordinary family and class backgrounds. They were monks and nuns, nomads and farmers, laypersons—both young and old—and a forest officer, unlike in the past when Tibet saw self-immolations by Gudrup, a writer; and Sopa Rinpoche, a *trulku* or a reincarnated lama. Such dynamics demonstrates that self-immolation as phenomena is not confined to one particular section or class of Tibetan society, but covers the entire gamut of Tibetan society. And that the resentment of Tibetan people is not limited to TAR, but overwhelmingly extends to other Tibetan areas that are incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan. Most significantly, it debunks the Chinese government's myth that the majority of Tibetans in Tibet are happy and satisfied with Chinese policies and that only a few disgruntled elements, of what it refers to as 'members of the Dalai clique,' are bent on destroying 'harmony' and 'stability' in Tibet.

Aspirations of the Self-immolators

The first self-immolation of the reporting year occurred on 12 January 2013 when Tsering Tashi,

22, set himself alight at the main street of Amchok (Ch: Amuqu) Township in Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County in Kanlho (Ch: Gan-nan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province. The year's last self-immolation was committed by Tsultrim Gyatso, 41, a monk from Amchok in Sangchu County on 19 December 2013. All the 27 self-immolators condemned China's policies in Tibet. They all had different ways of committing self-immolation to express their opposition to Chinese rule. In the case of Tsering Tashi and Shichung, they used the powerful image of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, considered by the Tibetans as the earthly manifestation of *Chenresig*, the Buddha of Compassion. When Tsering Tashi fell down to the ground consumed by the harrowing flames, he folded his hands in a gesture of Buddhist prayer and uttered the name of the Dalai Lama. Shichung, on the other hand, lit a butter-lamp before an image of the Dalai Lama and then set himself on fire. A few days earlier, he had said, "They [Chinese government] won't let us live."

"There's no other solution, so people are setting themselves on fire. People think, there's no way for me to get the news out, so I have to do this. I will die to get the word out. More and more people are doing this. I refuse to attack my enemy or bring harm to another person, but I do have this one power to take my life. And I'm not afraid. When I actually think of this, the pain is unbearable. If people had freedom, they would not take such actions." [Tibetan man in Xining in June 2013 interview, (RD)]

Another non-religious, apolitical but equally powerful self-immolation was committed by an unidentified Tibetan woman in late March/early April 2013. She was protesting over the planned destruction of her home in Kyegudo (Ch: Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. This was akin to the self-immolation protest in 2012 by another Tibetan woman, Passang Lhamo, 62, who travelled to the Chinese capital Beijing where she self-immolated to protest over the demolition of her home to make way for 'development projects.' Other self-immolators expressed extreme existential pangs of living under Chinese rule, which forced them to kill themselves. Kunchok Sonam, 18, had told his friends that "living under Chinese rule in Tibet had brought too much suffering," before setting himself on fire on 20 July 2013 and succumbing to the flames.

Lhamo Kyab is apparently the only self-immolator employed by the Chinese government. Alluding to the Chinese government's rampant deforestation that has caused severe environmental destruction on the Tibetan plateau, Lhamo Kyab, a forest officer, committed self-immolation in Sangchu County on 5 March 2013. Lhamo Kyab, in his early forties, set fire to himself by pouring petrol over a pile of logs—setting them alight and placing himself amid the flames. He died in a rural area near his home in Meshul Township in Sangchu. Phagmo Dhondup, on the other hand, died of self-immolation protest calling for Tibet's independence. He self-immolated on the evening of 24 February 2012 when hundreds of Tibetans were present at the Jhakhyung monastery, an important and ancient Gelugpa monastery, for a traditional prayer ceremony and presentation of butter-lamps of the Buddha and other deities. Phagmo Dondup told his friend before setting himself on fire:

Till now, over a total of 125 Tibetans have set themselves on fire for freedom in Tibet. They are the true martyrs of Tibet. If Tibet does not get its freedom and independence, China will annihi-

late Tibetan culture and tradition. Dhondup was of the view that the basis of Tibetan freedom and independence is the Tibetan language, which he believes to be under assault. In the written message he left behind, he wrote, “This year Chinese authorities have restricted studying Tibetan language in our Tibetan areas in Bayen and all teachers have been expelled from the region. I am really sad now. Today on the night of the 15th day of the Tibetan New Year, I will set myself on fire in front of the debating grounds at the Jhakhyung Monastery. Today is Tibetan Independence Day.”

Arguably the most damning indictment of Chinese rule in Tibet is the self-immolation protests staged this year by two teenage Tibetan boys. Unlike most of the other self-immolators, who were either monks and nuns, or former monks and nuns, these teenage self-immolators were born, brought up and schooled in Chinese-ruled Tibet. It remains unknown what kind of slogans they – Rinchen, 17, and Sonam Dhar-gye, 18, raised before setting themselves on fire on 19 February 2013 in Kyangtsa Township in Dzoerge (Ch: Ru’ergai) County, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.

However, if the reports were an indication they were protesting against the Chinese government’s decree issued to the Tibetans to celebrate Losar (Tibetan New Year) rather than undergo a period of mourning for those who died of self-immolation.

Chinese Government’s Response to Tibetan Self-immolations

The PRC’s response to Tibetan self-immolation protests can be summed up in one phrase: merciless repression. Behind such a merciless repression lies the PRC’s hardline policy of not admitting any responsibility for its authoritarian policies that mostly cause the fiery protests. The only result out of such an approach is that the PRC de-legitimizes and criminalizes the self-immolation protests as ‘acts aimed at splitting the Chinese motherland orchestrated by members of the Dalai clique.’ To justify its violent crackdown on Tibetan self-immolators and those who sympathize with them, the Chinese government relies on the arbitrary application of its own constitution and laws. The PRC’s merciless repression involves multi-pronged arbitrary measures: from its outright denial of self-immolation as acts of legitimate political protest—dismissing them as acts of homicide caused by personal disputes—to confiscation of the bodies of self-immolators, to refusal to allow funeral rites to the deceased’ relatives, to harsh prison terms, including death sentences in at least two known cases. Taking advantage of the US-led ‘war on terror,’ the Chinese government even branded the self-immolation protests as acts of ‘terrorism’.

When Kunchok Wangmo, 31, died of self-immolation on 13 March 2013 at Ngaba, the Chinese government immediately denounced it as a ‘homicide’, committed by her husband, Dolma Kyab, 32, who was later sentenced to death. The local police alleged that, “Kunchok Wangmo was strangled to death by her husband, who later burned her body on the morning of March 12.” Jiang Zuquan, the Chinese government’s media officer in Ngaba, said:

The strangling occurred after a fight escalated between the couple over Drolma Gya’s [Dolma Kyab’s] alcohol addiction at their home at Dazha township on the evening of March 11. Drol-

ma then moved the body to a nearby building at around 2 am the next day and set her body ablaze with gasoline. The case was not a protest against Chinese policy in Tibetan-inhabited areas as reported by Radio Free Asia.

Indeed, the primary purpose behind such a tactic is to trivialize the self-immolation protests by denying it any political legitimacy. For the Chinese government, there's nothing political about the self-immolations. They are not a damning indictment of China's failed policies, exposing its 'legitimacy crisis' in Tibet, but acts of 'homicide' involving family disputes of 'fraud, alcoholism and cheating.' But this tactic backfired, as can be seen in the testimony of Kunchok Wangmo's parents who asserted that their son-in-law wouldn't kill their daughter as the 'husband and wife were on good terms with each other.'¹

When Shichung self-immolated and died, the Chinese security forces, without warning, forcibly took away his body in a vehicle heading towards Ngaba County town.² When Drubchok, 28, set himself alight and died at Drachen Village of Khyungchu Township in Marthang County, Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture on 18 January 2013, Chinese authorities immediately confiscated his body and refused to release it to his family. The Chinese government placed Drachen under severe military and police restrictions.³ In some cases, when the family members, often at great risk to their lives, were able to acquire the body of the deceased self-immolator, the Chinese authorities ordered them to cremate the body immediately, leaving no time for the local Tibetans to rally around the deceased self-immolator. When the body of self-immolator Tsering Tashi, 22, arrived at his home, several security vehicles surrounded the house and prevented monks and lay Tibetans from paying their respect and solidarity to the deceased's family. The Chinese security head, instead, ordered the family to carry out the cremation and pounded his fist on the table, accusing Tashi's family of having close ties with the "Dalai clique."⁴

The body of another deceased self-immolator, Kunchok Kyap, was confiscated and his relatives and local Tibetans sympathetic to his death were not allowed to conduct funeral rites.⁵ Despite fervent appeals made by the local Tibetans to release his body, the Chinese authorities flatly refused and threatened them with serious consequences. In addition, the police issued an order forbidding monks and lay Tibetans from visiting the house of Kyap to offer condolences.⁶ The Chinese government

1 See note 10.

2 See note 3.

3 Chinese police confiscate body of second Tibetan self-immolator, TCHRD, 21 January 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/01/chinese-police-confiscate-body-of-second-tibetan-self-immolator-2/>

4 Chinese Security Official Force Hasty Cremation of Tibetan Self-Immolator, Voice of America, 13 January 2013, <http://www.voatibetanenglish.com/content/article/1583103.html>

5 China intensifies ban on religious gatherings after third self-immolation, TCHRD, 25 January 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/01/china-intensifies-ban-on-religious-gatherings-after-third-self-immolation/>

6 Id.

fears that the self-immolations and cremation rituals would become a rallying point for Tibetan protests unless these are suppressed. When a Tibetan woman, Chuktso, 20, committed self-immolation on 24 April 2013 in Dzamthang (Ch: Rangtang) County in Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, around a thousand Tibetans gathered to pay their tribute to the deceased mother.⁷

Along with the banning of funeral rites for the deceased Tibetan self-immolators and confiscating their bodies, the Chinese government resorted to more repressive measures of arrest, imprisonment and capital punishments. In January 2013, the Intermediate People's Court in Barkham, capital of Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, sentenced four monks from Gyalrong Tsodun Monastery to long prison terms. Namsey, 18, was sentenced to 10 years while Yarphel, 18, was given six years' imprisonment. Two other Tsodun monks, Lobsang Sangay, 19, and Asong, 22, were sentenced to two years, and two years and a half respectively. Although it was not clear on what charges the monks were sentenced, local Tibetans were of the view that the monks were sentenced due to their alleged links with self-immolation protests committed by monks at Tsodun Monastery in 2012.⁸

Similarly, in late January 2013, the Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County People's Court in Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, sentenced Pema Dhondup to 12 years with two years' deprivation of political rights; Kelsang Gyatso to 11 years with one year deprivation of political rights; Pema Tso to eight years; Lhamo Dhondup to seven years; Dugkar Kyap to four years and Yangmo Kyi to three years. All of them were sentenced for their alleged connections with the self-immolation of Tibetan farmer named Dorjee Rinchen, 58, on the main street of Sangchu county, which was located near a Chinese military camp. Dorjee Rinchen succumbed to his injuries.⁹ On 1 March 2013, Yarphel, 42, a monk from Yershong Monastery, was sentenced to one year and three months in a Re-education Through Labor (Ch: lao jiao) prison. His 'crime' was that he carried the ashes of his nephew, Dorjee Lhundup, during a funeral procession from Rongwo Monastery to his nephew's home in Rebkong County in Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.¹⁰ Dorjee Lhundup, a farmer in his 20s and a father of two children, died of self-immolation on 4 November 2012 in Rebkong.

In February 2013, Chinese state media reported the detention and arrests of more than 70 Tibetans in Amdo, Qinghai province. They were arrested for their 'crimes' of having "a strong sense of extreme nationalism" by showing "sympathy with the self-immolators and following their example."¹¹ Another

⁷ Thousands Gather After Young Tibetan Mother Self-Immolates, Radio Free Asia, 16 April 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/gather-04162013140411.html/>

⁸ China sentences four Tibetan monks to long prison terms, TCHRD, 21 January 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/01/china-sentences-four-tibetan-monks-to-long-prison-terms/>

⁹ Six Tibetans sentenced up to 12 years over self-immolation <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/02/six-tibetans-sentenced-up-to-12-yrs-over-self-immolation/>

¹⁰ Uncle of Tibetan self-immolator sentenced to prison, TCHRD, 4 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/uncle-of-self-immolator-sentenced-to-prison/>

¹¹ China cracks down on Tibetan burnings, detains 70, Reuters, 7 February 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/07/us-china-tibet-idUSBRE9160CT20130207>

er harsh sentence was given to 25-year-old monk Tsultrim Kalsang in Dzatoe (Ch: Zaduo) town, Tridu (Ch: Chenduo) County in Jyekundo (Chinese: Yushu), Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.¹² On 12 July 2013, at around 8 am, an Intermediate People's Court in Xining sentenced him to ten years in prison on 'intentional homicide' charges. As mentioned before, the Chinese court refused to give any sort of political legitimacy to the sentence by declaring it 'homicide.' But the harsh ten-year prison sentence reveals the enormity of Tsultrim Kalsang's 'homicide crime.' The truth, as local Tibetans claimed, is that Chinese government was of the view that Tsultrim Kalsang was involved in 'separatist acts' and had forged links with Ngawang Norphel, 22, and Tenzin Khedup, 24, both of whom self-immolated on 30 June 2012 (and died of injuries) in Dzatoe Township. The 'proof' of Kalsang's involvement in 'separatist acts,' according to the Chinese, happened on 8 February 2013, when he participated in a non-violent protest local Tibetans in Tridu, which was organized to show support to a 'solidarity prayer' Tibetans in exile had organized on that same date.

If the repressive measures of harsh imprisonment were meant to send a stern warning to sympathizers of self-immolations, the strategy has not worked as Tibetans continue to defy Chinese government by insisting on their rights to funeral rituals, and more so by opposing the government's decree to raise the Chinese flag on the rooftops of their houses. The decree provoked fierce protests from the Tibetans, some of whom tore the red flags, threw them into the rivers and demolished the flagpoles¹³.

Given centuries of interactions with the Tibetan people, especially ruling them directly since the PRC's invasion of Tibet in 1949, the Chinese government knows that the Tibetan defiance and resistance cannot be broken simply by imprisonments and executions. For China, the crux of the matter lies in Tibetan thoughts, which needed 'reform' so that they would see the 'progress' and 'benefits' of the party's socio-economic policies in Tibet. According to the Chinese government, the thoughts of the Tibetans are 'corrupted' by the influences of 'Dalai clique,' and their 'agents' inside Tibet—the lamas, monks, nuns and the monasteries and nunneries where they inhabit that are loyal to the teachings of the Dalai Lama. Under such circumstances, the Chinese government believes that fighting the 'Dalai clique' on 'ideological ground' is as important as (perhaps even more important than), other outward repressive measures such as arrest and imprisonment. Therefore, the Chinese government came up with counter-propaganda measures aimed at 'wiping' out the influence of the Dalai Lama whom it believes to be the inspiration behind the Tibetan self-immolation protests. The propaganda measures involve efforts to brand, during 'patriotic education' campaigns, the Dalai Lama and other influential exile Tibetan lamas such as Kirti Rinpoche of going against the tenets and principles of Tibetan Buddhism, as they are 'fomenting the self-immolation' protests inside Tibet.¹⁴ Such a pro-

12 China sentences Tibetan monk to 10 yrs in prison, TCHRD, 18 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/china-sentences-tibetan-monk-to-10-yrs-in-prison/>

13 Tibetans Resisting Chinese Flag Campaign Destroy Flagpole Stands, Radio Free Asia, 13 November 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/flags-11132013170239.html>

14 China uses religious propaganda to counter Tibetan self-immolations, TCHRD, 20 March 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/03/china-uses-religious-propaganda-to-counter-tibetan-self-immolations/>

paganda strategy has backfired, however, as shown by the defiant writings of the monk-intellectual Gartse Jigme, who wrote in one of the essays on self-immolation published in his book ‘Courage of the Tsenpos,’ as a result of which he was jailed for five years:

In the hearts of more than ninety nine percent of the Tibetan population, His Holiness the Dalai Lama dwells like a ray of sun. Therefore, no Tibetan will accept the constant demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Such a demonization is unbearable to the Tibetans. They will make every effort to resist it.¹⁵

Not only monk intellectuals like Gartse Jigme, Tibetan singers and songwriters have expressed their defiance and opposition to the Chinese government’s demonization of the Dalai Lama. Braving risks to their lives, two Tibetan singers, Chakdor (32) and Pema Thinley (22), came out with a music album titled ‘*Agony of Unhealed Wounds*,’ featuring songs paying tribute to the Dalai Lama and exile Tibetan leader Lobsang Sangay as ‘holders of Golden and Silver thrones,’ meaning they are the sovereign heads of the Tibetan people rather than the CCP.¹⁶

Conclusion

Most Tibet observers are unanimous in their opinion that China’s severe crackdown on Tibetan self-immolation protestors and their sympathizers are not producing the results the Chinese government wanted. Instead of creating ‘harmony and stability,’ the Chinese government’s merciless crackdown in the form of arrest, torture, imprisonment and outright shootings is further fueling the fire of Tibetan resentment and distress as human rights abuses continue to increase in Tibet.¹⁷ And the Chinese government is aware of this, as can be seen by the writings of one Chinese scholar, closely associated with the Communist Party, suggesting that the Chinese government should scale down its demonization campaigns against the Dalai Lama by allowing his pictures in some areas.¹⁸ This suggestion seems to have been welcomed by the Dalai Lama. On 21 October 2013, the Dalai Lama said that he was ‘hopeful that there’s some possibility of an indication of change that the new leadership in China, led by President Xi Jinping, will focus on harmony and unity.’¹⁹ Unfortunately, the Chinese government spokespersons immediately issued clarifications stating that the policy against the Dalai Lama has not changed. In fact, CCP’s attitude has hardened – their resolve to wipe out the influence of the so-called ‘Dalai clique’ has never been stronger. In an article posted on 1 November 2013, Chen

15 My heartfelt Appeal to the Chinese Government, TCHRD, 30 May 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/05/my-words-ar>

16 Two Tibetan singers secretly sentenced but whereabouts unknown

17 China crackdown worsening Tibetan immolations: group, LiveMint, 25 November 2012, <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/xXaB9JJCVDs5vZvwYYcrqJ/China-crackdown-worsening-Tibetan-immolations-group.html>

18 Bold new proposals, welcome signs that some officials are at last starting to question policies on Tibet, The Economist, 22 June 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/china/21579847-welcome-signs-some-officials-are-last-starting-question-policies-tibet-bold-new>

19 China’s new leadership should use ‘common sense’: Dalai Lama, Press Trust of India, 21 October 2013, <http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-china-s-new-leadership-should-use-common-sense-dalai-lama-1906513>

Quanguo, the Chinese Party Secretary of Tibet Autonomous Region, wrote:

We should resolutely carry out the struggle against separatist activities. ...We should thoroughly expose and criticize the wrongdoings of the fourteenth Dalai Lama's clique, including the reactionary nature of their politics, hypocrisy of their religion, deception of their tricks.²⁰



Police replacing bilingual shop signs with blue boards containing only Chinese signs in Tsoe City in June-July 2013. ©RD

20 TAR Party Secretary Chen Quanguo on New Propaganda and Control of Social Media Strategy, High Peaks Pure Earth, 11 November 2013, <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2013/tar-party-secretary-chen-quanguo-on-new-propaganda-and-control-of-social-media-strategy/>



A cement factory in operation in Rebkong area in June-July 2013. ©RD



“HAVE ONE LESS CHILD AND RECEIVE 3000-5000 ¥ IN STATE COMPENSATION” (Near Ganji-axiang road between Labrang and Rebkong). June 2013. ©RD

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it.

~ Amartya Sen¹

INTRODUCTION

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereinafter “ESC rights”) refer to those human rights relating to the workplace, social security, family life, participation in cultural life and access to housing, food, water, healthcare and education². As the Civil and Political rights, ESC rights are set out in International norms and treaties (such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights -UDHR- and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights -ICESCR-) and in the States’ domestic legislation. Even though the UDHR does not make any distinction between human rights, during the Cold War, the market economies of the West placed more importance on civil and political rights while the communist Eastern bloc emphasized ESC rights, which lead to the adoption of two different International treaties (ICCPR and the ICESCR).

Nowadays, this political distinction is obsolete. The indivisibility of all human rights persists despite the politics³. The full realization of civil and political rights requires that ESC rights be guaranteed (for instance, it is extremely difficult to exercise civil and political rights, such as the right to freedom of expression or the right to vote unless the individual has fulfilled his/her right to an adequate standard of living). At the same time, the enjoyment of ESC rights cannot be made at the expense of compromising civil and political rights. All human rights are equally important and necessary.

When addressing ESC rights, we may encounter certain misconceptions or erroneous assumptions that must be refuted⁴. There are two myths regarding ESC rights that are particularly misleading: 1) ESC rights naturally spring from economic growth. 2) The achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)⁵ equals to the realization of ESC rights.

As stated by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “*economic growth (...) does not automatically translate into an improvement of the standard of living of the most excluded and marginalized groups, unless special measures or policies are directed to those ends*”⁶. Therefore, the size of a State’s economy is not a reliable indicator of its fulfillment of ESC rights; a State must develop specific policies and allocate the resources needed to guarantee that the most vulnerable groups share their part in the national growth.

The second misconception deals with placing the MDGs on equal footing with ESC rights. While the

1 UNDP, About Human Development, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev>

2 OHCHR, Frequently Asked Questions on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, p.1, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/ESCR/Pages/ESCRIndex.aspx>

3 Id.

4 OHCHR, Key concepts on ESCRS-Myths and misconceptions on economic, social and cultural rights, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/ESCR/Pages/MythsandmisconceptionsonESCR.aspx>

5 For a detailed information on MDGs see: <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

6 Supra note 2, p.22.

MDGs are important commitments made by States in order to reach specific goals related to social conditions, they remain political commitments, and therefore not legally binding. Yet ESC rights are legally binding to States, which must “*take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of {ESC} rights*”⁷. In addition, the scope of ESC rights is wider than those covered by the MDGs and does not have a limited time frame for their realization, as the MDGs⁸.

The PRC has made extensive use of these misconceptions about ESC rights in order to justify its policies in Tibet. In the White Paper “Development and Progress in Tibet”⁹, issued in 2013, the PRC maintains that the development and economic progress in Tibet is “*is a great practice for respecting and guaranteeing human rights*” and presents a list of economic achievements “*made in the people’s lives and their living standards*”, such as the increase in the net income of farmers, the launch of low-income housing projects and the investment in new infrastructure. These improvements are seen as “*more choices in consumption*” for Tibetan people and an example of Tibet being “*more closely linked to the world*”.

Nevertheless, as TCHRD stated in response to this White Paper¹⁰, these arguments by PRC show that “*economic development is the sole indicator of China’s respect for human rights in Tibet*”. This is an underlying cause of the PRC’s failure to acknowledge and address the current human rights abuses in Tibet. As discussed throughout this Annual Report, civil and political rights are often violated in the pursuit of the so-called “development and progress in Tibet”. However, Tibetans are rarely the actual beneficiaries of the development projects in Tibet. Instead, most of the benefits go to the Chinese government and Chinese migrants¹¹. Even basic welfare benefits are denied to people considered “separatists” or not completely aligned with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)¹².

This demonstrates that even with economic growth and the fulfillment of the MDGs, the PRC has failed to protect ESC rights. The PRC has an outstanding record regarding MDGs; it has presented itself to the world as a model that other States should emulate. The PRC met half the MDG’s targets ahead of schedule¹³. However, MDG targets and indicators use national statistical data which are not disaggregated by regions or ethnicity, and do not take into account the existing differences within the country. In the PRC the differences within the country are dramatic. For instance, examining the data provided by the Chinese National Bureau of Statistics in the China National Human Development Report 2013¹⁴ regarding Tibet shows that Tibet ranks the lowest region in the PRC in life expectancy,

7 Art. 2.1 ICESCR.

8 Supra note 4.

9 Development and Progress in Tibet, 22 October 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-10/22/c_132819442_3.htm

10 China’s white paper on Tibet suffers from human rights doublespeak, TCHRD, 24 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/chinas-white-paper-on-tibet-suffers-from-human-rights-doublespeak-2/#more-2845>

11 Id.

12 Tibet monks to receive universal benefits, Global Times, 14 November 2011, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/683726.shtml>

13 China’s Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals 2013 Report, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t1079320.shtml>

14 China Human Development Report 2013, Sustainable and Liveable Cities: Toward Ecological Civilization, 27 August 2013, http://www.undp.org/content/china/en/home/library/human_development/china-human-development-report-2013/

education and human development¹⁵. Life expectancy in Tibet is 68.17 years, whereas the national average is 74.83 years¹⁶. The number of students enrolled in junior high school in Tibet is 12,850 per 100,000 people, far behind the national average of 38,788¹⁷. The gap is even larger in senior high school and technical secondary school (4,364 per 100,000 people in Tibet versus 14,032 per 100,000 people in the national average)¹⁸. As for the human development index, the PRC's average is 0.693, whereas Tibet is only 0.569, and is ranked as the 31st region within the country¹⁹.

Other indicators also refute the allegedly “development and progress” in Tibet. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Tibet is 16,875 yuan (US\$2,779.24) per capita, while the national GDP per capita of 29,992 yuan (US\$4,939.56) in the PRC is almost double Tibet's²⁰. Tibet is also the region with the lowest production capacity of tap water supply (0.6 millions of cubic meters per day, compared with Guangdong, the highest rate, of 35.1 millions of cubic meters per day).²¹ Despite Tibet being the second largest province in the PRC, covering over 1.2 million square kilometers, it has only 16 wastewater treatment facilities, compared to over 80,300 wastewater facilities in the rest of the PRC²². As it will be shown in further sections of this chapter, the PRC's development policies in Tibet are not being as effective as it might appear and many times their implementation causes serious human rights violations and widespread abuses by Chinese officials. The PRC is a State Party to the ICESCR and therefore is legally bound by its provisions. The ICESCR²³ clearly states that “*the idea of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights as well as his civil and political rights*”.

RIGHT TO WORK

“Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests”. (Art. 23 UDHR)

“The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right. The steps to be taken by a State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual”. (Art.

15 Id, p. 105.

16 Id, p. 106.

17 Id, p. 107.

18 Id.

19 Id, p. 110.

20 Id, p. 109.

21 Id, p. 115.

22 Id, p. 112.

23 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>

6 ICESCR)

One of the most common justifications used by the PRC to defend its policy regarding Tibet is that thanks to the PRC, “*Tibet has leapt from a feudal serfdom society into one with a modern civilization within a matter of only few decades, creating an outstanding example of regional modernization*”²⁴. Yet, Tibetans do not seem to take part of that “regional modernization” and are being discriminated against in many aspects of their daily life, including employment. A 2013 report by China Labor Watch, revealed that Apple production suppliers in the PRC, such as “Pegatron Technology”, had a list of unlawful discriminatory hiring practices, including refusing to hire people of ethnic minorities like Tibetans²⁵. These cases reveal the huge gap between theory and practice, because actually the Apple Supplier Code of Conduct clearly forbids discrimination in hiring decisions, and are also a reflection of the labor policies adopted by the Chinese government²⁶.

Labor discrimination, like that practiced by Apple’s suppliers against Tibetans, seems to be common throughout the PRC: a study conducted in 2011 on China’s internet labor market showed that applications from ethnic minorities, including Tibetans, were subjected to significant discrimination when compared with typically Han Chinese applications.²⁷

The arrival of a large number of Han Chinese to Tibet since 2006 has also contributed to the discrimination of local Tibetans in hiring practices and wage rates. According to Tibet Justice Center, Chinese workers receive a preferential treatment over Tibetans and have higher salaries than Tibetans for the same work. Tibetans also face numerous problems in order to start up their own businesses due to the difficulties to obtain permits and loans.²⁸

RIGHT TO ADEQUATE HOUSING

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”. (Art. 25.1 UDHR)

“The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent”. (Art. 11. 1 ICESCR)

According to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the right to

24 Supra note 9.

25 Apple’s unkept promises: Cheap iPhones come at high costs to Chinese workers, China Labor Watch, 29 July 2013, http://www.chinalaborwatch.org/pdf/apple_s_unkept_promises.pdf

26 Apple: Respect Human rights or withdraw from China, TCHRD, 5 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/apple-respect-human-rights-or-withdraw-from-china/>

27 Ethnic discrimination in China’s internet job board labor market, Margaret Maurer-Fazio, IZA Journal of Migration, 31 December 2012, <http://www.izajom.com/content/1/1/12>

28 Parallel Report Submitted to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) for Consideration of the Report on China Concerning the Rights of the Tibetan People, Tibet Justice Center and Boston University, 1 April 2013, p. 18, http://www.tibetjustice.org/reports/un/Tibet_Parallel_Report_CESCR_2014.pdf

adequate housing “*should not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense which equates it with, for example, the shelter provided by merely having a roof over one’s head or views shelter exclusively as a commodity. Rather it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity*”.²⁹ This right “*should be ensured to all persons irrespective of income or access to economic resources*”.²⁹ Therefore, the right to adequate housing contains both freedoms and entitlements in order to guarantee a secured and peaceful housing.

These freedoms include the protection against forced evictions and the arbitrary destruction of one’s home. Forced evictions are defined as “*the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection*”.³⁰

The CESCR has warned that forced evictions may occur “*in the name of development*” and “*may be carried out in connection with conflict over land rights, development and infrastructure projects (...)*”.³¹ Forced evictions are incompatible with the requirements of the ICESCR, and given the interdependence of human rights, they usually entail the violation of civil and political rights, such as the right to life, the right to security, and the right to privacy.³²

Though the right to adequate housing does not prohibit projects involving the displacement of people, evictions should be measures of last resort, and prior to carrying out any, States Parties to the ICESCR must explore all feasible alternatives with those affected³³.

In the event of an eviction, international human rights law requires certain procedural guarantees, which include: 1) Genuine consultation with those affected; 2) Adequate and reasonable notice; 3) Information in reasonable time on the proposed eviction and, if applicable, on the alternative purpose for which the land or housing will be used; 4) Presence of government officials or their representatives during the eviction if involving groups of people; 5) Proper identification of the persons carrying out the eviction; 6) Prohibition of carrying out evictions during bad weather or at night; 7) Provision of legal remedies; and 8) Provision of legal aid to those in need to seek judicial redress.³⁴

Over the past years, the PRC has forcibly evicted millions of Tibetans as part of a policy of mass forced rehousing and relocation. This is a violation of the right to an adequate housing. According to an extensive report released by Human Rights Watch in 2013,³⁵ since 1996, when the Chinese government launched the campaign “Build a New Socialist Countryside” in Tibetan areas, over two million Tibetans (two thirds of the entire population of the TAR) have been rehoused and hundreds of thousands of nomadic herders have been relocated and settled in “New Socialist Villages”.³⁶ The

29 General Comment n 4: The right to adequate housing (Art. 11.1), CESCR, 1991, <http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28Symbol%29/469f4d91a9378221c12563ed0053547e?Opendocument>

30 General Comment n 7: The right to adequate housing (Art. 11.1 ICESCR): forced evictions, CESCR, 1997, <http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28symbol%29/CESCR+General+Comment+7.En?OpenDocument>

31 Id.

32 Evictions, OHCHR, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/Evictions.pdf

33 Supra note 29.

34 Id.

35 “They Say We Should Be Grateful”, Mass Rehousing and Relocation Programs in Tibetan Areas of China, Human Rights Watch, 27 June 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/node/116642/>

36 Id, p. 4.

report contains satellite photos showing Tibetan communities before and after the relocation.³⁷

The Chinese government claimed that all the relocation and rehousing operations have been carried out with the consent of the local Tibetans and denied that any forced eviction had taken place.³⁸ Nevertheless, Tibetans interviewed by Human Rights Watch have claimed that large numbers of relocated Tibetans were relocated involuntarily and without consultation or being offered alternatives.³⁹ Many Tibetans have also affirmed that they did not receive any prior information regarding the eviction and they were also denied proper compensation following the relocation; moreover, many Tibetans now face a heavy financial burden due to obligation to contribute economically with part of the construction costs of their new homes.⁴⁰ All these actions violate the procedural guarantees in case of evictions set out by international law.

The official explanations for these mass scale relocating policies by the PRC insist that they ‘help Tibet’ and ‘improve’ the livelihood of the Tibetan population. However, many herders have been forced to sell their livestock, relocate to compounds and abandon their lifestyle for an annual payment. These former herders face economic hardships once their stipend is over due to the lack of employment opportunities for them⁴¹. Claims that the PRC is helping the Tibetans mask a well-orchestrated campaign to tighten the surveillance on Tibetans and get a free access to exploit the rich natural resources of Tibetan regions⁴².

The resettlement of Tibetan nomads to urban areas threatens to destroy the traditional Tibetan nomadic culture, which could disappear forever.⁴³ This prospect has caused alarm different international fora. In a report published in 2012, the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Oliver De Schutter, stated that the resettlement in the “new socialist villages” would lead to the loss of economic independence provided by herding and farming and issued a recommendation to the Chinese government “*to suspend the non-voluntary resettlement of nomadic herders from their traditional lands and the non-voluntary relocation or rehousing programmes of other rural residents, in order to allow for meaningful consultations to take place with the affected communities, permitting parties to examine all available options, including recent strategies of sustainable management of marginal pastures*”⁴⁴. Similarly, the European Parliament passed a resolution on 11 December 2013, in which condemns “*the non-voluntary resettlement and relocation of Tibetan nomads which is a threat to the survival of a way of life that is integral to Tibetan identity*”⁴⁵.

37 Id, p. 26-29.

38 Id, p. 4.

39 Id, p. 68-72.

40 Id, p. 73-80.

41 Dislocation, Dislocation, Dislocation, International New York Times, 25 February 2013, http://latitude.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/25/dislocation-dislocation-dislocation/?_r=0

42 See Chapters on Civil and Political Rights and Right to Development focusing on the Great Strategy of the West in this Annual Report.

43 Eight losses faced by Tibetan drogpas due to China’s resettlement policy, TCHRD, 15 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/eight-losses-of-tibetan-drogpas-due-to-chinas-resettlement-policy/#more-2372>

44 Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food Oliver de Schutter, Mission to China, 1 January 2012, http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session19/A-HRC-19-59-Add1_en.pdf

45 European Parliament resolution of 11 December 2013 on the Annual Report on Human Rights and Democracy in the World 2012 and the European Union’s policy on the matter (2013/2152(INI)), General point 71, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2013-0575+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN&language=EN>

Lastly, on many occasions these forced evictions and resettlement operations entail the violation of other human rights, such as civil and political rights. For instance, in late March 2013, a Tibetan woman self-immolated after being forcefully evicted from her house in Kyegudo, in Qinghai's Yulshul (Ch: Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture⁴⁶. In April 2013, 21 local Tibetans in the same town of Kyegudo were arrested after starting a protest against the forced eviction of their recently rebuilt homes and land grabbing by the Chinese authorities. The families had lost their homes after the earthquake that struck the region on 14 April 2010, but the Chinese authorities ordered to bulldoze the rebuilt houses claiming that their occupants were not officially registered in the town⁴⁷.

RIGHT TO WATER AND SANITATION

Water has not been explicitly recognized as a self-standing human right in international treaties, but on 30 September 2010, in a landmark declaration, the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) affirmed that the right to safe drinking water and sanitation was derived from the right to an adequate standard of living, and confirmed its interrelation to the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, the right to life and human dignity⁴⁸.

In its General Comment no. 15, the CESCR has provided a clarification of the scope and content of the right to water: 1) Water must be adequate: “(...)The adequacy of water should not be interpreted narrowly, by mere reference to volumetric quantities and technologies. Water should be treated as a social and cultural good, and not primarily as an economic good (...)”; 2) Water must be available: “(...) The water supply for each person must be sufficient and continuous for personal and domestic uses (...)”; 3) Water must be safe: “(...) The water required for each personal or domestic use must be safe, therefore free from micro-organisms, chemical substances and radiological hazards that constitute a threat to a person's health. Furthermore, water should be of an acceptable colour, odour and taste for each personal or domestic use (...)”; and 4) Water must be accessible: “water and water facilities and services have to be accessible to everyone without discrimination, within the jurisdiction of the State party”. Water accessibility has four components: physical (water facilities and services must be within safe physical reach), economic (water must be affordable for all), non-discrimination (water must be accessible for all, including the most vulnerable population groups) and information accessibility (right to seek, receive and information regarding water issues)⁴⁹.

Over the last years, Tibet has been suffering from acute water problems. Mining activities in Tibetan regions⁵⁰ are polluting rivers, threatening the rich Tibetan ecosystem and contaminating drinking water, in a rampant violation of the human right to water. The following constitute a few examples of the consequences of Chinese mining operations in Tibet:

46 Tibetan Evictee Self-Immolates, Radio Free Asia, 4 April 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/woman-04042013142814.html>

47 Tibetans Detained for Protesting Destruction of Their Homes, Radio Free Asia, 11 April 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/homes-04112013153745.html>. See also 21 Tibetans Arrested in Protest Against Rampant Land Grabbing in Kyegudo, Central Tibetan Administration, 12 April 2013, <http://tibet.net/2013/04/12/21-tibetans-arrested-in-protest-against-rampant-land-grabbing-in-kyegudo/>

48 Human Rights Council, Human Rights and access to safe drinking water and sanitation, A/HRC/15/L.14, 24 October 2010, http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/dpage_e.aspx?si=A/HRC/15/L.14

49 General Comment n 15 (2002): The right to water (arts. 11 and 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), CESCR, <http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/0/a5458d1d1bbd713fc1256cc400389e94>

50 For a detailed study on Chinese mining activities in Tibet, see the chapter of this Annual Report on “Right to Development”, and the book ‘Spoiling Tibet’ by Gabriel Lafitte, Zed Books, September 2013.

- In January 2013 it was reported that a mine located near Dun village, in the Khartse township of Lhundrup (Ch: Linzhou), close to Lhasa, had polluted the nearby river, causing the death of animals, destroying farmers' fields and forcing herders to abandon the area. Local Tibetans appealed to the authorities by sending a letter expressing their concern on the environmental degradation caused by the mine, but were accused of carrying out "political motivated activities" and threatened with "consequences" in case they continued to complain⁵¹.
- Operations at the Gyama mine in Tibet's Meldro Gongkar County have polluted the waters in the Gyama valley, leading to illness of local Tibetans, severe environmental pollution and loss of animals⁵².
- On 13 August 2013, an anti-mining protest led by local Tibetans in Gedrong area, Dzatoe (Ch: Zaduo) County, in Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, was brutally repressed by Chinese armed police. This protest is part of an active campaign by local Tibetans seeking to stop the environmental degradation in San Jiang Yan Three Rivers Headwaters Nature Reserve (SNNR), key to protect the sources of the three major rivers of the Tibetan plateau: Zachu (Mekong river), Drichu (Yangtse river) and Machu (Yellow river)⁵³.
- In October 2013, polluted water from a mining site at Balang township, in Dartsedo (Ch: Kangding) County, Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, was spilled into a nearby river, contaminating the drinking water of several villages and causing the death of countless fish and other animals. As in previous cases, local Tibetans who went to protest against this environmental destruction to the township government offices were threatened with "severe consequences" if they did not stop their protest⁵⁴.

In addition to mining, other industrial activities, such as slaughterhouses, have contaminated the water supply in TAR. Local Tibetans reported in early 2013 that the waste dumped into nearby rivers from a slaughterhouse in Markham (Ch: Mangkang) County polluted their sources of drinking water. The Tibetans were informed that the Chinese owner of the slaughterhouse had the legal right to continue the operations, despite the environmental impact. The Tibetans have claimed if the facility is not shut down they will destroy it⁵⁵. This is only one example of the frequent conflicts between Tibetans and Chinese regarding the operations of slaughterhouses in Tibetan in recent years. In 2007 a report by Human Rights Watch exposed how the construction of slaughterhouses in the pastoral areas of northwestern Sichuan had been the epicenter of fierce protests by local Tibetans⁵⁶. All of these conflicts arise from the PRC's refusal to protect the local Tibetans' water supply.

51 Mine Ruins River, Destroys Farms, Radio Free Asia, 18 January 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/mine-01182013161904.html>

52 Chinese Mines Pollute Tibet's Rivers, Streams, Radio Free Asia, 6 May 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/mines-05062013154914.html>

53 Yushu mine protest crackdown exposes China's 'nature reserve' sham, TCHRD, 24 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/yushu-mine-protest-crackdown-exposes-chinas-nature-reserve-sham/>

54 Chinese Mine Spill Kills Animals, Pollutes Water in Tibetan Area, Radio Free Asia, 18 October 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/mine-10182013144733.html>

55 Threat to Destroy Chinese Abattoir, Radio Free Asia, 1 February 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/destroy-02012013162944.html>

56 No One Has the Liberty to Refuse, Tibetan Herders Forcibly Relocated in Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan and the Tibet Autonomous Region, Human Rights Watch, June 2007, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2007/tibet0607/>

RIGHT TO HEALTH

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection”. (Art. 25 UDHR).

“The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.

The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for:

The provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the healthy development of the child.

The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene.

The prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases.

The creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness”. (Art. 12 ICESCR)

Health is an indispensable human right, a prerequisite for the exercise of other human rights. As it has been stated by the CESCR, the right to health includes both freedoms (such as the right to control one’s health and body, sexual and reproductive freedom, and right to be free from interference –from torture, non-consensual medical treatment and experimentation) and entitlements (including the right to a system of health protection providing equal opportunities for the people to enjoy the highest attainable level of health)⁵⁷.

The concept of “the highest attainable level of health” is of paramount importance because it encompasses not only the individual biological and socio-economic conditions, but also a State’s available resources. Therefore, States must take the necessary steps to provide the population with appropriate and affordable health facilities, goods and services without discrimination⁵⁸.

As in the case of the right to water, the right to health requires the application of certain conditions:

1) Availability: “*Functioning public health and health-care facilities, goods and services, as well as programmes, have to be available in sufficient quantity within the State party (...) They will include, however, the underlying determinants of health, such as safe and potable drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities, hospitals, clinics and other health-related buildings, trained medical and professional personnel receiving domestically competitive salaries, and essential drugs (...)*”;

2) Accessibility: “*Health facilities, goods and services have to be accessible to everyone without discrimination (...)*”. The components of health accessibility are: non-discrimination (health facilities, goods and services must be accessible to all, including the most vulnerable sections of the population,

⁵⁷ General Comment No. 14: The right to the highest attainable standard of health (art. 12 ICESCR), CESCR, 2000, <http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28symbol%29/E.C.12.2000.4.En>

⁵⁸ Id.

without discrimination), physical accessibility (health facilities, goods and services must be within safe physical reach for all sections of the population), affordability (health facilities, goods and services must be reasonably priced, ensuring that these services are affordable for all, including marginalized groups), and information accessibility (right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas concerning health issues, while treating personal health data confidentially); 3) Acceptability: “All health facilities, goods and services must be respectful of medical ethics and culturally appropriate, i.e. respectful of the culture of individuals, minorities, peoples and communities (...)”; and 4) Quality: “(...) health facilities, goods and services must also be scientifically and medically appropriate and of good quality. This requires, inter alia, skilled medical personnel, scientifically approved and unexpired drugs and hospital equipment, safe and potable water, and adequate sanitation”⁵⁹.

The right to health comprises the right to maternal, child and reproductive health, and according to the CESCR may be understood as “requiring measures to improve child and maternal health, sexual and reproductive health services, including access to family planning, pre- and post- natal care, emergency obstetric services and access to information, as well as to resources necessary to act on that information”⁶⁰.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, statistics that rely on aggregated data are an ineffective and potentially misleading tool to assess compliance with human rights obligations. In order to establish meaningful comparisons among groups and to reveal disparities in the enjoyment of ESC rights, these indicators must be disaggregated (by gender, location, ethnicity, age, etc).

In relation to maternal and child health, there are two main indicators: the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) and the infant mortality ratio (IMR). The PRC has affirmed that it has drastically reduced the MMR to 30 women per year per 100,000 live births and the IMR to 13.1 per year per 1,000 births⁶¹, therefore fulfilling the targets of MDG number 4 (reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate) and number 5 (reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio). Yet, this percentage is a national aggregated data, and does not take into account relevant (disaggregated) data, such as the region or the ethnicity, rendering extremely difficult to monitor PRC’s compliance to the right to maternal health within the country.

Independent sources analyzing disaggregated data provide a very different perspective of the right to maternal health, particularly in Tibet. According to Gabriel Lafitte, an Australian development scholar, MMR in rural Tibet is around 400-500 women per year per 100,000 live births, a rate thirteen times higher than the national indicator. IMR in Tibet is also alarming, reaching 20%-30% in some areas⁶².

Other studies published in 2013 have confirmed that ethnic minorities in the PRC suffer not only geographic marginalization and poor quality health facilities, but also present a higher rate of maternal mortality⁶³. In a report released in late 2013, UNICEF has also pointed out the disparities in infant

59 Id.

60 Id.

61 Maternal, infant death rates drop sharply in China: ministry, People’s Daily, 22 September 2011, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90882/7601833.html>

62 Women bleeding to death alone, Gabriel Lafitte, DOLMA Magazine, 22 November 2011, pp.86-95, <http://tibetanwomen.org/dolma-magazine/>

63 Disadvantaged populations in maternal health in China who and why?, Global Health Action, Volume 6, 3 April 2013, <http://www.globalhealthaction.net/index.php/gha/article/view/19542/html>

mortality by location and ethnicity in the PRC. Certain deprived rural areas and ethnic minority areas present worse medical treatment conditions, and the health status of children in these areas is below national averages, with higher mortality rates. Mortality among ethnic minority children is more than 50% higher than among Han Chinese children up to the age of 10, and more than 80% higher for ages between 11 and 17⁶⁴. Other non-governmental sources have also acknowledged the disparities between Tibetan and Chinese provinces, highlighting that Tibetan children remain at high risk of malnutrition and disease⁶⁵.

Studies conducted in recent years had already confirmed the existence of large disparities between urban and rural areas in PRC in the availability of essential data (such as the registration of births and deaths) as well as in the access to high-quality health care⁶⁶. Therefore, despite the PRC's success at reducing MMR and IMR nationwide, these improvements have not reached ethnic minorities, like Tibetans.

LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

“Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author”. (Art. 27 UDHR)

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language”. (Art. 27 ICCPR).

“The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone:

To take part in cultural life;

To enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its applications;

To benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

The steps to be taken by the States Parties to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for the conservation, the development and the diffusion of science and culture.

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity.

The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the benefits to be derived from the encouragement and development of international contacts and co-operation in the scientific and cultural fields”. (Art 15 ICESCR)

64 Census Data About Children in China: Facts and Figures 2013, What Census Data Can Tell Us About Children in China, UNICEF, 7 November 2013, <http://www.unicef.cn/en/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=59&id=2040>

65 A Generation in Peril: The Lives of Tibetan Children Under Chinese Rule, Tibet Justice Center, 2013, <http://www.tibetjustice.org/reports/children/healthcare/>

66 Causes of deaths in children younger than five years in China in 2008, The Lancet, Volume 375, Issue 9720, p. 1083-1089, 27 March 2010, <http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736%2810%2960060-8/abstract>

“Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (hereinafter referred to as persons belonging to minorities) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination.

Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life.

Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and, where appropriate, regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live, in a manner not incompatible with national legislation.

Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain their own associations. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain, without any discrimination, free and peaceful contacts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other minorities, as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties”. (Art.2 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992)⁶⁷

Language is an essential component of a people’s identity and also represents a key element of its culture. According to Rita Izsak, the current UN Independent Expert on minority issues, *“language is often particularly important to non-dominant communities seeking to maintain their distinct group and cultural identity, sometimes under conditions of marginalization, exclusion and discrimination”*. She has also affirmed that *“the protection of linguistic minority rights is a human rights obligation and an essential component of good governance, efforts to prevent tensions and conflict, and the construction of equal and politically and socially stable societies”*⁶⁸.

At present, cultural rights, particularly linguistic rights, are threatened in Tibet. During 2013, the deliberate and long-standing Chinese policy to undermine Tibetan language and culture and prohibiting or restricting the education of Tibetan language continued⁶⁹. The following are a series of examples of the crackdown on Tibetan linguistic and cultural traditions and the response by Tibetans during 2013:

- In January 2013, Chinese authorities banned Tibetan language and culture classes held by volunteers in Muge Norwa, Zungchu (Ch: Songpan) County, in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, and in monasteries in at least two counties in the Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture⁷⁰.
- In response to Chinese crackdown on Tibetan language, in February 2013, in order to mark “Tibetan Mother Language Day” (21 February), a campaign was launched by local Tibetans in Luchu (Ch: Luqu) and Machu (Ch: Maqu) Counties, in Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The flyers distributed called on the Tibetans to *“defend their mother tongue and give*

67 See full text at: <https://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r135.htm>

68 Report of the Independent Expert on minority issues, Rita Izsak, Human Rights Council A/HRC/22/49, 31 December 2012, http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/AHRC2249_English.PDF

69 China closes Tibetan Schools, Radio Free Asia, 15 May 2012, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/closes-05152012170245.html>

70 Tibetan Language Classes Closed, Radio Free Asia, 10 January 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/classes-01102013145912.html>

*up impure, mixed speech forever*⁷¹.

- In April 2013, eight Tibetan students were sentenced to varying prison terms on the charges of “illegally holding demonstration”, for their participation in November 2012 in a mass student protest in Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe) County in Tsolho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. The students demanded “language freedom” and defended their right to use the Tibetan language⁷².
- In August 2013 Chinese authorities banned a conference to be held on 24 August in Ngaba (Ch: Aba), Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, to commemorate the 100th birth anniversary of the foremost modern Tibetan intellectual, Gendun Choephel.⁷³

The rich Tibetan cultural heritage is also subjected to other dangers, particularly in the form of the PRC promoting mass-scale tourism in Tibet Autonomous Region, which received over 12 million tourists during the first ten months of 2013⁷⁴. Lhasa city is at special risk: an ongoing project to build a shopping mall at Barkhor square, with the construction of an underground parking garage for more than 1,000 vehicles, poses a serious threat for the Old City of Lhasa, which has been part of the UNESCO World Heritage List since 2000. Writer and blogger Tsering Woeser made a public appeal on 7 May 2013, denouncing in a blog this project and the already visible consequences of the construction work at Barkhor Square (cracks in buildings, demolition of historic sites, relocation of neighbors, etc)⁷⁵.

CONCLUSION

The rapid economic development of the PRC does not translate into the respect, protection and fulfillment of ESC rights for Tibetans.

Many Tibetans face discrimination in their enjoyment of the right to work, threatening their economic survival.

Massive forced evictions and resettlements continue to take place in Tibet, destroying traditional nomadic lifestyle and tightening Chinese mass-line policy to monitor and control the Tibetan population.

The right to an adequate standard of living is systematically violated: mining operations in Tibet are polluting rivers and sources of drinking water for local populations, putting at stake the right to

71 Push to Preserve the Tibetan Language in China, Radio Free Asia, 25 February 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/preserve-02252013154036.html>

72 Chabcha student protesters sentenced up to four years, TCHRD, 17 April 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/04/chabcha-student-protesters-sentenced-up-to-four-years/#more-1968>

73 China Blocks Conference on Famed Tibetan Writer, Radio Free Asia, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/forum-09202013171839.html>

74 Tibet received more than 12 million visitors in the first 10 months in 2013, Tibet Tour, 28 November 2013, <http://www.tibettour.com/tibet-news/tibet-received-more-than-12-million-visitors-in-the-first-10-months-in-2013.html>

75 “Our Lhasa is on the Verge of Destruction! Please, Save Lhasa!”, Tsering Woeser, 7 May 2013, <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2013/our-lhasa-is-on-the-verge-of-destruction-please-save-lhasa-by-woeser/>.

See also Concern and questions about developments in Lhasa, International Tibet Network, 2013, https://www.dropbox.com/s/j9j7bu7hv46a1w/UNESCO_LhasaReport_2013

water. Disparities in maternal and infant mortality rates between PRC's provinces and Tibet, as well as scarce health care facilities in Tibetan regions, point to a serious breach in the right to health of Tibetan population.

Tibetan language and cultural heritage are on the brink of elimination due to the PRC's policies of repressing Tibetan language and the urbanization of historic sites, such as the Old City of Lhasa.

TCHRD has provided a series of recommendations for the People's Republic of China and the International Community to address the key areas of concern regarding ESC rights in Tibet:

1) Recommendations to the People's Republic of China:

- Provide adequate statistical data relating to ESC rights, particularly disaggregated data by region, ethnicity, gender, and age, in order to allow an effective monitoring of these rights.
- Ensure the Tibetan's right to work without discrimination: persecute and penalize discriminating hiring practices against Tibetans, remove the bureaucratic obstacles that hinder Tibetans from obtaining work licenses and loans in a reasonable time, and refrain from giving a preferential treatment to Chinese workers over Tibetans.
- Stop with immediate effect forced evictions and mass relocations in Tibet. In the event of a necessary eviction, fulfill all the procedural guarantees provided required by International law, particularly a genuine consultation before the eviction and the provision of effective remedies and adequate compensation with those affected.
- Protect the traditional lifestyle and culture of Tibetan nomads and stop their forced resettlement in urban areas.
- Guarantee the human right to water and sanitation. Stop mining activities that result in the pollution of rivers and environmental damage and penalize the companies and businesses that do not respect the provisions contained in the Environmental Protection Act.
- Guarantee appropriate, affordable and equitable health facilities, goods and services to the Tibetan population. Provide accurate statistics on maternal mortality and infant mortality rates for Tibetan areas and allow the development of maternal health programs respectful of Tibetan cultural characteristics.
- Guarantee the right of the Tibetan population to speak their native language. Allow education of Tibetan language without restrictions and immediately release all students and protesters jailed for demanding language freedom.

2) Recommendations to the International Community:

- Urge the PRC to provide public and complete disaggregated statistical data in order to adequately assess PRC's compliance to the ICESCR.
- Demand the PRC guarantee the right to work to Tibetans without discrimination. Express concern about discriminating hiring practices against Tibetan and other ethnic minorities in the PRC.

Ensure that your national companies, firms and businesses operating in the PRC comply with the international legislation and human rights standards.

- Require the PRC to put an end to the practices of forced evictions and mass resettlements.
- Urge the PRC to stop any mining activities in Tibet that threaten environmental sustainability and that compromise the right to water and the right to health of Tibetan population.
- Refrain from signing commercial agreements with the PRC that may lead to environmental degradation, loss of biodiversity, and a threat to the livelihood of local population in Tibet.
- Show public concern about maternity and infant mortality rates in Tibet, and demand the PRC release actual and accurate statistics on these rates.
- Encourage the PRC to allow international health agencies and NGOs to work in Tibet.
- Demand the PRC guarantee the right to Tibetans to learn and speak their language without discrimination.
- Demand the PRC protect Tibetan cultural heritage. Call for UNESCO intervention to protect World Heritage List sites in Tibet.



A nomad resettlement village Dawu County, Qinghai Province. June-July 2013. ©RD

DEVELOPMENT OF DISPARITY

There is no logic at all to their plan. It's a joke. They are playing a joke on us.

~ A Tibetan nomad in Mangra County, Tibet, June 2013¹

Introduction

In the last decade, the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has dragged Tibet into its path of economic growth. Since the early 2000, the PRC has put unprecedented emphasis on the importance of involving its poorest, underdeveloped regions into its national development policy. In official Chinese discourse, economic growth is justified as a means to eventually increase its citizens' living standards and livelihoods, and to include the latter into the national standards of livelihood.

Yet the unspoken aim of the PRC's development of its western regions is to expand the base for capital accumulation and to continually increase ever more the profits for the Chinese government and for the national industrial elite.

In Tibet in 2013, as has been the case for the past decades, the PRC's policy of economic growth and so-called development has mainly taken the forms of a rapid increase in construction of physical infrastructure, mining and mass tourism. These sectors are rapidly growing and generating wealth. Yet neither the wealth nor the increase in living standards has reached the Tibetan people. The questions that we need to ask are: who is entitled to the wealth that economic growth is generating? How are Tibetans participating in development process, and what are the consequences of the PRC's development policy on the Tibetan people?

Tibetan lives and livelihood have not improved as a consequence of the current development policy; instead they suffer all the negative consequences of increased development, with extremely limited options of negotiating or actively participating in the developmental process. Tibetans are forced to leave their land and pastures in order to make space for mining, dams and big infrastructure. They have to abandon their nomadic livelihood and move into poorly-build houses by the government. They are witnessing the destruction of their ancient cultural and religious traditions thanks to millions of Chinese tourists who come to see a commercialized version of Tibet. The promised 'trickle down of wealth' is not happening, and Tibetans are still denied access to development in an empowering way. Education and health facilities have not been given enough attention as increasing numbers of Tibetans face large-scale unemployment because no real effort has been made in teaching skills and generating jobs for former nomads and others dispossessed of their land.

¹ Full interview available in this report. All interviews taken by Ms. Rikzang Drolma, Canadian scholar specializing in Chinese history in June-July 2013 in Qinghai Province.

In the following sections of this chapter we will show how the Chinese government perceives ‘development’ and how that perception colors its implementation of development projects in Tibet. We will describe and analyze the ‘Great Strategy for the Opening of the West’ (GSOW) implemented since 1999-2000, and we will further examine in detail GSOW’s direct effects in terms of nomadic sedentarization, mining and mass tourism.

1. The ‘Great Strategy for the Opening of the West’²

In 1978, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) shifted to a market oriented economy. After decades of isolation, the PRC opened its borders to the outside world. Deng Xiaoping, the general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), started the ‘Reform and Opening Up’ policy in order to attract foreign capital and investments.

The new reforms stressed the importance of exploiting local comparative advantages³ aiming at quick economic development. At the time, investments on the coastal areas, where there was a huge, cheap and docile labor force, were perceived as having a higher return rate than in the west, where the industrial sector and infrastructure was not as developed. As Deng Xiaoping said in 1978, “The coastal areas, which comprise a vast region with a population of 200 million, should accelerate their opening to the outside world, and we should help them develop rapidly first; afterwards they can promote the development of the interior.”⁴

Following this perspective, the PRC launched plans to address the development of its eastern provinces as the first step for the economic growth of the entire nation. The west had to wait for its turn to be included into the developmental plans of the country.

It is worth noting that the geographical core of the PRC’s domestic investment, which today represents the most developed areas, overlaps with those provinces inhabited by Chinese people. In contrast, the provinces with a large so-called ethnic minority population are the least developed and lag behind

2 This chapter uses the Czech scholar Jarmila Ptackova’s definition of Xibu Da Kaifa or GSOW, which is alternatively translated as ‘Great Western Development Strategy or Western Development Plan’. From: Ptackova, J., 2013. The great Opening of the West development Strategy and its impact on the life and livelihood of Tibetan pastoralists: Sedentarisation of Tibetan pastoralists in Zeku County as a result of implementation of socioeconomic and environmental development projects in Qinghai Province, P. R. China. [doctoral thesis]. Berlin: Humboldt University. Available at <<http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/ptackova-jarmila-2013-06-19/PDF/ptackova.pdf>>

3 Comparative advantage is defined by the Oxford English dictionary as “the ability of an individual or group to carry out a particular economic activity (such as making a specific product) more efficiently than another activity”. In the case of China, one of its comparative advantages vis-à-vis other countries during the reform era has been the availability of a vast and cheap labor force that could be easily employed in the production of manufactured goods. Because of low labor costs, these goods could be sold at a cheaper price on the international market. This made Chinese factories increasingly attractive to foreign investors. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/comparative-advantage>

4 Lai, H. H., 2002. China’s Western Development Program: its rationale, implementation and prospects. Modern China [e-journal]. Available at <http://mcx.sagepub.com>

other provinces. In fact, in some areas along the PRC’s periphery, non-Chinese groups represent the majority of the population: in provinces such as Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Qinghai, Xinjiang, Yunnan, Gansu, Guizhou and Guangxi; ethnic Chinese are outnumbered by Tibetans, Uighurs, Hui, Mongols, Dai, Bai, Naxi, Miao, Dong, Yi, and many more groups that all too often fall under the official definition of ethnic minority, even in areas where the “minority ethnic group” represent the majority of the population.

Since the beginning of its development policy, the Chinese government has favored those regions inhabited by Chinese groups, while the so-called ethnic minorities have been left waiting for the trickle down effects of development.

In the late 1990s, after more than two decades of heavily subsidised industrial development, ever-increasing flow of Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), and the creation of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in the PRC’s eastern regions, the inequality level between the east and the west reached unprecedented levels. As a result, in 1997 the vast majority of impoverished and relatively impoverished population was residing in the so-called ethnic minority areas (Table 1).⁵

Geographical Area	Absolutely Impoverished Population	Relatively Impoverished Population
Eastern provinces	13.85 million (18%)	2.34 million (0.83%)
Central provinces	20.30 million (30%)	49.46 million (17.73%)
Western provinces	35.91 million (52%)	227.12 million (81.44%)

Table 1: Distribution of impoverished and relatively impoverished population in eastern, central and western China in 1997. Data from Zheng and Qian, 2004

It was widely perceived that the development of the PRC’s eastern areas had been built on the suffering and exploitation of the so-called ethnic minority communities. By the late 1990s, the CCP could not keep ignoring their demands and was forced to include the western, underdeveloped provinces into China’s grand development projects.

Thus in 1999, during Jiang Zemin’s tenure, the PRC launched the ‘Great Strategy for the Opening of the West’ (GSOW). This officially shifted the PRC’s developmental attention to the western provinces⁶.

This Plan, known in Chinese as *Xibu Da Kaifa* (西部大开发), is an organizational framework of recommendations for pushing the western regions onto the path of economic growth.⁷ The GSOW

5 Zheng Y. and Qian Y, 2004. Eco-environmental Protection and Poverty Alleviation in West-China Development. In L. Ding and W. A. Neilson, 2004 [eds]. China’s West region Development. Domestic strategies and global implications. London: World Scientific Publications

6 Ptackova, 2013; See note 1

7 Id.

covers 71% of the PRC's entire territory, where 29% of the PRC's population lives (Figure 1).

The GSOW is not a binding set of rules. It rather represents a rhetorical shift in the path toward national developmental. More specific implementation directives are included in the series of Five-Year-Plans, issued by China periodically to plan its economic objectives and performances. Local governments are responsible for implementing policies issued by the national government. In most instances, local cadres and party leaders have enough flexibility to adapt the national policies according to the specific needs of their provinces.



Figure 1 - The geographical dimension of implementation of the Great Strategy for the Opening of the West', with evidence on the Tibetan Plateau. Elaborated from Ptackova, 2013

The GSOW is intended to be developed and implemented over 50 years.⁸ This gives the PRC time to experiment and find the 'right' strategies to integrate the poverty-stricken western regions into its national development plan.

The 50-year implementation process of the GSOW is divided into three sub-periods, each one aiming at different targets. The first period, from 2000 to 2010, emphasized the construction of physical infrastructure, Moreover, GDP growth, development of health and education and expansion of TV and radio broadcast were also included into the aims of the first 10 years of GSOW's implementation. During the second phase, from 2010 to 2030, economic and cultural development is planned to further accelerate. At the end of the third phase (2030-2050), the west is expected to have met the standards of the east.

According to Li (2011)⁹ and Ptackova (2013)¹⁰, the core points of the GSOW include promotion of significant economic development in western provinces; improvement of living standards of urban and rural residents in western provinces and their assimilation into the national identity; and narrowing the inequality gap between the east and the west and creating a well-off society in western China.

8 Id.

9 Li, Z., 2011. Western Development and China's development. In Zheng Y. [ed], 2011, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development in Rural China. Leiden: Brill

10 Ptackova, 2013; See note 1

More specifically, these aims are to be met through construction of physical infrastructure; establishment of natural reserves; resource extraction; development of tourism; and establishment of science and technology, educational and cultural and health facilities.

1.1 GSOW Decision-making Structure

The decisions regarding the GSOW are made and implemented in a heavily top-down manner. The GSOW's framework largely represents an extension of the CCP.¹¹ Its main organ, the West Region Development Lead Group (WRDLG), is composed of a mix of CCP elites and relevant bureaucracies and stakeholders. In this way, the Party's General Secretary and the members of the Politburo Standing Committee set the policy priorities within the framework of the GSOW. Moreover, industrial lobbying groups exercise substantial influence over the WRDLG's decision-making process. After this core organ sets the development priorities, concrete decision-making is passed on to the State Council, which often overlaps with the CCP's influence given the one-party system. The final stage in the decision-making process consists of the approval of WRDLG's decisions by the National People's Congress (NPC). The NPC is a pliant legislative organ, with its members acting largely as rubber-stamps to policies that have already been vetted and approved by the party leaders. After policies have passed through all these requisite steps within the central government, relevant local governments and offices in the west are required to work on their implementation, which varies from area to area. Cadres and party members assigned by the central state often have the liberty to adjust programs according to their needs and specific contingencies.

In the case of Tibet, the Chinese central government and the party direct all policy decisions. This explains China's heavy top-down implementation process that leaves little (if any) space for local population to take part in their own development. This kind of developmental plan take into consideration the needs and priorities of the party, central government and industrial elites, rather than actually focusing on local population's necessities and welfare.

1.2 Significance of the GSOW

The shift of attention towards the west can be analyzed under different perspectives. On the one hand, the PRC wants to include western provinces into national development for economic reasons, as these areas could provide the industries on the coast with raw materials and energy. From this perspective, the role of Tibet is of specific importance as it is rich in hydro-, geothermal, solar and wind energy. Tibet already produces a significant proportion of all the hydro energy in the PRC. In 2002, just two years after the establishment of the GSOW, Tibet produced approximately 200 million kW of natural hydro energy annually, or about 30% of all the hydro energy in the PRC¹². Similarly, investigations

11 Chin, G. T., 2004. The Politics of China's Western Development Initiative. In L. Ding and W. A. Neilson, 2004 [eds]. China's West region Development. Domestic strategies and global implications. London: World Scientific Publications

12 Natural Resources (of Tibet), <http://www.china.org.cn/english/tibet-english/zirzy.htm>

have shown that Tibet leads China in geothermal energy. There are more than 100 geothermal energy reserves in Tibet—the most in the PRC.¹³ In addition to energy resources, Tibet is also rich in minerals. The largest uranium reserve in the world is located in Tibet. Twelve of the 39 reserves in Tibet are projected to become the most important mineral reserves in the PRC¹⁴. Apart from natural resources, Tibet is an attractive site for development because of its vast, sparsely inhabited lands, which can be used for industrial purposes. Once the physical infrastructure was ready, factories and manufacturers could be moved to new production hubs established inland, where leases on land had not reached the same, high levels of the coast. Similarly, after labor costs have increased in the eastern Chinese provinces as an effect of economic growth, inland workers have been seen as the new frontier of cheap manufactory production.¹⁵

From a macro economic perspective, in the late 1990s the PRC was hoping to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO), and could not afford to have such a large part of the so-called ethnic minority population lagging behind and excluded from the national development policy. It was crucial for the PRC to prepare the country to be actively incorporated into the world market.

Another factor shaping the development of the PRC's western provinces is the government's emphasis on 'security' and 'stability'. The PRC believes that to earn the loyalty of its most peripheral regions, it must provide them with some sort of economic and welfare development, especially in light of the huge advancements in life standards achieved in the eastern Chinese provinces. As a result, economic and social stability have become ever-repeated mantras in official public discourse. This reasoning falls under the logic of *weiwēn* (维稳), or safeguard of stability, a prominent national policy since the early 2000s. The idea behind the *weiwēn* is that 'national stability' (i.e. political stability of the Chinese government and party) is closely linked with and dependent upon economic, social and psychological stability alike.¹⁶ Thus, if the government wants to preserve stability and the right to rule over the country, it needs to ensure economic and social stability on its territory.

Economic and social stability is impossible when the developmental path of the PRC is characterized by a big inequality gap. The shift in the developmental path, introduced by the GSOW and implemented by the subsequent Five-Year-Plans, is designed to narrow this gap and ensure stability nationwide. From the Chinese government's perspective, the GSOW's implementation should improve economic performance in the most underdeveloped areas and allow them to reach the standards of the eastern Chinese provinces, thereby enhancing the PRC's economic stability as a whole. At the same time

13 Id.

14 THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF TIBET, <http://www.lhassa.org/en/geography-of-tibet/mineral-resources-of-tibet.php>

15 The boomerang effect: As Chinese wages rise, some production is moving back to the rich world, *The Economist*, 19 April 2012, <http://www.economist.com/node/21552898>

16 Benney, J., 2013. Stability maintenance at the grassroots: China's *weiwēn* apparatus as a form of conflict resolution. Arbeitspapier/Working Paper Nr. 8, Loewe Research Focus, <http://publikationen.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/32100>

the increasing presence of the Chinese government and party cadres would ensure social stability. Likewise, building infrastructure would facilitate the transfer of military forces in case of unrest or ‘mass incidents’.

By introducing development strategies in the west, where there is substantial criticism of the PRC, the Chinese government is trying to limit widespread criticism against its authority. The implementation of the *weiwèn* policy varies and can be applied both to personal disputes as well as widespread movements. In most instances, it involves authoritarianism and repression. In Tibet, the *weiwèn* has become a standard justification for the Chinese government’s routine crackdowns of all forms of local demonstrations against Chinese policies.

All this process has therefore translated into what is known as national assimilation, which is thus one of the primary goals of the development of the west policy. National assimilation refers to the homogenization, or Sinification, of the citizens’ way of life, including different ethnicities and cultures into ‘one China’. This process has intensified due to the huge amount of Chinese citizens that have been encouraged to move to the west to work for the government and to start their own business. A Chinese demographic invasion thus characterizes the national assimilation process often mentioned in official Chinese propaganda.

1.3 GSOW’s Impacts on Tibet

The implementation of the GSOW has had multiple impacts on Tibet. Infrastructure work and construction have increased exponentially. One of the major projects implemented and realized was the construction of the high-speed railway line linking Lhasa to Xining (Qinghai Province) through Gormo (Ch: Golmud) in 2006. This project, as well as the construction of many airports and highways scattered throughout Tibet, is pointed to by PRC as evidence of economic growth and the government’s willingness to include into national development its most peripheral provinces.

As Tibet is now easier to reach than it was before the early 2000s, this has facilitated the economic and environmental invasion of Tibet from the eastern Chinese areas. The sectors that have been the most profitable, and are thus given most attention by the central government, are tourism and resource extraction. In recent years, Tibet has attracted investors and State Owned Enterprises (SOEs)¹⁷ hoping to profit from Tibet’s minerals, energy sources and touristic attraction. No wonder these sectors are heavily subsidized by the Chinese government. Through state investments, Chinese SOEs have often become the biggest and most important companies operating in the mining and touristic sectors in Tibet.

¹⁷ In recent years China has dismantled and privatized most of its small and medium size public enterprises. Yet, following the slogan of ‘let the small go and save the big ones’, the most profitable SOEs are kept in the hands of the public administration. The state is heavily investing in these companies in order to render them ‘national champions’ in the sector they operate.

In order to promote investment from Chinese companies and discourage competition from non-Chinese companies in the mining sector, the Chinese government has outlawed small and medium scale private mining entities. SOEs focusing on tourism are partnered with large, well-established international leaders in the sector. The local population, for example Tibetan nomads, is often seen as a mere component of the environment. Accordingly, the local population has often been displaced or relocated to make space for developmental projects.

The same tactics are used to justify the creation big nature reserves within the Tibetan Plateau. In these nature reserves, actors other than the government have limited freedom of action. A well-known example is the Sanjiangyuan nature reserve, which is about half the size of Qinghai Province. Chinese government propaganda insists that the creation of nature reserves is aimed at environment protection and restoration, but in reality it functions to remove competitors from the area. The Chinese government is the only one with legal rights over the area. This allows the government to exclude private companies and restrict the freedom of movement of Tibetan nomads who used to graze their livestock in the reserve, and imposed nomadic resettlement and grazing ban programs. The Chinese government uses its unchallenged power to permit mining companies to dig the land and excavate natural resources, which belies the Chinese propaganda about protecting the natural environment.

Despite the rhetoric on economic development and social stability, the current development policy emphasizes improving economic growth rather than the welfare and living standards of the local people.¹⁸ Most of the aims of the GSOW, such as resource extraction and transfer, are meant to contribute to the development of factories in eastern Chinese provinces rather than to directly benefit local populations in the western regions.¹⁹ Similarly, Chinese migrants have been the main local beneficiaries of development in Tibet. As fluency in Chinese has become a fundamental requisite to obtain many jobs, Chinese migrants have access to the best and most lucrative forms of employment, while most Tibetans are excluded from the local labor market.

This situation is reinforced by the fact that access to education in rural areas where most Tibetans live remains poor and excludes a large number of nomads. For example, in 2000 only 54.5% of Tibetans aged six or more had some form of primary education, compared with 92.3% of the PRC as a whole. Only 13.3% of Tibetans had some form of secondary education.²⁰ Given the high illiteracy rates and the lack of access to education, rural Tibetans are denied the social skills necessary to enter and succeed in the labor market. Despite this reality, most public investments for education continue to ignore rural areas in the TAR and other Tibetan areas, instead, increasingly focusing on towns and cities, which are dominated by Chinese migrants. In such conditions, it is almost impossible for the average Tibetan to compete with Chinese migrants in the labor market, which, in turn, explains why

18 Ptackova (2013)

19 Heath, J. 2005. *Tibet and China in the Twenty-first Century*. London: Saqi.

20 Fischer, A. M., 2008. *Subsistence and Rural Livelihood Strategies in Tibet*. Institute of Social Studies, JIATS, no. 4 (December 2008), THL #T5569, 49 pp, <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/#!jiats=/04/fischer/b1/>

intra-urban inequality in the TAR has reached much higher proportions than anywhere else in PRC.²¹

So far, the implementation of the GSOW has undermined its stated goal of narrowing the inequality gap between the PRC's east and the west. Instead, it has given the Chinese government free access to Tibetan resources, while at the same time keeping tight political control over its population.

The next three sections will show how the GSOW's implementation has benefitted the Chinese government and ignored the needs and appeals of the local Tibetan population.

2. Nomad Sedentarization Projects

The official Chinese discourse has long depicted Tibetan nomadism as a backward way of life. According to development scholar Gabriel Lafitte,²² Buddhism and the attachment that Tibetans have to religion is the central reason why China has long looked down upon Tibetans. Religion is perceived as antithetical to the kind of modernity China is experiencing: a constant need of accumulation dictated by the logic of capitalism and consumerism. The central government believes that by failing to reject Buddhism Tibetans have failed to start the process of modernization that China is so proud of. Similarly, nomadism and the fluidity it entails also represent all the opposite of what modernity should be like.

Thus, from the Chinese government's perspective, Tibetans, and Tibetan nomads in particular, have repeatedly failed to adapt to and embrace modernity. As China perceives itself as a modern country it cannot accept the fact that a vast portion of its landmass is inhabited by nomadic populations that have rejected modernity. The Chinese mission launched with the Great Strategy for the Opening of the West (GSOW) is designed to forcibly bring Tibetans, and other ethnic minorities, into modernity. These are the reasons why the Chinese government in the last decade has started to massively resettle the Tibetan nomads and bring them into sedentary 'civilisation' as opposed to a life of a vagabond wandering all over the open space with their animals.²³ The PRC also encourages nomadic sedentarization by undermining the traditional nomadic way of life in sustainably managing resources, and land use.

Jarmila Ptackova, a Czech scholar who has researched in-depth the GSOW's impacts on nomadic pastoralist communities of Qinghai, sees settlement and resettlement as parallel processes, both of them eventually ending in the sedentarization of nomadic communities. According to Ptackova, "Resettlement' should be understood as a temporary measure and can mean a relocation of pastoralists

21 Fischer, A. M., 2005. *State Growth and Social Exclusion in Tibet: Challenges of Recent Economic Growth*. NIAS Press, 2005, print.

22 WHY IS OFFICIAL CHINA SO HOSTILE TO TIBETANS? Gabriel Lafitte's Blog, <http://rukor.org/why-is-official-china-so-hostile-to-tibetans/>

23 Leibold, J., 2011. *Filling in the Nation: the spatial trajectory of prehistoric archaeology in twentieth-century China*, in Brian Moloughny ed., *Transforming History: The making of a modern academic discipline in twentieth-century China*, Chinese University Press, 2011, 340



Resettlement housing near Gepasumdo, Tsolho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD



Resettlement housing in Gade, Golok (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD



Resettlement housing near Baima, Golok (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD



Resettlement housing near Baima, Golok (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD

even to another province, while ‘settlement’ by contrast takes part mainly within the original county and is expected to be a long-term establishment”.²⁴ The direct or indirect effect of (re-)settlement is thus sedentarization, defined by Ptackova as a “generic term to describe all development measures that aim to shift the center of the pastoralist life to an urban environment.”²⁵

With the launch of the GSOW in 1999, Tibetan areas have become a new focus of Chinese developmental strategy. The GSOW stresses, among others, the importance of environment conservation. In this regard, many different projects have been launched aimed at the protection of natural environment – yet China continues with its mining, construction of infrastructure, increase in factory production and many other environmentally damaging projects.²⁶

These so-called “environment protection projects” have as a direct or indirect aim of nomad sedentarization. The Chinese government has increasingly identified nomads as one of the main causes of grassland degradation due to overgrazing by their herds. Grazing bans have been widespread throughout the entire Tibetan Plateau, often lasting for five or 10 years. According to the official discourse, bans and livestock reduction would be removed after the grassland’s original ecosystem had been restored. Nomads who used to graze their livestock in pastures now affected by a ban are either assigned new pastures or relocated to one of the recent sedentarization projects. Herders are thus often required to reduce the number of their livestock, or to give up all their animals.

The drafting, implementation and realization of these projects vary from place to place depending on local governments. Thus, the results obtained through field research presented in this report are often peculiar to specific areas. Yet there are some common characteristics throughout the entire Plateau. Most specifically, three of the most widespread and researched nomad sedentarization programs have been the ‘Ecological Resettlement Project’ (Ch: 生态移民工程, shengtai yimin gongcheng), the ‘Turning Pastureland into Grassland Project’ (Ch: 退牧还草工程, tuimu huancao gongcheng), and the ‘Nomadic Settlement Project’ (Ch: 游牧民定居工程, youmumin dingju gongcheng).

Both the ‘Ecological Resettlement Project’ and the ‘Turning Pastureland into Grassland Project’ are designed to preserve the grassland and involve the implementation of medium to long term grazing bans. Local governments are assigned a specific quota of hectares on which to ban grazing. Sometimes families living in the area are asked to select what portions of grassland they prefer to give up for grazing ban; in other cases the government selects the lands for grazing ban without any consultation. This selection often happens irrespective of the actual condition of the plot chosen, as these processes just respond to the need of meeting a quota. The families involved in this process have no option but to give up some of their pastures and join a (re-)settlement project. Thus, as a direct consequence of

24 Ptackova (2013)

25 Id.

26 Lafitte, G., 2013. *Spoiling Tibet: China and Resource Nationalism on the Roof of the World*, Zed Books (London), <http://www.zedbooks.co.uk/node/11825>

the implementation of these two projects, a vast number of households have been sedentarized. The ‘Nomadic Settlement Project’ is presented by Chinese government as a poverty alleviation scheme, meant to involve in the long run all those households that have not been included in previous (re-)settlement projects.

The common characteristic of these three programs is that their direct aim or effect is sedentarization of nomads. According to official data, 2.1 millions of nomads were sedentarised between 2006-2012 in Tibet Autonomous Region alone²⁷

Tibetan nomads have experienced radical sedentarization process everywhere throughout the Tibetan Plateau; yet in Kyegudo (Ch: Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai Province, where the Three-River Source National Nature Reserve (Three-River Headwaters or Sanjiangyuan National Nature Reserve) is located, sedentarization has reached the highest peaks. (See Map 1). Sanjiangyuan is given particular importance by the Chinese government, as it is the source of three major rivers in Asia: the Machu (Yellow River), Driчу (Yangtse River) and the Zachu (Mekong River). The nature reserve was established in 2002, to preserve and protect China’s ‘water tower’. This area is home to more than half of Qinghai’s population, of whom more than 95% are Tibetans. According to official statements, the nomad sedentarization project in Qinghai will be completed by 2014.²⁸

2.1 Implementation of nomads’ sedentarization projects

On paper, the sedentarization projects offer the affected households a wide range of benefits. First of all, participation in the projects is supposed to be completely voluntary. Then, after households have signed a contract to be part of a specific project, they should be provided not only with ‘comfortable’ houses at a very low price but also would receive compensation in cash. All the houses are supposed to have running water, electricity, and private toilets. The households’ newly constructed houses are to be located near public transportation and services, such as roads, schools and health centers. Houses would be granted water and electricity as well as private toilets. To help nomads transition to a new vocation, (re-)settled nomads would be offered the chance to participate in workshops and vocational trainings where they could learn a new profession, such as craftsman, farmer, mechanic and the like. Similarly, business facilities would be present in the new villages, so that former pastoralists could enter the market economy.

If the (re-)settlement projects resembled this description, they could actually represent an improvement, especially for those families that can count on a limited livestock or that have access to low quality pasture. Yet, as shown by recent studies, reality is often far from the rosy picture promised on paper.

27 China: End Involuntary Rehousing, Relocation of Tibetans, Human Rights Watch, 27 June 2013, <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/06/27/china-end-involuntary-rehousing-relocation-tibetans>

28 (Ptackova, 2013)

The implementation of sedentarization projects varies dramatically from place to place, and it is, therefore, difficult to generalize. Yet some of the methods of implementation undermine the projects stated goals. For example, although participation should be voluntary, local governments must fulfill quota of resettled nomads. If the voluntary participants do not fulfill the quota, other families will be forced to participate until the quota is met. In December 2013, TCHRD interviewed new Tibetan refugees who had fled Tibet and who originally come from areas affected by nomadic sedentarization process, both within the Tibet Autonomous Region, such as Chamdo Prefecture, and other Tibetan areas outside of TAR such as Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Prefecture in Sichuan Province. During the interviews, all the refugees reported that participation in resettlement projects was voluntary only in the very first stages of the process; later nomads were forced into resettlement.²⁹ Other studies confirm that nomads have taken part in these projects for fear of future repercussions.³⁰

“The government wants all of us nomads to come and live in the houses they built by the roads. But the nomads don’t want to do that. We don’t want to live by the road. We want to live on the mountains, where we can easily graze our yaks and sheep. That is our lifestyle, this is how we live. We don’t agree with what the government is asking us to do”
(A Tibetan nomad interviewed in June 2013 in Mangra [Ch: Guinan] County, Qinghai Province, (RD))

A consistent problem reported by former nomads is that just after households have signed the contract for house tenure they find out that they have to give up their pastures and a substantial proportion of their livestock. Nomads have found this requirement hard to meet because it also means that they have to give up pastoral way of life. Nomads who practice animal husbandry usually had enough to meet the needs of their households, at least at a subsistence level. For many of these resettled households now it is increasingly hard to have access to products that once they produced on their own and that now have to be bought with cash: Tibetan nomads have thus been forcibly dragged into the market economy. Without nomadism, and without valuable skills that can be used to access the new labor market, the newly resettled families are completely dependent on government cash transfers for their daily needs. Needless to say, these cash transfers are rarely enough to cover the expenses of the entire household. Similarly, government subsidies are designed to be temporary and it has often been reported that families entitled to them have experienced lack or delay in payments.³¹

(Re-)settlement projects usually involve the construction of brand new villages or houses. Once the projects start, nomads discover that they have to pay upfront for the construction of the new house. Only after the houses are built and the local government has given its approval are the nomads paid the money promised to them. Refugees interviewed by TCHRD reported that in some instances local governments never paid the nomads and their complaints were ignored. Similarly, the quality of the new houses is poor, and water and electricity facilities are often missing even a long time after the

29 TCHRD interviews with Dolma Tsewang and Dawa Gyel (pseudonyms), former nomads from Dzachuka in Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Interviews taken by Dawa Lhamo and Tsering Gyel on 13 and 14 December 2013 at TCHRD office.

30 Lafitte (2013), see note 23

31 (TCHRD interviews; Ptackova, 2013).



Resettlement compound near Rebkong (Ch: Tongren), Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 © RD



Resettlement housing near Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province. 2013 ©RD



Environmental Protection site near Mangra (Ch: Guinan), Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD



Lijiaxia Hydropower Dam in Kamra National Park, Chentsa (Ch: Jiancha) County, Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD

house is built. Sometimes the new houses are built literally in the middle of nowhere on the grassland, far from any means of communication or other settlements. Other times, new houses are built in the outskirts of townships or villages.

In other instances, nomads are (re-)settled in flats or compounds within a township. If around the new villages there is enough disposable land, the house would include a yard and a shelter for keeping a few animals; yet if the nomads are (re-)settled in townships or flats they have to completely give up animal husbandry. Although on paper one of the benefits for (re-)settlement is to be close to schools, this is not always the case, especially if the new villages are built far from means of communication.³²

The locations for (re-)settlement varies according to local conditions. In some cases the new settlement would not be far from the original grasslands of the nomads, yet it has been reported that in some instances, Tibetans have been relocated to new prefectures or provinces. The latter makes adapting to a new livelihood or lifestyle particularly difficult because it means that nomads lose their social networks; some studies have shown that this is extremely detrimental when it comes to entering the new labor markets.³³

After sedentarisation, nomads discover that their pastoralist skills are worthless and, without any other skill, they are denied access to the local labor market. The few jobs that could be available, such as running small businesses, are often taken up by locals and Chinese migrants rather than (re-)settled nomads. ***“Development must be good from a bigger picture, but it is just not helping us improve our lives. It has only enriched the local officials and their acquaintances” [Sedentarizaed nomad interviewed by Nyima, 2011]***

Despite officially sedentarizaed nomads should be offered skill-creating workshops by the local government, these are rarely effective. These skill-developing trainings are crucial for newly re-settled nomads to make the transition to urban cash economy somehow easier, if not entirely successful. But these trainings and workshops rarely take place, and if they do, they are held in Chinese language, even though very few Tibetan nomads are able to speak fluent Chinese. The result is that nomads do not benefit from the training classes even when they are eventually offered.

In other instances, nomads have been asked to start farming and harvesting new crops; yet different case studies have shown that the land they are offered for this purpose is not suitable for agriculture; concurrently, former pastoralists often lack agricultural skills, tools and seeds, and are thus unable to obtain a harvest good enough to sustain their households.³⁴

32 Id.

33 Tashi, G., and Foggin, M., 2012. Resettlement as development and progress? Eight Years on: review of emerging social and development impacts of an ‘ecological resettlement project in Tibet Autonomous Region, China. Nomadic Peoples [e-journal], Volume 16, Number 1, Summer 2012 , pp. 134-151(18). Available at <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/berghahn/nomp/2012/00000016/00000001/art00010?crawler=true>

34 Id.

All the refugees interviewed by TCHRD reported that in their communities, resettled nomads did not have access to any training opportunities, and after resettlement the local government offered no help to the Tibetans to ease their access into local labor markets.

Field research recently carried out in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture has found that more than 85% of the population between the age group of 16 and 60 found itself unemployed after resettlement, while before resettlement most of them had earned their livelihood through animal husbandry or as nomads.³⁵ In this area, (re-)settled nomads were offered a one-day training to prepare them for the labor market; obviously enough, after the one-day training the participants still could not find employment.

Faced with all the broken promises and hoping to return to pastoralism, the resettled nomads increasingly perceive their condition as temporary. In some cases, this perception is the main reason why they do not look for long-term employment in the (re-)settlement location.³⁶ Other studies rather show how the lack of valuable skills in the labor market and a good social network (Ch: *guanxi*) are at the heart of the long-term unemployment of the resettled nomads. Even unskilled labor is unavailable to the nomads because in most cases even construction companies bring on site Chinese workers from other provinces or prefectures, as Tibetans are often perceived to be too 'lazy' or 'backward' to take on any kind of working position.³⁷

2.2 Life after Resettlement

One of the sources of income left for (re-)settled nomads is harvesting and selling caterpillar fungus (*Ophiocordyceps sinensis*). The fungus, known in Tibetan as yartsa gunbu ('summer grass winter worm'), grows in different areas of the Tibetan Plateau and is highly valued in the pharmaceutical market. The fungus is used as an aphrodisiac and sometimes as a remedy for cancer. It has become an unprecedented source of cash income for the Tibetan families who can have access to the caterpillar fungus. It is thus not a coincidence that the areas where resettled nomads have expressed the highest degree of satisfaction with their new housing conditions overlap with those where the caterpillar fungus is most widespread, such as in Golog (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.³⁸ Here the



Picture 4 - Caterpillar fungus (*Ophiocordyceps sinensis*)

35 Nyima, T., 2011. Development Discourses on the Tibetan Plateau: Urbanization and Expropriation of farmland in Dartsedo. . The Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies [e-journal], 30(1)

36 Ptackova, (2013).

37 Nyima, (2011).

38 Sulek, Emilia., 2012. 'Everybody Likes Houses. Even Birds are Coming!' Housing Tibetan Pastoralists in Golok: Policies and Everyday Realities, In H., Kreutzmann [ed], 2012. Pastoral Practices in High Asia. London:

switch from nomadic pastoralism to a sedentarized livelihood has increased their income, especially, as the new houses are often closer to markets where the caterpillar fungus is traded.

Relying solely on the caterpillar fungus as a source of livelihood involves substantial risk. These nomads and their families are completely reliant on the sale of caterpillar fungus for their livelihood and there is no guarantee that its price will remain high in future. As shown in interviews obtained through field research carried out in Golok in June 2013 by a TCHRD source, the price of the caterpillar fungus is in fact extremely volatile:

Golok has an abundance of caterpillar fungus. Many people have made it rich selling this. This is a recent development in the past two or three years. Before, the caterpillar fungus was not worth much, only one yuan a stalk. Now one stalk can sell for forty yuan.

The harvesting of the caterpillar fungus involves two or three months of intensive labor each year. Those whose livelihood comes solely from this harvest are unemployed during nine to 10 months a year. Tibetan refugees interviewed by TCHRD reported that families become heavily indebted during the months prior to the harvesting season, and that they are able to pay off their debts just after the sale of the caterpillar fungus. This practice is very dangerous and unsustainable in the long run, as recent studies have shown that the availability of fungus has shrunk in the last few years. Tibetans are aware of the shrinking availability of the fungus, as reported in the same interview carried out in Golok in 2013:

The caterpillar fungus is a bug in the winter and a grass in the summer, so it regenerates annually. But every year, there is a little less. Eventually, it will disappear with all this picking.

Moreover, some voices within China have already recommended a ban on harvesting caterpillar fungus in the name of environment conservation³⁹. Refugees interviewed by TCHRD reported that in some areas of the Tibetan Plateau, the caterpillar fungus has already gone through restrictions and limitations. Tibetans can access the grassland to collect the caterpillar fungus only after the local government has given its approval, and local authorities have strictly shortened the harvesting period. If this sort of regulation were expanded or ban imposed, as happened with grazing, it will mean that resettled families will lose one of their only sources of cash income. As a former Tibetan nomad in Golok told a TCHRD source in June 2013:

When that happens, the economy here in Golok will collapse. About 70% will starve.

Springer. Also available online at <http://www.case.edu/affil/tibet/tibetanNomads/documents/Everybodylikeshouses-evenbirdsarecoming.pdf>

39 Tibetans' caterpillar fungus fortune nearing exhaustion, Xinhua, 24 September 2013 http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-09/24/c_132746514.htm

They are all relying on the caterpillar fungus, because they no longer have their herds.

In many instances, nomads have expressed high dissatisfaction with their new situation.⁴⁰ In some cases they leave their new house and get back to pastoralism, even after they had signed a contract that links them to resettlement for years. In most instances, the elderly and the children would remain in the resettlement house, so that the new generation can have easier access to education. The splitting of households for education purposes is due to the fact that there are rarely functional schools for rural communities on the grassland or near nomadic pastures. Thus in this scenario, while the elderly and the young generation would remain in the resettlement, the middle-aged members of the family would move back to the grassland to herd livestock.

Interviews conducted by TCHRD in December 2013 confirm that in most cases the Chinese government is fencing the portion of grasslands subjected to grazing bans. In these cases the nomads who have lost access to their pasture have no option but to discontinue animal husbandry. Thus, while nomads first see their sedentarized situation as temporary, they often find out too late that they have lost access to their land. Similarly, after years in the resettlement communities the younger generations cannot return to pastoralism, as they have not had the chance to learn the skills needed to pursue animal husbandry. Many nomads are also worried about the fact that grasslands' ecosystem would be completely altered if grazing stops completely. In this situation, grasslands will not be suitable anymore for animal husbandry even after the ban on grazing was removed.

As confirmed by TCHRD's interviews, Tibetans have never been involved during the policy making process. The Chinese central and local governments see the nomads as passive actors who can be moved around as the authorities please, without considering their livelihoods. Thus, the top-down sedentarization process has been imposed onto Tibetans, without giving the Tibetans, the native inhabitants and primary stakeholders, a voice in the resource management and land use, nor the time, tools and skills necessary to adapt to a new way of life.

While the Chinese government justifies sedentarization projects by citing environmental concerns or poverty alleviation schemes, many observers have noted that one of the unstated aims of sedentarization is to enable the Chinese government to keep tighter control on Tibetans.⁴¹ The 'New Socialist Villages' where nomads are resettled are often fitted in with security cameras. At the same time, it is easier to keep close control on Tibetans if they are settled in one place and not wandering around the grassland. Another aim is to integrate the Tibetan way of life with the dominant Chinese majority. In so doing, the government continues the unstated policy of assimilation, the Sinification of Tibetans. Therefore, from PRC's perspective sedentarization projects respond to a wide range of needs such as environmental protection; modernization, economic development and poverty alleviation; political

40 TCHRD interviews, 2013; Foggin and Tashi, 2012; Nyima, 2011; See notes 28, 31 and 34

41 Ptackova, 2013; HRW Report 2013; See notes 1 and 27

stabilization and Tibetans assimilation; security and control.⁴²

2.3 Land Grabs in the Name of Ecological Conservation

There are concerns raised in recent studies that these measures are not bringing the hoped effects of ecological conservation and restoration. First of all, it is often the poorest families, i.e. those with a limited amount of livestock, who willingly volunteer for the resettlement projects and give up their pastures. Consequently, at least in their initial stages, these projects have not resulted in a consistent decline of overgrazing in the grassland, as the pastures involved only sustained a small number of animals anyway. The actual ecological impact of the entire operation is thus limited.⁴³

Similarly, crackdowns on anti-mining protests in Tibetan areas have confirmed the long known fact that the Chinese authorities allow mining activities in nature reserves created from the land appropriated from Tibetan nomads. In fact, the refugees interviewed by TCHRD have reported that the grasslands where nomads used to graze their livestock are now excavated for mining purposes. The exploitation of natural resources in “protected” areas is also happening in Dzatoe (Ch: Zaduo) County in Kyegudo (Ch: Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, within the Sanjiangyuan natural reserve. Despite official statements supporting environmental protection, mining within the natural reserve is increasing in Dzatoe and adjacent villages. In August 2013, villagers in Dzatoe demonstrated against the relentless destruction of the grassland caused by unrestrained mining and excavation. Several protesters were arrested⁴⁴ and some were shot when the police opened fire upon them with machine guns⁴⁵. Local anti-mining demonstrations still occur, as it happened in August 2013 in Dzatoe (Ch: Zaduo) County⁴⁶. Nevertheless, China has all the interest in that people within and outside China don't get to know about what is happening in national natural reserves. For example, in November 2013 local authorities in Yushu barred a group of domestic Chinese journalists and researchers from visiting the area to investigate the situation.⁴⁷

In October 2013 in Dartsedo (Ch: Kangding) County, Sichuan Province, villagers living in resettlement areas have raised the issue of livestock being killed by polluted water due to mining activities⁴⁸,

42 Nyima, 2011. See note 31

43 Ptackova 2013; See note 1

44 Mining Resumes at Disputed Tibetan Site, Radio Free Asia, 20 August 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/resumes-08202013155923.html>

45 Machine gun fire in Tibet: exclusive video of police breaking up environmental protest, Free Tibet Campaign, 21 October 2013, <http://www.freetibet.org/news-media/pr/machine-gun-fire-tibet-exclusive-video-police-breaking-environmental-protest>

46 Mining Resumes at Disputed Tibetan Site, Radio Free Asia, 20 August 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/resumes-08202013155923.html>

47 Officials in Tibetan Protest Area Block Investigation by Beijing, Radio Free Asia, 7 November 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/block-11072013153610.html>

48 Chinese Mine Spill Kills Animals, Pollutes Water in Tibetan Area, Radio Free Asia, 18 October 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/mine-10182013144733.html>



Environmental Protection site near Rebkong (Ch: Tongren), Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD



Nomad boy climbing through fences on his family's land. Qinghai Province. 2013 ©RD

while already in 2010 local Tibetans in Surmang County (Yushu prefecture), within the Sanjiangyuan natural reserve, signed a petition against the heavy mining activities that were polluting the water of the adjacent river to no avail⁴⁹. From how the PRC has implemented its policies to protect the Tibetan grassland, it is clear that safeguarding environment is not a genuine concern of the Chinese government's when imposing grazing bans and relocating Tibetan nomads.

Those areas where nomad resettlement took place on a large scale are often zones rich in minerals and oil deposits. By the same token, the water that passes through the Sanjiangyuan natural reserve has become extremely valuable. Dams are being built along those rivers and research is being done to divert Tibetan waters to China's arid northeast thus providing the coast with new rivers⁵⁰. The fact that anti-mining protests have been violently suppressed and journalists are denied access to these areas are other clear indications of that China has at the core of its interests profit making through mining and oil extraction rather than environment preservation or benefiting Tibetans. The official nomad (re-)settlement discourse appears hypocritical given popular resentment in the Tibetan Plateau. Land grabbing for resource exploitation is the real driving force behind China's resettlement and urbanization policies.

Ecological preservation is in many instances just a façade to justify mining activities, damming and diversion of rivers. Mining is already widespread throughout the Tibetan Plateau, and to claim more land for mineral extraction, Chinese authorities have intensified the sedentarisation policies to evict or relocate nomads and their herds.

The nomad sedentarization process can thus be best described as "land grabbing" by the PRC. According to Guo (2001)⁵¹ and Shang (1998),⁵² land grabbing in PRC is "a form of 'government behavior'" which is described as "using coercive measures to acquire private land under compensatory agreement by the government in the public interest." A recent study done by G. Siciliano, an Italian scholar whose research focuses on land grabbing in China, further adds that land grabbing "is usually accompanied by land dispossession, displacement and resettlement projects".⁵³

These definitions describe quite precisely what is happening through the process of nomads sedentarization in the Tibetan Plateau.

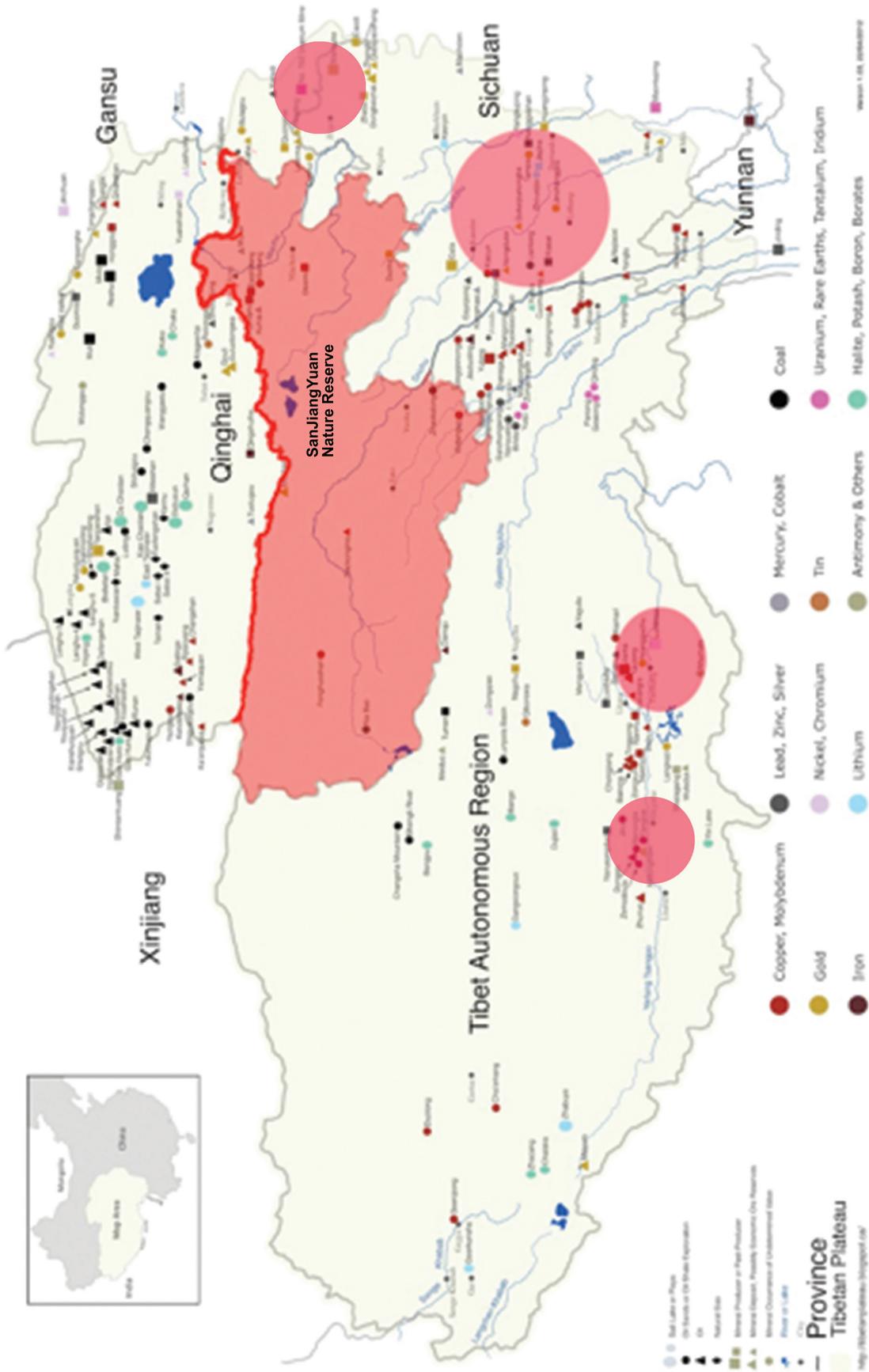
49 Yushu mine protest crackdown exposes China's nature reserve sham, TCHRD, 24 August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/yushu-mine-protest-crackdown-exposes-chinas-nature-reserve-sham/>

50 Ashok, Gautham., China Plans to Divert Tibet's River: Feasible?, Tibet Post, 23 June 2011 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/features/environment-and-health/1812-china-plans-to-divert-tibets-river-feasible>

51 Guo, X., 2001. Land expropriation and rural conflicts in China. *The China Quarterly* [e-journal] n 166(Jun 2001), pp 422-439

52 Shang, C., 1998. *Tudi zhengyong zhidu de guoji bijiao yu wuguo tudi ziyuan de baohu* ('Comparison of international practices of land expropriation and protection of land resources in China'), *Nongye jingji wenti* (Problems in rural economy), n.5 (1998), p.25

53 Siciliano, G., 2013. The social and environmental implications of urbanization strategies and domestic land grabbing in China: the case of Chongming Island. Land Deal Politics Initiative Working Paper number 14. Available online at www.iss.nl/ldpi



Nomads are being (re-)settled in the name of ‘public interest’, such as the government appropriating lands in the name of environment and grassland preservation. In other cases, ‘public interest’ takes the form of mining and extraction activities, and infrastructure development. Therefore, nomad resettlement is nothing but a euphemism for land grabbing.

This kind of “government behavior” finds its justification in the Land Administration Law of the People Republic of China. In articles 2 and 17, the Law establishes that:

“The State may, in the interest of the public, lawfully expropriate or requisition land and give compensation accordingly. [Land Administration Law of the PRC, Art. 2, 2011]⁵⁴

“People’s governments at all levels shall draw up overall plans for land utilization on the basis of the requirements of the plans for national economic and social development, the need for improvement of national land and for protection of the natural resources and the environment, the capacity of land supply, and the demand for land by various construction projects.” [Land Administration Law of the PRC, Art. 17, 2011]⁵⁵

With these legal provisions, the Chinese government authorizes the overt and covert means of coercion employed to expropriate land from Tibetan nomads and farmers (Art. 2). Moreover, the PRC allows various levels of government to develop plans for land utilization (i.e. perpetrate land grabbing) as long as they follow the central government guidelines for national economic and social development (Art. 17).

Under the Land Administration Law, the legal basis for land grabbing in the PRC lacks clarity regarding land ownership. This ambiguity has been abused at all levels of government to justify land grabbing. In the PRC, urban land is nationally owned by the Chinese government, and by extension, the CCP. On the other hand, rural land by law is owned by the community of villagers. The introduction of the Household Responsibility System in the 1990s increased the economic and decision making power of the village administration, which became the sole representative of collective ownership.⁵⁶ Yet what ‘village administration’ exactly means in terms of actual land ownership has never been clarified. Because of this lack of clarity, Peter Ho⁵⁷ described the PRC’s land rights system as a “deliberate institutional ambiguity”. The central and local governments at province, prefecture,

54 Land Administration Law of the People’s Republic of China, http://www.china.org.cn/china/LegislationsForm2001-2010/2011-02/14/content_21917380.htm

55 Id.

56 Ho, P., 2010. Contesting rural spaces: land disputes, customary tenure and the state. In J. Elizabeth and M. S. Perry (eds), 2010. Chinese Society. Change, Conflict and Resistance (third edition). London: Routledge

57 Id.

county and township levels have often been able to take advantage of this ambiguity while claiming sovereignty over land or implementing shifts in land use in the name of “national economic and social development”⁵⁸.

All over the PRC, millions of peasants are made landless every year. This is due to central and local “developmental pushes” that have taken the form of urbanization, industrialization, land concessions to investors, mineral extraction, infrastructure development and environment preservation. In this context, land grabbing becomes nothing more than an “externality of development”.⁵⁹ In the last two decades, more than 50 million farmers in the PRC have lost access to their land due to urbanization and industrialization.⁶⁰ These figures do not include peasants that have become landless due to rural development, poverty alleviation schemes or ecological protection⁶¹, such as the 2.1 millions Tibetan nomads that have been sedentarized since 2006.

In other cases, land expropriation is a result of widespread corruption among Chinese officials. In some cases, corrupt officials have taken Tibetan land and then sold it to pay off their debts⁶². The township government and village leaders often jointly handle the procedures for land expropriation. In most cases farmers, who are losing their land, are never consulted. The farmers, like the Tibetan pastoralists and nomads, are seen as passive actors who have no voice in deciding the path of their own development.

As reported by TCHRD in July 2013, local Chinese authorities appropriated large tracts of farmlands in at least three villages in the name of hydropower projects in Muge area in Sungchu (Ch: Songpan) County, Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. Local Tibetans who lost their land were not consulted before, during or after the execution of the so-called development projects. Their participation and agency in shaping policies conducive to local conditions were denied.⁶³

Similarly land grabbing in Tibet does not follow lawful measures, and often entails violence and coercive measures. For example, in July 2013 a violent clash between Tibetans and Chinese over land ownership in Dola (Ch: Qilian) County in Gansu Province resulted in serious injuries for more

58 Land Administration Law of the PRC, Art. 17, 2011

59 Zweig, D., 2000. ‘The externalities of development’: can new political institutions manage rural conflicts? In J. Elizabeth and M. S. Perry (eds), 2000. *Chinese Society. Change, Conflict and Resistance* (first edition). London: Routledge

60 Siciliano (2013)

61 Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2013 Annual Report: 184, <http://www.cecc.gov/sites/chinacommission.house.gov/files/AR13DJ.PDF>

62 Chinese officials swipe Tibetan land to pay debts, *The Kansas City Star*, 26 July 2013, <http://www.kansascity.com/2013/07/26/4369720/chinese-officials-swipe-tibetan.html>

63 China appropriates Tibetan farmlands in the name of hydropower projects, TCHRD, 12 July 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/07/china-appropriates-tibetan-farmlands-in-the-name-of-hydropower-projects-3/>

than 15 Tibetans⁶⁴. In October 2013 in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, 16 elderly Tibetans were forced to end their month long sit-in demonstration against land grab after police threatened them with imprisonment⁶⁵. In other cases Tibetans protesting against land grab are imprisoned on trumped-up charges of political unrest, as it happened in Kyegudo in April 2013.⁶⁶ Less than a year before, in September 2012 in Kyegudo, a Tibetan woman committed self-immolation to protest against land grabbing in her village.⁶⁷

3. Mining

As shown in Map 1 in the previous section, there is a clear overlap between the areas containing rich mineral deposits and those subjected to nomadic sedentarization. Throughout the past few decades, mining and oil extraction have occurred consistently in Tibet. It has been estimated that in the last three decades the PRC has extracted an average of two million tons of oil from Tibetan deposits every year.⁶⁸ Apart from oil, gas extraction recently increased in the Tsaidam (Ch: Qaidam) basin in northern Qinghai. Most of Tibetan gas is subsequently sent to Sichuan Province in order to provide energy to Chinese factories in the east.

Gold extraction has a relatively long history on the Tibetan Plateau, and recently it has increased substantially to meet the rising demand for gold in the PRC. Similarly, demand for copper, lithium and chrome among other materials is also rising.⁶⁹ Despite all this, extraction activities had not reached high levels, and the PRC has been forced to import huge amount of raw materials to sustain its eastern factories.

Nevertheless, this trend is changing. China's 12th Five-Year-Plan (2011-2015) has renewed the emphasis on the development of national reserves of raw materials and minerals to gain a comparative advantage. For this reason, small and medium sized private mining have been replaced by intensive projects directly managed by the Chinese central government, and with the state investing massive amount of money to create new national champions in mineral extraction. Official Chinese estimates of the value of the mineral deposits on the Tibetan Plateau are around US\$ 1 trillion. This vast source

64 Tibetans Injured in Chinese Gang Attack Over Land Dispute, Radio Free Asia, 21 July 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/land-07212013173327.html>

65 'Occupy Movement' in Tibet: Chinese police force elderly Tibetans to end sit-in demonstration against land grab in Ngaba, TCHRD, 31 October 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/10/occupy-movement-in-tibet-chinese-police-force-elderly-tibetans-to-end-sit-in-demonstration-against-land-grab-in-ngaba/>

66 21 Tibetans Arrested in Protest Against Rampant Land Grabbing in Kyegudo, Tibet.net, 12 April 2013, <http://tibet.net/2013/04/12/21-tibetans-arrested-in-protest-against-rampant-land-grabbing-in-kyegudo/>

67 Land Grabbing Persists in Kyegudo, A Tibetan Woman Burned Self in Protest, Tibet.net, 14 January 2013, <http://tibet.net/2013/01/14/land-grabbing-persists-in-kyegudo-a-tibetan-woman-burned-herself-in-protest/>

68 Lafitte, G., 2013. *Spoiling Tibet: China and Resource Nationalism on the Roof of the World*, Zed Books (London), <http://www.zedbooks.co.uk/node/11825>

69 Id.

of untapped wealth is driving efforts to exploit the resources on the Tibetan Plateau.⁷⁰

Mining is now reaching unprecedented levels in Tibet, and will most likely be at the core of the region's economic development in the coming years and decades. National policies for the TAR anticipate an increase of provincial GDP share in mining from 3% in 2010 to between 30% and 50% by 2020. This means that Tibet's landscape will change dramatically in the future as its resources are extracted. More and more Tibetans will be forced from their grasslands, while the environment and water streams will most likely suffer high levels of pollution.

3.1 Growth and Role of Mining in PRC's Economy

The development of mining in Tibetan areas is the product of different pushes and forces. China has reached a mature stage in its industrialization process; the role of its industrial sector still weighs massively on the country's GDP, and China's economic growth is heavily dependent on its industrial production. China's need for raw materials and energy increases each year, and Tibet possesses a necessary source of raw minerals and energy.

Another reason why Tibet's minerals are now perceived as increasingly valuable is their location. In recent years, industrial activities have expanded into the PRC's interior and the area around Chengdu and Chongqing in Sichuan Province has become one of the main industrial hubs of the country. As production facilities move closer to Tibet, the transportation costs of raw materials have dropped dramatically, thus making Tibetan resource deposits increasingly attractive.

Nevertheless, domestic resources alone cannot satisfy the PRC's demand for raw materials and energy. While mining projects have spread widely on the Tibetan Plateau as well as in Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and other peripheral provinces, the deposits stored underground are far from fulfilling the PRC's internal needs. The PRC cannot rely on its own deposits to sustain its industries and it still needs to have access to the international markets to satisfy its ever-increasing needs of energy and raw material. Nevertheless, if China hopes to become one of the major mineral exporters worldwide it needs to develop an internal supply to complement its imports, thus decreasing its dependence on international markets. To achieve this, the PRC recently launched a set of reforms aimed at the development of its internal extraction industry⁷¹. These reforms involved, among others: tax exemption; state sponsored infrastructure and power stations; finance concessions; and, most importantly for its effects on Tibetans, investors and extractors don't need to fulfill royalty payments to local population. In this way, the market is distorted by heavy state intervention. These subsidies are driving public and private mineral traders towards medium scale deposits within China and Tibet rather than towards bigger mines abroad.

70 Id.

71 Id.

Despite the economic need to exploit Tibetan mineral deposits, in the official Chinese discourse, the development of mining in the Tibetan Plateau is justified as a way of including local populations into national growth. As discussed earlier, the development of local comparative advantages is one of the main points stressed in the GSOW that would eventually lead to a trickle down of wealth and a subsequent decrease of national inequality. The PRC is framing mining and land exploitation for national and international audiences as a way to include the so-called ethnic minorities into economic development. Economic growth would then be followed and complemented by assimilation of nationalities into the central state's ideology. From this point of view, market imperatives are reinforced by nationalistic needs of assimilation and security.⁷²

Tibet has thus been dragged into the international marketplace to support global production. High-tech components produced in China are now manufactured using Tibetan lithium; similarly, the car industry based in Sichuan is making vast use of Tibetan copper and chrome. These products are sold on international markets and exported worldwide. All the profits from these trades go to the PRC, and Tibet and its population do not receive any share of profits. The promised trickle down of wealth to the Tibetans has not happened. Tibet is bearing the brunt of mining: its land and water are polluted; its population is dispossessed of land; its resources are exploited. This is happening in the name of a development that Tibetans are not entitled to.

3.2 Impacts of Mining on Tibet

Mining has caused a huge increase of pollution in Tibet. One major concern is water pollution as waste rock and earth from mining are just dumped into the water. These environmental damages have been reported on different occasions throughout the entire 2013, often in reference to villagers losing cattle or harvest due to water pollution⁷³. At the same time, the mining activities consume large amounts of energy, which is often provided by dams constructed on Tibetan rivers. In 2013, it was reported that the PRC was planning to build a total of 60 dams on the Tibetan Plateau.⁷⁴ Intensive damming can be very dangerous for the ecosystem, as it increases the risks from earthquakes rises, while local human activity gets inevitably altered. In the near future, this could have huge consequences for millions of people throughout Southeast Asia, as Tibetan rivers are the source of drinkable water for many Asian countries.

The Tibetan soil is rapidly degrading and the fragile ecosystem of the grassland might not be able to recover after deep excavation. In fact, in order to extract minerals in significant amounts hundreds of millions of earth and rock must be dug and crushed. A recent example of the damages that soil degradation can cause is the deadly landslide that struck Gyama (Ch: Jiama) Valley in Meldro Gungkar

72 Id.

73 Chinese Mines Pollute Tibet's Rivers, Streams , Radio Free Asia, 6 May 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/mines-05062013154914.html>

74 Concerns Arise Over China's Dam Building Drive in Tibet, Radio Free Asia, 17 April 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/concerns-04172013125938.html>

near Lhasa (TAR) in March 2013⁷⁵. In Gyama, the intensive mining caused a tragic landslide that killed 89 workers operating on the site of mining. While the PRC dismissed it as accident caused by natural factors, studies show that the landslide occurred as “a result of the aggressive expansion and large-scale exploitation of mineral in the Gyama Valley”⁷⁶.

Yet soil degradation is just one of the negative consequences of mining. As discussed in the previous section, many Tibetans have lost access to their lands due to mining activities, which were often carried under the veneer of grassland restoration and poverty alleviation projects. Subsequently, in most instances Tibetans are denied access to mining jobs, which require workers to be fluent in Chinese⁷⁷. This results in a literal invasion of Chinese workers, who are able to find employment at the mines. The pervasiveness of this trend is reflected in the Gyama tragedy, as of the 89 workers who died in the landslide, only two were Tibetans. The other 87 men were all Chinese migrant workers⁷⁸. Thus, while the official rhetoric stresses the importance of mining as a source of employment for the local population, this is very rarely the case.

Concurrently, Tibetans do not receive any royalties from the exploitation of their land, all of which are retained by the central government or by the industrials operating thousands of kilometers far from the mineral deposits. The PRC controls all aspects of land management and resource exploitation. Among the local population, cadres and party members are the only ones who profit from mining.

During the reporting year, Tibetans repeatedly staged peaceful protests against mining activities on their land. In May 2013, almost 5000 local Tibetans protested against mining at the sacred Naglha Dzamba Mountain in Diru (Ch: Biru) County in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, TAR⁷⁹. As is usually the case, the protest was quickly suppressed with force. Local authorities routinely justify their heavy-handed responses to peaceful protests by accusing Tibetans of attempting to split the PRC. Demonstrations against official abuse often end violently, with local Tibetans beaten, shot and arrested as political dissidents, as it happened also in August 2013 in Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)⁸⁰. In several cases, Chinese authorities used machine guns to silence anti-mining demonstration⁸¹. These cases demonstrate the level of repression that Tibetan protesters face in exercising their right to peaceful dissent. In several cases (the last occurring in December 2013)

75 LANDSLIDE IN GYAMA MINE: natural or man-made? Tibet.net, 30 March 2013, <http://tibet.net/2013/03/30/landslide-in-gyama-mine-natural-or-man-made/>

76 Id.

77 Id.

78 Id.

79 Thousands of Tibetans protest Chinese mining activities in Diru, Phayul, 29 May 2013, <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=33506>

80 Yushu mine protest crackdown exposes China's nature reserve sham, TCHRD, August 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/08/yushu-mine-protest-crackdown-exposes-chinas-nature-reserve-sham/>

81 Machine gun fire in Tibet: exclusive video of police breaking up environmental protest, Free Tibet Campaign, <http://www.freetibet.org/news-media/pr/machine-gun-fire-tibet-exclusive-video-police-breaking-environmental-protest>

anti-mining demonstrations have taken the extreme form of self-immolation⁸², as this is perceived as the only way to protest that is left to an increasing number of Tibetans.

3.3 Conflict Minerals of Tibet

High levels of conflict and violence are involved in the extraction of raw materials in Tibet. For this reason, Tibetan resources should be included in the list of ‘conflict minerals’. Conflict minerals are mined in conditions of armed conflict and human rights abuses. In recent years, the global fight against conflict minerals has mainly highlighted minerals extracted from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the ongoing civil war is tightly linked to the mining industry. Of the Congolese minerals, cassiterite, wolframite, coltan and gold listed as conflict minerals. Some States, such as the US, ban the use of conflict minerals, and companies trading and using Congolese minerals need to certify that the materials they use are not coming from conflict-affected zones.

As specified in the ‘OECD⁸³ due diligence guidance for responsible supply chains’ (2013), conflict minerals are extracted in “conflict affected and high risk areas”⁸⁴:

The presence of armed conflict, widespread violence or other risks of harm to people. Armed conflicts may take a variety of forms. [...] High-risk areas may include areas of political instability or repression, institutional weakness, insecurity, collapse of civil infrastructure and widespread violence. Such areas are often characterized by widespread human rights abuses.”

The OECD’s definition of minerals extracted in conflict and high-risk areas applies to Tibet. Due to the widespread human rights abuses that are relied upon to implement mining projects in Tibet, Tibetan minerals should be certified as conflict minerals. China must ensure transparency in the use of Tibetan resources. More importantly, both government and private mining companies should be held accountable for the harm and suffering done to the Tibetan people.

4. Mass Tourism in Tibet⁸⁵

The Great Strategy for the Opening of the West (GSOW) stressed the importance of tourism for development. This has resulted in local authorities in PRC’s western provinces racing to identify and

82 [Updated]Tibetan monk dies of self-immolation, calls for unity among Tibetans in last note, TCHRD, 19 December 2013, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/12/tibetan-monk-dies-of-self-immolation-calls-for-unity-among-tibetans-in-last-note/>

83 The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), <http://www.oecd.org/about/>

84 OECD, 2013. OECD Due Diligence Guidance for Responsible Supply Chains of Minerals from Conflict-affected and High-Risk Areas: Second Edition, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264185050-en>

85 This section has benefited greatly from private conversations in 2013 with Gabriel Lafitte, Australian development scholar and an expert on Tibetan issues

exploit as many tourist attractions as possible. Once the good spot has been found, it is then renovated and marketed to hundreds of thousands of paying tourists every year. This is what has happened in Lhasa⁸⁶ and many other Tibetan areas in recent years.⁸⁷



Picture 7 - Tibetan Pilgrims in Barkhor district in the old part of Lhasa city. Source: Epoch Times

Many of the tourist spots in Tibet have been the holiest sites of Tibetan Buddhism for hundreds of years. Under the current development policy, they have quickly become mass touristic and commercial destinations. In a process that has been described as ‘Disneyfication’,⁸⁸ the oldest Tibetan buildings have been demolished and rebuilt, often providing space for boutiques, shopping malls and high-end international hotels. Tibetan cultural heritage is being modified and sold to the new visitors. Pilgrims are outnumbered by the hundreds of thousands of Chinese tourists who visit Tibet’s holiest cities and monasteries. Local Tibetans have

been increasingly marginalized in this process, as their role is often just limited to posing for pictures with the tourists, while witnessing the destruction of their cities and the invasion by Chinese visitors.

Lhasa is the most dramatic example of this process. Lhasa’s historical areas have been completely renovated; old buildings knocked down and replaced by fancy new buildings, with security cameras appearing on every corner, while local inhabitants are relocated to other areas. Concern over the destruction of important sites for the traditional Tibetan culture has repeatedly arisen over the last year.⁸⁹ The Chinese presence in Lhasa is increasing massively, and is expected to support approximately 15 millions Chinese visitors in 2013 alone. The number of tourists visiting Lhasa will outnumber the local population of 2.5-3 million.⁹⁰ Tibet has been literally invaded by tourists, and local and central governments are stressing the importance of increasing the number of tourists even further.⁹¹

86 “Our Lhasa is on the Verge of Destruction! Please, Save Lhasa!” By Woese; High Peaks Pure Earth, 10 May 2013, <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2013/our-lhasa-is-on-the-verge-of-destruction-please-save-lhasa-by-woeser/>

87 “They treat us like animals”, by Tashi Rabten, Translated by TCHRD, <http://www.tchrd.org/2013/05/they-treat-us-like-animals/>

88 The Disneyfication of Tibet: How tourism has become a tool of occupation., By Pearl Sydenstricker, Washington Monthly magazine, January-February 2014, http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/january_february_2014/ten_miles_square/the_disneyfication_of_tibet048349.php?page=all

89 Id.

90 Disneyland of Snows: Hijacking Tibet, by Claude Arpi, 4 August 2013, <http://claudearpi.blogspot.com/2013/08/hijacking-tibetan-history-for-chinese.html>

91 January-October Tibet tourist reception breaking 12 million an increase of 21.6%, Xinhua, 25 November 2013, http://tibet.news.cn/gdbb/2013-11/25/c_132915057.htm

4.1 Development of Tourism Sector

Apart from Lhasa, other Tibetan cities, villages and monasteries scattered throughout the entire Plateau have gone through a similar process. Shangrila in Yunnan,⁹² Labrang in Gansu,⁹³ Jiuzhaigou⁹⁴ in Sichuan are just some of the most well known cases of rapid and massive commodification of touristic sites that up until a few years ago were avoided by Chinese tourists who regarded them as backward, dusty and unpleasant villages.

The development of tourism throughout the Tibetan Plateau has been heavily fueled by Chinese government investments and supported by strong marketing campaigns. Significant attention has been placed on the demand side, as national propaganda and marketing campaigns alike have increasingly spread the image of a civilized, traveling Chinese citizen. National holidays, also called ‘Golden Weeks Holidays’,⁹⁵ have been lengthened to create a class of tourists who can fill the newly built hotel rooms all over the country. Under the huge increase in investment from all levels of government, tourism is booming throughout the PRC.

Tibet has become a major destination for Chinese tourists. While just a decade ago almost no Chinese would have ever considered the idea of spending their holidays in a land lacking oxygen and infrastructure and inhabited by ‘backward Tibetans’ (as depicted in the national discourse), now Chinese tourists are flooding into Tibet. The construction of physical infrastructure, such as the high-speed railway linking Lhasa to the PRC’s major coastal cities, made Lhasa and the Tibetan Plateau much more convenient for the new Chinese middle class to reach. In official Chinese propaganda, Tibet is depicted as “China’s Tibet”, the PRC’s last province with pure and unspoiled environment.

Massive state investment in tourism focus on three main niches that have been identified as the main comparative advantages in Tibet: ecotourism, ethnic tourism and high-end business trips. Ecotourism aims at the commodification and sale of the natural environment and landscapes to visitors willing to pay entrance fees to countless scenic spots.⁹⁶ Fences and walls have been built around mountains, lakes, forests and parks that for centuries had represented the natural environment composing Tibet’s grasslands, lakes and mountains. The natural environment is thus losing its original role of being part of the livelihood of local populations. Consequently, local citizens might thus lose access to water streams that they use to irrigate their lands, to pastures where they herd animals, or to the land where they live, in order to give space to tourists willing to pay a fee to admire the ‘preserved’ beauty of the

92 Vanishing Shangri-La (1), Liu Jianqiang., China Dialogue, 9 September 2011, <https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/4518-Vanishing-Shangri-La-1->

93 Tibetans Call China’s Policies at Tourist Spot Tacit but Stifling, New York Times, 24 October 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/25/world/asia/tibetan-monks-describe-a-web-of-unseen-controls.html?pagewanted=1&_r=0

94 LHASA HOTEL BOOM: THE BACK STORY, Gabriel Lafitte Blog, 12 April 2011, <http://rukor.org/lhasa-hotel-boom-the-back-story/>

95 Golden Week 2013: Travel Woes and Unruly Behavior, China Digital Times, 4 October 2013, <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2013/10/golden-week-2013-travel-woes-unruly-behavior/>

96 Kolas, A., 2008. *Tourism and Tibetan Culture in Transition. A place called Shangrila.* London: Routledge

landscape.



Picture 8 - A Chinese tourist points his camera at a group of Tibetan mothers and children. Offbeat China, 2013

In the case of ethnic tourism, so-called ethnic minorities themselves have been turned into a tourist attraction. Entire villages have been built anew and fenced, and tourists now need to buy a ticket in order to observe the “traditional” way of life of villagers, who are instructed to dress in their traditional clothes and smile at visitors’ cameras. China now sees ethnic minorities’ lifestyles and cultures as heritages that need to be preserved with the supervision of the Chinese government. Ethnic groups have become part of the scenery.⁹⁷ Local cultures are commodified and sold on the global market. Villagers, monks and nuns have become the

subject of thousands of pictures, while their villages and monasteries are invaded by millions of tourists. While ethnic minorities have gone through a process of rehabilitation, their diversity, seen as backward in comparison with the Chinese population, has not disappeared. By visiting ethnic villages, for Chinese tourists the idea of Chinese superiority gets strengthened and reproduced.

The growth of tourism in Tibet and the increase in number of top rated hotels have led to the development of a third type of touristic niche: the high-end business trip. Businessmen and investment groups are increasingly ‘escaping’ to Lhasa from wealthy coastal areas to discuss about private businesses and deals in one of the many conference rooms built within the new luxury hotels of the city. Additionally, as many industries are moving from the coast to the new industrial hub of Chongqing-Chengdu, Lhasa is becoming increasingly closer to one of the national centers of business decision-making. Being able to offer businessman a quiet and discrete meeting room where they could seal important deals far from the pollution and crowd of the industrial hubs has thus been identified as the newest comparative advantage of Lhasa.

When in Tibet or Lhasa, tourists have very limited direct contact with Tibetans and Tibetan culture. Groups of travellers are escorted from one scenic spot to the other, while being told by their guide a Chinese version of Tibetan history. The profession of a tour guide is heavily regulated. In order to work as a guide, it is necessary to obtain a Tour Guide Certificate from the government. Similarly, guides must follow a very strict and precise line imposed by the government regarding what message to pass to tourists and which scenic spots to show. At the same time, they cannot do or say anything that might put China in a bad light. As established by China’s ‘Regulation on Administration of Tour

97 Why the huge influx of domestic tourists will hurt China’s ethnic harmony? Offbeat China, 14 August 2013, <http://offbeatchina.com/why-the-huge-influx-of-domestic-tourists-will-hurt-chinas-ethnic-harmony>

Guides⁹⁸:

When conducting tour-guides activities, tour guides shall conscientiously protect the interests of the State and national dignity; any words and behaviors impairing the interests of the State or national dignity shall be avoided. [Art. 11]

Article 20 of the regulation spells out punitive measures against tour guides who “impair the interests of the State or national dignity”:

If when conducting tour-guiding activities, a tour guide has any words and behaviors impairing the interests of the State or national dignity, the tourism administration department shall order him to make corrections; if the circumstances are serious, the Tourism administration department of the people’s government of a province, autonomous region or municipality directly under the Central Government shall revoke his Tour Guide Certificate and make the matter public; the travel agency to which the tour guide in question belongs to shall be given a warning, and even have its business suspended for rectification.

Tibetan guides who do not follow the strict line imposed by the PRC face extreme consequences. A Tibetan who escaped to India in 2013 reportedly said in an interview that in at least two known cases, Tibetan guides have been sentenced to life in prison for having told a version of the history that differed from the Chinese line. Similarly, another Tibetan guide was sentenced to life in prison because a western tourist he was accompanying to Mt. Everest unfurled a Tibetan flag.⁹⁹

4.2 Tourism’s impact on Tibet

Under China’s top-down approach to tourism development, entertainment parks, museum, touristic guides, theatre performances and the like have a well-defined message to pass on to visitors: Tibet is, and has always been, part of China. Museums have been filled with evidence ‘proving’ the PRC’s version of history. Similarly ancient myths have been rewritten, the new version been represented in Lhasa’s new theatre almost on a daily basis.¹⁰⁰ In Lhasa, in front of a huge replica of the Potala Palace built near the original one, tourists learn how centuries ago the Chinese princess Wencheng brought civilization to Tibet.¹⁰¹ Similarly, tour guides, often Chinese and well trained in national centers,

98 China’s ‘Regulation on Administration of Tour Guides’, 2008 <http://www.cnta.gov.cn/html/2008-6/2008-6-27-20-31-26-2.html>

99 Two Tibetan tour guides sentenced to life, Phayul, 10 September 2013, <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=33974>

100 Lhasa: 30 billion gamble “Princess Wencheng”, Sohu.com, 18 September 2013, <http://business.sohu.com/20120918/n353384559.shtml>

101 Fake Potala and Princess Wencheng Myth, Radio Free Asia, 22 August 2013, <http://www.rfa.org/mandarin/pinglun/weise/weise-08222013113618.html>

have to strictly conform to the government's Tibet narrative. Tibetan culture and history have been completely reinvented by the central government, ready to be packaged and sold to tourists.

The benefits that tourism has brought to Tibetans are extremely limited as the Chinese government strictly controls the tourism industry. Thus, investors with good connections (*guangxi*) with government and party members can buy access to this new market. Tibetans lack both the relevant connections in the government and the start up capital needed for investments. From a Tibetan household perspective, even having a car to convert into a taxi represent a very expensive asset, let alone the establishment of restaurants, hotels and guesthouses. Local people lack opportunity to access this market in a profitable, empowering way, and they are pushed to marginal roles, while Chinese migrants receive most of the benefits.

In the new tourist spots that have been established such as Shangrila, Jiuzhaigo, Labrang or the area around the Qinghai Lake, Tibetans are often left with little options for employment. Mostly, Tibetans work in catering or cleaning in big hotels, or hiring horses or donkeys for trekking routes. Nevertheless, due to the strict regulations mentioned above, even this option is often out of reach for local Tibetans lacking a Tour Guide Certificate. Sometimes, the number of guides and horses exceeds demand, thereby pushing down the income one might get from these activities. Concurrently, very few households can afford to start small businesses, such as guesthouses or restaurants, while big and renowned hotel chains often hire Chinese migrants who are already trained and who can speak fluent Mandarin. Often, the only local citizens who benefit from tourism are those who are already relatively well off within their own community. Unfortunately, this means that the majority of Tibetans does not receive any benefit from the tourism in Tibet.

Chinese government investments tend to focus more on tourist-friendly areas that can attract visitors. This results in a lot of money going to reconstruct old city-centers, while the surrounding areas are ignored. Such selective choice of investment often leads to intra-county inequality in addition to the increased cost of living, which in turn puts pressure on local communities. Needless to say, the revenues that local governments gain from tourism are not reinvested into the community, but are retained by local officers or by private, mostly Chinese, entrepreneurs.

Likewise, in recent years, monasteries have become a target of government investments. The PRC has reportedly invested US\$ 26 million to restructure monasteries throughout Tibet. Yet Tibetans have complained that they have received no benefit from this public expenditure. As a local Tibetan quoted in the interview said, "It looks fancy, but in reality all the improvements are for Chinese people."¹⁰²

102 Tibetans Call China's Policies at Tourist Spot Tacit but Stifling, New York Times, 24 October 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/25/world/asia/tibetan-monks-describe-a-web-of-unseen-controls.html?pagewanted=1&r=0>

Conclusion

The major aim of the PRC's development policy introduced through the GSOW in Tibet is to create wealth by expanding its base for capital accumulation. The PRC views this as more important than the stated objective of including minorities and underdeveloped regions into national economic growth, which has not happened.

In the case of the nomad sedentarization project, nomads are forcibly taken away from their traditional livelihood, while they are offered no skills or tools to enter the new labor market and to adapt to the new sedentarized lifestyle. The nomad sedentarization policy has allowed the government to keep a closer control on Tibetans, while at the same time enjoying free access to the land that for thousands of years had served the source of the nomads' livelihood, lifestyle and culture.

Destructive resource extraction activities are rapidly destroying the environment, polluting the air and water, and changing forever the landscape and the grassland ecosystem. The companies that are extracting the natural resources from Tibet primarily hire Chinese migrants instead of local Tibetans, even for the most unskilled working positions. The local Tibetans who were living on the land do not receive any royalties from the national and private extracting companies.

Away from the resource extraction tourism has turned Tibetans and their culture into an exotic destination for millions of tourists each year. However, the tourism does not benefit the Tibetans. Tibetan history, landscape and culture commercialized and sold to tourists, while Tibetans only role is to smile in front of the tourists' cameras.

The main benefits the tourism and mineral extraction goes to Chinese authorities and industrial elites. If PRC intends to have its development policies benefit the disadvantaged and local communities and allow them to benefit from the PRC's growth, it must radically change how its policies are being implemented.

“I am concerned about our future. If we move into one of those housing sites by the road, and lose our animals, we will have to rely completely on our children to survive. They will have to go into the city to find work and we will be a burden for them to take care of. I have no education and I will not be able to help them. We sent our children to school to get an education so they can find a job in the city in the future. We must deal with this fate. Our old age is very uncertain. I am most worried about this.” [A Tibetan nomad in Mangra (Ch: Guinan) County, Interviewed in June 2013, (RD)]

EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS TAKEN IN AMDO PROVINCE, TIBET

Areas covered include Amchok, Labrang, Rebkong, Chentsa (Jianzha), Mangra (Guinan), and Golok

Interviewer: Ms. Rikzang Drolma, Canadian scholar specializing in Chinese history

Languages used during interviews: Amdo Tibetan dialect and Mandarin

Issues covered: Self-immolation, nomad resettlement, censorship, language rights, land rights

Interviews were taken in June and July 2013

Note: Pseudonyms are used here to protect the identity of the interviewees.

INTERVIEW I

Location of interview: A restaurant in Xining

Interviewee: Sonam, 36, a former nomad and native of Mangra (Ch: Guinan) area, who now works as a businessman in Xining trading household items and food products.

Interview date: 20 June 2013

Duration: 120 minutes

RD: In your opinion, what are some of the biggest changes to occur in Tibet in recent years?

S: The big change is that we have a new leader, President Xi Jinping. Since he took control in March, there have been some changes and everyone is watching him to see what direction we will go.

RD: In the past, many people in China truly believed in the cause and ideology of the Communist government. But now, most people are disillusioned by the state and see little legitimacy in its power, including party members themselves. This is quite dangerous.

S: Yes, that's true. They don't have much time left. When I was young, the elders would say, "Don't listen to the government. Don't trust what they say but don't disobey them." These people lived through the horrors of the Cultural Revolution. Nowadays, young people have forgotten and they are bolder. They have much greater access to information and news on the Internet now.

RD: Yes, there is much more access to information now.

S: But in 2012, the government censored all pictures of His Holiness that was distributed online. If you sent his picture over instant messaging, like Wechat, it would shut down right away.

RD: It would shut down? What about now?

S: Yes, that's right. Mass censorship. This only started relaxing this year, in April, after Xi Jinping came to power. He brought in new policies, like fighting corruption and government waste. The big hotels started losing all their business for that reason. There are some changes happening slowly. Starting in April, the policies relaxed around the display of His Holiness picture. Everyone's watching Xi Jinping.

RD: I see, the changes happened only this year.

S: Last year, in the month of March, we couldn't even travel from here to Rebkong. They searched everyone on the road and made us register our names.

RD: Is it because of the March protest anniversaries?

S: Yes. They looked at everyone's ID cards and only people who are residents of Rebkong were allowed to go there. My wife is from Rebkong and I am from Guinan. Even though we are married, I could not go to Rebkong to visit her!

RD: That's terrible.

S: They lined the roads with soldiers holding guns, asking everyone for ID. That's what it is like in Lhasa all the time now. The Han Chinese can go without any problem, but if you are Tibetan, it is very difficult.

RD: So the policies in Lhasa have not relaxed since April?

S: No, they have not. Even if it appears to be more relaxed, it isn't. There are guards and surveillance cameras everywhere.

RD: During my travels throughout Amdo, I saw surveillance cameras on every street, taking pictures of every car that enters or leaves a village or city. Are these a recent addition?

S: It all started in 2008. Surveillance cameras were set up in front of every monastery and major road. If you are Tibetan, or if you wear Tibetan monks robes in Beijing or in Lhasa, it would be hard to even rent a hotel room! This is especially the case in March.

RD: That's terrible. The changes since 2008 are unfathomable.

S: Now there are many educated Tibetans who have received university degrees yet they are afraid to voice their opinions. Many have been arrested.

RD: Yes, we heard about many cases of Tibetan intellectuals, artists, and musicians getting arrested. We've also seen recent pictures of riot police and row of tanks lining the streets on festival days, such as the Monlam festival at Labrang Monastery.

S: Yes, yes, that's right. We never see this in the news here. The military presence is everywhere.

RD: Can you tell me about the self-immolations happening here?

S: There's no other solution, so people are setting themselves on fire. People think there's no way for me to get the news out, so I have to do this. I will die to get the word out. More and more people are doing this. I refuse to attack my enemy or bring harm to another person, but I do have this one power to take my life. And I'm not afraid. When I actually think of this, the pain is unbearable. If people had freedom, they would not take such actions.

RD: Is it in accordance with Buddhism, which teaches non-harm to others?

S: Yes, yes. In Buddhism, I respect you and I will not harm you, so I willingly take my own life instead.

RD: This also prevents the government from finding an excuse to take violent action against the people.

S: Yes, there are two important changes implemented since April of this year. The first is that we are allowed to display images of His Holiness. The second change is that government will not take legal action against the family members of those who have self-immolated. In the past, they would arrest the whole family of those who self-immolated. They stopped this. This is a good thing. There have been over 130 self-immolations and many of them didn't even tell their families. Many didn't even tell their own spouse or children, they just went out onto the street and set themselves on fire. They would do it completely on their own.

RD: What would happen to their bodies after they self-immolated?

S: The government wouldn't let the families take the bodies. In many cases, the villagers teamed up and fought the police to take the body back. For Tibetans, it is very important to give a proper funeral for the dead. This is the same in many cultures around the world. Wherever you die, the body must go back to the family. This is true for the Han Chinese as well. So when the officials refused to give back the bodies, the people gathered together and fought to get the body back. Many people died or were arrested in these conflicts.

RD: Does this still happen now?

S: Yes, of course. The authorities are capable of anything.

RD: A few days ago, I just heard about two people in Yushu who self-immolated and one person in Kham on June 11. I heard this news by word-of-mouth in the village. Did you hear about all this?

S: Yes, I heard, that's true. Before 2012, we would get the news on our phones through instant messaging and on the Internet. When an incident happened, we heard about instantly. Since March of this year, the Internet has been completely controlled and we don't hear about anything online now. But people still find a way to send the message out using the Internet.

RD: Can people send the message out by making a phone call?

S: You can make the call, but they can hear what you say and you would get arrested right after you finished talking. At first, they had trouble blocking the flow of information on Apple iPhones. So they tried to ban the iPhone. All government workers are now prohibited from owning an iPhone.

RD: Why did they have trouble with the iPhone?

S: Because the software is made in the US, and they had trouble manipulating it.

RD: Have you had any other problems with censorship or surveillance?

S: Yes, I have had too many. I once acquired a Chinese passport so I could travel to Nepal to do some trading for my business. I did all the paperwork very carefully and followed all the official guidelines so that I could travel there and back without any legal problems. When I arrived in Lhasa to fly to Nepal, I was arrested at the airport and thrown in jail! They held me for 2 months in jail for "investigation" even though I had all the proper and legitimate paperwork! I could do nothing about it. I did nothing wrong, but I was still jailed for no reason. They took all my possessions, including my passport. Finally they gave me back my things and let me go and I went to Nepal. When I came back, I was again detained at the border. This time, they sent me to jail for 4 months, again for no reason. I never learned what my crime was.

RD: That is outrageous. What is the point of having a passport if you can't even use it?

S: It is impossible to respect their laws when they don't even follow them. Now they have made so many new rules to prevent the movement of Tibetans in their own territories. There is a very complicated legal process for Tibetans outside of the TAR who wish to travel to Lhasa. The Han Chinese can go freely, but Tibetans must have special permits to go. I know of an elderly lady in my village who yearned her whole life to go on pilgrimage to Lhasa. She had little education but great courage and

determination. Recently, she did the full prostrations on her hands and feet for the hundreds of miles from our village to the border of the TAR. After months of arduous travel, where she prostrated every step, she was turned away by guards on the road and refused entry to the TAR. They said she didn't have the proper permits. She pleaded with them and asked if she could pay and apply for the permit right there. They refused to help her and sent her all the way back to her village to get the permit. We Tibetans have been going on pilgrimage to Lhasa for generations, and now we cannot even practice this basic religious ritual. This elderly woman had no political agendas; she only wanted to complete her pilgrimage before the end of her life. When I think about such injustice, it brings tears to my eyes.

INTERVIEW II

Location of interview: Chentsa (Ch: Jianzha) township

Interviewee: Tsering, 33, male, native of Chentsa, former nomad and local construction worker

Interview date: 12 June 2013

Duration: 14 minutes

RD: "What do you know about the self immolations in this area?"

T: "There were several in Chentsa, at least one in Hualong, and more than ten in Rebkong city."

RD: "In the official news reports, we have heard about 8 self-immolations in Rebkong. Do you mean there was more than 8?"

T: "There's more than that! This what the local people say and they know the people who did it."

RD: " So many! Did you witness any of these? "

T: "No, I haven't seen any. I'm afraid of these things. For those who self-immolated themselves, it is a thing of the past, it is over for them. But it is most painful for the families who survive them."

RD: "There are also those who self-immolated but did not die and are arrested. They must suffer greatly as well."

T: "Yes. If we are one family and one of us self immolates, none of us are safe. The government will harass your entire family."

RD: "Ngaba and Rebkong have the highest numbers of self-immolation. Why do you think there are so many self immolations in this area?"

T: "Well I think our people here have a strong and proud spirit. They also have courage, maybe too much of it... and some also have a short temper... Let's turn off the TV before speaking more, maybe there is a recording device in it."

RD: “In the TV?”

T: “Actually, in this box here. (points to a white cable box and turns it off) The TV can only turn on if this box is on. We only receive two channels here, the Jianzha channel and the Huangnan channel. There’s no other channels available. The authorities just distributed these boxes this year. Be careful what you say when this thing is on. It is recording us.”

RD: “How did you know about this? Does everyone know?”

T: “Yes, everyone knows but we still turn it on and watch TV. There’s nothing else to watch.”

RD: “How terrible. Isn’t it possible to buy and install a different satellite box of one’s own?”

T: “I guess you can, but we are afraid to do that. If the authorities find out, that would be trouble for us. We used to receive more channels, including foreign channels, lots of them. But now we can’t see any of them. This is the new system for all of Qinghai Province. ”

RD: “Are they also listening to your phone calls?”

T: “Yes certainly. They listen to the cell phone calls. Sometimes the phone goes dead if I call my relatives just down the street, after just 15-20 minutes of conversation. This usually happens at night, not during the day.”

RD: “They are worried about you planning something at night?”

T: “Yes, I guess so. What would we do at night? We have nothing to do at night.”

RD: “Have you heard of a place in Qinghai called Chapcha? We heard on the news about the protests there in 2010, because of the changes in the school system and the removal of Tibetan language from the classes. We heard that the students protested because the classes were all switched to Mandarin.”

T: “Yes, in Malho [Ch: Huangnan] and Tsolho (Ch: Hainan) areas, they don’t allow Tibetan language in the schools anymore. If you don’t learn on your own, you will not know Tibetan. In Malho, they protested vigorously and the officials reinstated Tibetan language in the schools. This is the language of our people, they can’t eliminate it!”

RD: “I heard from a student in Tsoe [Ch: Hezuo] city that they removed Tibetan language from the secondary school for a year, but because of the uproar in the community, they recently reinstated it.”

T: “ In Malho, they only managed to remove it for a few weeks! They didn’t even succeed in implementing the change.”

RD: “So it appears that protests can be quite effective!”

T: “Yes, that’s true!”

RD: “There are so many Tibetans here, they can’t control every single person.”

T: “We have had many protests in Malho, including student protests as well as mass protests in the community. Many people have been arrested here. We have had many incidents here, especially in the past few years.”

RD: “For those who are arrested, can they seek legal help? Can they hire a lawyer?”

T: “Some can do that, but most people cannot. They are taken away, and nobody even knows where they are. They simply disappear.”

RD: “That’s terrifying.”

T: “People are afraid to do many things. They are scared of the torture, of the beatings, of the arrests. We hope the new leader Xi Jinping will make some positive changes and relax these harsh policies.”

RD: “Thank you for telling me what you know. We have very little news about this region.”

INTERVIEW III

Location of interview: Rebkong township

Interviewees: Shamba, 39, male, farmer, and his daughter, Pema, a student at Rebkong Secondary School.

Interview date: 15 June 2013

Duration: 18 minutes

S: “It’s safe to talk here in our homes, but not in public and to just anybody.”

RD: “Because there are cameras in the street recording?”

S: “Because there are spies everywhere. The authorities have people everywhere and they will report what they hear immediately. When they first arrested me, they didn’t know how to find me, but word got out from the local villagers that I was here, so they came to arrest me here.”

RD: “How is the situation now?”

S: “Anything can happen. The government is watching very carefully.”

RD: “We heard that 7 or 8 people self-immolated here in Rebkong, is that correct?”

S: “More than that! I think there were actually 11 or 12 in Rebkong alone. Be careful what you say

out there, they are listening”

P: “Our school was protesting at the time. We protested in 2012, on 11 September. It attracted much attention.”

RD: “ What is the situation at your school now?”

P: “Parents and family members are not allowed to visit the school. We are no longer allowed to carry cell phones. The security is very strict. ”

RD: So how did you end up leaving Tibet for India and then coming back again?

S: I went to India because I wanted to see my younger brother who went there ahead of me. I also wanted to see India and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I had always heard about the beauty of India, so I wanted to see it.

RD: Did you walk the long mountain path to get there?

S: Yes, it was 2002. I walked with 22 people, mostly men. We walked mostly at night and along the most difficult paths to avoid the border police. At times the snow would come up to my thighs.

RD: You are very brave. Were you aware of the dangers involved in that journey?

S: Not really. I was young and naïve. Now I know better and I wouldn’t dare do such a thing.

RD: How long did you stay in India?

S: Only about a month. I was in a car accident and injured my leg. I stayed at the Delek Hospital for 14 days or so. When I came out, I visited a few places but my leg hurt and it was so unbearably hot. I just couldn’t adapt to life in India.

RD: So you decided to come back the same way, through the mountains?

S: Yes, I did.

RD: Your courage is incredible!

S: I had too much courage. When I came back to Tibet, I was arrested by the police and put in jail with a 15-year sentence.

RD: That seems excessive. What happened to you?

S: Well, on the way to India, we actually ran into the Chinese border police just before reaching Nepal. The men in our group got in a fight with them and in the struggle, they managed to steal their guns and we ran away with their weapons. We abandoned some of the guns but carried two of them into Nepal.

RD: Did the police try to shoot at you?

S: No, because we confronted them before they had a chance to. They would have shot at us if we ran from them. They tried to beat us up and managed to catch two men in our group. The rest of us got away at the time.

RD: So this is why you got arrested when you came back?

S: Yes. After I came home, the police showed up at my house six months later. I was sleeping in that room just over there.

RD: How did they know who you were or where you lived?

S: I think the two guys they caught gave them the information.

RD: Why didn't you just stay in India after all this happened?

S: I was young and I had too much courage. They sentenced me to 15 years in prison and I ended up serving 8 years, from 2002-2010. I was sent to a Lhasa prison. There were all kinds of people there from Sichuan, Gansu, Qinghai, Henan, Hunan, and the Tibet Autonomous Region. There were Tibetans as well as people of all ethnic backgrounds.

RD: Eight years! How did you spend your time in prison?

S: We could read some newspapers, so I studied many articles. I improved my Chinese. I also had to sweep the floors and clean the cells. The worst was in 2008, during the protests across Tibet. At that time, they took away all our privileges. We were not allowed to read or do anything at all. I almost died of boredom.

RD: You had young children at the time and a wife. How did they survive without you for those 8 years?

S: Those were hard years. My wife had to work really hard and she even had to take care of her elderly relatives and my sister's 4 year-old grandchild because nobody else could do it. My wife is a survivor.

RD: How was your treatment in prison? Did the guards beat you?

S: Many guys were beaten. Luckily, I was never beaten. I followed orders. During the last two years, they separated the political prisoners, including myself, from all the others. We were taken to a different facility, a new prison about 40 km outside of Lhasa. I was released from there in 2010 and I came back here after that. Many protests were happening here at that time. It was a rough time to come out of prison. Now I have a very quiet home life and usually don't go far from here. I'm sure I'm still being watched.

INTERVIEW IV

Location of interview: Mangra (Ch: Guinan) Township

Interviewee: Rinchen, 46, a native of Guinan, a nomad who will lose his grazing lands this year.

Interview date: 21 June 2013

Interview time: 5:05pm

Duration: 25 minutes

RD is walking around Rinchen's property, looking at his sheep and yaks:

R: In 1980, they started doing land reform here. They started dividing up the land between the families. The size of land would depend on the size of the family.

RD: What happens if the land you are allotted is not enough to feed your animals?

R: If you don't have enough land, then you must buy land for grazing. For each person in a family, we are allotted 4 mu of land. We have six people, so we got 24 mu of land.

RD: So how many sheep do you have now? And do you have enough land for grazing?

R: Now we usually keep between 200 to 300 sheep. No, we don't enough land for grazing so we have to lease (rent) land every year to feed them. One mu of land is about 40 yuan to lease per year. One sheep needs about 3 mu of land per year. These are our sheep here, you see.

RD: So that means you need about 900 mu of land, but your family only gets allotted 24 mu of land.

R: Yes, we have to pay to rent grazing lands. We will move soon to the summer grazing lands, in about 10 days. Before we would walk there with our animals and it would take us 4 days. Now there is a road and we can rent a truck and we get there in just one day.

RD: So are your summer grazing lands currently fenced off and allotted to different families?

R: Yes, that's right, it is all allotted. People are no longer allowed to live on the open grasslands. The

government is trying to get us all to move into houses by the road.

RD: The houses by the road? Do you mean the government built housing sites? I've seen many of these. I've heard about their resettlement plans.

R: Yes, the government wants all of us nomads to come and live in the houses they built by the roads. But the nomads don't want to do that. We don't want to live by the road. We want to live on the mountains, where we can easily graze our yaks and sheep. That is our lifestyle; this is how we live. We don't agree with what the government is asking us to do.

RD: When was this policy implemented?

R: Just recently. Now they are demanding that we live by the road. We don't want to move, but they are demanding it. In many areas, people have already been forced to move, but we have not moved yet.

RD: Why don't you want to live by the road?

R: They are building all the houses right next together, stacking them all together tightly. There just isn't enough space. We can't keep our animals there. It would be impossible for us to graze our yaks and sheep with such little space. They won't let us live on the open grassland where there is space for our animals.

RD: How do they expect you to survive in those housing complexes by the road? It seems totally unreasonable.

R: That's right. There is no logic at all to their plan. It's a joke. They are playing a joke on us. We do not have much education, we cannot adapt to such a life. Those with education can perhaps find a way to survive there. But for us nomads, it is unthinkable for us to move into those houses. We can't adapt to that.

RD: I heard from some other villagers that your summer grazing grounds will be closed off next summer for "environmental protection", is that right?

R: Yes, I heard this too. This is not good. We will likely have to sell some animals next year or purchase land elsewhere to graze our animals.

RD: Are you concerned about this?

R: I am concerned about our future. If we move into one of those housing sites by the road, and lose our animals, we will have to rely completely on our children to survive. They will have to go into the city to find work and we will be a burden for them to take care of. I have no education and I will not be able to help them. We sent our children to school to get an education so they can find a job in the city in the future. We must deal with this fate. Our old age is very uncertain. I am most

worried about this.

(pause in interview as R meets with friends in the street)

R: There are our yaks!

RD: Beautiful! Can you tell me how much land you need for each yak?

R: Yes, let's see. For one yak to graze for one year, we need about 12 mu of land. We don't have enough land for our yaks, so we have to rent land every year. We have to give cash to our neighbors or to the government to rent their land. We can only rent land on an annual basis.

RD: I see. What do the animals eat in the winter?

R: We keep dried grass and feed it to them in the winter.

RD: Where does your water come from?

R: The river there. It is clean; it comes down from those mountains. This is our house here. Let's go inside to rest.

(Pause as we enter the house and continue the interview)

R: I was born here. I haven't gone to many places, just a few nearby towns like Xining, Jianzha, and Labrang. Other than that, I haven't been anywhere else.

RD: Before you lived in this house, did your family live in a black yak hair tent?

R: Yes, you see we keep the tents rolled up here now.

RD: Are there still nomads living in black tents? I didn't see any during my travels.

R: The nomads here all have their own houses now and they only use the tents when traveling. If you want to see a black tent, the family just down the road has one set up now. We can take you to see it.

RD: There isn't any nomad here living in tents?

R: No, not living in them. There are very few nomads living in black tents now. When they take their animals to the summer grazing grounds, they bring white tents or government issued tents with them. In the winter, people prefer to stay in the houses because there is no heat in the tents. If you go deep in the mountains, where there are no roads, there are still nomads in living in tents all year. We used to set up our tents then go out and graze our animals on horseback, and now we live in a house and go out to graze our animals with motorcycles! Things have changed. There are roads everywhere.

RD: The culture is changing.

R: Yes, when they built all the roads and houses, it changed everything. Not long ago, the road did not reach our house here. Now, the road comes just near our house and we have electricity. Of course there are some benefits to this. But before they built the roads here, there were wild animals everywhere. There used to be wild mountain sheep and Tibetan antelopes! Now they are all gone! This is because they built the roads and hunters came on the roads to kill the animals. Most of the wild animals of my childhood are gone.

INTERVIEW V

Location of interview: Dawu Township , Golok (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Interviewee: Gonpo (pseudonym), 42, male, a native of Chentsa, a former nomad who is a construction foreman in Dawu

Interview date: 27 June 2013

Duration: 15 minutes

Gonpo and RD are in a truck, driving through an area with miles of resettlement housing:

RD: What is life like for all the nomads living in these houses?

G: Many of them still find a way to keep some animals. Most of them rely on the caterpillar fungus industry. They go to pick the caterpillar fungus to make cash that they can use for the whole year. Golok has an abundance of caterpillar fungus. Many people have made it rich selling this. This is a recent development in the past two or three years. Before, the caterpillar fungus was not worth much, only one yuan apiece. Now one piece can sell for forty yuan!

RD: With so many people going to pick this caterpillar fungus, won't it disappear soon?

G: Well, the caterpillar fungus is a bug in the winter and a grass in the summer, so it regenerates annually. But every year, there is a little less. Eventually, it will disappear with all this picking.

RD: What will happen to everyone then?

G: When that happens, the economy here in Golok will collapse. About 70% will starve. They are all relying on the caterpillar fungus, because they no longer have their sheep and yaks.

RD: How terrible. Before they moved into these houses, they lived in tents, right? With their animals?

G: Yes. The nomads had a very good life when they had their animals. Those days, an average

family would have about 300 yaks and 400-500 sheep! That was their wealth and they were never hungry. Now the animals are gradually disappearing here. They are all being sold. Everyone is turning toward the caterpillar fungus.

RD: So how many animals would an average family have now?

G: No more than 100 or so.

NC: That's very few!

G: Yes, it is. And most families here don't even have sheep anymore. They can only keep yaks now.

RD: What are the young people doing? Have they moved into the cities?

G: The young people are no longer tending to the animals. They have all gone into the cities to find work.

RD: Before these changes, people didn't need to use money, right?

G: Yes, that's right. Now everyone has to go into town to buy things. We used to make our own stoves, our own food, our own shelter, now we have to buy everything with cash.

RD: And now the land is allotted by the government, right?

G: Yes, that's right. Before they allotted the land to individual households, each family could roam freely on the mountain where they lived. The use of the land was determined by where you lived. If you lived on this mountain, you could go anywhere on the mountain with your animals, take the water from anywhere on the mountain, and use what you needed from the mountain. You would not travel beyond your mountain. When they first started parceling out the land and drawing boundaries between families, each household got a decent size of land. Now, they are giving out much less land to each household. This has caused many problems.

RD: Do they parcel out the land every year?

G: No, it is a one-time deal.

RD: So if you get a certain amount of land, and you sell it, then you have no land at all?

G: Yes, that is right. We have four people in our family. We received only 2 mu of land. It's only enough to plant a few fruit trees. Now people have very little land.

RD: What do you think is the fate of the nomads here?

G: I actually believe that in just two or three generations, there will no longer be Tibetans around. I mean there will no longer be Tibetan culture, as we know it now. We will all adopt the Chinese

lifestyle, language, and culture. We will become just like the Chinese. This is what I believe.

INTERVIEW VI

Location of interview: Xining City

Interviewee: Pema, a well-established musician, music producer, and café owner, native of Ngaba

Interview date: 1 July 2013

Interview duration: 47 minutes

RD is speaking with Pema in his café in Xining City.

RD: Have you had any problems with censorship or harassment because of your music career?

P: There were three or four serious incidents. Once the authorities came to my home in Chengdu. I was finishing up the recording for one of my albums. I got a telephone call from the authorities.

They asked me all sorts of questions, like “ what are you doing Qinghai?” and “what are you recording?”

I said, “Who are you?”

The man replied, “I’m the security officer for this area (paichu suo). What have you been doing these two days?”

I said, “I’m working on music recording.” Not long after that, I got a knock on my door! They came right to my house! He was in a police uniform. He said he was Mr. Zhu, the man who called me.

In my home, I have a small Buddhist altar. I have all my items of worship there. All those images that I hold dear in my heart, I have displayed on my altar although I know I am not supposed to do that.

The man pointed to the altar and asked me, “Do you worship this man?”

I knew what he meant. On purpose, I retorted, “Who? Who are you referring to?”

He said, “The Dalai Lama.”

I said, “Yes, I do. If I said I didn’t, would you believe me?” I continued, “ Don’t worry sir, I would not do anything illegal. I follow the law of the People’s Republic of China. I would never disobey those laws. This image is of the religious leader of Tibetan Buddhism. As our religious leader, we worship and follow him. We’ve never seen him do anything illegal, and so we would not do illegal things either. I’m just a simple musician who minds his own business. I sing songs; that is what I

do. Why should I bother with things beyond my ability? ”

He said, “Okay, but you cannot hang this image here.”

I said, “Take it away then. You can take the image away, but he will still remain in my heart.”

I thought to myself, would he arrest me as well for having this image in my heart?

Even if you torture me, cut off my hands, pluck out my eyes, and execute me, you can never take what is in my heart. This is a matter of spiritual belief. Do you really think you can take that spirit out of my flesh and blood? That’s impossible! I actually explained this to him. I actually know a little bit about my legal rights and protection under the law.

I said, “It is not in your jurisdiction to come and search my home, but I have nothing to hide. I will not stop you from searching my place, go ahead and look around if you must.”

I had in my home many portraits of the highest lamas of Tibetan Buddhism. This man represented the government and he should have the most basic respect for the unique cultures of the different ethnic groups of the nation. In the end, he didn’t take any of my altar images.

Before he left, he said, “If you go anywhere, you have to call me and let me know where you are going.”

After that, I changed my phone number. I used to have a really good number that was easy to remember. Now, I’m very careful who knows my number.

RD: That’s quite a disturbance, and so unnecessary!

P: For Tibetans who have some status in society, or us minor celebrities, we are often harassed in this manner. We have to tip toe around or we could land ourselves in jail. I’m a very cautious person. Did you know that in Lhasa, the musicians are all afraid to sing?

RD: Yes, I heard that many musicians in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet have been jailed.

P: Yes, many musicians have been blacklisted, especially in Lhasa. We just want to worship freely. We have no weapons. We have no poisons. What offense have we made? With all the ethnic minorities in China, the policy of control is the same. It seems it can’t be otherwise. If they adopted the policies of the United States, with human rights for all, there would be great chaos here.

INTERVIEW VII

Location of interview: A restaurant in Xining

Interviewee: Lhamo, 38, a native of Rebkong, an education researcher and community orga-

nizer who works with a local non-profit organization focused on providing rural education to Tibetans in the Amdo region.

Interview date: 20 June 2013

Duration: 34 minutes

RD: Can your nonprofit organization receive donations from foreigners outside of China?

L: Yes we can, but it is very hard to process these donations and have the money sent to us here in Tibet. Since all the banks report to the central government, the bank officials do not release the funds to us without a lengthy and complicated process of investigation. They want to verify where it is coming from, whether it is laundered, and whether the donations come from organizations that have been listed as “unclean” or “problematic,” especially sources in the United States.

RD: They investigate which organization is donating the money. So, you can receive money from some organizations and not others?

L: Yes, that’s correct. For some organizations, they have openly prohibited from taking their money. We are allowed to take from private donors and a limited number of organizations. The list of who can and can’t donate to us is always changing, so it is really hard to keep up with their policies. You have to have very good personal connections (“guanxi”) with the people working in the banks. This takes a long time. When the person leaves the job, we have to start all over building the relationship.

RD: That’s very complicated.

L: In China, everything is complicated. There’s no such thing as an easy way to do things.

RD: Yes, I agree! I am now writing an essay on the everyday lives of Tibetan nomads living in the Amdo region, focusing on education, livelihood, and culture. There are very few writings on the problems Tibetan nomads are facing in their everyday lives, so I’ve been interviewing many families on this topic. I’ve already learned so much on this trip.

L: You will bring a valuable perspective to these topics since you can communicate (in Chinese) and you can learn so much more than the average foreigner. In the West, the issue of Tibet has become very politicized. Thus many issues are overlooked. But, we are just a normal people living our everyday lives just like anybody else. I think outsiders, including Tibetans who have moved abroad, often misunderstand us.

RD: For many Tibetans living abroad, it has been many years since they have left home...

L: Yes, and I sometimes argue with them. If we discuss nothing but politics, that is not a good thing.

There are many pressing issues aside from politics.

RD: When speaking to the local families, their main concerns were around livelihood, how to survive in the long run, and problems around education for their children.

L: Yes, that's right. One problem is that there are many obstacles to communication between Tibetans and the Han Chinese. There's virtually no trust left between these groups. Before 2008, many Han Chinese held a positive view of Tibetan culture. They saw it as a pure and mystical land. Now the mainstream view is that Tibetan culture is barbaric and violent. The media has completely skewed the popular attitudes. Everything has changed after 2008. When my mother wears her traditional Tibetan clothing, it is hard for her to call a taxi in the city because the Han drivers don't want to pick up a Tibetan! This kind a phenomenon was unheard of before 2008. It would have been impossible before, as Chinese people saw Tibetans as friendly and reasonable people. Now that has totally changed.

RD: Is this the outcome of the negative stereotypes propagated in the Chinese media?

L: Yes, that's right. However, there are also many positive relations that form between Tibetans and the Han Chinese despite the media. We have had many exchange students come from the universities in Beijing to study Tibetan culture here. They made many Tibetan friends that they still keep in touch with, and they often send letters back to us. These positive personal connections can still triumph over the negative views presented in the media.

RD: As a Han Chinese woman, I've traveled everywhere in Tibet on my own, and I've always been treated with kindness, respect, and generosity. I've never encountered any hostility from Tibetans because I'm Chinese. I think the media is highly exaggerating the ethnic tension.

L: There's a difference in attitude between the Han Chinese who return from abroad and those living inside China. Whereas the Han Chinese coming from abroad are interested in Tibetan Buddhism and history, the Han Chinese inside China will often raise political issues with Tibetans now. This is a recent development because of what they have seen in the media. They will ask, "Why are you always protesting?"

RD: Although many changes happened after the 2008 protests in Tibet, there's been a long history of unrest that many people didn't hear about. The 2008 Olympics attracted global media attention to the issues that have been brewing for many years.

L: Yes, of course there is a long history to these developments.

RD: Can you tell me about the recent changes in education in the Qinghai areas of Amdo? Which classes are taught in Tibetan and which are taught in Mandarin?

L: There are two basic education models being implemented here. The first model is where all the classes are taught in Tibetan with the addition of one mandatory Mandarin language class. The second model is where all the classes are taught in Mandarin with the addition of one Tibetan language class.

RD: Is it still true that the more rural areas have more classes in Tibetan?

L: Well, that was the case before. In the past, Tibetan teachers who didn't know Mandarin mostly taught the village schools. Nowadays, the schools are larger and there are more teachers who speak Mandarin. There are many young Han Chinese teachers who are in search of work, so they come to teach or work as substitute teachers.

RD: So what were some of the key changes in education in 2011?

L: The main change was that the government started spreading the second education model where all the classes are taught in Mandarin, with the exception of one language class in Tibetan. This will clearly lower the Tibetan literacy levels in our community.

RD: This is a very serious change.

L: Yes, that's right. But what can we do about it? However, there are some prominent Tibetan scholars who are speaking up and saying that Tibetan youth who learn Tibetan in school have a higher chance of finding a good job and thus attaining fulfilling life upon graduation. For those students who must attend their classes in Mandarin and only take one Tibetan course, their language skills have proven to be lacking in both languages. This prevents them from finding a job when they graduate. It is very difficult to find a job these days, so students really need a strong foundation in education.

INTERVIEW VIII

Location of interview: Bora Township, Amchok [Ch: Amuqu] village,

Interviewee: Dhondup, 17, male, native of Amchok and student of Tsoe [Ch: Hezuo] City Secondary School

Interview date: 10 June 2013

Duration: 45 minutes

RD: Do you know anyone who self-immolated?

D: Yes, I do know somebody. Actually, a close relative self-immolated here. He has two children he left behind.

RD: Your relative?

D: Yes.

RD: How old was he? Was he also a farmer?

D: His children are only seven or eight years old, and he was 28 years old. Yes, he was a farmer.

RD: Is this the picture of your relative?

D: Yes, this is him.

RD: Is this a picture of your classmate, the one you told me about, who self-immolated as well?

D: Yes, that's him. He was my classmate and he self-immolated, but he did not die. He was taken away by the police and we don't know where he is. But we heard a rumor that he refused to eat in jail and tried to starve himself, but the police force fed him with a tube.

RD: How old was he?

D: He was 18 years old.

RD: That's so very young.

D: Yes, so young. He did it for freedom [Ch: zi you 自由]. For the freedom of our people.

RD: In the West, we hear that some of the reasons for self-immolation include the removal of Tibetan language education and the mass relocation of Chinese into Tibetan areas. Is that correct?

D: Yes, that's part of the reasons, but the most important reason is for freedom. We have no freedom here. We are considered an "autonomous region [Ch: zixiaqu]," so we are supposed to have Tibetan language in our education and manage our own affairs. Yet we don't have these freedoms. Our most important cause is freedom.

RD: Why have there been so many self-immolations recently? What do you think have been the most significant changes in recent years?

D: Yes, now the count is 135!

RD: 135? Well, the official confirmed count in the media is around 125.

D: 125? Oh.... In our school, they no longer let us leave campus during the months of March and April. This is because of the March protests since 2008, so now we are not even allowed to leave campus.

RD: Did your school protest in 2008?

D: No, not in 2008. There were protests in our school on 17 March 2010, so that is the main reason.

RD: What happened at your school on that day?

D: It only happened for a few minutes! Students began gathering in front of the school and calling for freedom.

RD: Did you march out in the street?

D: No, we didn't even make it that far, we just made it to the front of the school and the police came right away!

RD: They came so quickly?

D: Yes, the police station is just across the street!

RD: What was the students' plan? Were you planning to march in the street?

D: We didn't have a fixed plan actually. A few people were arrested and soon afterwards, they removed all the Tibetans who held leadership positions in our school. That year, they also removed Tibetan language from our school and brought in more Mandarin classes.

RD: Yes. I heard about these changes in 2010. What specific changes happened in your school? Which courses were switched from Tibetan to Mandarin?

D: They changed our history, political science, and geography classes to be mandatory Mandarin courses.

RD: These courses were taught in Tibetan language before 2010?

D: Yes. The changes were implemented in 2011 when these courses were switched to Mandarin. Now they have reverted them back to Tibetan.

RD: Oh, they changed it back to Tibetan? Because people were unhappy?

D: Yes, that's right.

RD: Can you please ask your grandfather why self immolations are happening so much here? In the west, we hear more about the incidents in Ngaba, but very little about your region and the farmers here.

Grandfather: It's all for freedom.

RD: Because the freedoms are getting taken away more and more in recent years?

D: Yes, for instance, we used to receive Voice of America news here, but now we don't. The television programs are completely state controlled now.

RD: When did that happen?

D: Just recently, in March of this year, the authorities took away all media that isn't state-sponsored. In other areas, they took it away last year, but here we had it for a little longer.

RD: I heard from my Tibetan friends abroad that sometimes they would call home and suddenly the phone lines would go dead.

D: Yes, exactly. They are listening to all of our phone calls. If we talked about these things on the phone, the government would hear it and they would come arrest you just a few minutes after you hang up the phone!

RD: I see. You can get arrested just for talking on the phone?

D: Yes, that's right.

RD: Have people from your village been arrested?

D: Yes, many people from Bora Township have been arrested and taken away especially the local monastics. One monk from our monastery was arrested and has been in jail for 2 years.

RD: Why was he arrested?

D: Because he owned a Tibetan flag.

RD: Because he held up the Tibetan flag?

D: No, he didn't hold it up. He just possessed it and someone saw it, so he was arrested and taken away just for having it.

RD: Anyone who possesses a Tibetan flag could go to jail?

D: Yes, exactly.

RD: Chinese law doesn't have any specific law banning flags. They must have found some excuse to arrest him. This is too much. How can this be a legal offense?! It is just like the Cultural Revolution when they arrested people for knowing a foreigner or having friends abroad. Or they would arrest you for owning any traditional objects that reflected Confucianism or Buddhism. If they saw any religious objects in your home, they would give you trouble.

D: Yes, it is just like that. After 2008, the authorities raided people's homes for pictures of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. They would take all the pictures away and arrest people.

RD: We heard in the Western media that monks in Ngaba were forced to step on the image of His Holiness or they would not be allowed to eat. This is very similar to the policies of the Cultural Revolution.

D: Yes. Here, many police wear Tibetan clothes or monk's clothing. They don't dress like policemen when they come arrest you.

RD: Your family has a picture of His Holiness displayed. Are you afraid of the authorities coming here?

D: They haven't come to our house. They went to the monastery of our village, but not our homes.

RD: Were you close to the relative who self-immolated? What was his personality like?

D: Yes, I knew him. He was rather shy and introspective. He usually stayed at home.

RD: When he died, were you able to give him a proper Tibetan funeral? We heard stories of authorities taking the bodies away and preventing funerals to be held by the families. Did his body go with his family?

D: Yes, they do have it. They ended up cremating the body in Bora Township. That day of the self-immolation, many police came to the scene but there were also many local Tibetans. The Tibetans protected the body and they would have been very angry if the police stopped them from taking the body.

RD: How many people witnessed this? How did people know it was happening?

D: Many people came. People know about these things both before and after it happens. But there are many spies in the community as well, and they will tell the government what is happening in exchange for money.

RD: How do people know about these events?

D: Through word-of-mouth. Before we would find out news on Voice of America. Now we must depend on word of mouth.

RD: What about Wechat (text messaging service)? Do people use that to share information?

D: Not so much. The authorities can see everything on Wechat and who sends the messages.

RD: Yes, all the information on Wechat goes through Beijing. They can see your location, the time

the message was sent, everything.

D: Yes, that's right. That brings us a lot of trouble.

RD: The first time self immolations happened was in 2008, right?

D: Yes. It all began on 14 March 2008.

RD: You found out on Voice of America?

D: We actually watched it on CCTV, Chinese state TV. They didn't even know what was happening and they broadcast it for one hour. Right afterwards, they stopped reporting on it.

RD: Where were you at the time you first heard about the self-immolations?

D: I was alone at home. I was watching TV here and found out about it.

RD: What was your initial feeling at the time?

D: I was scared and shocked. I heard that several people died and I couldn't understand for what?

RD: If it is about freedom, as you say, how should freedom be defined? In India, the Tibetan exiled government adopts the Middle Way policy, where they don't advocate for a fully independent state. Instead, they are requesting meaningful autonomy, such as freedom of religion and freedom of expression while remaining a part of the Chinese state. Many people think this is the only way to negotiate with the Chinese government. Do people here agree? Do you agree with this?

D: Yes, I know His Holiness advocates for having one state with two policies. He says we should not push for an independent state. But we don't share this view here.

RD: You don't share this view?

D: No, we want a fully independent state.

RD: I also hope Tibet can be fully independent. That is the best scenario.

Understanding Internally Displaced Persons Special Emphasis: Tibetan Displacement By George Mason¹

Executive Summary

Displacement of Tibetan residents by the Chinese government has become a major human rights issue in recent years. In the name of ‘development’ China has continually forced Tibetans to abandon their homes and traditional lifestyles to move to the city or newly constructed villages. Upon arrival they face unimaginable discrimination in the community as well as the workforce. Despite these clear rights violations by the Chinese government, Tibetans have not been labeled as Internally Displaced. This lack of official designation hinders involvement from the international community and severely handicaps the Tibetan movement, as well as the general well being of Tibetan people. This report argues that the UNHCR definition of internally displaced persons needs to be reevaluated in order to account for severe rights violations occurring in Tibet. Arguing for the adoption of an alternative definition of violence, this briefing underlines necessary policy changes needed to ensure better protection for displaced Tibetans.

Background

Recent years have seen massive internal Tibetan migration. Chinese ‘development initiatives’ continually force thousands of Tibetans to abandon their homes in search of refuge elsewhere within the country. These development initiatives, which include uncontrolled mining, land appropriation, resettlement, and the creation of expansive nature reserves, face little meaningful opposition. In an effort to afford Tibetan peoples protection under international law, this briefing will assess the legitimacy of including Tibetans under the United Nations definition of Internally Displaced Persons; furthermore, the possibility of adopting an alternative definition of violence will be examined in order to account for the harm caused to displaced Tibetans.

The current definition of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is in accordance with the United Nations Refugee Agency Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The United Nations understands internally displaced persons to be, “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UNHRC, 2001).” Tibetan displacement is largely due to Chinese development initiatives. Policies such as the “Comfortable Housing Policy” and “New Socialist Countryside” aim to relocate, rehouse, and sedentarize Tibetan people, particularly nomads, in an attempt to eradicate Tibetan culture (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The Chinese government claims that the purpose of the programs is to aid Tibetans by rapidly improving livelihoods and living conditions, while simultaneously decreasing the economic disparity between western and eastern PRC, and protecting the fragile Tibetan ecosystem. Despite widespread criticism of these development initiatives, the Chinese government maintains that all resettlement is voluntary. While the international community, including the United Nations, has documented widespread human rights abuses in Tibet, China refutes all wrongdoing. The strict regulations on access for external media or independent observers have made it difficult to confirm the use of direct physical violence in resettlement programs (Human Rights Watch 2013),

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and because China denies any violations on the basis of human rights, categorizing Tibetans as internally displaced persons either on the basis of human rights violations or subjection to violence has proven difficult.

Perspectives

The Chinese perspective on Tibetan rights is neither supportive, nor indifferent: China actively represses the basic rights of Tibetan people. At the root of the Chinese perspective is the core belief that Chinese rule, no matter the harm engendered, has ultimately benefitted the Tibetan people, and is far better than the traditional rule of the Dalai Lama (Thurston, 1988). The Chinese argument is fundamentally based in Marxism. From a Marxist perspective, the nomadic Tibetan society is primitive and backwards, which provides justification for almost any action taken by the Chinese government (Thurston, 1988). Any acts supportive of the Tibetan movement are suppressed, and separatist action is punished severely. Chinese officials arrest Tibetan activists almost daily (Phayul, 2013). In terms of internal displacement, Chinese officials fail to acknowledge any misconduct, thereby circumventing their obligations to provide compensation to wronged parties. Notably, it is in the Chinese government's best interest to uphold the United Nations' present understanding of internal displacement, as it negates Chinese responsibility: any displacement that occurs can be justified as serving the greater good of Tibetan development.

Conversely, many Tibetans view themselves as forcibly displaced, and exile Tibetan sources cite numerous human rights violations perpetrated by Chinese authorities. Perhaps the most obvious form of rights violation is the active removal of Tibetans from their lands. In the name of land conversion, often for industrial purposes, such as mining, the Chinese government continues to force nomads and other Tibetans to leave their homes and traditional ways of life, and move to cities and newly constructed villages. Here they face extreme discrimination, an increased financial burden, and poor living conditions (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The lack of consultation and proper resettlement initiatives, as well inevitable losses to identity and cultural, lead the Tibetan people to consider themselves internally displaced, which forces them to question the lack of international attention.

The perspective of the international community is perhaps the most complicated. In part because Tibetans are not specifically considered IDPs under the existing international definition, the global community has not entered fully into the discourse: going only so far as to call for greater justice and rights provision from China, the international community has remained a bystander. Conversation regarding Tibetan issues is generally rooted in the United Nations, and the United Nations is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members (Article 2 UN Charter). This means that the UN is unable to interfere in matters inherently internal to a state; consequently, without official IDP-designation, the forcible relocation of Tibetan nomads remains an exclusively internal Chinese matter, and as a result, Tibetan displacement remains outside the authority of the United Nations. Thus, the lack of IDP-designation has contributed to the lack of action among international actors.

Argument

Recently, Tibetan resettlement and displacement issues have been framed through the human

rights discourse, with large organizations such as the UN acknowledging human rights concerns. These violations are many, and include the contravention of the right to freedom of religion and education, the right to cultural expression, and the right to liberty. However, recognizing and even condemning these violations has proven ineffective both in stimulating change from the Chinese government, and in prompting direct action from the international community. For this reason, this paper will approach the topic from a different perspective: focusing on violence rather than human rights violations in the struggle for Tibetan rights.

At present, the specific wording of the definition of Internally Displaced Persons, provided by the UNHCR Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, excludes displaced Tibetan residents from consideration. The stated purpose of the Guiding Principles, however, is to protect all persons facing forcible displacement (Kalin, 2000); thus the exclusion of any disadvantaged group from protection on the basis of a technicality is contrary to the objectives of the principles. This is the issue that must be addressed. The clarification of the terminology surrounding Internally Displaced Persons is not a mere question of semantics, but is a question of serious consequence for the Tibetan people.

The international community has been hesitant to act against the Chinese government for fear of Chinese reaction, and although the international community has condemned Chinese actions in Tibet, there has been a distinct lack of direct action (Human Rights Watch, 2013). This is at least partly due to the exclusion of Tibetans under the internally displaced umbrella. The 2001 Guiding Principles prescribe necessary action that must be undertaken in cases of internal displacement. Similarly, there is a framework in place that directly deals with individuals who have been externally displaced. Notably, neither framework is broad enough to allow the inclusion of forced Tibetan displacement at the hands of the Chinese government. There is no doubt that the resettlements occurring in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and other Tibetan areas are serious in nature, and warrant international action. It is for this reason that the United Nations must re-evaluate the definition of IDPs.

The current definition recognizes internally displaced persons as those who have been forced to leave their places of residence either to avoid, or due to subjection to situations of armed conflict, generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters (United Nations, 2001). As it stands, this definition is not sufficient to offer protection to all those in need. Tibetan displacement does not specifically compel attention with respect to any one of the above criteria; as such, an amendment to the above definition must be provided. While not calling for a complete redefinition of internal displacement, this brief suggests an alternative interpretation of the framework already in place. The United Nations already recognizes as internally displaced those forced to leave their homelands due to situations of generalized violence and human rights violations. This stance requires further explanation.

The Director of International Protection at the UNHCR has operationally defined 'generalized' to mean, "general in the sense of being widespread, large-scale and indiscriminate (Turk, 2011)." Generalized violence refers to the widespread targeting of specific groups. This understanding of generalized fits well into the Tibetan model: Tibetans are clearly victims of systematic discrimination and displacement on the basis of cultural identity. Violence, however, is more difficult to operationalize. The UNCHR itself does not provide a definition of violence in its framework, however, based on past cases where the UN has labeled persons as internally

displaced, one can assume the ordinary usage, as per the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (United Nations, 1969). The majority of displacement officially designated as Internal Displacement by the UNHCR is a result of large-scale physical violence, often warfare. Sudan, Libya, and Columbia, for example, are countries that currently contain officially recognized Internally Displaced Persons, all regions subject to civil unrest or warfare (UNHCR, 2013). The commonality of those labeled as internally displaced shows the UN's reliance on the ordinary usage of the word violence. The Oxford English Dictionary defines violence as: "behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something (Oxford Dictionaries, 2013). Thus, generalized violence is behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill a large targeted group of people. The requirement for physical force in the ordinary usage discounts Chinese actions as violent because of the difficulty documenting large-scale use of physical force. However, if violence were more broadly understood, Tibetans would qualify as Internally Displaced Persons.

Such a narrow understanding of violence severely underestimates and mislabels the effects of the Chinese government on displaced Tibetans. While the adoption of an alternative definition of violence by such a large organization may seem unrealistic, it is an attainable objective. In fact, there is precedence for redefining violence in the UN network of organizations. The World Health Organization (WHO), also a division of the United Nations, views violence in a much broader sense. In the World Report on Violence and Health, The WHO defines violence as, "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (WHO, 2002)." This definition of violence should be used as part of the UNHCR definition of Internally Displaced Persons. The report explicitly states that the use of the word 'power' in addition to the term 'physical force' is intended to broaden the scope of the definition. By expanding the understanding of violence, acts of intimidation, particularly in the context of power-relations, can be considered as violent acts (WHO, 2002). Tibetan residents are often told that refusal to resettle or sedentarize will be considered a 'political issue.' This is widely understood to be a threat of imprisonment for a minimum of three years (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Under the WHO definition, this threat can be considered violent. Furthermore, under this interpretation, violence does not have to be a direct action, but can also result from inaction. Thus, violence can also be understood to include acts of omission or neglect by those in power. Focusing on consequences rather than causes is a more effective way to ensure the proper maintenance of rights.

According to Chinese law, the government is allowed to seize land, displacing residents, if the seizure occurs for public benefit, with public participation, proper consultation, due process and compensation. Because the Chinese government continually insists that all resettlement is done voluntarily it is difficult to argue that a legal violation has occurred. However, the denial of Tibetan culture and wellbeing is more evident, and more visible, for instance, the lack of schools supporting Tibetan culture. This leads to the maldevelopment of Tibetans, particularly nomadic farmers, which is a ground for inclusion in the definition of violence, and ultimately internal displacement.

There are numerous human rights violations occurring in Tibet, including the deprivation of religion, education, culture, expression, and liberty. However, none of these rights violations seem to have warranted action by the international community. Clearly a focus on the human

rights aspect of internal displacement has been unsuccessful to instigate external involvement. It appears that situations of conflict or violence are perceived as more deserving of international interference. Because the human rights violations in Tibet have been acknowledged by the United Nations and have resulted in insufficient action (Human Rights Watch, 2012), this brief investigates the possibility of reframing internal displacement and the term 'violence' to include Tibetans. Perhaps the force of the word 'violence' will be the thorn in the side of the international community that finally prompts appropriate action. In addition, because proper consultation prior to displacement and resettlement after displacement are not listed as universal human rights, arguing that the actions of the Chinese government are violent seems the most realistic path for success.

Policy Recommendations

While the best-case scenario would see China change its so-called 'development' policies, the likelihood of this occurring is improbable. The most important policy change that should be implemented is the adoption of the alternative, but pre-existing definition of violence within the context of the UNHCR Guiding Principles to Internal Displacement. This proposal should be brought to the UNHCR Evaluation and Research department, responsible for the monitoring of program and policy effectiveness as well as the formation of new ideas. Implementing the definition of violence used by the World Health Organization allows for a broader understanding of harm caused to internally displaced persons. Limiting violence to mean physical harm negates instances that may be as harmful, if not more harmful, than their physical counterparts.

A second change that must be seen is a rewording of Principle 6 of the UNHCR Guiding Principles. Specifically, Principle 6(c) states that one should be protected from displacement in cases of large-scale development projects, which are not justified by compelling and overriding public interest (UNHCR, 2002). However, there are no criteria for 'compelling and overriding public interest' provided. One of the drafters of the Guiding Principles, Walter Kalin, has suggested that public interest can be understood to mean 'meeting the requirements of necessity and proportionality' as termed in the World Bank's Operational Directive 4.30. on Involuntary Resettlement and the OECD's Guidelines for Aid Agencies on Involuntary Displacement and Resettlement in Development Projects. However, while these documents do provide guidance, they provide no additional information on the intended meaning of 'the requirements of necessity and proportionality'. This leaves the meaning up to the individual interpretation of actors (Pettersson, 2012). China has justified the displacement of Tibetans by citing large public interest and potential benefit. While it may be true that there will be economic gain in regions far from Tibet, the loss felt through displacement cannot be ignored. Thus it is necessary for the Guiding Principles to clarify the intent of the principle. Simply stating that displacement must be due to reasons of overriding and compelling public interest allows administrations, such as the government of China, to provide nominal justification, accurate or not, for Tibetan displacement. Because access to Tibet, particularly TAR, is so limited, it is very difficult to verify or refute Chinese claims of public benefit. In addition, tight censorship of Tibetan issues prevents objective domestic monitoring (Human Rights Watch, 2013). While specifying does have its own issues, in the case of Tibet, it is the only option.

In order for the implementation of the above suggestions to occur, the international community must become actively engaged in the promotion of these changes. Calls for better treatment of

the citizens of Tibet are not enough. There must be policy changes that either pressure China to change, or allow for outside intervention.

Policy Risks

With any large-scale change, particularly change associated with legal jargon, there are risks. With the adoption of a more inclusive definition of violence comes the risk that the term will be weakened, including more acts, and thus decrease the attention the term warrants. However, the proposed definition of violence is already in use by a large multi-national actor, thus, adoption of the WHO definition of violence by another branch of the United Nations is unlikely to detract from the potency of the word, and should not present unforeseen challenges. This risk is quite minimal compared to the risk of continued inaction in Tibet. The rights violations in China are severe enough to warrant outside action. However, China has remained firm in its opposition to outside criticism and involvement. A step forward must be taken. Classifying Tibetans as internally displaced is the best option available. While this classification does not guarantee action, it provides a strong justification for legal action. Detering actions such as economic sanctions are often ineffective and possibly harmful to those outside of the intended realm (Elliott & Hufbauer, 1999).

A further risk associated with increased action, is Chinese response to criticism and potential involvement. China is one of the most important economies in the world, as well as one of the most influential countries in the UN and the global community as a whole. Both China and China's allies would heavily resist any attempted action against China's role in Tibet. However, the global community has remained stagnant for too long. Simply condemning the Chinese initiatives yields few results. In contrast, actions carry much more weight. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement provide a framework of conduct or action that should be undergone to aid internally displaced persons. If Tibetan nomads were thus categorized, it would be much more difficult to ignore their pleas for international assistance. Currently, their situation is viewed as extremely unfortunate, and wrongdoing on behalf of the Chinese government is recognized, however, without a specific legal designation, it is difficult for international action to occur.

Conclusion

The most important changes that need to occur are changes in policy. Current policies defining internal displacement are ineffective at providing protection for those displaced in Tibet. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement are too specific in their understanding of violence, yet too vague in other areas. The imprecision of these policies allows China to reasonably justify their actions in Tibet, while the specificity of the definition of violence results in the exclusion of Tibetans from the protection of Internally Displaced Persons status. Both problems point to the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in situations that are not either one-sided or drawing extreme amounts of international attention. While confronting China does pose some risks, as earlier discussed, the international community has remained inactive for too long, allowing horrific rights abuses to continue in Tibet. A restructuring of these policies, for which there is precedence, would allow for greater influence on Chinese action, as well as improved protection for those displaced. Overall, these changes are not overwhelming, and the existence of precedence should ease the change. However, the international community, governments and

civil society alike, will have to work together for meaningful policy changes to occur. Given the unrelenting nature of the Chinese government, it is well worth the fight.

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The Re-education of Tibet: Examining the Human Rights Implications of ‘Patriotic Education’ in Tibet

By Kara Bonis and Lucas Burton¹

I. Introduction

As neighbouring countries, China and Tibet have interacted in many different ways throughout history making it difficult to determine where authority over the Tibetan region lies. Ancient empires, such as the Mongols, formed alliances through marriage and religion between the people in what is present day Tibet and China². Consequently, their histories are entwined and their current relationship is a culmination of all the actions and reactions which have created a highly politicized environment. Tibet’s culture, which is almost synonymous with its Buddhist religion and the symbol of the Dalai Lama³, is threatened by Chinese control of education, specifically within the monasteries through China’s ‘patriotic education’ campaign. The international community has raised concerns regarding China’s intrusion into Tibetan affairs. Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) protects freedom of religion and Article 27 states that “In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language”⁴. Given these two universal rights espoused by the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and legalized in the ICCPR document which China signed in October 1998, China’s ‘patriotic education’ campaign in Tibet is highly unethical and a human rights violation.

II. Background

In laying the foundations of the China-Tibet dispute, it is important to learn from history and discover where the relationship originates and any background issues that may be contributing to the current problems. While the relationship between China and Tibet began long before the 1940s, the current political atmosphere was created around this time. In 1949, the Chinese People’s Liberation Army invaded the Tibetan area of Chamdo in order to save the Tibetans and improve their lifestyle through infrastructure, the abolition of traditional serfdom, and other such developmental projects.⁵ The legitimacy and necessity of these actions is questionable but it is the point that China became much more involved in Tibet. Secular education was introduced in the 1960s and over 6,000 monasteries were destroyed in Tibet⁶. The Cultural Revolution was launched in the late 1960s and the few Buddhist monasteries that remained were vandalized, received major damage, or were also destroyed entirely⁷.

China’s “Strike Hard” campaign, which targeted crime and corruption, was launched in 1996. It

1 The authors are fourth-year students at University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada.

2 Hsiao-Ting Lin, *Tibet and Nationalist China’s Frontier*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 6.

3 Bogang He and Barry Sautman, “The politics of the Dalai Lama’s new initiative for autonomy,” *Pacific Affairs* 78, no. 4 (2005): 601+.

4 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” *United Nations*, accessed December 29, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>

5 M.C. Goldstein, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 44.

6 Mary Craig, *Tears of Blood: A Cry for Tibet*, (Calcutta: Harper Collins Publishers, 1992): 147.

7 Wang Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincain, *The Historical Status of China’s Tibet*, (China Intercontinental Press, 2001).

was the official initiation of the patriotic education campaign although in practice it is believed that patriotic education began much earlier than that⁸. Its origins could be traced back to the initiation of secular education and replacement opportunities for education when the monasteries were destroyed.

a. Framework for Cultural and Religious Minority Rights

In order to provide a proper analysis of the human right situation in Tibet, it is necessary to examine the existing legal framework for the establishment and defense of cultural and religious rights. In terms of Tibet, the culture and the religion are nearly synonymous and therefore the protection of one is just as important as the protection of the other. Protection for religious freedoms is enshrined within the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Article 18 of the ICCPR guarantees that “everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching”⁹. In terms of minority rights in regards to religious and cultural freedoms, Article 27 states that “In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language”¹⁰. In order to act upon these religious and cultural freedoms, it is important to note that Article 19 states provides for the freedom of expression, “this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice”¹¹. The ICCPR clearly expresses all aspects of the cultural and religious rights granted to Tibetans.

b. Patriotic Education

With the advent of the Chinese government’s “Strike Hard” campaign in 1996, came the official launch of ‘patriotic education’ as a means of subverting dissidence and separatism in Tibet. Under this system, groups of “Chinese and trusted Tibetan officials” began visiting religious sanctuaries to forcibly instill concepts related to national unity on Buddhist monks and nuns¹². As mentioned earlier, however, actions of violent indoctrination, or “re-education”, were used by the Chinese government long before the official launch of patriotic education. For example, when Buddhist monks began protesting in the late 1980s a Chinese work team infiltrated some of Lhasa’s largest monasteries to begin a process of re-education. Bhagdro, one of the monks present at the Ganden monastery at the time recounts his experiences:

“The meeting began by condemning the monks of Drepung and Sera for indulging in ‘reactionary activities’ designed to harm the interests of the ‘motherland.’ It was advised that the Ganden monks should not follow the bad example set by the monks of these two Lhasa monasteries. The first meeting dispersed with the distribution of

8 Anand Upendran, “The ‘Patriotic Education’ of Tibet,” *The Diplomat*, August 21, 2013, <http://thediplomat.com/2013/08/the-patriotic-education-of-tibet/1/>.

9 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” 2013

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Upendran, “The Patriotic,” 2013.

newspapers to the monks who were asked to study them and to learn the ideological overtone of the contents. We were told to be prepared to answer questions along those lines after two or three days. Expectedly, they talked about wiping out ‘separatists,’ about the unity of the ‘Great Motherland’ and how Tibet and China, being like mother and son, were an inseparable entity... In order to make things more manageable to the team, the monks were divided into small groups. This made many of us very angry. For many, this was a moment of political awakening.”¹³

A young Tibetan nun named Nyima share a similar experience:

“Day after day, the Committee makes us repeat slogans, and they stop us from doing important ceremonies. It’s terrible. We get very frightened, especially the older nuns... I know that I must act according to the teachings of Lord Buddha, but as an individual I can do little, and have to keep it all stored up. I don’t feel free in my heart. I have no freedom on the inside.”¹⁴

After participating in yet another protest in 1988, Bhagdro was imprisoned and faced an even greater human rights violations:

“On Sundays, our one day off from work, we had to study Chinese policies. We were taught about Deng Xiaoping and had to write his political statements in our books and learn about his life and that of other high officials. We were told that Tibet would never be free and that the Chinese government is good. They said that Tibetan and Chinese were members of one family and that we would never get our independence. Sometimes high Chinese officials would come and give us instructions. They would say that Tibet would never be independent as China had the political and economic power to do anything. They also said that they had powerful bombs and that the Chinese army was very strong. They said that Tibet would only be free in our day-dreams...

“Practicing religion was not allowed in prison. All I could do was wait until night time and then when I was lying in bed, put a blanket over my face and recite my prayers. If anyone practiced openly, they were beaten and tortured... We were made to study the Chinese version of the history of Tibet. Those who disagreed with its contents were tied up, made to run and beaten.”¹⁵

Although the same degree of physical abuse is not widely cited as a component of patriotic education in monasteries, included in the “curriculum” administered by “work teams” is a coercive system of human rights violations. Monks and nuns are required to agree to “a five-point statement, pledging: (1) opposition to separatism; (2) unity of Tibet and China; (3) recognition of the Chinese-appointed Panchen Lama as the true Panchen Lama; (4) agreement that the Dalai Lama is destroying the unity of the Motherland; (5) denial that Tibet was or should be independent”¹⁶.

13 Upendran, “The Patriotic,” 2013.

14 Ibid

15 Upendran, “The Patriotic,” 2013.

16 Ibid.

Within only two years of their formal initiation, work teams had reached 1,780 of 1,787 temples and monasteries, subjecting 30,000 of Tibet's 46,000 monks and nuns to patriotic education. Reports indicate that during the same period, patriotic education was responsible for the expulsion of 3,993 monks and nuns from their monasteries and nunneries¹⁷. Even in more troubling is the estimated 294 arrests and 14 deaths in connection to patriotic education within these two years¹⁸. Today, it is reported that the patriotic education campaign has expanded its practice beyond the walls of monasteries and nunneries to include "homes, schools and universities, [and] even the tents of Tibet's nomads"¹⁹. It is unsurprising, therefore, that one-third of Tibetan refugees cite patriotic education as the reason for their departure²⁰.

Fundamental to the patriotic education curriculum is the Chinese government's broader attack on the Dalai Lama. Within Tibetan Buddhism the Dalai Lama is believed to be the reincarnation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion and is the temporary spiritual head for the Buddhist community. During the Chinese government's repression of the 1959 Tibetan uprising, the Dalai Lama fled for safety in India's northern region of Dharamsala where he continues to live in exile. The Chinese government regards the Dalai Lama as the ultimate source of dissidence within the Tibetan people. As one senior Chinese official commented, "The Dalai Lama is not merely a religious figure, he is also a mastermind of separatist activities."²¹ For this reason, worship of the Dalai Lama is outlawed in China and the Chinese government has taken aims to cut off Tibetans from any possible connection to their leader including banning his teachings and even the possession of his image²². In 1996, owning a photograph of the Dalai Lama was prohibited and in some instances of patriotic education, monks and nuns have even been forced to trample his image²³. Furthermore, efforts have been made to prevent Tibetans from accessing external television and radio broadcasts containing information about his exile²⁴. Commenting on these policies, a Chinese official declared that the government would "Strike hard against the reactionary propaganda of the splittists from entering Tibet...[and] Work hard to ensure that the voice and image of the party is heard and seen over the vast expanses [of Tibet] ... and that the voice and image of the enemy forces and the Dalai clique are neither seen nor heard"²⁵.

Given all aspects of patriotic education, it is clear that China is violating the human rights of the Tibetan people. It is not the implementation of education, which all people also have a right to but the degradation and prohibition of Tibetan religious practices which the patriotic education campaigns violate. Patriotic education within the monasteries is a direct attack on the foundations of Tibetan

17 "Over 3,993 monks and nuns expelled: religious repression continues in Tibet," *Tibetan Centre For Human Rights and Democracy*, May 23, 1998, <http://www.tchrd.org/1998/05/over-3993-monks-and-nuns-expelled-religious-repression-continues-in-tibet/>.

18 Ibid.

19 Upendran, "The Patriotic," 2013.

20 "China: International Religious Freedom Report," *U.S. Department of State*, accessed November 3, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2001/5752.htm>.

21 Ben Blanchard, "China says can guarantee its grip on Tibet 'forever'," June 29, 2010, <http://mobile.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE65S3AO20100629?src=RSS-WOR>.

22 "Mixed Signals on China's Policies in Tibet," *Voice of America News*, July 2, 2013, <http://www.voanews.com/content/mixed-signals-on-china-policies-in-Tibet/1693448.html>.

23 Upendran, "The Patriotic," 2013.

24 Ben Blanchard, "China says will stamp out Dalai Lama's voice in Tibet," *Reuters*, November 2, 2013, <http://in.reuters.com/article/2013/11/02/china-tibet-dalai-lama-idINDEE9A100U20131102>.

25 Ibid.

culture. Religion is credited as the source of Tibetan identity²⁶ and by taking away the ability of monasteries to spread their religion, Tibetans are losing their culture making it easier for the Chinese culture to be pushed on Tibet as a minority group within the Republic of China. Any actions taken to limit or refuse Tibetan practice of their religion expressly violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights because the Chinese government is preventing Tibetans from “[enjoying] their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion” stated in Article 27²⁷. The rights of Tibetans to have and act upon their religious beliefs, which also constitute a significant portion of their culture, are being violated by the curriculum within the patriotic education campaigns.

III. Argument for Human Rights

At its second Universal Periodic Review, China claimed that religious activities throughout the nation are “proceeding as normal” in a state of protection and that social rights of ethnic minorities are also protected²⁸. Given the five points of patriotic education and that religious classes are often cancelled in favour of the political teachings²⁹, these claims of protection can be highly contested. In reality, the five-point statement alone represents a violation of fundamental human and minority rights as outlined in both the Chinese constitution and international covenants.

The first, second and fifth points of this statement require monks and nuns to renounce unconditionally any belief in the separation of Tibet from China, and deny “That Tibet was or should be independent”³⁰. This practice is a violation of the freedom of belief, particularly as outlined in Article 18.2 of the ICCPR: “No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice”³¹. Similarly, the third and fourth points of this statement demand that monks and nuns betray faith in their two most important religious leaders by agreeing that the Dalai Lama is destroying national unity and by recognizing the Chinese-appointed Panchen Lama (one the most important leaders in Tibetan Buddhism) over the Panchen Lama selected by the Dalai Lama in 1995³². Once again, this is an overt breach of religious freedom and freedom of belief. Beyond the international covenants that explicitly condemn such violations, China’s Constitution states that, “No state organ, public organization or individual may compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in, any religion; nor may they discriminate against citizens who believe in, or do not believe in, any religion”³³. It is evident, therefore, that the simplest foundations of patriotic education, beyond their more violent and brutal application, violate cultural and religious freedoms as components of human rights.

IV. Policy Recommendations

Given the above argumentation concerning China’s patriotic education campaign, the first recommendation calls for the immediate abolition of the patriotic education occurring in Tibetan

26 Goldstein, *The Snow*, 88.

27 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” 2013

28 United Nations, “Universal Periodic Review Second Cycle - China,” accessed November 5, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/Upr/Pages/CNSession17.aspx>.

29 “China Re-launches ‘Legal Education’ Campaign in TAR,” *Tibetan Centre For Human Rights and Democracy*, May 17, 2012, <http://www.tchrd.org/2012/05/china-re-launches-legal-education-campaign-in-tar/>.

30 Upendran, “The Patriotic,” 2013.

31 <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>

32 Upendran, “The Patriotic,” 2013.

33 <http://english.people.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>

monasteries. The following recommendations address the deeper root issues of the Chinese-Tibetan relationship and the perspectives that caused the patriotic campaign.

a. Ratification of the ICCPR

The ratification of a policy is a method by which the international community can hold China accountable for statements made in regards to their commitment to human rights. While ratification itself may not cause immediate action it provides external actors the ability to enforce accountability politics, which exposes the vast differences between government policy on paper versus in action³⁴.

The ICCPR was signed by China fifteen years ago but was not ratified and China only announced in 2011 that it was beginning steps towards ratifying the treaty³⁵. The treaty focuses on political rights in more depth and greater detail than presented in the UN Declaration of Human Rights. It would express the extreme disconnect between China's policies and their actions in Tibetan monasteries and give international actors an even greater platform to argue on Tibet's behalf.

b. Increase Accountability and Transparency

After the first Universal Periodic Review of China in 2009, many recommendations were made to address human rights issues within Tibet. A common theme within the suggestions was to "provide unimpeded access to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) for United Nations human rights experts, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and other independent observers"³⁶. The international community needs to be more aggressive in holding China accountable for the inconsistencies of their espoused values compared to their actions. China sits as a member of the Human Rights Council and is a signatory on 25 human rights treaties³⁷. While this position does not have any specific human rights requirements and no country will have a completely perfect record, sitting on the Human Rights Council and holding other countries accountable should require a certain level of personal accountability. Increasing the accountability and transparency of China's actions within Tibet is key to the prevention of human rights abuses.

V. Analysis of Recommendations

The abolition of 'patriotic education' would involve the renewed sanctity of the monasteries from Chinese political influence. Students of the Buddhist traditions would be allowed to study the religion without class cancellations or replacements and monasteries could not be closed down to prevent attendance. From the Chinese perspective, this would be an incredibly dangerous policy because it would then allow for honorific teachings of the Dalai Lama to resume without the ability of the Chinese government to control the curriculum. Given that the Dalai Lama is espousing the idea that independence from China would not be in Tibet's long term economic benefit³⁸, it is perhaps not as

34 Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. p. 8-29.

35 Frank Ching, "Chinese gov't plans to ratify 1998 ICCPR treaty," *The China Post*, July 20, 2011, <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/commentary/the-china-post/frank-ching/2011/07/20/310434/China-govt.htm>.

36 United Nations, "Universal Periodic Review - China," accessed November 5, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/UPR/Pages/CNSession4.aspx>.

37 "China," *United Nations Human Rights*, accessed November 15, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/hrc/pages/hrcindex.aspx>

38 "Relationship," 2013.

dangerous a policy if they can work towards such an agreement of autonomy.

The purposes of the ratification of the ICCPR would provide a stance for organizations and actors outside of China or Tibet to have greater leverage in order to hold China accountable to its policies. Signing treaties such as the ICCPR is one step towards practical action; however, ratification is the confirmation of adopting such practices. Ratification could be seen as the commitment to take policies from theories on paper to actual practice.

Finally, increased accountability and transparency are crucial aspects to the monitoring and enforcement of human rights. The second UN Periodic Review of China showed that the international community recognizes China's human rights abuses, in particular questioning China's statement that freedom of religion was protected when in fact patriotic education had caused many Tibetans to leave Tibet as refugees or monasteries to close³⁹. While having this accountability is a positive thing, the periodic reviews only happen once every four years. Increasing general transparency and accountability would require more frequent reviews and publications on China's human rights status to be made public as well as foreign media to have access in to Tibet.

The risks to Tibet in enacting all of these policy recommendations would be minimal as they are already suffering from human rights abuses from the Chinese government. The risks to China are much greater because they believe giving Tibet greater autonomy and power would cause an increase in separatist sentiments and a destabilization of the government. As it is so clearly stated, "there is potential here for trust building"⁴⁰ but it will take a significant leap of faith for either side but especially China to enact these policies. If the international community can hold the Dalai Lama to his word of focusing on autonomy rather than full independence as well as China's commitments to human rights then perhaps both sides can achieve a greater equality and stability within the region.

VI. Conclusion

Regardless of whether Tibet gains any sort of autonomy or independence from China, the rights of the Tibetan people must be upheld by those in power. Patriotic education within Tibetan monasteries is a clear violation of human rights as it infringes on Tibetans' rights to religion, culture, and nationality. The motivations behind China's campaign makes it difficult to address patriotic education as a completely separate issue apart from the other concerns regarding the Dalai Lama and autonomy. In order to help implement more holistic and lasting changes to Tibetan religious and cultural rights, other aspects of China's involvement in Tibet's religiously driven culture must be considered. The importance of the Dalai Lama to Tibetan Buddhism is significant and therefore abolishing patriotic education is not enough without re-instituting the ability to study the teachings of their venerated spiritual leader.

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39 Upendran, "The Patriotic," 2013; United Nations, "Universal Periodic Review Second Cycle - China," 2013.
40 Gwertzman, "Can China's," 2009.

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LIST OF SELF-IMMOLATION PROTESTS IN TIBET

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Affiliation	Immolation Date	Origin	Status
1.	Tapey	M	Early 20s	Monk	Kirti Monastery	27 February 2009	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Last seen re-covering in a hospital under heavy surveillance in early 2012
2.	Phuntsog	M	21	Monk	Kirti Monastery	16 March 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 17 March 2011
3.	Tsewang Norbu	M	29	Monk	Tawu Nyitso Monastery	15 August 2011	Tawu County, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 15 August 2011
4.	Lobsang Kunchok	M	18	Monk	Kirti Monastery	26 September 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Had legs and arms amputated, serious condition; detained by Chinese police

5.	Lobsang Kelsang	M	19	Monk	Kirti Monastery	26 September 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Had legs amputated, whereabouts unknown
6.	Kelsang Wangchuk	M	17	Monk	Kirti Monastery	3 October 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Sustained spinal cord injury and permanently disabled; taken away by Chinese police, current whereabouts unknown
7.	Choephel	M	19	Former monk	Kirti Monastery	7 October 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 11 October 2011
8.	Khaying	M	18	Former monk	Kirti Monastery	7 October 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 8 October 2011
9.	Norbu Dramdul	M	19	Former monk	Kirti Monastery	15 October 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 5 January 2012

10.	Tenzin Wangmo	F	20	Nun	Mamae Dechen Chokhorling Nun- nery	17 October 2011	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Pre- fecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 17 Octo- ber 2011
11.	Dawa Tsering	M	38	Monk	Karze Monastery	25 October 2011	Kardze Town, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Pre- fecture, (Sichuan Province)	Conditions unknown; first taken to a hospital, but he refused treatments
12.	Palden Choetso	F	35	Nun	Tawu Gaden Cho- eling Nunnery	3 November 2011	Tawu County, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Pre- fecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 3 No- vember 2011
13.	Tenzin Phuntsok	M	40s	Layman	(Former monk of Karma Monastery)	1 December 2011	Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefec- ture, Tibet Auton- omous Region	Died 6 De- cember 2011
14.	Tsultrim	M	20s	Layman	(Former monk of Kirti Monastery)	6 January 2012	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Pre- fecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 7 Janu- ary 2012
15.	Tennyi	M	20s	Layman	(Former monk of Kirti Monastery)	6 January 2012	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Pre- fecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 6 Janu- ary 2012

16.	Sonam Wangyal	M	40s	Trulku/reincarnated lama	Darlag Monastery	8 January 2012	Darlag town, Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 8 January 2012
17.	Lobsang Jamyang	M	22	Nomad	Former monk of Andu Monastery	14 January 2012	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 16 January 2012
18.	Rinzin Dorjee aka Rikpe	M	19	Layman	Former monk at Kirti Monastery	8 February 2012	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	21 February 2012
19.	Sonam Rabyang	M	mid 30s	Monk	Lab Monastery	8 February 2012	Triwang Town, Keygudo, Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Had both his legs amputated
20.	Tenzin Choedon	F	18	Nun	Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery,	11 February 2012	Ngaba town, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 11 February 2012
21.	Lobsang Gyatso	M	19		Kirti Monastery	13 February 2012	Ngaba town, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Unknown

22.	Dhamchoe Sangpo	M	Late 30s	Monk	Bongtak Monastery	17 February 2012	Themchen County, Tsonub Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, (Qinghai Province)	Died 17 February 2012
23.	Nangdrol	M	18			19 February 2012	Dzamthang county (Sichuan Province)	Died 19 February 2012
24.	Tsering Kyi	F	20	Student	Machu Tibetan Middle School	3 March 2012	Machu town, Kanlho Prefecture, (Gansu Province)	Died 3 March 2012
25.	Rinchen	F	32	Layman		4 March 2012	Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 4 March 2012
26.	Dorjee	M	18			5 March 2012	Cha Township, Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 5 March 2012
27.	Gepey	M	18		Kirti Monastery	10 March 2012	Choejema Township, Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 10 March 2012

28.	Jamyang Palden	M	34	Monk	Rongwo Monastery	14 March 2012	Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 29 September 2012
29.	Losang Tsultrim	M	20	Monk	Kirti Monastery	16 March 2012	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 19 March 2012
30.	Sonam Dhargyal	M	44			17 March 2012	Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 17 March 2012
31.	Lobsang Sherab	M	20			28 March 2012	Cha Township, Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	28 March 2012
32.	Tenpa Dargyal	M	22		Tsodun Monastery	30 March 2012	Outside Barkham government office, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 7 April 2012
33.	Chime Palden	M	21		Tsodun Monastery	30 March 2012	Outside Barkham government office, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 30 March 2012

34.	Tulku Athup alias Thubten Nyandak Rin- poche	M	47	Trulku/reincarnat- ed monk	Dzogchen Monas- tery	6 April 2012	Dartsedo County, Kardze Prefecture, Sichuan Province	Died 6 April 2012
35.	Atse	F	25	Nun	Dzogchen Monas- tery	6 April 2012	Dartsedo county, Kardze Prefecture (Sichuan Prov- ince)	Died 6 April 2012
36.	Sonam	M	20s			19 April 2012	Dzamthang, Nga- ba Tibetan Auton- omous Prefecture (Sichuan Prov- ince)	Died 19 April 2012
37.	Choepak Kyab		20s			19 April 2012	Dzamthang, Nga- ba Tibetan Auton- omous Prefecture (Sichuan Prov- ince)	Died 19 April 2012
38.	Dorjee Tseten	M	19		Originally from Sangchu, Labrang	27 May 2012	Self-immolated in Lhasa, TAR	Died 27 May 2012
39.	Dhargye	M	20s		Originally from Ngaba, Amdo	27 May 2012	Self-immolated at In front of Jokha- ng, Lhasa	Died 27 May 2012
40.	Rikyo	F	36			30 May 2012	Dzamthang, Nga- ba Tibetan Auton- omous Prefecture (Sichuan Prov- ince)	Died 30 May 2012

41.	Tamdang Thar	M	64				15 June 2012	Chentsa, Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 15 June 2012
42.	Ngawang Norphel	M	22			Originally from Menphuk Township, Zurtso Truldul, Village, Nyalam, Shigatse	20 June 2012	Self-immolated at Dzatoe County, Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 30 July 2012
43.	Tenzin Khedup	M	24			Originally from Tridu, Yulshul	20 June 2012	Self-immolated at Dzatoe County, Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 20 June 2012
44.	Dekyi Choezom	F	40s				27 June 2012	Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Unknown
45.	Tsewang Dorjee	M	22				7 July 2012	Main Market, Damshung, Tibet Autonomous Region	Died 10 July 2012
46.	Lobsang Lozin	M	18	Monk		Tsodun Monastery	17 July 2012	Barkham, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 17 July 2012

47.	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	21	Monk	Kirti Monastery	6 August 2012	Ngaba town, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 6 August 2012
48.	Dolkar Tso	F	26		Tsoe city, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province	7 August 2012	Near Tsoe Gaden Choeling Monastery, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 7 August 2012
49.	Choepa	M	24		Meuruma, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Ch: Sichuan Province)	10 August 2012	Me'uruma Township, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 10 August 2012
50.	Lungtok	M	20		Kirti Monastery	13 August 2012	Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died on 13 August 2012
51.	Tashi	M	21	Former monk of Kirti Monastery		13 August 2012	Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 14 August 2012
52.	Lobsang Kalsang	M	18	Monk	Kirti Monastery	27 August 2012	Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 27 August 2012

53.	Lobsang Dhamchoe	M	17		Kirti Monastery	27 August 2012	Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 27 August 2012
54.	Passang Lhamo	F	62		Kyegudo, Yushul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	13 September 2012	Self-immolated at Beijing	Had been taken to an hospital for treatment; current whereabouts unknown
55.	Yungdrung	M	27		Chamdo (TAR)	29 September 2012	Self-immolated at Dzatoe Town, Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died
56.	Gudrup	M	43	Writer		4 October 2012	Driru, Nagchu County, TAR	Died 4 October 2012
57.	Sangay Gyatso	M	27			6 October 2012	Tsoe, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 6 October 2012
58.	Tamdin Dorjee	M	52			13 October 2012	Tsoe, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 13 October 2012

59.	Lhamo Kyab	M	27				20 October 2012	Bora Village, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 20 October 2012
60.	Dhondup						22 October 2012	Near Labrang Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 22 October 2012
61.	Dorjee Rinchen	M	57			Originally from Labrang Zayul	23 October 2012	Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 23 October 2012
62.	Tsepo	M	20				25 October 2012	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture (TAR)	Died 25 October 2012
63.	Tenzin	M	25			Bankar Monastery	25 October 2012	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture (TAR)	Unknown
64.	Lhamo Tseten	M	24				26 October 2012	Amchok, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 26 October 2012

65.	Thubwang Kyab	M	23		Ruming village, Labrang, Sangchu county, Amdo	26 October 2012	Sangkhog, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 26 October 2012
66.	Dorjee Lhundup	M	24			4 November 2012	Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 4 November 2012
67.	Dorjee	M	15	Monk	Ngoshul Monastery	7 November 2012	Gomang Township, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 7 November 2012
68.	Samdup	M	16	Monk	Ngoshul Monastery	7 November 2012	Gomang Township, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Taken to the hospital by police; current whereabouts unknown
69.	Dorjee Kyab	M	16	Monk	Ngoshul Monastery	7 November 2012	Gomang Township, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Taken to the hospital by police; current whereabouts unknown
70.	Tamdin Tso	F	23			7 November 2012	Dorongpo Village, Dowa Township, Rebkong	Died 7 November 2012

71.	Tsegyal	M	27				7 November 2012	Tingser Village, Bekar Town, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture (TAR)	Died 18 November 2012
72.	Kalsang Jinpa	M	18				8 November 2012	Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 8 November 2012
73.	Gonpo Tsering	M	19			Kay Village, Amchok, Tsoe County in Amdo Province (Ch: Gansu Province)	10 November 2012	Amchok, Tsoe County (Gansu Province)	Died 10 November 2012
74.	Nyingkar Tashi	M	24				12 November 2012	Rebkong in Malho Tibet Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 12 November 2012
75.	Nyinchak Bum	M	18				12 November 2012	Dowa Township, Rebkong in Malho Tibet Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 12 November 2012
76.	Khabum Gyal	M	18				15 November 2012	Gyalwo Lu-chuthang, Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 15 November 2012
77.	Tenzin Dolma	F	23				15 November 2012	Goge Village, Tsenmo Township, Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 15 November 2012

78.	Chagmo Kyi	F				Khagya village, Rebgong	17 November 2012	Rongwo Monastery, Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 17 November 2012
79.	Sangdak Tsering	M	24			Tsekhog Gonshul, Rebgong	17 November 2012	Dokarmo Township, Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 17 November 2012
80.	Wangchen Norbu	M	25			Gaden Choepheling, Yadzi, Tsoshar (Ch: Qinghai Province)	19 November 2012	Gaden Choepheling, Yadzi, Tsoshar (Qinghai Province)	Died 19 November 2012
81.	Tsering Dhondup	M	34				20 November 2012	Amchok, Sangchu County (Gansu Province)	Died 20 November 2012
82.	Lubum Tsering	M	18				22 November 2012	Dowa Town, Rebkong County (Qinghai Province)	Died 22 November 2012
83.	Tamdin Kyab	M	23				22 November 2012	Luchu, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 22 November 2012
84.	Tadin Dorjee	M	29				23 November 2012	Tsekhog, Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 23 November 2012
85.	Wangyal	M	20s			Taktse Town, Serthar	26 November 2012	Serthar County (Sichuan Province)	Unknown

86.	Sangay Dolma	F	17			25 November 2012	Bharkor Village, Dokarmo Township, Tsekhog, Malho TAP (Gansu Province)	Died 25 November 2012
87.	Kunchok Tsering	M	18			26 November 2012	Amchok, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 26 November 2012
88.	Gonpo Tsering	M	24			26 November 2012	Ala Deu Monastery, Luchu, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 26 November 2012
89.	Kalsang Kyab	M	24		Dowa Mergey Village, Kyangtse Township, Dzoerge	27 November 2012	Kyangtse Township, Dzoerge County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 27 November 2012
90.	Sangay Tashi	M	18			27 November 2012	Sangkhog, Sangku County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 27 November 2012
91.	Wande Khar	M	21			28 November 2012	Tsoe Town, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 28 November 2012

92.	Tsering Namgyal	M	31		Zama Lotso Village, Luchu,	29 November 2012	Near the local government office, Luchu. Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 29 November 2012
93.	Kunchok Kyab	M	29			30 November 2012	Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan	1 December 2012
94.	Sungdue Kyab	M	17		Bora, Labrang Tashi Khyil, Sangchu County	2 December 2012	Bora, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Unknown.
95.	Lobsang Gedun	M	29		Penag Kadak Troedreling Monastery,	3 December 2012	Pema Dzong, Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 3 December 2012
96.	Kunchok Phelgye	M	24	Monk	Dringwa Sumdo monastery	8 December 2012	Gonda Dewa Village, Dringwa Town, Dzooge, Ngaba Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 8 December 2012
97.	Pema Dorjee	M	23		Shitsang Monastery, Chokhor village, Shitsang, Luchu, Kanlho	8 December 2012	Luchu, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 8 December 2012

98.	Bhenchen Kyi	F	17				9 December 2012	Dokarmo, Tsek-hog County, Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 9 December 2012
99.	Tsering Tashi	M	22				12 January 2013	Amchok Town, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 12 January 2013
100.	Drupchok	M	28				18 January 2013	Khyungchu, Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 18 January 2013
101.	Kunchok Kyab	M	26			Gyalring village, Bora, Ladang.	22 January 2013	Bora, Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 22 January 2013
102.	Lobsang Namgyal	M	37	Monk		Kirti monastery	3 February 2013	Near the public security department in Dzoegge, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 3 February 2013

103.	Drukpa Khar	M	26			13 February 2013	Amchok, Sangchu County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 13 February 2013
104.	Namlha Tsering	M	49			17 February 2013	Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 17 February 2013
105.	Rinchen	M	17			19 February 2013	Kyangtsa Village, Dzoge County in Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 19 February 2013
106.	Sonam Dhargyal	M	18			19 February 2013	Kyangtsa Village, Dzoerge County in Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Region (Sichuan Province)	Died 19 February 2013
107.	Sangdak	M			Dhiphu Monastery, Ngaba county in eastern Tibet	25 February 2013	Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Unknown

108.	Tsesung Kyab	M	Late 20s	Farmer	Shitsang Gonsar monastery	25 February 2013	Luchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 25 February 2013
109.	Phagmo Dhondup	M	Early 20s		Village near Bayan Khar	24 February 2013	Chaching monastery at Bayan Khar County (Qinghai Province)	Died
110.	Kunchok Wangmo	F	31		Takta village, Dozge, Ngaba in Amdo Province	13 March 2013	Outside Kirti Monastery, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 13 March 2013
111.	Lobsang Thogme	M	28	Monk	Kirti Monastery	16 March 2013	Kirti Monastery, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 16 March 2013
112.	Kalkyi	F	30	Nomad/mother	Barba village, Zamthang, Ngaba Prefecture in Sichuan Province. Amdo	24 March 2013	Jonang Monastery, Dzamthang, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 24 March 2013

113.	Lhamo Kyab	M	43	Forest guard	Kyitsang Meshul, Sangchu county, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province (Labrang)	25 March 2013	Sangchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 25 March 2013
114.	Kunchok Tenzin	M	28	Monk	Mokri Monastery	26 March 2013	Luchu County, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Gansu Province)	Died 26 March 2013
115.	Chuktso	F	20		Barma Yultso, Zamthang (Ch: Ngaba Prefecture, Sichuan Province)	16 April 2013	Near Jonang monastery in Zamthang, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 16 April 2013
116.	Lobsang Dawa	M	20	Monk	Kirti Monastery,	24 April 2013	Dzooge, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 24 April 2013
117.	Kunchok Woese	M	23	Monk	Kirti Monastery,	24 April 2013	Dzooge, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 24 April 2013

118.	Tenzin Sherab	M	Early 30s	Layman/nomad		27 May 2013	Kham Adel Village, Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 27 May 2013
119.	Wangchen Dolma	F	31	Nun		11 June 2013	Nyatso Monastery, Tawu County, Karze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 14 June 2013
120.	Kunchok Sonam	M	18	Monk	Thangkor Sogtsang Monastery	20 July 2013	Dzoerge County in Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 20 July 2013
121.	Shichung	M	41	Tailor		28 September 2013	Gomang town, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died 28 September 2013
122.	Tsering Gyal	M	20	Monk	Akyong Monastery,	11 November 2013	Pema County, Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Qinghai Province)	Died 11 November 2013
123.	Kunchok Tseten	M	30	Layman/nomad		3 December 2013	Meuruma Town, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province)	Died soon after

124.	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	44	Monk	Amchok Monastery	19 December 2013	Amchok town, Sangchu County, Kaniho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu	Died 19 December 2013
125.	Unidentified	F			Kyegudo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Late March 2013	Kyegudo Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Died the same day

TCHRD Political Prisoners Database

TCHRD Record Publish	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	date_of_detention_calc	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-1	Aa Dhonyoe	M		Monk; Gonsar Monastery	2008/00/00	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?	6	Dege county, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-874	Achog Phulchung	M	30	Singer	2012/08/03			Chuchen county, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-2	Ador	M	35		2011/03/23	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
07-481	Adrug Kalgyam	M	26		2007/09/03	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xin-duqiao)	5	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
07-483	Adrug Lupoe	M	45	Monk; Lithang Monastery	2007/08/21	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	10	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-930	Adzi Shopo				2012/00/00		3	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-366	Aga	F			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-61	Ah bo Tashi	M	22	Monk; Guru Monastery	2010/04/08			Nyarong County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan province	DET
13-39	Akhu Gyatak	M	63	Layperson	2013/02/08		4	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-976	Aku Tsondue	M	49	Monk, head; Dorje Dzong Monastery	2012/12/12			Tsekhog County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-86	Alo	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-905	Alo	M	28		2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-3	Ani Chemi	F	37	Nun; Dakgon Nunnery	2011/06/26			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

11-235	Arsong	M	56		2011/07/02	Dzongang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzongang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1864	Asang Bersatsang	M			2008/07/26	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-2	Asong	M	22	Monk; Tsodun Monastery	2013/01/00	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?	2y 6m	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-242	Atam	M			2010/06/27	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-948	Athar	M	33	Comedian	2012/02/00		3	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-26	Atri Rinpoche	M		Monk, trulku; Wonpo Monastery	2013/05/15	Chushul Prison	5	Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-19	Atrug Phuntsog				2008/00/00	Kardze PDB Det. Ctr.?	8	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-805	Atsong	M		Layperson	2012/08/15	Markham PSB Det. Ctr.		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1865	Bagdro	M			2008/03/00		15	Lhasa City, Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
99-46	Bangri Chogtrul (Jigme Tenzin Nyima)	M	40	Care provider; Gyatso Children's Home	1999/08/26	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	18	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
07-21	Bhu Tengay	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2008/08/00		8	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-66	Bhuchung	M		Monk; Ramoche Temple	2008/05/26	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-784	Bhuchung Nga	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
07-18	Bhuchung Norbu	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2008/08/00		8	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-782	Bhudho	M	36	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/03/00	Lhasa Prison		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1868	Bhumo	F	36	Nun; Pangri Nunnery	2008/05/14	Trimon	9	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-5	Bhumo Jamga	F		Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery	2011/06/10			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

11-6	Bomo	F	17		2011/06/26			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-795	Bonkho Kyi	F	44	Layperson	2012/08/13	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-39	Buddha	M	34	Doctor, Writer; Ngaba County Hospital	2010/06/26	Mianyang Prison	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-69	Buga	M	22		2008/05/14	Chengdu? (general location)	6	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-176	Bumchok	M	16		2013/12/11			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-228	Butob	M			2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-231	Butri				2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-69	Chagthar	M			2013/04/13		4	Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-35	Chakdor	M	32	Singer	2013/02/00	Mianyang Prison?	2	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-977	Chakthab	M	47	Layperson, Tantric Practitioner	2012/12/12			Tsekhog County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-88	Chamdu Dudrub	M	52		2008/04/00	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-794	Chechog	M	48	Layperson	2012/08/13	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1906	Chime	F	20	Layperson	2008/00/00		10	Naming County, Shigatse Prefecture "TAR"	Sentenced
11-271	Chime	F	37		2011/05/15	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-7	Choe Kyi Nyima	M	37		2011/06/24			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-209	Choedar	M	33	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2009/08/25	Chengdu (general location)	13	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-115	Choedar	M	46	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/09/09	Kardze TAP Prison?	1	Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

13-81	Chodar	M	27		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
03-10	Chodar Dargye (Sher-thar?)	M	35	Monk; chant master; Khangmar Monastery (Kakhog)	2003/01/00	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	12	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-979	Choedon	F		Nun, disciplinarian	2012/12/12			Tsekhog County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-139	Choedrak Gyatso	M	26	Monk; Shitsang Monastery	2013/10/21		8	Luchu County, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province	REL
13-178	Choedron	F	16		2013/12/16			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-8	Choega	F	35	Nun; Daknon Nunnery	2011/06/26			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-214	Choegon	M	19		2011/09/25	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-180	Choekyap	M			2013/12/19	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.	13	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-29	Choekyi	F			2009/03/27	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-984	Choekyong Kyap	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3y 3m	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-390	Choekyong Tsering	M	18	Monk; Lithang Monastery	2009/03/22	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-274	Choekyong Tseten	M		Headmaster (assistant); Machu Tibetan Nationality Middle School	2010/03/00	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-244	Chaelho	M			2010/06/27	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-931	Choenam				2012/00/00		3	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-289	Choenga Tsering	M	41		2009/12/07	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr.?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-132	Choenyi Gyatso	M	18		2009/03/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

11-264	Choenyi Lhamo	F	29	Nun; Ganden Choelling Nunnery	2013/06/19	Mianyang Prison	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
13-70	Choepa Gyal	M			2013/04/13		Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-174	Choepa Kyab	M		Monk; Jonang Monastery	2013/12/09		Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-210	Choepa Luyal	M		Gansu People's Publishing House	2011/10/19	Lanzhou? (general location)	Lanzhou Municipality, Lanzhou Prefecture, Gansu Province	DET
10-270	Choephel	M		Teacher, vocational; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	2010/03/00	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-817	Choephel	M		Monk; Tsoe Monastery	2012/08/07	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.?	Tsoe County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-54	Choephel Dawa	M	21	Monk; Tsanden Monastery	2012/02/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-134	Choephel Tashi	M			2008/03/00		Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-263	Choesang		31	Nun; Nyagye Nunnery	2011/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-73	Choetso	F	16		2009/03/11	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-277	Choetso	F	64		2011/03/00	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.	Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1869	Choewang	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-13	Choeyang	F	27	Nun; Gyetsul Nunnery	2011/06/12		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-800	Choeyang Gonpo	M	21	Student; Khantsa Nationality Middle School	2012/08/15		Kangtsa County, Tsojang "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
00-14	Choeying Khedrub (Khedrub)	M	28	Monk; Tsanden Monastery	2000/03/19	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-881	Choeying Logyal	M	31	Monk; Sog Tsenden Monastery	2012/01/15		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-908	Chozom	F			2012/03/00		Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

08-1870	Chogden Tsultrim	M	19		2008/04/20	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1871	Chogtrin Gyatso	M		Monk; Tsang Monastery	2008/03/00		10	Yulgan County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-10	Chogyam	M	33		2011/04/15	Chengdu (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-965	Choksal	M		Singer	2012/07/29			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-125	Choksar	M		Layperson	2013/10/12	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-82	Dagyal	M	35		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-114	Dagyam	M			2009/08/30	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-781	Dakpa Gyaltsen	M	41	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-83	Dakpa Gyatso	M		Monk	2013/07/00			Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
08-164	Daku	M	37		2008/06/21		5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-958	Damchoe Tsultrim	M		Layperson	2012/02/00	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr.?		Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-937	Damdul	M			2012/00/00		10	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-215	Dargyal	M		Truck driver	2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-16	Dasher	M			2008/03/13	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-216	Dashin	M		Truck driver	2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-110	Dawa	M			2009/08/29	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-35	Dawa				2012/02/00	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-806	Dawa	M		Layperson		2012/08/16		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-974	Dawa	M				2012/10/28		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-58	Dawa Dorjee	M	27	Researcher; office of Nyanrong county prosecutor		2012/02/00		Nyanrong County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
09-88	Dawa Drakpa	M				2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
96-224	Dawa Gyaltsen	M	29	Bank accountant		2013/03/00	Chushul Prison	Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
13-129	Dawa Lhundup	M	19	Layperson		2013/10/15	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1907	Dawa Sangpo	M	30			2008/00/00		Taktse County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	DET
09-71	Dawa Tsering	M	25			2009/03/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
98-30	Dawa Tsering	M	54	Farmer		1998/09/00	Chushul Prison	15 Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-114	Dayang	M	68	Layperson		2013/09/03		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
95-713	Dechen Choedron	F	43	Nurse; Panchen Lama (relative)		1995/05/17	Beijing? (general location)	Lhari County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-107	Dechen Thinley Rinpoche	M		Monk; trulku; Tashi Gephelling Monastery		2009/08/29	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-140	Dega	F		Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery		2011/06/10	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-256	Dekyi Lhamo	F	18			2011/06/28	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-229	Delo					2011/07/06	Dzongang PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dzongang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-202	Dhargyal	M	26	Monk; Kirti Monastery		2008/04/24		5 Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-49	Dhargye	M	26	Monk; Sog Tsenden Monastery		2010/08/10		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

13-175	Dhelo Kyab	M		Monk; Jonang Monastery	2013/12/09			Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-18	Dheyang	F	18		2011/06/26			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-211	Dhola	M			2008/03/15		15	Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
13-76	Dhondup Gyaltsen	M		Monk, chant master; Karma Monastery	2013/04/28		2y 6m	Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-220	Dhondup Wangchen	M	33		2008/03/26		6	Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-183	Dhungphug	M	26	Monk; Shak Rongpo Monastery	2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-30	Docru Tsultrim	M	28	Monk and News Editor	2010/05/24	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-986	Dola	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
10-30	Dolha	M		Teacher, Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	2010/03/27	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-236	Dolkhyab Tsang Lama Kyab	M	19		2008/04/11		15	Machu County, Kaniho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-112	Dolma Kyab	M	32		2013/08/15		Death	Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
05-485	Dolma Kyab (Lobsang Kelsang Gyatso)	M	30		2005/03/09	Xining Prison	10	Tsojang "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
10-19	Dolma Namgyal	M		Layperson	2008/04/00	Chengdu prison	6	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-166	Dolma Tsephel	F			2013/12/00	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
08-247	Dolma Yangtso	F	23		2008/03/25	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-79	Dondrub	M		Layperson	2013/05/20			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	REL
10-192	Dondrub Dorje	M			2010/00/00	Lhasa (general location)	4	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

09-208	Donkho Gyagpa	M	45		2009/08/25	Chengdu (general location)	5	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-275	Donyoe Dorje	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/08	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-133	Dorgyal	M		Layperson	2013/10/20	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
08-255	Dorje	M	30		2008/06/11	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-238	Dorje	M	22	Monk; Zhabten Monastery	2011/07/06	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-25	Dorje	M	35		2011/03/23	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-59	Dorje	M		Layperson	2012/02/05			Qinghai Province	DET
13-41	Dorje	M		Monk; Drakdeb Monastery	2013/02/10			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-206	Dorje Dragtsel	M		Layperson	2013/10/03	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-266	Dorje Khando	F	34	Nun; Pangri Nunnery	2008/05/14	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-217	Dorje Trinle	M		Truck driver	2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-238	Dorje Tsering	M			2010/06/27	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-36	Dorjee	M		Student; Rebkong County Middle School	2013/02/00		2y 6m	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-259	Dorjee Dhargyal	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-261	Dorjee Dolma	F			2008/03/15		5y - 14y	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-346	Dorjee Kyab	M			2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-382	Dorjee Lhamo	F			2009/03/16	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

09-96	Dorjee Tsering	M			2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-51	Dorjee Tsering	M	38	Businessman	2008/03/14		6	Labrang County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-1	Dorjee Wangchuk	M		Student; Malho Nationalities Middle School	2013/00/00		4	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-204	Dorjee Wangyal	M	31	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/04/01		15	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-285	Dorjor	M			2008/03/00		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-246	Dosa	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1872	Dradul	M		Monk; Ramoche Temple	2008/05/26	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-87	Dragbe	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-126	Dragden	M	20	Student; Ma'er kang Nationalities Higher Middle School	2010/03/17	Barkham (general location)		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-36	Dragpa				2012/02/00	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-9	Dragpa	M			2012/02/17			Qinghai Province	DET
12-870	Draksang	M	26	Monk, caretaker; Khyamru Monastery	2012/12/03	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr.?		Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-108	Drensel	M		Layperson	2013/08/01		3	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-822	Drolma Kyab	M		Layperson	2012/05/20			"TAR"	DET
11-265	Drolma Palmo	F			2011/06/19	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-17	Drugdrag	M			2012/03/14			"TAR"	DET
13-28	Dugkar Kyap	M			2013/01/31		4	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
09-386	Dungkar Dorjee	M	40		2009/03/21	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-18	Dzomlha Kar	M				2012/03/10				"TAR"	DET
13-167	Gabug	M	41	Layperson		2013/12/00	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET-REL
13-26	Gachoe	M	35	Farmer		2013/01/19	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.?			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-328	Gaden Lhagyal	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery		2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)			Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-330	Gado	M				2008/07/26	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-320	Gage	M				2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-879	Gangkye Drupa Kyab	M	33	Teacher		2013/08/01		5y 6m		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-78	Gartse Jigme	M	36	Monk; Gartse Monastery		2013/05/14		5		Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-250	Gaya Tashi	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery		2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
10-220	Gedun	M		Truck driver		2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-227	Gedun	M				2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
95-721	Gedun Choekyi Nyima	M	6	Monk; Tashi Lhunpo Monastery		1995/05/17				Lhari County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-832	Gedun Gyatso	M	47	Monk; Bora Monastery		2012/12/03	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?			Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-73	Gedun Tsultrim	M	30	Monk; Beudo Monastery		2013/04/18		3		Yazi County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
10-92	Geleg	M		Monk; Zekar Monastery		2010/03/00		9y 6m		Jundhar County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-94	Geleg Choephel	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery		2013/07/07	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-33	Gerig	M	60	Layperson		2011/03/19				Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-23	Gewa	M		Monk	2012/04/00	Xinduqiao Prison?	2	Dzatoe County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-778	Geylong Nyendak	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-973	Golog Jigme Gyatso	M	43	Filmmaker, Monk	2012/09/00			Sertha County, Sichuan Province	DET
11-34	Gompo Tsetan	M			2008/00/00	Len Toe Phyuvel Prison	5	Tsoe Dhoker	Sentenced
09-140	Gonpey	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-35	Gonpo	F	22	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2011/06/12			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-71	Gonpo	M			2013/04/13		3	Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-149	Gonpo Dargyal	M			2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-262	Gonpo Lhundrub	M			2010/05/15	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-162	Gonpo Tenzin	M	25	Singer	2013/11/30			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-261	Gonpo Thar	M			2010/05/15	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
08-396	Gonpo Tsekho	M	30		2008/00/00		14	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
09-84	Gonpo Tsewang	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-36	Goshul Lobsang	M	38		2010/09/10		11	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
11-37	Goyang	M	30	Monk; Tsitsang Monastery	2010/06/10	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-921	Gurnam	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-190	Guru	M		Student	2013/12/24		1y 4m	Zeku County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	REL

12-888	Guru Sangye	M			2012/03/24				Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-84	Gyalhug	M	28		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?			Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
04-487	Gyalpo	M	25		2004/02/04	Kardze Pref. Prison (Kangding)	11		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-89	Gyalshe	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?			Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-427	Gyaltsen	M		Monk; Samye Monastery	2008/03/15	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15		Tsona County,, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-139	Gyaltsen	M		Monk; Ragya Monastery	2009/03/22	Machen PSB Det. Ctr.?			Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-39	Gyaltsen	M			2011/08/21				Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1017	Gyaltsen Choedrag (Namkar, Nangkar)	M	44	Monk; Nyethang Ratoe Monastery	2008/04/16	Chushur PSB Det. Ctr.			Chushur County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-53	Gyaltsen Dorjee	M			2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-85	Gyalwa	M	29		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?			Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-204	Gyatso	M	42	Monk, former teacher; Kirti Monastery	2011/11/21	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-779	Gyatso	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/00				Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-69	Gyatso (Mewa Gyatso)	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2009/03/05	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-41	Gyatso (Thongsho)	M	63	Nomad	2011/07/24				Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-225	Gyiga	M	18		2009/12/00	Bathang PSB Det. Ctr.?			Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-951	Gyurkho	M		Layperson	2012/04/14		2		Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-438	Gyurme Dhondup	M	28	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/04/01				Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

09-134	Gyurme Gonpo	M		Monk; Takiung Monastery	2009/05/00	Jombda PSB DC?		Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
11-38	Gyurme Sonam	M	18	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2011/06/06	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-213	Gyurme Tenzin	M		Monk; Mindrolling Monastery	2010/09/00	Dranang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dranang County, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-439	Gyurme Thinley	M	24		2008/03/18	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	10	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-168	Gyurme Tsultrim	M		Monk, abbott; Tanak Monastery	2013/12/00			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	REL/HOUSE
08-1873	Gyurme Wangdrag	M			2008/06/00	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-263	Jalo	M			2010/05/15	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-11	Jamchu Trukul	M		Monk; Jonphu Monastery	2010/02/00			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-36	Jamdo	M	27	Farmer	2009/05/00	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-292	Jamdro	M			2009/12/05	Nyagchu (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1874	Jampa	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-810	Jampa	F	38	Layperson	2012/03/00			Sichuan Province	REL
13-130	Jampa	F	20	Nun	2013/10/15	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-86	Jampa	M	21		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-42	Jampa Choedon	F	31	Nun; Gemadrak Nunnery	2013/00/00		3	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
03-11	Jampa Choephel (Zoepa)	M	33	Monk; Khangmar Monastery (kakhog)	2003/01/00	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	12	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-21	Jampa Dhondup	M	27	Monk; Tsitsang Monastery	2009/03/19	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

09-383	Jampa Dhondup	M				2009/03/16	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-460	Jampa Dorje	M	18	Monk; Khangmar Monastery		2008/06/09	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-131	Jampa Lekshay	M	20	Monk; Shugding Monastery		2013/10/17			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-43	Jampa Lhatso	F	25	Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery		2011/06/10			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1875	Jampa Phuntsok	M	18	Monk; Khangmar Monastery		2008/06/09	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-82	Jampa Sonam	M	21			2009/04/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-467	Jampa Tashi	M	24			2008/06/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-983	Jampa Tsering	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School		2013/04/10		3y 6m	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-44	Jampa Tso	F	28	Nun; Phuntsog Choeling Nunnery		2011/04/16	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-244	Jampa Wangchug	M	35	Monk; Dargye Monastery		2011/07/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-12	Jampal Lhagsam	M		Monk, abbot; Drepung Monastery		2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
10-72	Jampal Wangchug (Tsephel)	M	51	Monk; disciplinarian; Drepung Monastery		2008/04/11	Chushur Prison	20	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-473	Jamphe I Wangchuk	M	55	Disciplinarian, Drepung Loseling Monastery		2008/00/00			Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-474	Jamsang	M				2008/07/26	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1876	Jamsem	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery		2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-266	Jamtrug Drolma	F				2011/06/19	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-94	Jamyang	M	19	Monk; Ditsa Monastery		2010/03/14	Hualong PSB Det. Ctr.		Bayan County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET

12-947	Jamyang	M	28	Teacher; Luchu Private Orphanage School	2012/05/06			Luchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-836	Jamyang Gyatso	M	20	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/12/03	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-858	Jamyang Khyenkho	M	60	Layperson	2012/08/28			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
07-3	Jamyang Kunkhyen	M	32	Teacher, Lithang Middle School	2007/22/08	Dhartsedo PSB DC	9	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-835	Jamyang Lodoe	M	20	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/12/03	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
11-226	Jamyang Nyima	M			2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-68	Jamyang Phuntsok (Jankho, Jangkor)	M	36	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2009/03/03	Chengdu? (general location)	6	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-187	Jamyang Rigsang	M	34	Monk; Lingkha Monastery	2010/12/18	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-58	Jamyang Sherab	M	42	Monk; Dhen Choekhor Monastery	2009/01/00		13	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-47	Jamyang Soepa	M	41	Monk; Huyen Monastery	2003/00/00	Ya'an Prison	12	Darstedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-834	Jamyang Soepa	M	25	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/12/03	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-907	Jamyang Tashi				2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
07-576	Jamyang Tenzin	M	33	Monk; Yuru Geydenling Monastery	2007/03/10	Lithang PSB DC	8	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-233	Jamyang Thinley	M	62		2011/07/02	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-190	Jamyang Tsering	M	38	Monk; Lingkha Monastery	2010/12/18	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-2	Jamyang Tseten	M		Student; Qinghai Communications Technical College	2013/00/00		4	Siling "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-803	Jamyang Wangmo	F		Layperson	2012/08/15			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-10	Jamyang Woesser	M			2012/02/17			Qinghai Province	DET

12-14	Jang Rin	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/16			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
10-198	Jangtse Donkho (Nyen)	M	32		2010/06/21	Mianyang Prison	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-929	Jewo				2012/00/00		12	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-240	Jigje Kyab	M			2010/06/27	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-518	Jigme	M	26	Monk; Dingkha Monastery	2008/03/17		15	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-49	Jigme	M	30	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/24			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-954	Jigme Dolma	F	17	Layperson	2012/06/24		3	Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1877	Jigme Gonpo	M		Artist, painter (Tib. thangka); Thangka Buddhist Academy (Kangding)	2008/03/00	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-538	Jigme Gyatso	M	45	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2011/08/20			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-41	Jigme Gyatso	M		Monk	2010/11/00		4	Kanlho "TAP" Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-969	Jigme Gyatso	M		Monk; Dokar monastery	2012/10/17			Tsoe County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
96-259	Jigme Gyatso	M	35	Businessman	2013/03/30	Chushul Prison	18	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
13-144	Jigme Phuntsok	M	23	Layperson	2013/11/03	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-147	Jigme Phuntsok	M	23	Layperson	2013/11/12			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
11-219	Jigme Samten	M		Monk; Gyalmo Monastery	2011/08/01	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-87	Jigme Tenzin	M		Monk	2013/07/00			Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL

13-60	Jigme Thabkey	M			2013/03/18	5	Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-53	Jigtak	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.	Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-837	Jinpa Gyatso	M	38	Educator and Activist	2012/10/25		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-202	Jolep Dawa	M	39	Teacher	2013/09/30	Mianyang Prison	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-568	Kalbha	M	23		2008/03/17		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1878	Kalden	M	32	Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/03/10	Lhasa (general location)	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-13	Kalden	M		Monk; Ganden Monastery	2013/01/14		Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
08-570	Kalden Chodak	M			2008/03/15	5y - 14y	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
13-75	Kaldo	M			2013/04/21		Dzogong County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DEC
11-218	Kaljam	M		Monk; Gyalmo Monastery	2011/08/01	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-191	Kalsang	M	49	Monk; abbot; Lingkha Monastery	2010/12/18	TAR (general location)	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-215	Kalsang	M			2011/03/00	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-922	Kalsang	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-875	Kalsang (Gonkar)	M	42	Layperson	2011/03/00	Ngaba County DC	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-575	Kalsang Bakdo	M	28	Monk; Dingkha Monastery	2008/03/17		Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
13-134	Kalsang Choedar	M		Monk; Palyul Monastery	2013/10/20		Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
10-35	Kalsang Dargye	M	32	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/06/06	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

08-583	Kalsang Dhondup	M	22		2008/03/10		3y - 14y	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-146	Kalsang Dhondup	M		Monk, chant master; Drong Na Monastery	2013/11/11			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-61	Kalsang Dhondup	M			2013/03/18	6		Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-31	Kalsang Gyatso	M	36	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2009/04/13	Kanlho Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-970	Kalsang Gyatso	M		Monk; Dokar Monastery	2012/10/17			Tsoe County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
11-55	Kalsang Jamyang	M		Monk; Ditsa Monastery	2011/11/06			Bayan County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-11	Kalsang Jangsem	M		Monk; Bongtak Monastery	2012/07/03	9		Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
10-226	Kalsang Jinpa (Garmi)	M	35		2010/07/19	Mianyang Prison	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-96	Kalsang Julme	M	29	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/05/15			Jundhar County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-46	Kalsang Lodroe	M	23	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/03/23			Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
08-609	Kalsang Nyima	M		Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2008/06/09	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-50	Kalsang Sonam	M		Layperson	2013/02/28	11		Luchu County, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-815	Kalsang Tenzin	M	22		2013/12/17			Sichuan Province	REL
08-626	Kalsang Tsering	M		Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/04/01			Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-628	Kalsang Tsering	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
10-55	Kalsang Tsultrim	M	22	Monk; Gongmang Monastery	2010/05/20			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-231	Kalsang Tsultrim (Gyitsang Takmig)	M	30	Monk; Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery	2010/07/27	Lanzhou? (general location)	4	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced

08-632	Kalsang Yeshe	M	27	Monk; Beri Monastery	2008/06/24	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-95	Kalsang Yigyen	M		Layperson	2013/07/07	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-802	Kalsang Yudron	F		Layperson	2012/08/15			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-88	Karma	M	31		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-644	Karma Dawa	M	27	Monk; Dingkha Monastery	2008/03/18		15	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-247	Karma Monlam	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-76	Karma Norbu	M	17		2009/03/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-97	Karma Pelsang	M	22	Monk; Zekar Monastery	2010/03/00		9y 6m	Jundhar County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-823	Karma Rabten	M		Monk; Chamdo Rata Monastery	2012/06/05	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-6	Karma Samdrub	M	42	Art collector, environmentalist; Qinghai Three River Environmental Protection Assoc.	2010/01/03	Yanqi PSB Det. Ctr.?	15	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-60	Karma Samten	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-61	Karma Soepa	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
	Karma Sonam	M	32	Herder	1993/00/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	23	Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-20	Karma Tharlam	M			2012/03/10			"TAR"	DET
13-173	Kartse	M	38	Monk, abbott; Shabgon Monastery	2013/12/06			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-62	Karyak	M		Monk	2011/07/13			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-653	Kelden	M			2008/03/00		20	Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced

13-132	Kelnam	M	20	Monk; Shugding Monastery	2013/10/17			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-122	Kelsang	F		Layperson	2013/10/11			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-160	Kelsang Choklang	M		Monk; Tarmoe Monastery	2013/11/23			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-48	Kelsang Gyatso	M	21	Monk; Lutsang Monastery	2009/02/25			Mangra County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	DET
13-29	Kelsang Gyatso	M			2013/01/31		11	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-962	Kelsang Gyatso (Gomkukul)	M		Writer, Monk; Palyul Monastery	2012/07/14			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-135	Kelsang Namdol	M		Layperson	2013/10/20	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
13-184	Kelsang Sonam	M		Monk; Rongwo Monastery	2012/11/16			Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	DET
12-880	Kelsang Tsultrim	M	19	Monk; Sog Tsenden Monastery	2012/01/15			Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-98	Kelsang Yarphel	M	38	Singer	2013/07/14			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
08-658	Khagongsang Choedron	F	43		2008/03/25	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-820	Khambe	M		Layperson	2012/05/20			"TAR"	DET
08-665	Khando Lhamo	F		Nun; Ngangong Nunnery	2008/03/25	Chengdu prison?	7	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-671	Khechok	M	36		2008/04/11		13	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-21	Khedrub Dorje	M	38	Monk; Dza Samdrub Monastery	2012/03/07			Sichuan Province	DET
08-1879	Khedrub Gyaltsen	M	32	Monk; Tsang Monastery	2008/03/00		10	Yulgan County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-13	Khedrub Gyatso	M		Monk; Bongtak Monastery	2012/07/03		11	Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced

12-942	Khedup Dorjee	M	38	Monk; Za Samdup Monastery	2012/03/07			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-956	Khendup	M		Monk; Bongtak Monastery	2012/00/00	11		Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-25	Khethar	F			2009/03/27		Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-23	Khomatsang Jigme	M	40	Former monk; Kirti Monastery	2009/02/07	7		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-234	Khyenrab Norbu	M		Monk; Shag Rongpo Monastery	2010/07/21		Nagchu pref. (general location)	Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-919	Khyithar	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-64	Kirti Kyab	M		Teacher, Writer; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	2010/03/18	3	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-243	Konlho	M			2010/06/27		Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-693	Kunchok	M	16	Monk; Tsendrak Monastery	2008/04/11	10		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-163	Kunchok Choephel	M		Monk	2013/11/30	6	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-6	Kunchok Dargye	M		Monk; Bongtak Monastery	2012/06/00			Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-65	Kunchok Dhondup	M			2008/00/00	9	Len Toe Phyuvel Prison	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
09-365	Kunchok Gyatso	M		Monk; Lutsang Monastery	2009/04/00		Mangra (general location)	Mangra County, Tsoilho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-7	Kunchok Gyatso	M			2012/05/29	1y 6m		Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-971	Kunchok Gyatso	M		Monk; Dokar Monastery	2012/10/17			Tsoe County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
09-603	Kunchok Jinpa	M	33	Monk; Gaden Choephel Ling Monastery	2008/03/18	12		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
10-99	Kunchok Namgyal	M	22	Layperson	2010/03/20		Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

10-73	Kunchok Nyima	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11		20	Dzoge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
95-763	Kunchok Phuntsog	M	45	Doctor; Panchen Lama (relative)	1995/05/17	Beijing? (general location)		Lhari County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-712	Kunchok Rabten	M		Monk; Tagtsang Lhamo (Kirti) Monastery	2008/04/17	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-725	Kunchok Thabkhe	M		Monk; Tagtsang Lhamo (Kirti) Monastery	2008/04/17	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-123	Kunchok Tsephel	M	39	Writer, founder Chomei (Web site)	2009/02/26	Lanzhou? (general location)	15	Machu County, Kaniho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
11-66	Kunchok Tsultrim	M	31	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/00	Ngaba pref? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-964	Kunchok Yarphe	M	22	Monk; Talung Monastery	2012/08/01			Nyitoe Yultso, Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
13-148	Kundak	M	17	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-933	Kundrub		30		2012/00/00		11	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-255	Kunga Choezom	F	22		2011/06/28	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-733	Kunga Phuntsok	M	19	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/04/03		10	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-734	Kunga Tenzin	M	20	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/00/00		15	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-124	Kunga Tsayang (Gangnyi)	M	20	Monk; Writer; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2009/03/17	Lanzhou? (general location)	5	Chigdril County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-64	Kunsang Bum	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3y 6m	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-216	Kunsang Choegyai	M	25		2011/08/02	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-742	Kunsang Tsering	M	22	Monk; Dargye Monastery	2008/07/15	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-932	Kuntho		20		2012/00/00		13	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

12-988	Kusang Bum	M		Student, Medical School, Chabcha	2012/12/05	3	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-90	Kyalga	M			2009/04/15		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-3	Kyapey	M	26	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/00/00		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-765	Lama Phuntsok Lam-chung	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/00		Damshul County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	DET
13-149	Lamsang	M	24	Layperson	2013/11/12		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
10-10	Legshi Drakpa	M		Monk	2010/03/26		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
09-339	Lhadar	M		Farmer	2009/05/00		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-975	Lhadrup	M			2012/10/28		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-104	Lhagma Choedup	M	64		2013/08/00		Nyagchu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL?
10-241	Lhago	M			2010/06/27		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-40	Lhagpa	F			2012/03/09		"TAR"	DET
07-479	Lhakdon	M	31	Teacher	2007/06/14		Khangmar County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-906	Lhakpa	F			2012/03/00		Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-786	Lhakpa Tsering				2008/00/00	7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-787	Lhakpa Tsering (Chewa)	M			2008/03/00		Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-67	Lhama Tsering	M	22	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2011/06/17		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-136	Lhamo	F		Layperson	2013/10/20		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?

13-185	Lhamo	M	19		2013/12/26	Tongkor Labor Camp?	2	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
13-30	Lhamo Dhondup	M			2013/01/31		7	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-51	Lhamo Dorje	M		Layperson	2013/02/28		15	Luchu County, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province	Sentenced
10-59	Lhamo Kyab	F		Teacher, primary; school	2008/03/00	Lhasa (general location)	15	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-205	Lhaten	M	44		2011/11/01	Lhasa (general location)		Tagtse County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-981	Lhaten	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3y 6m	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-68	Lhatsog	M			2013/04/11		6	Chilgdril County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	REL
13-14	Lhundrub Yarpel	M		Monk; Tsug Lhakhang (Jokhang)	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
11-71	Lhundup	M	26	Monk; Behri Monastery	2011/06/12			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-791	Lhundup	M	29	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-915	Lo Lo	M	29	Singer	2012/04/19			Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	DET
11-208	Lobe	M	21	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/11/04	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-829	Lobsang	M	20		2008/06/11	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-621	Lobsang	M	36	Monk; Gaden Choephel Ling Monastery	2008/03/18		21	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-811	Lobsang	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/14			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-62	Lobsang	M			2013/03/18		4	Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-834	Lobsang Choegyen	M	18	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2008/05/14	Chengdu (general location)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

11-245	Lobsang Choejor	M	35	Monk; Dargye Monastery	2011/07/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-96	Lobsang Choejor	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/07	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-73	Lobsang Choephel	M	24	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/30	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-74	Lobsang Choephel	M	19	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/05/12	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-159	Lobsang Choeying	M			2013/11/18		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-319	Lobsang Dargye	M		Monk; Ragya Monastery	2009/03/22	Machen PSB Det. Ctr.?	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-77	Lobsang Dargye	M	31	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/11	Ngaba pref? (general location)	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1880	Lobsang Dhondup	M		Monk; chant master; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?	Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-194	Lobsang Dondor	M			2010/00/00	Lhasa (general location)	Damshung County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-846	Lobsang Donyoe	M		Monk; Zakhog Monastery	2008/04/26	Chengdu? (general location)	Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-79	Lobsang Gedun	M	48	Monk, former disciplinarian; Kirti Monastery	2011/10/00	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-93	Lobsang Gedun	M	20	Monk; Drongsar Monastery	2013/07/01	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr.?	Basu County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-850	Lobsang Geleg	M		Monk; chant master; Beri Monastery	2008/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-270	Lobsang Geleg	M	27	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/08	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-30	Lobsang Gelek	M	27	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/08		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-63	Lobsang Gyaltsen	M	21	Monk; Mera Monastery	2009/01/29		Dzong County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-863	Lobsang Gyatso	M	19	Monk; Wooser Monastery	2008/05/14		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

11-243	Lobsang Gyatso	M	39	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/07/09	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1881	Lobsang Jampa	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-281	Lobsang Jamyang	M	16		2011/03/22	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-842	Lobsang Jangchup	M	17	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2012/03/00		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-860	Lobsang Jinpa	M	30	Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/02/23		5	Triidu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-221	Lobsang Kalsang	M	19	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/22	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-54	Lobsang Kelsang	M	17	Layperson	2013/03/10	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-20	Lobsang Khadro	F	21	Nun; Gema Drawog Nun-nery	2009/03/06	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-268	Lobsang Khadro	F		Nun; Nyagye Nunnery	2011/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-874	Lobsang Khechok	M			2008/03/15		5y - 14y	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
04-16	Lobsang Khedup	M	21		2004/02/00	Kardze Pref. Prison (Kang-ding)	11	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-83	Lobsang Khedup	M	36	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/05/06	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-4	Lobsang Khedup	M	21	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/00/00			Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
11-273	Lobsang Kunchok	M	28	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/28	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-853	Lobsang Kunchok	M	40	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2013/01/31		Death 2y re- prieve	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-1	Lobsang Lhundup	M	38	Monk; Nekhor Monastery	2009/02/15	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-5	Lobsang Mithrug	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/00/00	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL

13-186	Lobsang Namgyal	M	25	Writer, poet	2012/05/12			Chengdu Municipality, Chengdu Prefecture, Sichuan Province	DET
08-889	Lobsang Ngodup	M		Monk; Onpo Monastery	2013/03/10	Chushul Prison	5	Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
11-236	Lobsang Ngodup	M			2011/07/29	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-276	Lobsang Ngodup	M	32	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/30	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-15	Lobsang Ngodup	M		Monk; Ganden Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
13-6	Lobsang Norbu	M	19	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/00/00			Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
09-137	Lobsang Nyendak	M	18	Student; Guru Gewa School	2009/06/28	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr.		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-56	Lobsang Nyima	M		Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/07/18		1y 9m	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
08-892	Lobsang Palden	M		Monk; Beri Monastery	2008/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-145	Lobsang Palden	M		Farmer	2009/05/00	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-272	Lobsang Palden	M	34		2011/05/01	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-85	Lobsang Palden	M	30	Monk	2011/04/26			Ngaba County, Ngaba Prefecture, Sichuan Province	DET
12-833	Lobsang Phagpa	M	34	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/12/03	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-856	Lobsang Rabten	M	34	Monk, manager; Tsodun Monastery	2012/08/19			Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-87	Lobsang Rinchen	M	21	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/05/09	Ngaba pref? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-903	Lobsang Samten	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
12-57	Lobsang Samten	M		Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/07/23		1y 9m	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL

13-55	Lobsang Samten	M	31	Monk; Gaden Samten Dargyeling Monastery	2013/03/10	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-809	Lobsang Sangay	M	19	Monk; Tsodun Monastery	2013/01/00		2	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-857	Lobsang Sangya	M	22	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2012/08/28			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-852	Lobsang Sangye	M	30	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2012/08/14			Chilgdril County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-910	Lobsang Tashi	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-202	Lobsang Tashi	M	26	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/11/00	Chengdu? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-839	Lobsang Tashi	M	26	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/11/00	Mianyang Prison	7	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-120	Lobsang Tashi	M		Monk; Rabten Monastery	2013/09/23	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-911	Lobsang Tenpa	M	17	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2008/05/14	Chengdu (general location)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-88	Lobsang Tenzin	M	21	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/25	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-89	Lobsang Tenzin	M	26		2011/06/23			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
88-7	Lobsang Tenzin	M	22	Student; Tibet University	2013/04/25	Chushul Prison	Life	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	REL/HOUSE
08-921	Lobsang Tsemey	M			2008/03/15		15	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-92	Lobsang Tsepak	M	29	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2013/03/09	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-922	Lobsang Tsephel	M		Monk; Ratoe Monastery	2008/00/00		9	Chuushul County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-4	Lobsang Tsering	M	21	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2012/06/26			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-31	Lobsang Tsering	M	31		2013/01/31		10	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

13-89	Lobsang Tsering	M	27			2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-898	Lobsang Tsewang	M				2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-230	Lobsang Tsultrim	M				2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-841	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	19	Monk; Kirti Monastery		2012/03/00		11	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-93	Lobsang Tsundue	M	46	Monk; Kirti Monastery		2011/04/21			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-934	Lobsang Wangchuk	M	26	Monk; Drepung Monastery		2008/04/00	Lhasa (general location)	15	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-293	Lobsang Wangchuk	M				2009/12/05	Nyangchu (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-67	Lobsang Wangchuk	M	29	Monk; Lithang Monastery		2009/03/10	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1882	Lobsang Yangphel	M		Monk; disciplinarian; Wonpo Monastery		2008/03/31	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-269	Lobsang Yangtso	F		Nun; Nyagye Nunnery		2011/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-7	Lobsang Yigngay	M	18	Monk; Wonpo Monastery		2013/00/00			Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
10-239	Loche	M				2010/06/27	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-787	Lochoe	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery		2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-947	Lodoe	M	19	Monk; Tsendrak Monastery		2008/03/21		12	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
11-200	Lodoe	M	36	Monk; Kirti Monastery		2011/10/20	Sichuan (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-72	Lodoe Rabsel	M	43	Monk, abbot; Karma Monastery		2013/04/28		2y 6m	Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1883	Lodroe (Sonam Lodroe?)	M	30	Monk; Dza Bonpo Monastery (visiting Sera Monastery)		2008/03/10	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

13-119	Lodroe Gyatso	M	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2013/09/13		2	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
13-77	Lodroe Gyatso	M	33 Performer, traditional; Sog Dzong Drama Association	2013/05/02	Chushul Prison	21	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
11-206	Lodroe Rabsel	M	Monk, abbot; Karma Monastery	2011/11/05	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-955	Lodrup Phuntsok	M	23 Monk; Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008/03/20		13	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-956	Lodrup Yeshi	M	33 Monk; Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008/03/20		13	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-958	Lodrup Tendar	M	Monk; Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008/00/00		7	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-848	Logya	M	33 Layperson	2012/01/23	Mianyang Prison	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-44	Lolo	M	29 Singer	2013/02/23		6	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-953	Losang Phuntsog	M	29 Monk; Kirti Monastery	2012/10/17		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-968	Loten			2008/00/00		6	Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-112	Loyag	M		2009/08/30	Sersul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-37	Lubum	M	Layperson	2012/02/15			Sichuan Province	DET
13-105	Lugzi Abey	M	50	2013/08/00	Kara PSB Det. Ctr.		Nyagchu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
09-380	Mengag	M	Monk; Ragya Monastery	2009/03/22	Machen PSB Det. Ctr.?		Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-137	Mengyal	M	Layperson	2013/10/20	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
08-1003	Migmar	M		2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
13-16	Migmar	M	Monk, disciplinarian; Sera Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET

08-1004	Migmar Dhondup	M	37		2008/03/14	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	14	Lhasa Municipality, Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-41	Migmar Kalsang	M	44		2012/03/01			"TAR"	DET
12-792	Migyur	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/23			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-22	Mipang Delek	M	22	Monk; Zekar Monastery	2010/03/11		9	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	Sentenced
11-278	Mochag	M	47		2011/03/00	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-940	Namgyal	M		Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/00/00			Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-866	Namgyal Dhondup	M			2012/01/23			Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-260	Namgyal Lhamo	F			2011/06/13	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-80	Namgyal Tsultrim	M	40	Monk; Tsanden Monastery	2013/06/14	Trisam RTL Center	3m 11d	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
06-4	Namkha Gyaltsen	M		Monk, chant master; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2006/03/00	Ngaba Prison? (Maowun)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-65	Namkha Gyaltsen	M	25		2012/01/25			Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-72	Namkha Jam	M			2013/04/13		6	Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-91	Namlha				2009/04/00			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-77	Namsal Dorje	M	28		2009/03/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-808	Namsey	M	18	Monk; Tsodun Monastery	2013/01/00		10	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-207	Namsey Sonam	M	44	Monk, abbot; Karma Monastery	2013/04/28		2y 6m	Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
10-180	Namtse	M		Editor; Pandita Printing Press	2010/03/00	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-967	Nangchen Tashi	M	47	Businessman	2012/09/12			Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1025	Nangrin	M	36		2008/04/24		11	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-81	Nangse	M	27	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/05/15	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-111	Nemel	M			2009/08/30	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1029	Ngagchung	M	39	Monk; Serthar Buddhist Institute	2008/07/08	Ya'an Prison?	7	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-126	Ngagsung	M	23	Monk; abbot; Tsakho Monastery	2009/12/04	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1032	Ngawang	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1884	Ngawang	M		Monk; Shelkar Choede Monastery	2008/05/19	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-793	Ngawang	M			2012/07/22			"TAR"	DET
13-17	Ngawang	M		Monk, chant master; Drepung Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
08-1034	Ngawang Choenyi	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/00	Lhasa? (general location)	15	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1035	Ngawang Choeyang	M			2008/03/00		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1885	Ngawang Dondam	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/00	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-18	Ngawang Donden	M		Monk, Teacher; Drepung Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
09-222	Ngawang Dorje? (Ngado)	M			2009/06/07	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	6	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
	Ngawang Geyser	M	21	Monk; Sog Tsenden Monastery	1997/08/18			Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-56	Ngawang Gyatso	M	41	Layperson	2013/03/10	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

08-1038	Ngawang Jamyang	M	45	Monk; Tarmoe Monastery	2013/12/17		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-97	Ngawang Lobsang	M	37	Monk; Dargye Monastery	2011/06/15	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1886	Ngawang Lodroe	M	17		2008/04/00	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.?	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-19	Ngawang Lodroe	M		Monk, Teacher; Sera Monastery	2013/01/14		Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
13-20	Ngawang Lophel	M		Monk; Tsug Lhakhang (Jokhang)	2013/01/14		Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
12-862	Ngawang Monlam	M	30	Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2012/10/00	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr.?	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
08-1041	Ngawang Namgyal (Tashi Tseten)	M	51	Former monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/03/16	Lhasa (general location)	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-21	Ngawang Palsang	M		Monk, Teacher; Drepung Monastery	2013/01/14		Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
11-239	Ngawang Phuntsog	M	34		2011/07/15	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-22	Ngawang Samten	M		Monk, Teacher; Drepung Monastery	2013/01/14		Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
09-662	Ngawang Tenzin	M	19		2008/09/00	5	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-37	Ngawang Topden	M	20	Student, thangka painting	2013/02/00	Trisam RTL Center	Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	RTL
08-1887	Ngodup Phuntsok	M	53	Farmer	2008/03/18	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1056	Ngogha	M	53		2008/03/18	8	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1055	Ngoso Konkyabsang	M	35		2008/07/26	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.	Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-127	Nobe	M		Monk; Tsakho Monastery	2009/12/04	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.?	Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-99	Norbu	M			2011/08/19		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-790	Norbu	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1064	Norbu Tsering	M	49		2008/03/18	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-25	Nordon	F		Nun; Nyimo Gaysey Nun-nery	2009/03/00		2	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-326	Norlha	M			2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-100	Nyanak Phuntsok	M		Monk, head; Bongtak Monastery	2011/11/06	Temchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-34	Nyandrag	M	51	Teacher	2012/04/02			Sichuan Province	DET
12-893	Nyendak	M	51	Director, Khadrok Jamtse Rogten School	2012/04/02			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-934	Nyendrag		30		2012/00/00		1y 8m	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-224	Nyima	M			2011/07/14	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
00-19	Nyima Dragpa (Dragpa)	M	26	Monk; Nyitso Monastery	2000/03/22	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr.	9	Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1074	Nyima Drakpa	M		Monk; Nyitso Monastery	2008/04/19	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1888	Nyima Tashi	M		Monk; Samye Monastery	2008/03/15	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Gongkar County, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-891	Nyima Tsering	M		Businessman	2012/02/23			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-821	Nyurgyog	M		Layperson	2012/05/20			"TAR"	DET
11-156	Oezer Dorje	M	28		2011/03/23	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-157	Oezer Phuntsog	M	31	Monk; Beri Monastery	2011/06/07	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-358	Olu	M		Monk; Lhagang Monastery (Minyag)	2009/03/25	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-24	Pachen	M	30		2009/03/21	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

11-213	Pachen	M	21	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2011/06/00	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-39	Padgyal	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/22			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-338	Paga	M			2009/05/00	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-357	Paga	M			2009/03/23	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-912	Pagyal				2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-28	Palchen				2009/03/27	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-207	Palden Choedrak	M			2010/09/00	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-97	Palden Gyatso	M		Monk; disciplinarian; Ragya Monastery	2009/03/22	Golog pref? (general location)	7	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-101	Palden Gyatso	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/21	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1107	Palden Thinley	M		Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2008/05/18		7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-90	Palden Yignyen	M			2013/07/00	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1889	Paldor	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-222	Paljor	M	38	Layperson	2011/03/20	Mianyang Prison	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1114	Paljor Norbu	M	81	Businessman	2008/10/31	Lhasa (general location)	7	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-105	Palkho	M	43		2011/03/23	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-262	Paltrug	F	34	Nun; Nyagye Nunnery	2011/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-179	Pasang Tsering	M	21	Singer	2010/00/00	TAR (general location)		Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-103	Passang Rinchen	M		Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2011/06/11			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-917	Pegyal	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-107	Pelyang Dolma	F	17		2011/06/26			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-826	Pema	M		Villager	2012/04/14	Ngaba PSB DC		Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
13-32	Pema Dhondup	M			2013/01/31		12	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
09-349	Pema Dorjee	M			2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-142	Pema Drime	M			2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-26	Pema Lhamo	F			2009/03/27	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-15	Pema Rigzin	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/16			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-108	Pema Rinchen	M	25	Writer	2011/07/05	Drango PSB Det. Ctr.		Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-38	Pema Trinley	M	22	Singer	2013/02/00	Mianyang Prison?	2	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-237	Pema Tsering	M		Monk; Beri Monastery	2011/06/07	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-183	Pema Tso	F	17	Typist; Pandita Printing Press	2010/02/26	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-33	Pema Tso	F			2013/01/31		8	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-938	Pema Woesser	M			2012/00/00		5	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-403	Pema Yangtso	F	22		2009/03/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-104	Pema Yeshi	M	28		2009/03/11	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr.?	20	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-673	Penkyi	M	23		2008/00/00			Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	DET

11-111	Penpa Lhamo	F	22	Nun; Gyetsul Nunnery	2011/06/12			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-112	Pesang	M		Monk; Jophu Monastery	2011/01/00	Pome Prison (Bomi)	2	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-923	Petop	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-224	Petrug	M	23		2010/04/19	Bathang (general location)		Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-40	Phagpa	M	27	Layperson	2013/02/08		13	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-1890	Phelsam Tashi	M			2008/03/00			Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
12-950	Phulten	M	40	Layperson	2012/04/14		3	Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
07-480	Phuntsog Gyaltsen	M	33	CCP, cadre (PSB; dep. town head)	2007/04/19	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Palgon County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-27	Phuntsog Jungne	M	20	Monk; Gephel Ling Monastery	2013/01/27	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-804	Phuntsog Nyima			Layperson	2012/08/15			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1891	Phuntsok	M		Monk; Samye Monastery	2008/03/15	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Konpo Gyamda County, Nyingtri Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-113	Phuntsok	M	28	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/10/17			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-114	Phuntsok	M	25	Layperson	2011/03/16			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-115	Phuntsok Dolma	F	48	Nun; Gaden Choeling Nunnery	2011/06/19			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1892	Phuntsok Dorjee	M	40	Business owner, restaurant; Snowlands Hotel	2008/03/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	9	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1893	Phuntsok Nyingpo	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-909	Phurba Gyal	M			2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

12-935	Phurba Tsering		30			2012/00/00		2	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-94	Phurbu	M				2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-926	Phurbu Tsering	M		Layperson		2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-911	Rabten					2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-924	Ribo	M		Layperson		2012/04/00			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-117	Riga	F	20	Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery		2013/06/00		2	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
09-323	Rigchung Nyidrag	M				2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-980	Rigshey	F		Nun		2012/12/12			Tsekhog County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-50	Rigzin Dorje	M		Layperson		2012/03/14			Sichuan Province	DET
10-188	Rigzin Pema	M	35	Monk; Lingkha Monastery		2010/12/18	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-789	Rinchen	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery		2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-116	Rinchen Dhargay	M	41	Businessman		2013/09/10			Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-237	Rinchen Dorje	M	40			2010/03/00	TAR (general location)		Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1227	Rinchen Gyaltsen	M	28	Monk; Thanggya Monastery		2008/04/01		10	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-116	Rinchen Gyatso	M		Monk; Khangmar Monastery		2011/06/17			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-133	Rinchen Phuntsok	M	15	Student; Ganzi Middle School		2009/03/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-8	Rinchen Samdrub	M	44	Farmer, environmentalist		2009/08/07	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	5	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-169	Rinchen Tsering	M				2013/12/00		8	Gansu Province	REL

09-78	Rinchen Wangsal	M	16		2009/03/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1239	Rongchok Tsang Khe-chok	M	30		2008/04/11		13	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
07-484	Ronggye Adrag	M	52	Herder	2007/08/01	Mianyang Prison	8	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-43	Ruoba	M	44	Monk	2013/02/19	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-282	Samdrub	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/11	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-86	Samdrub Gyatso	M	28	Layperson	2010/05/02	Chushul Prison	5	Dashi County, Tsojhang "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-1894	Samdup	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/03/10	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-707	Samdup	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/22			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-109	Samdup	M	31	Layperson	2013/08/01		5	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-957	Samgyal	M			2012/00/00		10	Wulan County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
10-105	Samkar	M	33	Monk; Toden Medul Tashi-Kyi Monastery	2008/08/13		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1256	Samphel	M		Monk; chant master; Zak-hog Monastery	2008/04/26	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-223	Samphel Dondrub	M	23		2011/07/10	Sichuan (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-322	Samphel Norbu	M			2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-205	Samten	M			2010/09/30	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-23	Samten	M		Monk, chant master; Sera Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
13-45	Samten	M		Monk	2013/02/27			Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	ARREST

08-1895	Sangay Tashi	M	38		2008/06/21	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-79	Sangay Tsering	M	17		2009/03/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-818	Sangdrag	M		Layperson	2012/05/20			"TAR"	DET
12-47	Sanggyal Gyatso	M	30	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/03/23			Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-12	Sanggye	M			2012/07/03		10	Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-24	Sanggye	M			2012/03/23			Sichuan Province	DET
12-33	Sanggye Dondrub	M	33	Teacher	2012/05/08			Gansu Province	DET
13-102	Sanggye Palden	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/23	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-685	Sangha	M	33	Monk; Takten Bon Monastery	2008/08/13		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-65	Sangye Bum	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		4	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-985	Sangye Dhondub	M		Student, Medical School, Chabcha	2012/12/05		4	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-946	Sangye Dondrub	M	33	Teacher; Luchu Private Orphanage School	2012/05/06			Luchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-170	Sarkyi	F	49	Layperson	2013/12/00	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-38	Sengge	M		Layperson	2012/04/22			Sichuan Province	DET
11-119	Ser Loklok	M	25	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2011/06/12			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1327	Serga	M	37	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2008/06/22	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-978	Shawo	M		Head of local religious centre	2012/12/12			Tsekhog County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-8	Shawo Tashi	M	40	Singer	2013/00/00		5	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-118	Sheba	M			2009/08/30	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

13-113	Shedrub Lhamo	F		Nun; Ganden Choeling Nunnery	2013/08/24		1	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
11-121	Sheh Lhamo	F	21	Nun; Gemadrak Nunnery	2013/00/00			Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-1342	Sherab	M	40		2008/03/23			Chentsa County, Malho "TAP" Qinghai Province	DET
11-122	Sherab	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-816	Sherab	M		Monk; Tso Monastery	2012/08/07			Gansu Province	DET
12-878	Sherab	M		Traffic policeman, Machu County	2008/06/00		4y 6m	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-91	Sherab	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/00	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-296	Sherab Drolma				2009/12/05	Nyagchu (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-286	Sherab Gyatso	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/03/00	Chengdu? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-128	Sherab Nyima	M	25	Monk; Tsakho Monastery	2009/12/04	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
12-829	Sherab Palsang	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/16	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoilho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1356	Sherab Sangpo	M	26	Monk; Dongthok Monastery	2008/03/26	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	6	Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-8	Sherab Zangpo	M		Monk; Bongtak Monastery	2012/05/29	Tsonub PSB Det. Ctr.	1y 6m	Themchen County, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-110	Shegyal	M		Layperson	2013/08/01		2	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-258	Shi Lhamo	F			2011/06/15	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-138	Shodhar	M		Layperson	2013/10/20	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
10-142	Shoga	F		Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery	2013/06/00		2	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL

12-844	Shonu	M	43	Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/06/00	Mianyang Prison	1y 6m	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-92	Sichoe	M	39		2013/07/00	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-19	Siga	M			2012/03/10			"TAR"	DET
08-1363	So Lhatso	F	35	Nun; Pangri Nunnery	2008/05/14	Trimon	10	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-966	So Yig	F	40	Businesswoman, Activist	2012/09/00			Dzatoe County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	DET
10-108	Sodhar	M	38	Monk; Sog Tsenden Monastery	2010/08/10			Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-187	Soebum	M	18	Layperson	2012/11/00			Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	DET
08-1373	Soepa	M		Monk; Mange Monastery	2013/03/10	Chushul Prison	5	Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
13-150	Soeta	M	25	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-887	Soga	M		Layperson	2012/03/24			Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-106	Sogren Lori	M	66		2013/08/00	Kara PSB Det. Ctr.		Nyagchu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
12-968	Sogtruk Sherab	M		Singer, Actor	2012/09/20			Yulgan County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	DET
08-1382	Solu	M	18	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2008/06/09	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-116	Sonam	M			2009/08/30	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sers hul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-393	Sonam	M			2009/03/12	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-124	Sonam	M		Writer; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	2010/03/17	Barkham Prison	2	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-279	Sonam	M			2011/03/22	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-45	Sonam	M	20	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/03/23				Sangchu County, Karlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-69	Sonam Bagdro	M	44		2009/08/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15		Tsona County, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-117	Sonam Choedar	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/09/11		4		Sersul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-241	Sonam Choegyul	M	19		2011/06/24	Chengdu? (general location)	3		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1383	Sonam Dakpa	M	35	Monk; Oenpo Monastery	2008/03/19	Chushul prison	10		Sersul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-126	Sonam Dakpa	M	21		2011/06/23				Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1402	Sonam Dekyi	F	30	Nun; Dragkar Nunnery	2008/04/23		4		Dartse County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-46	Sonam Dhondup	M	18	Student	2010/03/17				Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-126	Sonam Dondrub	M	19	Layperson	2013/10/12	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-34	Sonam Dorje	M	25	Monk; Taglung Monastery	2010/05/05	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.			Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-161	Sonam Dorjee	M	16		2013/11/26	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-332	Sonam Geleg	M		Monk; chant master; Denna Choekhorling Monastery	2009/04/01	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-55	Sonam Gewa	M		Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/07/25				Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
10-82	Sonam Gonpo	M	26	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/05/15	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-84	Sonam Gonpo	M	24	Cook; school (primary)	2009/03/11	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr.?	20		Nyagrang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-892	Sonam Gonpo	M	48	Businessman	2012/04/10				Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-118	Sonam Gonpo	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/09/11		4		Sersul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

06-506	Sonam Gyalpo	M	43		2005/08/28	Qustr. ui Prison (Chushur)	12	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1384	Sonam Gyalpo	M	15		2008/05/09	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-40	Sonam Gyatso	M	38	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2009/05/19	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
08-1415	Sonam Lhatso	F	35	Nun; Pangri Nunnery	2008/05/14	Chengdu (general location)	10	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-927	Sonam Lhundrub	M		Layperson	2012/00/00		Life	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-127	Sonam Namgyal	M	22		2010/06/17	Chamdo pref. (general location)	3	Pashoe County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-57	Sonam Namgyal	M	26	Monk; Gaden Samten Dargyeling Monastery	2013/03/10	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-33	Sonam Ngodup	M	40		2009/06/09		5	Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1418	Sonam Nyima	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-334	Sonam Nyima	M	40	Monk; Tsitsang Monastery	2009/04/01	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-240	Sonam Nyima	M	19		2011/06/24	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
09-144	Sonam Palmo	M		Farmer	2009/05/00	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-44	Sonam Rinchen	M	19	Student	2010/03/17			Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-943	Sonam Rinchen	M	29		2013/07/24		1y 6m	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
13-188	Sonam Sherab	M	45		2013/12/23	Qinghai No. 1 RTL Center		Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
09-2	Sonam Tenpa	M	29		2009/02/16	Lithang "Tsaka" PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-302	Sonam Tobgyal (Sotob)M	M			2009/06/07	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	7	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

10-58	Sonam Topgyal	M		Layperson	2010/05/06		2y 6m	Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1423	Sonam Tsering	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1896	Sonam Tsering	M		Driver; Real Estate Company	2008/04/29		Life	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
10-74	Sonam Tsering	M	23		2010/05/25			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1424	Sonam Tseten	M			2008/03/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-38	Sonam Yangchen	F		Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery	2009/03/24	Chengdu? (general location)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1430	Sonam Yarphe	M	21		2008/04/02	Thrings Chen	12	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-863	Sonam Yingyen	M	44	Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2012/10/00	Qinghai No. 1 RTL Center	2	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	RTL
08-1897	Sopal	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1438	Sungrab Gyatso	M	34	Monk; Mura Monastery	2013/05/21			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	REL
12-868	Sungrab Gyatso	M	36	Monk; Khyamru Monastery	2012/12/01	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr.		Chabcha County, Tsoho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-151	Tador	M	21	Layperson	2013/11/12	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
10-116	Tagyal	M	29	Monk, senior; Wara Monastery	2010/05/16	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1452	Talo	M	29		2008/03/18		10	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
12-22	Tamdrin	M	32	Businessman	2012/03/00	Xinduqiao Prison	2	Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-141	Tamdrin	M		Monk, disciplinarian; Jonang Monastery	2013/10/29	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr.?	4y 6m	Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-819	Tamdrin Kyab	M		Layperson	2012/05/20			"TAR"	DET
08-1898	Tashi	M	19	Monk; Wooser Monastery	2008/05/14		8	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

09-285	Tashi	M	25		2009/12/00	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-407	Tashi	M	24	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2009/02/27	Barkham (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-130	Tashi	M			2010/07/20	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-27	Tashi	M	24		2010/02/00	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-225	Tashi	M			2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-49	Tashi	M		Layperson	2012/03/14			Sichuan Province	DET
10-75	Tashi Choedon	F		Businesswoman	2010/05/25		37	Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-261	Tashi Choedron	F			2011/06/13	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-865	Tashi Dhargye	M			2012/01/23			Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-961	Tashi Dhondub (Mewod)	M		Writer, Monk; Palyul Monastery	2012/07/14			Riwoche County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-133	Tashi Drolkar	F	35	Nun; Ganden Choeling Nunnery	2013/06/19	Mianyang Prison	3	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-1476	Tashi Gyaltsen	M		Monk, former abbot; Zakhog Monastery	2008/04/26	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-24	Tashi Gyaltsen	M		Monk, Teacher; Sera Monastery	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
01-45	Tashi Gyatso	M	37		2001/05/05	Xining area (brick factory)	12	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-1483	Tashi Gyatso	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
10-62	Tashi Gyatso	M	26	Monk; Sarma Monastery	2010/04/08	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-44	Tashi Gyatso	M	22	Monk; Bora Monastery	2012/03/23			Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET

12-972	Tashi Gyatso	M		Monk; Dokar Monastery	2012/10/00			Tsoe County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-46	Tashi Gyatso	M		Monk	2013/02/27			Sangchu County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-36	Tashi Lhundrub	M	22	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/06/07	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1488	Tashi Namgyal	M			2008/03/15		5y - 14y	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-234	Tashi Namgyal	M	60		2011/07/02	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1489	Tashi Ngodup	M	30	Monk; Beri Monastery	2008/06/24	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-944	Tashi Palden	M	21		2012/02/11			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-25	Tashi Phuntsog	M		Monk; Worpü Monastery	2012/03/23			Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-780	Tashi Sonam	M	41	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-939	Tashi Thargyal	M		Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/00/00	Dartsedo prison?		Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-119	Tashi Tobgyal	M	29	Businessman	2009/08/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5	Tsona County, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
10-236	Tashi Tobgyal	M	30		2010/07/05	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-796	Tashi Tobgyal	M	31	Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/11/06		6	Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-847	Tashi Topgyal aka Dralha	M	31	Accountant, Drango Monastery	2012/01/00		6	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-48	Tashi Tsering	M		Layperson	2012/03/14			Sichuan Province	DET
12-799	Tashi Tsering	M	33	Layperson	2012/01/01		3y 6m	Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-801	Tashi Tsering	M	22	Student	2012/08/15		3	Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-254	Tashi Tsewang	M	19	Monk; Dargye Monastery	2011/06/22	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-37	Tashi Wangdu	M	35	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/06/06	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

12-885	Tashi Woesser	M		Monk; Worpü Monastery	2012/03/24				Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-77	Tayun				2010/05/25		3y - 7y		Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-56	Temi Kyab	M	30	Teacher	2010/05/00				Bhakam County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-902	Tengyal	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1513	Tenpa	M		Monk; Drepung Monastery	2008/04/11	Lhasa (general location)			Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-35	Tenpa	M	30	Farmer	2009/05/00	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1518	Tenpa Dhondup	M			2008/03/15		5y - 14y		Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
10-195	Tenpa Lodroe	M		Monk; Ngagyur Densa Chenmo Monastery	2010/12/29	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)			Palbar County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1521	Tenphal	M	25	Monk; Sera Monastery	2008/07/09	Sertha County prison			Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
10-219	Tenphel	M		Truck driver	2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-47	Tenphel Gyalpo	M		Layperson	2013/02/27				Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	ARREST
13-48	Tensang	M			2013/02/27				Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	ARREST
10-131	Tenzin	M			2010/07/20	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-918	Tenzin	M		Monk; Dzogchen Monastery	2012/04/00				Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1899	Tenzin Buchung	M		Monk; Langthang Monastery (visiting Samye Monastery)	2008/03/15	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15		Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-32	Tenzin Choedak (Tenchoe)	M		NGO, development; Panam Integrated Rural Development Project	2008/04/00	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	15		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

09-291	Tenzin Dargye	M	21		2009/12/02	Lhasa pref. (general location)	3	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
09-221	Tenzin Dorje? (Tendo)	M			2009/06/07	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-9	Tenzin Gedun	M	23	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2013/00/00			Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
08-1537	Tenzin Gyatso	M	28	Monk; Gaden Choekorling Monastery	2008/03/23		13	Chone County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	Sentenced
10-63	Tenzin Gyatso	M	16	Monk; Serthar Buddhist Institute	2010/03/30	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-220	Tenzin Gyatso	M		Monk; Gyatmo Monastery	2011/08/01	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
11-274	Tenzin Gyatso	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/08	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-283	Tenzin Gyatso	M		Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2011/03/16	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-100	Tenzin Gyatso	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/20	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1541	Tenzin Gyephel	M		Monk; Shelkar Choede Monastery	2008/05/19	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
01-14	Tenzin Khedup	M		Monk; Tsampung Monastery	2001/07/18	Chamdo DC		Tengchen County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1543	Tenzin Lhamo	F			2008/03/15		10	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
11-139	Tenzin Lhatso	F	27		2011/06/12			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
9-89	Tenzin Norbu		29		2008/09/00		5	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-3	Tenzin Palsang	M	47	Monk, caretaker; Drango Monastery (Gongkar)	2012/05/00		6	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-164	Tenzin Rangdol	M	32	Layperson	2013/11/30	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?	5	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-813	Tenzin Rangshar	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/14			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET

13-99	Tenzin Sherab	M	28	Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/07/15	1	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
12-30	Tenzin Thabkhe	M		Teacher	2013/02/00		Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL?
09-295	Tenzin Thinley	M			2009/12/05		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-27	Tenzin Tsering	M		Layperson	2012/04/12		Sichuan Province	DET
12-43	Tenzin Tsering	M			2012/04/15		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-901	Tenzin Tsondru	M			2012/04/15		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1552	Tenzin Yeshi	M			2008/03/15	14	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1900	Tenzin Zoepa	M		Monk; Jowo Monastery (visiting Samye Monastery)	2008/03/15		Tsome County, Lhokha Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1554	Terzoed	M	25		2008/03/16	15	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-63	Thabkhe	M	20	Monk; Mange Monastery	2013/04/08		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1901	Thabkhe Gyatso	M	34	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2008/03/15	15	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
10-67	Thakchoe	M	20		2010/04/05		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-108	Thambo	M		Monk; disciplinarian; Tashi Gephelling Monastery	2009/08/30		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1555	Thangnye	M		Monk; former chant master; Beri Monastery	2008/06/18		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-377	Thapkey Gyatso	M		Monk; Lutsang Monastery	2009/04/00		Mangra County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1562	Tharchin	M			2008/03/00	3y - 14y	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
12-66	Tharpa	M		Student	2012/01/26		Sichuan Province	DET
09-117	Tharshong	M			2009/08/30		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

10-53	Theurang (Tashi Rabten)	M	28	Writer, editor, student; Northwest University for Nationalities	2010/04/06	Sichuan (general location)	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-171	Thinlay Palmo	F	32		2013/12/00	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
10-279	Thinley	M	45		2010/03/18	Markham PSB Det. Ctr.?		Gar County, Ngari Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-80	Thinley	M	25	Monk; Wara Monastery	2010/05/15	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-797	Thinley	M	42	Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/02/01			Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-846	Thinley	M	42	Monk, manager; Drango Monastery	2012/01/00		5	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-884	Thinley	M	17	Student	2012/03/12			Sertha County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
08-1576	Thinley Wangyal	M	21	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/00/00		5	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1589	Thubchok	M	38	Monk; Nyethang Ratoe Monastery	2008/04/16	Chushur PSB Det. Ctr.		Lhokha Prefecture, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-143	Thubpa	M			2009/06/07	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr.? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-115	Thubpo	M			2009/08/30	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-58	Thubten Gelek	M		Monk; Mange Monastery	2013/03/10	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-914	Thubten Tsomo	F			2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-814	Thubten Yeshe	M	29	Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/14			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-81	Thugsam	M	36	Monk; Nurma Monastery	2009/03/11	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Machu County, Kaniho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-152	Thupchen	M	27	Layperson	2013/11/12	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-838	Thupdor	M	25	Layperson	2011/11/00	Mianyang Prison	7y 6m	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

09-359	Thupten	M	Monk; Lhagang Monastery (Minyag)	2009/03/25	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-777	Thupten Dhonyoe	M	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-145	Thupten Gyaltsen	M	27 Businessman	2013/11/11	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.?	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1602	Thupten Gyatso	M		2008/03/00		3y - 14y Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
12-786	Thupten Jampa	M	Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1606	Thupten Nyima	M	30 Monk; Palyul Monastery	2008/03/19		6 Chigril County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
05-737	Thupten Thabkai	M	Monk; Tsampung Monastery	2001/07/18	Chamdo DC	Tengchen County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-356	Thupten Thapkey	M	47 Monk, former abbot; Zhabten Monastery	2009/04/11	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.	Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1608	Thupten Tsering	M	Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?	Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-141	Thupten Wangchuk	M	26 Farmer	2011/03/17		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-807	Thupwang Tenzin	M	20 Monk; Tsodun Monastery	2012/08/16	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.?	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-211	Tobden	M		2011/10/23	TAR PSB Det. Ctr.?	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-218	Tobgyal	M	Truck driver	2010/06/00	Ngari (general location)	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-273	Topden	M	Teacher, primary; Machu Tibetan Nationality Primary School	2010/03/28	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.?	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
13-140	Topden	M	30 Writer	2013/10/28		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-165	Topden	M	Writer	2013/11/30	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.?	5 Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-900	Tragyal	M		2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

93-344	Trinkar	M	33	Farmer	1993/03/08	Chushul Prison	22	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-267	Trinle Drolma	F		Nun; Nyagye Nunnery	2011/06/18	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-113	Trinle Nyima	M			2009/08/30	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-107	Trinley	M	46		2013/08/00	Kara PSB Det. Ctr.		Nyagchu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
13-181	Trinley Tsekar	M	22	Singer	2013/12/19	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.	9	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-233	Trintse	M	25	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2008/03/29	Chengdu? (general location)	9	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-59	Tritsun	M	26	Monk; Tonkyab Monastery	2013/03/11	Gade PSB Det. Ctr.?		Gade County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-144	Trulku Jangchup	M		Monk; Jophu Monastery	2010/01/16		3	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-845	Trulku Lobsang Tenzin	M	40	Monk, abbot; Gochen Monastery	2012/01/00		7	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1751	Trulku Phurbu Tsering	M	51	Monk, trulku; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2008/05/18		8y 6m	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
02-18	Trulku Tenzin Delek (Angag Tashi)	M	54	Monk; trulku; Jamyang Choek-horling Monastery	2002/04/07	Chuandong Prison	20	Nyagchu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-66	Trulku Namgyal	M	19	Monk; Sethar Tatse Monastery	2010/04/02			Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
08-1627	Trungwang Dakpa	M			2008/00/00		5	Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-29	Tsamchen	F		Layperson	2012/04/12			Sichuan Province	DET
08-1633	Tsechoen	F			2008/03/16		15	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1635	Tsedak	M	31		2008/03/22		6	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-204	Tsegon	M			2010/09/30	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-16	Tsegon	M			2012/03/14			"TAR"	DET

09-290	Tsejor Gonpo	M	43		2009/12/07	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr.?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1644	Tsekho	M	27		2008/03/17		13	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-146	Tsekho	M	30	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/12		2y 6m	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-883	Tsekhog	M		Layperson	2012/03/21			Luchu County, Kanliho Prefecture, Gansu Province	DET
13-182	Tselha	M			2013/12/19	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.	3	Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
10-260	Tselo	M			2010/05/15	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
08-1649	Tsenam	M		Monk; Ratoe Monastery	2008/00/00		5	Chushul County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-28	Tsenor	M		Layperson	2012/04/12			Sichuan Province	DET
09-298	Tsepag	M	28	Monk; trulku; Khakhor Monastery	2009/12/04	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-294	Tsepal	M	64	Monk; Serwa Monastery	1997/00/00	Chushul Prison	16	Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
	Tsering	M			2009/12/05	Nyagchu (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-321	Tsering	M			2009/06/27	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-337	Tsering	M		Farmer	2009/05/00	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-129	Tsering	M	26	Former monk; Kirti Monastery	2010/04/00	Sichuan (general location)	5	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-153	Tsering	M	22	Layperson	2013/11/12	Diru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
10-17	Tsering Dhondup (Kentse)	M	26	Monk; Tsedol Monastery	2010/02/12			Machu County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
09-297	Tsering Dondrub	M			2009/12/05	Nyagchu (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-185	Tsering Dondrub	M	23	Monk; Rongtha Monastery	2010/03/00	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

13-42	Tsering Dondrub	M		Monk; Drakdeb Monastery	2013/02/10			Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-147	Tsering Dradul	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/00	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-131	Tsering Drakpa	M	17	Student; Ganzi Middle School	2009/03/05	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-849	Tsering Dugkar	M			2012/01/23		2	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
13-142	Tsering Gyal	M		Monk; Drong Na Monastery	2013/11/00			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-121	Tsering Gyaltsen	M	25		2013/09/29			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-143	Tsering Gyaltsen	M	21		2013/11/00	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
13-154	Tsering Jangchup	M	21	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-910	Tsering Jigme				2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-203	Tsering Kyi	F			2011/10/17	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-242	Tsering Kyipo	M	25		2011/06/00	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
00-12	Tsering Lhagon	M	40		2000/03/19	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1672	Tsering Nyima	M	17	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/00/00		10	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-62	Tsering Palden	M		Monk	2012/02/05			Qinghai Province	DET
13-155	Tsering Phuntsok	M	21	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-913	Tsering Sonam				2012/03/00			Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-49	Tsering Tagchen	M		Monk	2013/02/27			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	ARREST
11-148	Tsering Tamding	M	22	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/08/30		13	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced

11-149	Tsering Tashi	M	34	Farmer	2011/03/19			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-60	Tsering Tashi	M		Layperson	2012/02/05			Qinghai Province	DET
12-788	Tsering Tashi	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-127	Tsering Tashi	M	18	Layperson	2013/10/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-66	Tsering Tashi	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-156	Tsering Tenpa	M	22	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
11-150	Tsering Tenzin	M		Monk; Palyul Namgyal Monastery	2011/01/03	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-23	Tsering Wangdrag	M	40		2009/03/21	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-123	Tsering Wanggyal	M	36	Layperson	2013/10/11		1y 6m	Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	REL
09-394	Tsering Wangmo	F	17		2009/03/11	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-61	Tsering Zangpo	M		Layperson	2012/02/05			Qinghai Province	DET
11-287	Tsesong				2011/07/06	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-52	Tsesung Kyap	M			2013/02/28		10	Luchu County, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province	Sentenced
08-1682	Tseten	M	30	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/03/00		3y - 14y	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
13-25	Tseten Dorje	M		Monk; Tsug Lhakhang (Jokhang)	2013/01/14			Chengguan District, Lhasa City, "TAR"	DET
09-333	Tseten Sonam	M		Monk; Denma Choekhorling Monastery	2009/04/01	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-783	Tsethar	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/02			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1693	Tsewang Dorje	M	40		2008/03/00	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	8	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced

10-189	Tsewang Dorje	M	37	Monk; Lingkha Monastery	2010/12/18	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1694	Tsewang Drakpa	M	22		2013/06/06	Chengdu	5	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
11-151	Tsewang Drolma	F		Nun; Lamdrag Nunnery	2013/06/00		2	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
10-85	Tsewang Gyatso	M	32	Cook; school (primary)	2009/03/11	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr.?	16	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-78	Tsewang Gyurme	M			2010/05/25			Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	DET
13-157	Tsewang Lhaknyab	M	19	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
12-798	Tsewang Namgyal	M	42	Monk; Drango Monastery	2012/11/06		6	Sichuan Province	Sentenced
10-1	Tsewang Rinchen	M		Monk; Kholo Monastery	2009/00/00			Jundhar County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-152	Tsewang Tashi	M	18	Monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	2011/06/06	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1700	Tsewang Yeshi	M	20	Monk; Thanggya Monastery	2008/04/03		9	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
10-139	Tseyang	F			2010/06/09	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-177	Tsokay	M			2013/12/13			Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
03-12	Tsokphel	M	31	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2003/01/00	Ngaba DC	12	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-32	Tsondru Gyatso	M		Teacher	2011/00/00			Gansu Province	DET?
13-74	Tsondue	M	27	Monk; Beudo Monastery	2013/04/18		3	Yazi County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
13-172	Tsophen	F	47	Layperson	2013/12/00	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
08-1713	Tsulkho	M	36	Farmer	2008/03/19		6	Chigdril County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-1735	Tsulsang Gyatso	M	27	Monk; Tsang Monastery	2008/03/00		10	Yulgan County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced

09-98	Tsultrim	M		Monk; Ragya Monastery	2009/03/21	Golog pref? (general location)	4	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-54	Tsultrim Gyaltzen	M	34	Monk; geshe; Zhabten Monastery	2009/04/11	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-124	Tsultrim Gyaltzen	M	27	Writer	2013/10/11	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.?		Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1730	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	42	Monk; Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008/00/00		9	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1731	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	35	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2008/05/22	Lanzhou (general location)	20	Sangchu County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
11-212	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	50	Monk; geshe; Ditsa Monastery	2011/07/00	Haidong (general location)		Bayan County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
13-97	Tsultrim Kalsang	M	25	Monk; Zilkar Monastery	2013/07/12		10	Tridu County, Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-812	Tsultrim Rinchen	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/14			Gepasumdo County, Tsoho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1902	Tsultrim Tendar	M	21		2008/04/00	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-34	Tsundue	M	30	Monk; Zhabten Monastery	2009/04/11	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
11-153	Tsundue	M	46	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/04/12		11	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-10	Tsundue Choedhen	M	18	Monk; Rongwo Monastery	2013/00/00		2	Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	Sentenced
09-39	Tsundue Gyatso	M	35	Monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	2009/05/19	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanliho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
10-65	Urgen Namgyal	M	25	Layperson	2010/03/31	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-249	Urgyen Samten	M		Monk; Zurmang Monastery	2011/07/12	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
11-201	Urgyen Tenzin	M	55		2013/02/00			"TAR"	REL?
12-42	Urgyen Tenzin	M	25	Performer, traditional	2012/03/20		2	Qinghai Province	Sentenced

12-896	Wangchen	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-284	Wangchen Geleg	M		Monk; Dontog Monastery	2011/03/10	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-64	Wangchen Tobgyal	M	15	Monk; Serthar Buddhist Institute	2010/03/30	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-928	Wangchen Tsering	M	30	Layperson	2012/00/00		9	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
11-280	Wangchug	M			2011/03/22	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-193	Wangdrag Nyima	M	40		2010/00/00	Lhasa (general location)	3	Damshung County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1903	Wangdu	M	40	NGO, health; HIV Prevention in Lhasa Project (Burnet Institute)	2008/03/14	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	20	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture Taktse County, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-897	Wangdu	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
10-40	Wangdu Gyatso	M	26	Monk; Palyul Namgyal Monastery	2009/08/02	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-982	Wangdue Tsering	M		Student, Medical School, Chabcha	2012/12/05		3	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-1788	Wangmo	F	29		2008/03/25	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-936	Wangtse		20		2012/00/00		1y 9m	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-67	Wangyal Tsering	M		Student; Tsolho Vocational School	2013/04/10		3y 3m	Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
11-155	Wangyang	M		Monk; Kardze Gephelng Monastery	2011/06/19			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1904	Wudor	M		Monk; Wonpo Monastery	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-109	Yagar	M			2009/08/30	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-27	Yali				2009/03/27	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

12-894	Yama Tsering	M	36	Teacher, Khadrok Jamtse Rogten School	2012/04/02	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-259	Yangchen	F		Nun; Gemadrak Nunnery	2013/00/00	3	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL

13-179	Yangchen	F	27		2013/12/16				Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
13-158	Yangkyi	F	25	Layperson	2013/11/12	Driru PSB Det. Ctr.			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	REL
13-34	Yangmo Kyi	F			2013/01/31		3		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Sentenced
08-1813	Yargay	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y		Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
12-850	Yarphel	M	18	Monk; Tsodun Monastery	2013/01/00		6		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-189	Yarphel	M	42	Monk; Yershong Monastery	2013/12/26	Tongkor Labor Camp			Rebkong County, Malho Prefecture, Qinghai Province	REL
08-1822	Yeshi	M	35		2008/00/00		12		Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-1825	Yeshi	M			2008/03/00		3y - 14y		Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
10-13	Yeshi	M	20	Monk; Ditsa Monastery	2010/03/14	Hualong PSB Det. Ctr.			Bayan County, Tsoshar "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
08-1827	Yeshi Choedon	F	57		2008/03/00	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	15		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-895	Yeshi Choegyul	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-830	Yeshi Dorje	M		Monk; Shingtri Monastery	2012/03/16	Gepasumdo (general location)			Gepasumdo County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
09-342	Yeshi Dorjee	M		Farmer	2009/05/00	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.?			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
12-899	Yeshi Jungne	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?			Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-160	Yeshi Lhatso	F	22	Nun; Gyetsul Nunnery	2011/06/12				Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
12-785	Yeshi Lodoe	M		Monk; Bekar Monastery	2012/01/01				Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
09-61	Yeshi Namkha	M	25		2009/10/01	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.?			Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET

08-1838	Yeshi Palden	M	27	Monk; Khangmar Monastery	2008/06/14	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-11	Yeshi Palmo	F		Nun	2013/00/00		6	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL
12-869	Yeshi Sangpo	M	37	Monk; Khyamru Monastery	2012/12/03	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr.?		Chabcha County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	DET
10-79	Yeshi Tsomo				2010/05/25		3y - 7y	Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1840	Yiga	M		Herder	2008/03/31	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-85	Yiga	M			2009/04/15	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr.?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-53	Yijia	M	17		2013/03/00			Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	ARREST
12-864	Yongten Sangpo	M		Layperson	2013/04/21		3	Drango County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	REL/HOUSE
11-209	Yonten	M	19	Monk; Kirti Monastery	2011/11/04	Ngaba PSB Det. .Ctr.?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
11-217	Yonten	M		Monk; Gyalmo Monastery	2011/08/01	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	DET
12-903	Yonten	M			2012/04/15	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
08-1841	Yonten Gyatso	F	19		2008/07/17	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
09-328	Yonten Gyatso	M	40		2009/07/21	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr.?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
10-128	Yonten Gyatso	M	37	Monk; chant master; Khashi Gephel Samtenling Monastery	2010/10/18	Mianyang Prison	7	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
13-103	Yonten Gyatso	M		Monk; Sogtsang Monastery	2013/07/31	Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?		Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET
13-111	Yudrang	M		Layperson	2013/08/01		2	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1850	Yudrum	M			2008/06/19	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET

13-128	Yugyal	M	26	Businessman	2013/10/12			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	DET
08-1862	Zaru Tenpa Gyatso	M		Monk; Kirti Monastery	2008/03/29	5		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
08-1905	Zoepa	M	30	Monk; Mingge Monastery (visiting Sera Monastery)	2008/03/10	5	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-285	Zoepa Gyatso	M		Monk; Tenzar Drenpa Monastery	2011/01/15		Dzoerge PSB Det. Ctr.?	Dzoerge County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	DET