

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN TIBET

Annual Report

2012



Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy

“I believe the rights included within the Human Rights International Law did not originate in the world of the ideas directly, but have come from people’s suffering and experience, an experience defined by having seen the damage provoked by events that cause feelings of anger, powerlessness and pain.”

~ Alberto Martos-Sauquillo

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Persistent, long-term oppression can inflame the oppressed consciousness to act on radical measures to defend and assert their individual and collective rights. In Tibet this year, 82 Tibetans set their bodies on fire calling for the “return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet,” “freedom for Tibet” and “human rights in Tibet.” This has taken the total number of Tibetan self-immolations in Tibet to 95. Beyond statistics, the fact that human beings are pushed to end their own lives in order to escape government repression ought to unsettle the conscience of many.

The year 2012 witnessed key changes in Chinese leadership as the Chinese Communist Party on 15 November announced Xi Jinping as Party Secretary and head of the CCP Central Military Commission in a once-in-a-decade leadership transition. The new Standing Committee of the Politburo, which runs the People’s Republic of China, has seven new members as opposed to nine in the past. The 18th Party Congress this time was marked by relentless self-immolation protests by Tibetans, 11 of whom set fire to themselves before and during the meeting in an apparent bid to send a message to the new Chinese leadership. One of the self-immolators even called on Xi Jinping to meet with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

It is difficult to predict whether change will come under Xi Jinping’s leadership given the entrenched policy of ‘stability maintenance’ (weiwen) and the dramatic increase in internal security budget, which surpassed the total national defence budget for the first time in 2010 during Hu Jintao’s tenure. In

March 2012, China announced that its domestic security budget would increase by 11.5 per cent, that is, 701.8 billion yuan (\$113 billion), more than the 670.3 billion yuan allotted for national defence. According to Xie Yue, a professor of political science who specialises in domestic security at Tongji University in Shanghai, the stability preservation structure has become so embedded in the system that it would be difficult to expect changes under Xi’s leadership. “The whole model of stability preservation is part and parcel of the mode of rule, not the work of just one man,” *Reuters* quoted Xie as saying. During his visit to the Tibetan capital Lhasa in 2011, vice president Xi Jinping had said that stability in Tibet is crucial for the overall stability in PRC.

Despite criticisms against its human rights record, China continues to view ‘stability’ as a prerequisite for the enjoyment of human rights. The rationale of ‘national security’ is used ad nauseam to justify official crackdowns on dissidence and other human rights abuses. China’s rejection of the universality of human rights became more pronounced in its second National Human Rights Action Plan (2012-15), which states, “[t]he Chinese government respects the principle of universality of human rights, but also upholds proceeding from China’s national conditions and new realities to advance the development of its human rights cause on a practical basis.” Irrespective of other reasonable targets mentioned in the new plan, the above assertion essentially rationalizes eliminating all the aspirations of the second NHRAP. In other words, China is saying that the universal rights

and freedoms entitled to all will only be granted to Chinese citizens when it is convenient for the state. This type of opting out of their own human rights action plan is a step in the wrong direction for human rights in Tibet and China.

During the March 2012 annual session, China's parliament, the National People's Congress ("NPC"), approved proposed changes to its Criminal Procedure Law. While the latest amendments include for the first time the encouraging words "respect and safeguard human rights," they fail to outlaw the persistent use of enforced disappearance as a tool to crack down on critics of official policies. Perhaps the most disturbing revision is embodied in Article 73, which essentially legalizes the secret detention of persons charged with perceived political crimes. The revised law allows authorities to detain suspects charged with "endangering state security," crimes of terrorism, or large-scale bribery in an undisclosed location for up to six months without contact with the outside world or communications with family. Many fear that the terms "national security threats," and "terrorism," will be loosely defined to further exploit the law to carry out repressive practices. Human rights activists and analysts have expressed the very real concern that article 73 of the revised CPL may lead to increased instances of miscarriages of justice against Tibetans and Chinese citizens in general.

On 9 October 2012, the Information Office of the State Council or China's cabinet released a white paper concerning judicial reform. The goal of this white paper is to highlight "the progress that has been made in safeguarding justice and protecting human rights" with the focus on "maintaining social fairness, justice and human rights protections." The white paper admits that the Chinese judicial system is in urgent need of reform and recognises that "judicial impartiality is a significant guarantee of social justice." Despite these stated goals, what is troubling is that the white paper says nothing about core problems that beset the Chinese

judiciary. According to Stanley Lubman, a long-time specialist on Chinese law, "the lack of judicial independence or the legal culture of police, judges and prosecutors that lingers from the Maoist period and fosters widespread disregard of laws already in effect" are missing from the white paper.

Nonetheless, the words of the white paper need to be more than just rhetoric and propaganda, and should be followed with serious implementation and practice.

The human rights situation in Tibet during the year 2012 recorded a new low as Tibet remained closed to independent media, UN monitors, international delegations and visitors. The Chinese government effectively blocked journalists, visitors and pilgrims in order to maintain "stability and harmony", reiterating the call for increased security measures to control and manage events affecting the "social stability" and economic development of the PRC. Even the inaccessible North Korea boasts more international media presence than the Tibetan capital Lhasa. Despite heavy restrictions, individual Tibetans continued to let the world know about the real situation in Tibet often at great personal risk. As the UN Special Rapporteur on Right to Food told the Human Rights Council session in March 2012: "We know that regularly the communication systems: Internet, the phones, SMS's are blocked and Tibet is completely closed to independent observers, including the media."

Restriction and surveillance of the Internet were stepped up. Internet users in TAR are required to furnish 'second-generation' citizen ID card and 'other documents' to register their identities at Internet cafes. The new 'second generation' ID cards record more personal information about a person than its previous avatar making it easier for the authorities to control online activities. All Internet cafes in Lhasa had been ordered to install the second-generation ID Card reader.

The Chinese government continued to label all expressions of Tibetan aspirations and grievances as ‘splittists’ and lock them up on ‘national security’ grounds. Those who shared information about human rights abuses in Tibet with outsiders were charged of violating State Secrets Law and imprisoned following dubious trials.

Crackdown on self-immolation protests continued all through 2012 as local authorities, particularly in Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Kardze TAP, Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) TAP in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), mobilized government cadres and ‘work teams’ to hold political education campaigns and carry out punitive measures against not only protest self-immolators and their family members but also the villages they belong to.

Mass arbitrary arrests and detentions were reported from Lhasa and other Tibetan areas outside TAR after self-immolation protests. Three days after Lhasa self-immolations, on 29 May 2012, the head of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) Public Security Bureau ordered the security personnel manning police stations and security checkpoints, including patrol personnel, to be on high alert. On 31 May 2012, at a video conference held to discuss the work situation on social stability, Hao Peng, the TAR vice Party secretary, responsible for ‘stability maintenance,’ stressed the importance of safeguarding ‘social stability’ by crushing even the slightest stirring of instability or disturbances – and to strictly ensure that matters, however small, medium, or big, are dealt with and not allowed to gain momentum.

Tibetans from Kham and Amdo provinces are required to go through a lengthy and intrusive process to gain necessary permission to visit Lhasa for pilgrimages or any other purposes, thus severely restricting their freedom of movement. In early February 2012, hundreds of Tibetans returning from the Kalachakra religious teachings given by

His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Bihar state of northern India from December 2011 to January 2012 were detained in various ad hoc detention centres in Tibet where they were subjected to interrogations and political education sessions. On 29 January 2012, during an inspection tour around Lhasa, Lhasa Party chief Qi Zhala told the police officers that they should strive to realize the goal of “no big incidents, no medium incidents and no small incidents to occur” and to “strike hard at all the separatists.” Qi also stressed on stepping up security and increasing the number of police officials along national roads and “key monasteries.”

The year 2012 also saw the Chinese authorities stepping up party propaganda work and political education campaigns in monastic institutions and lay communities in remote villages. On 11 March 2012, the official *Tibet Daily* newspaper reported that the TAR government had selected more than 20,000 cadres and established 5,451 ‘work teams’ to stay permanently in neighbourhood committees in the TAR, as well as more than 13,000 cadres into more than 1,500 work-teams who will permanently stay in TAR prefectures and counties. In addition to monitoring the movements and activities of the Tibetan masses, the ‘work teams’ and cadres are also given the responsibility to inculcate party ideology and to increase party membership in Tibet.

The intensity and severity of party propaganda campaign in Tibet was evidenced by the provocative statements of the TAR Party secretary Chen Quanguo, who at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth TAR CPC Committee on 26 June 2012, called on party members to ensure that “the party’s voices and images be heard across 1.2 million square kilometers of the vast territory [of TAR]” and that “no voices and images of the hostile forces and Dalai clique can be heard and seen.”

In May 2012, the TAR authorities launched a new wave of ‘patriotic re-education’ and ‘legal

education' campaigns targeted at Tibetan monastic institutions in the name of maintaining stability, enhancing unity, and promoting harmony in Tibet. At the "Mobilization Meeting on In-depth Legal Education Campaign in Tibetan Buddhist Temples" held in Lhasa on 11 May 2012, the TAR governor Pema Thinley said that widespread 'legal education' campaigns had been launched in all the monasteries and nunneries in TAR.

In 2012, TCHRD recorded a total of 269 known political prisoners in Tibet. Out of them, 29 were sentenced without procedural guarantees and due legal process while the fate of 218 remains unknown. An overwhelming number were detained, disappeared and sentenced on obscure charges of 'leaking state secrets' and 'endangering state security'. The total number of known political prisoners according to TCHRD database is 988.

With the increased security build-up along Tibet-Nepal border, the number of Tibetans fleeing Chinese rule in Tibet dropped drastically in 2012. As opposed to about 600 Tibetans who arrived in India in 2011, there were only 374 Tibetans who successfully evaded arrest at the hands of Chinese border guards and reached India in 2012. China continued to pressurise Nepal to crack down and forcibly repatriate Tibetans fleeing its rule. Since Nepal is party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Convention on Torture, China is, in effect, pressurising the Nepalese government to undermine its own international treaty obligations. It is a known fact that the continuation of Chinese aid to Nepal is contingent on the Nepalese government's ability to suppress Tibetan activism.

TCHRD's 2012 Annual Report takes a hard look at some of the key human rights issues in Tibet viz., language and education, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, development, and crackdown on self-immolation protests. In light of major new campaigns and policies implemented by the

Chinese authorities to restrict and repress religious freedom in Tibet, TCHRD has prepared a separate special report on religious repression. The report is an in-depth analysis of the internationally protected right to freedom of religion and belief, and the ways in which the government of the PRC is continuously and systematically violating it in the context of Tibetan Buddhism.

An Eight-Point Petition from Tibetan Students and Teachers in Qinghai

On 5 October 2012, exile Tibetan media published an eight-point petition written by Tibetan teachers and students in Qinghai Province. The petition encapsulates major concerns and grievances and suggests ways and means to defuse tension and thereby achieve real stability and harmony in Tibet. The following petition was translated into English by the International Campaign for Tibet:

"First, in pursuit of social harmony and ethnic equality, and to end political suppression and economic marginalization, we call upon the central government to create an environment that respects different ethnicities and does not oppress them.

"Second, we call for the government to seriously consider giving Tibetan language equal status with Chinese in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and in the various Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties.

"Third, in consideration for Tibetan grassroots development, which cannot just be limited to housing construction and material goods, we call for more Tibetan professionals and meritocracy in the Tibetan Departments of the different Nationality Universities, and for opening courses on Tibet's history, politics, law, economy, science, and sociology.

"Fourth, we must change the policy of implementing Chinese-based teaching in Tibetan secondary

schools, because this constitutes a serious case of ethnic discrimination.

“Fifth, Tibetans place far greater emphasis on mental values, not material values, and therefore we request more respect, freedom, and rights for religious belief in Tibetan regions.

“Sixth, stop strengthening the Party’s ideological management of Tibetan monasteries, and train Tibetan cadres and officials to exercise real power.

“Seventh, many Han and Hui people are immigrating to Tibet, such that Tibetans, the true masters of Tibet, are becoming a minority, which makes many Tibetans worried.

“Eighth, we call for implementing laws from the central government regarding ethnic autonomy, and changing the policies of unlimited mineral exploitation and forced nomad resettlement policies which trample on traditional Tibetan culture and customs, and which fill Tibetan hearts with unbearable pain.”

The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy suggests China implement the following recommendations:

1. Investigate the real causes of Tibetan self-immolation protests and refrain from criminalising those who engage in such protests
2. Ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights into domestic legislation.
3. Sign and ratify into domestic law the International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance.
4. Amend the 2012 amendments of the criminal procedure code to disallow enforced disappearances.

5. Hold itself accountable to both its international and domestic law obligations. China should start enforcing its own laws.
6. Refrain from including opt-out clauses in any future National Human Rights Action Plans
7. Release all Tibetan political prisoners held in detention centres, prisons, and labour camps
8. Allow free movement of Tibetans from Kham and Amdo provinces wishing to travel to Tibet Autonomous Region particularly the Tibetan spiritual and cultural capital, Lhasa
9. Stop political education party propaganda campaigns and anti-Dalai Lama campaigns
10. Respect Tibetan people’s right to self-determination and their right to preserve and promote their culture, identity, religion and language.

BURNING THE BODY

The non-violent resistance movement waged by thousands of Tibetans since 1950s could be clearly established by the fact that many of them had to endure harsh imprisonment in labour camps for decades. The story of Palden Gyatso, documented in his memoir *Fire Under the Snow*, is just one manifestation of hunger, torture, death and destruction Tibetans suffered under Chinese rule, and the courage and determination they have shown in pacifically resisting Chinese rule. The visit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's delegations to Tibet in the late 1970s documented the depth and extent of Tibetan resistance and suffering. Time and again, Tibetans have disproved Chinese government's self-invented myth that Tibet has 'progressed from feudal serfdom to prosperity and modernity.'

Despite China's so-called 'opening of Tibet to the outside world and economic development in Tibet,' Tibetan people have continued to expose the true nature of Chinese rule in Tibet, often by risking their lives. Under the guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibetan struggle has been waged entirely through non-violent means. The inspiration is provided by the teachings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and his recognition in the world as a 'man of peace and reconciliation,' consummated by his winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

Since 1980s, Tibetan resistance inside Tibet has been entirely non-violent in nature. The 1987 Tibetan demonstrations were entirely non-violent. Similarly, the 2008 Tibetan protests throughout the Tibetan Plateau were generally non-violent and accorded such recognition by the international community. Chinese government's response to

these non-violent demonstrations has been violent and brutal - shooting on unarmed protestors and killing them, mass arrests and torture in prisons, demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, military lockdown of Tibet; in short turning Tibet into a virtual prison.

China's vicious clampdown and political dictatorship that do not allow any expression of Tibetan grievances has made the situation inside Tibet extremely explosive that could erupt like a volcano anytime. And this is exactly what has happened since 2009, when for the first time inside Tibet, a Tibetan monk, Tapey, set his body on fire to protest against Chinese repression on 27 February 2009. Since then it has a domino-effect of sorts throughout Tibet, with waves of self-immolations by Tibetans from all walks of life - monks, nuns, farmers, nomads, men and women, young and old - with the toll now reaching almost a hundred. However, the first Tibetan self-immolation protest against Chinese rule occurred outside Tibet. A Tibetan exile, Thupten Ngodup, burned himself to death protesting against Chinese repression on 27 April 1998 in New Delhi, India. His sacrifice was widely documented by both the Tibetan and international press.

The current wave of self-immolation in Tibet is "one of the biggest waves of self-immolation in the last six decades," according to Oxford University sociologist Michael Biggs, who studies politically driven suicides.¹

¹ Tibet Self-Immolation Wave Among History's Biggest, Huffington Post, 2 April 2012, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/02/tibet-self-immolation-wave_n_1396443.html

SELF-IMMOLATION AS A FORM OF PROTEST

Self-immolation, that is, burning one's body, as a form of political protest is not a recent phenomenon. It has a long history and has occurred in all kinds of societies. As James Verini writes in *The New Yorker*:

Contrary to common belief, the practice [of self-immolation] does not originate in the Vietnam era and is not confined to Asia... Rather it is a millennia-old practice in both the West and the East, where it has long commanded mass sympathy and outrage ... The recent Tibetan self-immolations remind us that the practice's longest history is in China where beginning in the fourth century A.D., Buddhist monks took to sitting in pyres to propitiate *gangying*, the force that binds the corporeal and the ethereal.²

Perhaps the most iconic image of self-immolation that captured the imagination of the world is that of the Buddhist monk Thích Quảng Đức, who set his body on fire and died at a Saigon intersection during the Vietnam War. This was his way of “donating to the struggle.” Writing about his sacrifice, the world renowned Buddhist master, Thich Nhat Hanh, asserted that ‘like the crucifixion of Jesus, his act expressed the unconditional willingness to suffer for the awakening of others.’”

On 2 November 2012, the United Nations Human Rights Commissioner, Navi Pillay, in her first-ever statement on Tibetan immolations “urged the Chinese authorities to promptly address the long standing grievances that have led to an alarming escalation in desperate forms of protests, including self-immolations, in Tibetan areas.”³

Contrary to moves by Chinese government to project self-immolation protests as acts liable for ‘homicide’, Pillay’s statement recognises Tibetan self-immolation as a ‘desperate’ form of protest, and therefore, an act of exercising one’s right to freedom of expression and assembly.

Pillay also indicates that it is the absence of any safe avenues for expressing one’s opposition or grievances that the Tibetans are driven to engage in such extreme forms of protests.

I recognise Tibetans’ intense sense of frustration and despair which has led them to resort to such extreme means but there are other ways to make those feelings clear. The [Chinese] Government also needs to recognise this, and permit Tibetans to express their feelings without fear of retribution.

Similarly, in a 14 December 2012 statement, the Canadian Foreign Minister said:

Canada supports Tibetans’ freedoms of expression, assembly and association. That anyone should feel such an end is justified by these means is a striking testament to Tibetans’ deep yearning for greater religious, linguistic and cultural rights.⁴

Calling self-immolation an “extreme form of protest,” the European Union, in a statement issued on 14 December 2012, called upon the Chinese authorities “to respect the rights of Tibetans to peaceful assembly and expression, to act with restraint, and to release all individuals detained for taking part in peaceful demonstrations.”⁵

It is undeniable that Tibetans’ rights to peaceful assembly, expression and association are severely restricted even as China’s internal security budget

2 A Terrible Act of Reason: When Did Self-Immolation Become the Paramount Form of Protest? *The New Yorker*, 16 May 2012, available at <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/culture/2012/05/history-of-self-immolation.html#ixzz2HGxJ3f7a>

3 Pillay: China must urgently address deep-rooted frustrations with human rights in Tibetan areas, 2 November 2012, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=12729&LangID=E>

4 Canada Concerned about Rash of Tibetan Self-Immolations, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 14 December 2012, available at <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2012/12/14b.aspx?view=d>

5 Declaration by the High Representative, Catherine Ashton, on behalf of the European Union on Tibetan self-immolations, Council of the European Union, 14 December 2012, available at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/cfsp/134378.pdf

registered a steady increase.⁶ A large part of this public security budget is allocated to provincial and local governments.⁷ Tibetan protesters are routinely suppressed with force by the law enforcement agencies of the Chinese government. Security forces from four different agencies such as the People's Armed Police (PAP), a paramilitary force whose role is to safeguard domestic security and maintain public order; the Public Security Bureau (PSB), the main police authority in China, responsible for day-to-day law enforcement; the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the PRC's armed forces; and the People's Militia, a mixed professional-civilian institution who assist in maintaining public order have engaged in disproportionate use of force against Tibetans.⁸ Various other measures such as arbitrary interpretation of legal provisions as well as implementation of ad hoc official regulations and notices are used to derogate the Tibetan people's human rights particularly rights to peaceful assembly and association.

In January 2012, the Chinese security forces engaged in excessive use of force in quelling Tibetan protests, even firing upon peaceful protesters resulting in the death of five known Tibetans.⁹ The killing of Tibetan protesters, six in Drango and five in Sertha, by Chinese security forces is another striking example of the tragic ineffectiveness of the Chinese response to the growing protests and self-immolations. Peaceful protests against environmental destruction and resource extraction were similarly smothered with police violence.¹⁰

Crackdown on Tibetan civil society organizations increased in 2012 with the closure of grassroots social, environmental and educational organizations and arbitrary detention of their founders and members. Many of these informal organizations were termed 'illegal' and then closed for failing to register with relevant authorities.¹¹ The registration process for civil society groups remained cumbersome and arbitrary.¹²

The UN Special Rapporteur on Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, sees China's nomad resettlement policy as playing a significant part in pushing Tibetans particularly the nomads to self-immolate in protest. Speaking during the interactive debate at the UN Human Rights Council's 19th Session in March 2012, he said:

Just this past weekend two people self-immolated themselves one was a mother of four another was a 20 year old student. Out of these 25 people, 18 were actually herders forcibly resettled into new socialist villages. This I have to say is not compatible with the idea that these would be and I quote 'very popular policies.'¹³

Development economist Andrew Fischer echoes De Schutter's contention when he observed that a large number of self-immolation protests had occurred in areas in and around the areas where intense nomad relocation had taken place, which indicates in no uncertain terms the severity of nomad resettlement policy in Tibetan areas.¹⁴

6 Translation: The Machinery of Stability Preservation, Caijing, June 6, 2011, Translated by Dui Hua Human Rights Journal, available at <http://www.duihuajournal.org/2011/06/translation-machinery-of-stability.html>

7 Id.

8 "I saw it with my own eyes," Abuses by Chinese Security Forces in Tibet, 2008-2010, Human Rights Watch, available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/07/22/i-saw-it-my-own-eyes-0>

9 Indiscriminate Firing Kills 2 Tibetans, Maims 10 in Serta County, TCHRD, 25 January 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=154:indiscriminate-firing-kills-2-tibetans-maims-10-in-serta-county-&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162, See also http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=158:one

10 Radio Free Asia, August 2012, One Tibetan Shot Dead in Mining Protest

11 Chinese Government Notification Restricts Tibetan NGOs in Kardze, TCHRD, 2 May 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=218:chinese-government-notification-restricts-tibetan-ngos-in-kardze-&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

12 The International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, NGO Law Monitor: China, Shawn Shieh, 12 December 2012, available at <http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/china.html>

13 UN Special Rapporteur challenges China's forced resettlement policy in Tibet, Central Tibetan Administration, 7 March 2012, available at <http://tibet.net/2012/03/07/un-special-rapporteur-challenges-chinas-forced-resettlement-policy-in-tibet/>

14 The Geopolitics of Politico-Religious Protest in Eastern Tibet, Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology, 9 April 2012, available at <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/530>

The US government has said that the self-immolations are caused by repressive Chinese policies including “increasingly severe government controls on Tibetan Buddhist religious practice and monastic institutions; education practices that undermine the preservation of Tibetan language; intensive surveillance, arbitrary detentions and disappearances of Tibetans, including youth and Tibetan intellectual and cultural leaders; escalating restrictions on news, media and communications; and the use of force against Tibetans seeking peacefully to exercise their universal human rights.”¹⁵

LAST WORDS AND WISHES OF SELF-IMMOLATORS

Nearly a hundred Tibetans have self-immolated, overwhelming of them occurring within Tibet. Over the past two years, these acts of sacrificing one's body in protest have grown not only in numbers, but also in the breadth of participants and places, widening the demographic make up of the self-immolators to major Tibetan regions. The demands of the self-immolators have been diverse. Some of them called for the ‘return of the Dalai Lama’ (*skyabmgonrinpoche bod la gdandrang*), some for ‘freedom for Tibet’ (*bod la rang wangdgos*), while others have called for ‘independence for Tibet’ (*Bod rang brtsan*). While some called for ‘religious freedom’, ‘language rights’, ‘release of all political prisoners including the 11th Panchen Lama’, there were also those who echoed altruistic motivations behind their acts, urging fellow Tibetans not to hold any hatred against the Chinese. Inspired by the Buddhist idea of sacrificing one's life for a higher altruistic cause, Lama Soepa, a reincarnated lama, left behind an audio message:

This is the twenty-first century, and this is the year in which so many Tibetan heroes have died. I am sacrificing my body both to stand in solidarity with them in flesh and blood, and to seek repentance through this highest

tantric honor of offering one's body. This is not to seek personal fame or glory. I am giving away my body as an offering of light to chase away the darkness, to free all beings from suffering, and to lead them – each of whom has been our mother in the past and yet has been led by ignorance to commit immoral acts – to the Amitabha, the Buddha of infinite light.¹⁶

Jampel Yeshi, 27, who died of self-immolation protest in New Delhi on 26 March 2012 while protesting against the visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao in the Indian capital. Yeshi left behind a letter, calling for the need to work for Tibetan freedom (*rang wang*) and unity of the Tibetan people:

Freedom is the basis of happiness for all living beings. Without freedom, six million Tibetans are like a butter lamp in the wind, without direction... We demand freedom to practice our religion and culture. We demand freedom to use our language. We demand the same right as other people living elsewhere in the world. People of the world, stand up for Tibet. Tibet belongs to Tibetans. Victory to Tibet!¹⁷

On 13 May 2012, Rikyo, 33, a nomad and mother of three children, from Dzamthang self-immolated near Dzamthang Jonang monastery and died instantly. In a note left behind, she wrote:

Prayers for world peace and happiness!
To ensure His Holiness the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet
Do not indulge in slaughtering and trading of animals
Do not steal, Speak Tibetan
Do not fight
Bearing all sufferings of the sentient beings

¹⁵ Government Statements on Tibet Immolations, International Campaign for Tibet, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/resource-center/maps-data-fact-sheets/government-statements-tibet-immolations-and-crisis-kirti-monastery#Canada>

¹⁶ Harrowing images and last message from Tibet of first lama to self-immolate, International Campaign for Tibet, 1 February 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/harrowing-images-and-last-message-tibet-first-lama-self-immolate>

¹⁷ Tibet's Man on Fire, National Geographic, 30 November 2012, available at <http://news.nationalgeographic.co.in/news/2012/121130-tibet-burning-protest-china-world/>

on myself
 Do not resist by fighting if I get into Chinese
 hands alive
 Be united, Study Tibetan culture
 On fire I burn, do not worry my family.¹⁸

This note clearly reflects the Buddhist principle of taking all the sufferings of other people on one's own shoulders, and then sacrificing one's life to relieve them.

On 20 October 2012, LhamoKyab, 27, expressed his anguish and despair at Chinese repression and burned himself to death: *the Chinese are not letting us to live in peace, its better to die, better to die.* Apart from expressing these words, Kyab also called for 'Tibetan independence, return of the Dalai Lama, and the release of the Panchen Lama.'¹⁹

Gudrub, a Tibetan writer, who self-immolated and died on 4 October 2012 expressed his aspirations in a testimony titled *The Sound of Victorious Drums Beaten by Lives*. It expressed succinctly and powerfully the depth of Chinese repression in Tibet:

Since China is uninterested in the well being of the Tibetan people, we are sharpening our nonviolent movement. We are declaring the reality of Tibet by burning our own bodies to call for freedom of Tibet. Higher beings, Please see Tibet. Mother earth, Extend compassion to Tibet. Just world, Uphold the truth. The pure land of snow is now tainted with red blood, where military crackdowns are ceaseless. We as sons and daughters of the Land of Snow will win the battle. We will win the battle through truth, by shooting the arrows of our lives, by using the bow of our mind.

Another Tibetan, a former monk named Rongtsa

18 Note left by mother of three emerges months after self-immolation, TCHRD, 18 August 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=271:note-left-by-mother-of-three-emerges-months-after-self-immolation&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

19 "These Chinese are not letting us live in peace. It's better to die, better to die." TCHRD, 29 October 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=300

Tenzin Phunstok, who self-immolated and died on 1 December 2011 called simply for freedom of Tibetan religion which is persecuted by the Chinese government as threat to 'national security.' In his last note, he wrote:

How can we trust a government that does not allow us to believe in our religion? When I think of the suffering that the entire Tibetan region and our Karma Monastery have gone through this year, I cannot wait and keep on living.²⁰

Nangdrol, another self-immolator, was however more subtle in his decision to sacrifice his life. Rather than making the usual calls for the return of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's freedom and independence, he left behind a recording in which he appealed for the protection of Tibetan human rights and end of Chinese political repression:

We are unable to remain under these draconian laws, unable to tolerate this torment that does not leave scar, because the pain of not enjoying any basic human rights is far greater than the pain of self-immolation.²¹

In a letter sent from Tibet, a Tibetan monk-activist in Tibet to wrote about the series of self-immolation protests:

Many Tibetans in Tibet, for the sake of our nation and people, in other words, for the sake of our religion, culture and politics, are setting themselves on fire. They are burning themselves alive, because our people, who have been completely deprived of freedom and kept at the mercy of foreign power, are searching for a measure of happiness. More than fifty brave Tibetan patriots who sacrificed their bodies had to endure the height of suffering, having been deprived of

20 "The Testimonies Left By Tibetan Self-Immolators", High Peaks Pure Earth, 3 December 2012, available at <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2012/the-testimonies-left-behind-by-tibetan-self-immolators-by-woeser/>

21 Id.

all options, and out of desperation, they have had to resort to such extreme measure. There are some Tibetans who have expressed some worlds of mild disagreement... However those of us in Tibet, who love our nation and people, have never opposed and expressed words of mild disagreement about self-immolations; we remain solidly defiant and firm in this position.²²

REACTION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

The Chinese government's reaction to the self-immolations has been brutal and violent underpinned by their usual denial of repression in Tibet. Like every protest that occurs in Tibet, the Chinese authorities immediately blamed the exile Tibetans and 'splittist' forces, for instigating the unrest in Tibet and threatening social stability and harmony. For instance, on 18 October 2012 when nun Tenzin Wangmo became the first Tibetan woman to self-immolate, *Xinhua*, the official mouthpiece of the Chinese government, immediately blamed the exile Tibetans for fomenting it. *Xinhua* quoted Song Tendargye, the head of Ngaba's religious affairs bureau, as saying that 'Kirti Rinpoche and his team in Dharamsala, India, under the instruction of the Dalai Lama, laid the plot to destabilize Tibet.'

However, as the number of Tibetan self-immolations rose up, China's official interpretation also shifted its gears. In December 2012, the Chinese government attempted to label the self-immolation as 'homicide,' a criminal offence rather than a form of protest or an act of sacrifice for a higher cause.²³

Chinese government has also to its usual ways to trivialize the Tibetan self-immolations by reducing them to 'petty disputes,' and even 'thefts.' On 6 January 2012, Tsultrim and Tennyi, two Tibetans in 20s, staged a joint self-immolation protest. Although they were holding the Tibetan flags, which was meant to send out a clear signal to the outside world that they were burning themselves to death for Tibet's freedom, *Xinhua* reported the next day that 'they were involved in thefts, with the deceased man being a suspect at large in the case of the Kirti Monastery Buddha statue burglary.'²⁴ *Xinhua* also wrote that Lama Soepa's case was that of "suicide", because "his secret love affair with a woman was exposed."

China also brought in the services of its well-paid 'tibetologists' to back up its claims. On 7 January 2012, *Xinhua* quoted Gang Zheng from the Sichuan Tibetology Research Centre as saying that "the several self-immolation cases recently were committed by people who previously had got punished for their wrong doings such as whoring, gambling and burglary, or deep in debt because of gambling."²⁵

Criminalising and discrediting the sacrifices made by Tibetan self-immolators are of course not aimed at convincing or seeking approval of the world community to its version of the story. They are mere propaganda exercises meant for domestic consumption, reinforcing the general prejudice among Chinese people that Tibetans are barbaric, uncivilized, dangerous, bent on destroying the 'unity of the nationalities' by 'indulging in splittism.' This justification gives Chinese authorities a free reign to launch severe crackdowns on the Tibetan people. Most importantly they are strategic ploys employed to break the solidarity and sympathy such self-sacrifices might generate among the ordinary Chinese people who suffer repression at the hands of their own government.

22 TIBETAN PURSUIT OF FREEDOM: A Letter from the Land of Snows, TCHRD, 13 December 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=330:tibetan-pursuit-of-freedom-a-letter-from-the-land-of-snows&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

23 China Outlines Criminal Punishments for Tibetan Self-Immolations, Dui Hua Human Rights Journal, 5 December 2012, available at <http://www.duihuajournal.org/2012/12/china-outlines-criminal-punishments-for.html>

24 2 former monks set themselves on fire in Sichuan, *Xinhua*, 8 January 2012, available at http://www.china.org.cn/china/2012-01/08/content_24351179.htm

25 Id.

CRIMINALISING SELF-IMMOLATION PROTESTS – THE CASE OF LORANG KONCHOK

In December 2012, after an unprecedented wave of self-immolations hit the Tibetan plateau despite Chinese authorities employing various tactics of intimidation and punitive measures, the official Chinese media reported that a Tibetan monk and his nephew have “confessed to police their role in inciting a series of self-immolations at the behest of the Dalai Lama clique.”²⁶ Lorang Konchok, 40, a monk at Kirti Monastery in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, and his nephew, Lorang Tenzin, 31, were detained on 13 August and 15 August respectively for ‘inciting’ eight people to set themselves on fire since 2009, according to official Chinese media. Both monks were also accused of sharing information about each self-immolation, including photos, with exile Tibetan organizations.

The news of their detention and their alleged involvement in inciting self-immolations came close on the heels of an editorial published on 3 December 2012 in the *Gannan Daily*, the official newspaper of the local party committee in Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province.²⁷ The editorial cited guidelines issued by China’s Supreme People’s Court, Supreme People’s Procuratorate, and Ministry of Public Security saying that those who ‘instigate’ them will be prosecuted for “intentional homicide” and the self-immolators themselves will face criminal charges if they “have caused severe damage.”²⁸

The case of Lorang Konchok and his nephew, Lorang Tenzin, repeats the same narrative constructed by the Chinese authorities in sentencing three Tibetan monks on charges of “intentional homicide” in the aftermath of 16 March 2011 self-immolation

and subsequent death of Phuntsok, a monk from Kirti Monastery in Ngaba.²⁹ In August 2011, Kirti monks - Losang Tenzin, 22, and Lobsang Tenzin aka Nakten were sentenced to 13 and 10 years respectively. Lobsang Tsundue, 46, uncle and a tutor of deceased Phuntsok was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment.

As in the case of Lorang Konchok and his nephew, due legal process was not followed in the case of three Kirti monks sentenced last year on “intentional homicide” charges. Family members and relatives of those sentenced were neither given any information about the detention nor allowed any visitation rights all through the detention and during the trial. In particular, Lorang Konchok and his nephew were detained since August but news of their detention became known only in December.³⁰

The official tactic of criminalising self-immolations – while clearly intended to demonise individual self-immolators as well as to establish a non-existent link between the fiery protests and their overseas ‘instigators’ – is one of the many tools used by the Chinese authorities to stop self-immolations without seriously addressing the deep-rooted grievances that cause these fiery protests.

In direct contradiction to the Chinese propaganda that the immolations are ‘terrorist acts’ and ‘barbaric’; organised by a ‘Dalai Lama splittist clique’, Amnesty International reported that there have been 41 cases of Chinese self-immolation against forced evictions in China from 2009 to 2011.³¹ These are different to Tibetan cases but it is striking that the form of protest is the same.

26 Dalai group implicated in immolations, *Global Times*, 10 December 2012, available at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/749153.shtml>

27 China Outlines Criminal Punishments for Tibetan Self-Immolations, *Dui Hua Human Rights Journal*, 5 December 2012, available at <http://www.duihuahrjournal.org/2012/12/china-outlines-criminal-punishments-for.html>

28 Self-immolation instigators may face homicide charges, *People’s Daily Online*, 7 December 2012, available at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90882/8049814.html>

29 Monks imprisoned for 10-13 years following self-immolation by Kirti monk, International Campaign for Tibet, 31 August 2011, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/monks-imprisoned-10-13-years-following-self-immolation-kirti-monk>

30 China Detains Two Tibetans in Self-Immolation Protests, *New York Times*, 10 December 2012, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/11/world/asia/chinese-police-detain-two-tibetans-in-self-immolation-protests.html?_r=0

31 Standing their ground: Thousands face violent eviction in China, Amnesty International, 2012, available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA17/001/2012/en/976759ee-09f6-4d00-b4d8-4fa1b47231e2/asa170012012en.pdf>

SECURITY CRACKDOWN, SURVEILLANCE, DETENTIONS

Further moves to curb self-immolations saw Chinese security forces engaging in surprise raids, intimidation and arbitrary detentions. On 27 May 2012, when the first self-immolation protests, carried out by two Amdo Tibetans, took place in the Tibetan capital Lhasa, hundreds of Tibetans were detained merely due to the fact that they hailed from the same Amdo region as the self-immolators.³² Apart from the heavy security build-up, authorities made it mandatory for Lhasa residents to furnish five different documents to make their stay legal in the city. The widespread detentions and restrictions imposed on Tibetan residents in Lhasa almost reduced the city into an “area of racial segregation.”³³ In October 2012, Reporters Without Borders reported the detention of four monks for circulating information about self-immolation protests following a surprise raid at Dokar monastery in Tsoe (Ch: Hezuo) in Kanlho Prefecture.³⁴ Similar raids and detentions took place at Nyatso Zilkar Monastery,³⁵ Tsodun Monastery,³⁶ Kirti Monastery³⁷ and Bora Monastery.³⁸ In June 2012, a prominent monk, Yonten Gyatso, of Khashi Monastery in Ngaba was sentenced to seven years for sending out photographs and information about the self-

immolation of a Buddhist nun.³⁹ In many of these cases, the Chinese authorities made liberal use of its obscure laws on ‘state secrets’ and ‘state security’ to pass the sentences.

There were also reports on the detention of family members and friends of self-immolators particularly in Malho⁴⁰ (Ch: Huangnan) Prefecture and Kanlho⁴¹ Prefecture. These two Tibetan areas witnessed continued self-immolation protests in November despite official crackdown.

During the 18th Party Congress, the vice chairman of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) told reporters that the authorities were using a massive surveillance camera network to closely monitor Tibetan areas to put an end to self-immolations.⁴² “We also have a grid management system, so if any immolation happens in a certain block, we can launch an emergency rescue within two minutes,” the TAR vice chairman said. “For locals, we are checking IDs and for visitors we have checkpoints and security checks on travel,” he added.

Moreover, Chinese authorities continued to block all communication channels and lines in areas affected by self-immolation protests in an attempt to hide the real situation.⁴³

32 ‘China detains hundreds in Tibet over self-immolation protests’, The Independent (UK), 31 May 2012, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/tibet/9301849/China-detains-hundreds-in-Tibet-over-self-immolation-protests.html>

33 Lhasa: A New “Area of Racial Segregation”, High Peaks Pure Earth, 13 September 2012, available at <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2012/lhasa-a-new-area-of-racial-segregation-by-woeser/>

34 Four monks arrested at Dokar monastery for photographing self-immolation, Reporters Without Borders, 19 October 2012, available at <http://en.rsf.org/chine-four-monks-arrested-at-dokar-19-10-2012,43347.html>

35 Zilkar Monastery tense following arrest of five monks, Phayul, 4 September 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=32052&t=1>

36 Tsodun Monastery Crackdown: Arbitrary Detention of Five Young Monks, TCHRD, 18 August 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=270:tsodun-monastery-crackdown-arbitrary-detention-of-five-young-monks&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

37 Detentions continue as China cracks down on self-immolation, TCHRD, 1 September 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=285

38 Five monks from Bora Monastery ‘missing’ after detention, TCHRD, 18 December 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=333:five-monks-from-bora-monastery-missing-after-detention&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

39 Senior monk sentenced to 7 years for sharing information, TCHRD, 21 August 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=274

40 China arrests relatives, friends of Tibetan self-immolators, Phayul, 14 December 2012, available at <http://phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=32674&article=China+arrests+relatives%2c+friends+of+Tibetan+self-immolators&t=1&c=1>

41 Unreported detentions related to self-immolations abound in Tibet, TCHRD, 4 December 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=327:unreported-detentions-related-to-self-immolations-abound-in-tibet&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

42 China using massive surveillance grid to stop Tibetan self-immolation, The Telegraph (UK), 9 November 2012, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/9667701/China-using-massive-surveillance-grid-to-stop-Tibetan-self-immolation.html>

43 China impose near-total information blockade after series of burning protests, TCHRD, 5 November 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=307:china-impose-near-total-information-blockade-after-series-of-burning-protests&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

INTIMIDATION, CASH REWARDS, PUNITIVE ACTIONS,

In October 2012, the Chinese authorities were reported to be offering monetary reward for Tibetans who are willing to provide information on possible self-immolation. A public notice issued on 21 October in Kanlho Prefecture in Gansu Province promised 50,000 Chinese Yuan (US \$ 7,913) for information on “the sources of scheming, planning, and instigating such acts.”⁴⁴ The notice also offered a reward of 20,000 Chinese Yuan (US \$ 3,165) for information on the instigators of the four recent self-immolations in Kanlho.

Local Chinese authorities also attempted to offer one million Chinese Yuan (US \$ 158,599) to Sangay Gyatso's wife to make her sign a document stating that his self-immolation protest was not targeted against China's rule over Tibet.⁴⁵ In November 2012, exile Tibetan media reported the detention of self-immolator Dolkar Tso's husband after he rejected a bribe offer from the local Chinese authorities.⁴⁶

In December 2012, the Chinese authorities in Malho Prefecture announced cash prizes ranging from 1,000 Chinese Yuan (US \$ 160) to 200,000 Chinese Yuan (US \$ 32,000) have been announced for information exposing self-immolators, those inciting self-immolations, and those who have visited families of self-immolators to offer condolences.⁴⁷ Rewards have also been announced for those who avert self-immolations from occurring at the site of the protest. Among the ‘crimes’ listed in the notices were displaying portraits of His Holiness the Dalai Lama during mass funerals of the self-immolators, raising ‘separatist’ slogans, offering

condolences to the family members of self-immolators, ‘unlawfully’ taking pictures and videos of self-immolations and sending them out and spreading rumours and indulging in provocative talks.

Aside from criminalising prayer ceremonies and religious rituals conducted in memory of those who died in protest self-immolations,⁴⁸ on 14 November 2012, Chinese authorities in Malho Prefecture issued a notice to ban and punish self-immolation protests.⁴⁹ The notice announced punitive measures including cutting off approved government aids to self-immolators and their families and cancelling approved development projects in villages where self-immolations occurred.

CONCLUSION

Although the Chinese government has so far failed to acknowledge the causes of the self-immolations, leave alone redressing them, the burning of Tibetan bodies has been able to strike a sympathetic chord and solidarity among the Tibetan people.

However, the protests have drawn only a muted response from the international community and -- until very recently -- dwindling media coverage.” The international community should be doing a lot more,” Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay, head of the India-based Central Tibetan Administration told Reuters, adding that the Tibetans are “definitely” dying in vain.⁵⁰

Nicholas Bequelin of Human Rights Watch had said the international community has failed in its response by not uniting to put multilateral pressure

44 Rewards for Burning Tip-offs, Radio Free Asia, 24 October 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/rewards-10242012141110.html>

45 Woman Rejects Cash Offer, Radio Free Asia, 19 October 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/cash-10192012192840.html>

46 China arrests Tibetan self-immolator's husband for rejecting bribe, Phayul, 9 November 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/tools/print.aspx?id=32420&t=0>

47 Chinese authorities issue ultimatum, offer cash prize for “crimes” linked to Tibet self-immolations, Phayul, 17 December 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=32687&t=1>

48 Monks barred from holding religious rituals to observe teen monk's death, TCHRD, 25 November 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=311:monks-barred-from-holding-religious-rituals-to-observe-teen-monks-death&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

49 China punishes protest self-immolations, cuts off aid to Tibetans, TCHRD, 22 November 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=314:china-punishes-protest-self-immolations-cuts-off-aid-to-tibetans&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

50 As Tibetan self-immolations rise, Beijing tightens grip, Reuters, 9 December 2012, available at <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/12/09/uk-china-tibet-idUKBRE8B80FD20121209>

on Beijing.⁵¹ "Nobody is going to cut trade relations with China. But decades of inactivity have been detrimental," he said.

The self-immolations have caused a major dilemma in the heads of the Chinese authorities. Cracking down on self-immolations will further alienate the Tibetan people and deepen their resentment against the Chinese government. On the other hand, China fears that changing its current policies to accommodate Tibetan wishes and aspirations will further strengthen Tibetan nationalism. The situation is made worse by China's inflexible, rigid, authoritarian system that does not have the capacity to deal with dissonant and dissident voices. Even a peaceful expression of one's grievances could attract long-term imprisonment and even death. Under such circumstances, the situation could become more explosive than burning oneself to death, which only harms self than others.

⁵¹ Id.

FULL LIST OF TIBETANS WHO SELF-IMMOLATED SINCE 2009 IN TIBET

S. no.	Name	Age	Date	Occupation	Origin	Status
1	Tapey	27	27/02/09	Monk	Ngaba	Alive
2	Lobsang Phuntsok	21	16/03/11	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
3	TsewangNorbu	29	15/08/11	Monk	Tawu, Kardze	Deceased
4	Lobsang Kunchok	18	26/09/11	Monk	Ngaba	Unknown
5	Lobsang Kalsang	19	26/09/11	Monk	Ngaba	Alive
6	Kalsang Wangchuk	18	03/10/11	Monk	Ngaba	Alive
7	Choephel	19	07/10/11	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
8	Khaying	18	07/10/11	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
9	Norbu Damdul	19	15/10/11	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
10	Tenzin Wangmo	20	17/10/11	Nun	Ngaba	Deceased
11	Dawa Tsering	38	25/10/11	Monk	Kardze	Alive
12	Palden Choetso	35	03/11/11	Nun	Tawu, Kardze	Deceased
13	Tenzin Phuntsok	46	01/12/11	FormerMonk	Chamdo, TAR	Deceased
14	Tsultrim	20	06/01/12	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
15	Tennyi	20	06/01/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
16	Trulku Soepa	42	08/01/12	Reincarnate lama	Dharlag, Golog	Deceased
17	Lobsang Jamyang	21	14/01/12	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
18	Rigzin Dorjee	19	08/02/12	Former monk	Ngaba	Deceased
19	Sonam Rabyang	37	08/02/12	Monk	Kyegudo	Unknown
20	Tenzin Choedon	18	11/02/12	Nun	Nun	Deceased
21	Lobsang Gyatso	19	13/02/12	Monk	Ngaba	Unknown
22	Dhamchoe Sangpo	38	17/02/12	Monk	Themchen, Tsonub	Deceased
23	Nangdol	18	20/02/12	Unknown	Dzamthang	Deceased
24	Tsering Kyi	19	03/03/12	Student	Machu,Kanlho	Deceased
25	Rinchen	32	04/03/12	Mother	Ngaba	Deceased
26	Dorjee	18	05/03/12	Layperson	Ngaba	Deceased

27	Geypey	18	10/03/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
28	Jamyang Palden	34	14/03/12	Monk	Rebkong, Malho	Unknown
29	Lobsang Tsultrim	20	16/03/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
30	Sonam Dhargye	44	17/03/12	Farmer	Rebkong, Malho	Deceased
31	Lobsang Sherab	20	28/03/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
32	Tenpa Dhargye	22	30/03/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
33	Chime Palden	21	30/03/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
34	Choephag Kyap	25	19/04/12	Layperson	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Deceased
35	Sonam	24	19/04/12	Layperson	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Deceased
36	Dorjee Tsetan	19	27/05/12	Layperson	Sangchu	Deceased
37	Dhargye	25	27/05/12	Layperson	Ngaba	Deceased
38	Rikyo	37	30/05/12	Mother	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Deceased
39	Tamdin Thar	65	15/06/12	Layperson	Chentsa, Malho	Deceased
40	Tenzin Khedup	24	20/06/12	Layperson	Kyegudo	Deceased
41	Ngawang Norphel	22	20/06/12	Layperson	Nyelam, Shigatse	Deceased
42	Dekyi Choezom	40	27/06/12	Mother	Kyegudo	Unknown
43	Tsewang Dorjee	22	07/07/12	Nomad	Damshung	Deceased
44	Lobsang Lozin	18	17/07/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
45	Lobsang Tsultrim	21	06/08/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
46	Dolkar Tso	26	08/08/12	Mother	Kanlho	Deceased
47	Choepa	24	10/08/12	Nomad	Ngaba	Deceased
48	Tashi	21	13/08/12	Nomad	Ngaba	Deceased
49	Lungtok	20	13/08/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
50	Dhamchoe	17	27/08/12	Layperson	Ngaba	Deceased
51	Lobsang Kalsang	18	27/08/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
52	Yungdung	27	29/09/12	Layperson	Chamdo	Unknown
53	Gudrup	43	04/10/12	Layperson	Driru	Deceased
54	Sangay Gyatso	27	06/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased

55	Tamdin Dorjee	54	13/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased
56	Lhamo Kyap	27	20/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased
57	Dhondup	61	22/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased
58	Dorjee Rinchen	57	23/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased
59	Tsepo	20	25/10/12	Former monk	Driru	Deceased
60	Tenzin	25	25/10/12	Former monk	Driru	Unknown
61	Lhamo Tsetan	24	26/10/12	Nomad	Kanlho	Deceased
62	Thubwang Kyab	23	26/10/12	Layperson	Kanlho	Deceased
63	Dorjee Lhundup	25	04/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
64	Tsegay	27	07/11/12	Layperson	Driru	Deceased
65	Tamdin Tso	23	07/11/12	Mother	Rebkong	Deceased
66	Dorjee	15	07/11/12	Monk	Ngaba	Deceased
67	Samdup	16	07/11/12	Monk	Ngaba	Unknown
68	Dorjee Kyap	16	07/11/12	Monk	Ngaba	Unknown
69	Jinpa Gyatso	18	08/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
70	Gonpo Tsering	19	10/11/12	Layperson	Tsoe	Deceased
71	Nyingkar Tashi	24	12/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
72	Nyinchak Bum	20	12/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
73	Khabum Gyal	18	15/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
74	Tenzin Dolma	23	15/11/12	Farmer	Rebkong	Deceased
75	Chakmo Kyi	26	17/11/12	Mother	Rebkong	Deceased
76	Sangdag Tsering	24	17/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
77	Wangchen Norbu	25	19/11/12	Layperson	Kangtsa, Tsoshar	Deceased
78	Tsering Dhondup	35	20/11/12	Nomad	Labrang	Deceased
79	Lubum Tsering	19	22/11/12	Layperson	Rebkong	Deceased
80	Tamdin Kyap	23	22/11/12	Layperson	Luchu	Deceased
81	Tamdin Dorjee	29	23/11/12	Layperson	Tsekhog	Deceased
82	Sangay Dolma	17	25/11/12	Nun	Tsekhog	Deceased

83	Wangyal	20	26/11/12	Layperson	Sertha	Unknown
84	Kunchok Tsering	18	26/11/12	Layperson	Amchok	Deceased
85	Gonpo Tsering	24	26/11/12	Layperson	Luchu	Unknown
86	Kalsang Kyap	24	27/11/12	Layperson	Zoege	Deceased
87	Sangay Tashi	18	27/11/12	Layperson	Labrang	Deceased
88	Tsering Namgyal	31	29/11/12	Layperson	Samtsa, Luchu	Deceased
89	Wanchen Khar	21	28/11/12	Layperson	Zoege, Kanlho	Deceased
90	Kunchok Kyap	29	30/11/12	Layperson	Zoege	Deceased
91	Sungdhue Kyap	17	04/12/12	Layperson	Labrang, Sangchu	Alive
92	Lobsang Gendun	29	03/12/12	Monk	Golog	Deceased
93	Kunchok Phelgye	24	08/12/12	Monk	Zoege	Deceased
94	Pema Dorjee	23	08/12/12	Layperson	Luchu	Deceased
95	Wanchen Kyi	17	10/12/12	Student	Rebkong	Deceased

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Indeed what good is the freedom of speech when we who have this power in theory cannot even use language for the simple task of defending the existence of language itself?

This year Tibet witnessed a resurgence of student-led protests relating to education. On 4 March, one day after a young student self-immolated in Machu, Tibetan students from Rebkong County National Middle School gathered in protest upon finding that they had been given textbooks in Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese based on the Beijing dialect). By 14 March, similar protests had spread to other Tibetan areas as Tibetan students demanded ethnic equality (mi rigs dra nyam) and linguistic equality (sked yig dra nyam).¹

Unlike many other Tibetan areas, schools in Tibetan areas of Qinghai have continued to use the Tibetan language as the medium of instruction beyond primary school years and as such the region has been at the centre of protests involving language and education in recent years. Though similar protests occurred across Qinghai two years ago, the 2012 student-led protests are of particular interest not only for their content, but for their high rate of youth participation in the intensifying climate of unrest. The reasons for these protests and the rationale behind the government's responses defy over-simplistic explanation. Behind the media sensationalism given to both Tibetan protest and government response this year, there are very real,

immediate, and underrepresented causes.

While protests relating to education have not gone unnoticed, it is an unfortunate reality that they have become the fodder of high-level political debates, which obscure straightforward explanations. In early December of this year the Chinese government announced the launch of national territory consciousness education in Tibet “to further improve the awareness of identity among primary and middle school students and consciously maintain their consciousness of national territory. [The program] will also help to form a good social atmosphere in consciously safeguarding national territory.”² Yet, when viewed against the backdrop of self-immolations and student protests that have occurred this year, this program appears to imply that students’ discontent is emerging from a lack of education in national history rather than substantial concerns such as lack of social inclusion and economic opportunity.

The reality of the situation is that the demands of student protests and issues of education have received adequate attention neither within the PRC nor the international community. The fact that an alarming number of the Tibetans who have self-immolated this past year are youths (several of whom directly called for language rights) should raise obvious concerns about the status of education for Tibetans in the PRC; concerns which are more socially practical than they are overtly political in nature.

1 Thousands of Tibetan students and schoolchildren gather for peaceful demonstration in Rebkong, International Campaign for Tibet, 9 November 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/thousands-tibetan-students-and-schoolchildren-gather-peaceful-demonstration-rebkong>

2 National territory consciousness education launched in Tibet, China
Tibet Online, 06 December 2012, available at http://eng.tibet.cn/2010jy/xw/201212/t20121206_1801924.html

ACCESS TO EDUCATION

In pre-1949 Tibet, there was no formalized, large-scale system of public education. A number of private schools and even some public schools were in operation, but monasteries were seen as the primary centres of study and learning. It would be difficult to deny that education has become widely available in Tibet as a direct result of Chinese government initiatives. Indeed today it is necessary to discuss education for Tibetans largely in terms of education for minorities within the PRC. As the state is the body controlling education within the PRC, and as Tibetans are legally national minorities under state laws, when discussing education in Tibet one must discuss it in terms of education within the PRC.

Since the establishment of the PRC in 1949, the Chinese government has expanded access to education far beyond what would have been imaginable just a few generations ago. As far as Beijing, the Minzu University of China has even established a College for Tibetan Studies. Despite the obvious extension of access and facilities these numbers show, Chinese scholars, articles, newspapers, and census data have, at various times pointed to what seem to be chronically lower rates of literacy and test scores in Tibetan regions. Qinghai Statistical Information Network statistics for the year 2000 list illiteracy rates of 32.5% and 18.46% for Xizang (Tibetan Autonomous Region/TAR) and Qinghai respectively. The latest data from 2010 shows no statistics for the TAR and an illiteracy rate of 10.23% in Tibetan areas in Qinghai. While this is a significant decrease, the illiteracy rate in Qinghai remains higher than that of other Chinese provinces. In 2010, the illiteracy rate in Rebkong County, Qinghai—the area where student protests have occurred—was 22.37%.³

Though it would be wrong to interpret this data as an overall decrease in educational opportunities, a closer examination of the uneven development of schooling and education in Tibetan areas reveals

inequalities influenced by discrimination, lack of access to education, and most prominently, language. Tibetans face disadvantages in terms of language ability, access to well-trained teachers and culturally relevant curricula material, and employability. These problems act as barriers to the educational development of Tibetans, affecting not only their knowledge acquisition and test scores, but their economic livelihoods and cultural aptitude as well.

THE URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE

One of the primary problems Tibetans face today is that, in an overwhelmingly rural population, many rural students simply do not have access to the physical structure of education itself. The state provided education, the basis of China's social and economic system, and the bottom rung of the ladder to success—regardless of any value judgment that can be passed on its content—that education has not been made available or clear to Tibetan minority students. Where it has been made available, it has not been presented in students' first languages, or formats relevant to their lives and cultural experiences. For example, the educational system has been devised largely according to Han Chinese (the dominant ethnic group in the PRC) history and cultural values and lacks minority voices and self-interpretations of history.⁴ According to scholars Yuxiang Wang and JoAnn Phillion, "few texts [in schools in Chinese minority-language regions] discuss minority experiences or concerns; none addresses struggles with poverty or economic and education inequalities".⁵

If Tibetan youth cannot participate in the system that is shaping the leaders, ideas, and policies of the nation, they will not be able to participate in its formation or affect its course of development. In direct opposition to stated Chinese Communist Party (CCP) goals, Tibetans will only become

3 2010 Qinghai Statistics, Qinghai Statistical Information Network, available at www.qhtj.gov.cn

4 Bass, Catriona. Learning to love the motherland: Educating Tibetans in China. *Journal of Moral Education*, Volume 34, Issue 4, (2005)

5 Minority Language Policy and Practice in China: The Need for Multicultural Education, *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2009), available at <http://ijme-journal.org/index.php/ijme/article/viewFile/138/312>

increasingly isolated and detached not only from their own cultural heritage, but from the dominant Chinese culture as well.

The issue of the access to education and the urban/rural divide is not new in the PRC. Ironically, one of Mao Zedong's principal aims was to decrease the gap between urban and rural areas, not simply by urbanizing rural areas, but by providing more services and equal opportunities to rural areas. However the PRC today is hardly the socialist society Mao imagined. To date the attempts to decrease the divide have not involved devoting more resources to rural areas, but have furthered urbanization by giving rural populations, many of whom are minorities, more opportunities to access urban education in urban areas.

In 1986 the Chinese government enacted the Compulsory Education Law, which mandates nine years of education for every child in the PRC. Compulsory education laws are in practice all over the world, but in enormous countries like the PRC which have large rural populations, such policies are not only difficult to implement, but tend to put added strain on rural families. Such is the case, particularly in Tibet; the population of which is 80% rural.

Rural populations face unique problems in education as they have less direct access to the teaching materials, facilities, and qualified teachers. Salaries for teachers willing to relocate to rural areas tend to be lower as well. Indeed this trend is indicative of a pattern in the whole of western China. While the booming metropolises on the East coast tend to pull the best and brightest workers, students, and staff, the isolated Tibetan plateau holds little appeal for qualified teachers and thus receives less resources and funding.

Rural schools also suffer from a chronic lack of funding and government support even though this funding and support is guaranteed under both the constitution and the law concerning compulsory education. Students are often required to bear the hidden costs of replacing equipment and basic

materials that the government is responsible for providing. In an effort to consolidate resources, the Chinese government has been merging rural schools into central schools since the late '90s. Yet the China Policy Institute recently reported that this policy has caused a dramatic decline not only in the actual number of rural primary schools (over 50%), but in rural primary school enrolment as well (almost 40%)⁶. Centralized schools exacerbate one of the biggest problems rural students already face: transportation to and from school. Rural families must bear the costs of education and loss of manual labour at home. Therefore, with centralized schools making education less accessible it is hardly shocking that the decrease in rural schools has led to a direct decrease in rural enrolment. Considered alongside the Compulsory Education Law, decreases in rural schools appear to be a counterintuitive action, one which is actually making education less accessible. Despite a slew of legislation guaranteeing the extension of education to rural areas, rural Tibetans are often placed in positions where they have little choice but to violate national laws because sending their children to school has quite literally become infeasible.

One of the Chinese government responses to this dilemma is a project implemented since 1985 to send Tibetan students to inland schools. Every year about 1,000 Tibetan secondary school students are sent outside of Tibet to study in inland schools.⁷ Tibetan students who are sent to urban areas for schooling spend years away from home and are bound to face difficulties readjusting to their home environments if and when they do return. This brain drain—the stated purpose of which is to encourage the development of the Tibetan minorities—in reality does little to build effective local leaders who can return to aid in the development of their home communities.

6 Decline of primary school in rural China: causes and consequences, China Policy Institute, 3 December 2012, available at <http://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/chinapolicyinstitute/2012/12/03/decline-of-primary-schools-in-rural-china-causes-and-consequences/>

7 Zhiyong, Zhu. *State Schooling and Ethnic Identity, The Politics of a Tibetan Neidi Secondary School in China*, Lexington Books (2007), Print.

The 1985 policy sought to better access to education through the use of preferential treatment. However because educational institutions in minority areas allow for lower entrance scores, inland Chinese students who do not score highly on entrance exams find these schools to be a viable alternative. In 2006, for example, Tibetan students protested at Lhasa University when 98 out of 100 government positions were allotted to Chinese graduates; and only two allotted to Tibetan graduates. In response to the protests the number of seats for Tibetans increased. Yet the International Campaign for Tibet reported that “students from mainland China were told at the same time that loans would be waived if they agreed to work in “western or remote areas” of the PRC, a situation which further disadvantages and marginalizes Tibetan graduates. The new education measures will make finding work even more difficult for those Tibetan university students who will be seeking employment as teachers in the Tibetan language, as they will now be left with even fewer job opportunities.”⁸ While this move is in line with government goals to develop the western regions, it does very little to build sustainable local educational infrastructure. Rather, such policies widen the urban rural divide and may ultimately encourage ethnic chauvinism; something that the Chinese Constitution speaks against.

THE STATUS OF TIBETAN LANGUAGE (BOD SKED) AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

*“We must remember that, of the five thousand languages spoken in the world, only about thirty have an original writing system. Among the latter, few have been in existence for over a thousand years, as Tibetan has.” ~ Nicolas Tournade*⁹

One of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)’s goals in the 2010-2020 Provincial Plan for Medium-term Educational Reform and Development for Qinghai involves ramping up the promotion and use of Putonghua.¹⁰ When the plan was first introduced in 2010, proposed changes prompted thousands of students to take to the streets in protest. The 2010 protests sparked a series of protests across the region and even reached as far as the National Minorities University in Beijing. These protests were the precursors to protests this year and reveal the core issues Tibetans face in regards to education. Educational issues for Tibetans in the PRC begin with—and are largely an outgrowth of—problems in bilingual education.

Bilingual education first began as an initiative to train Tibetan cadres. Given the relatively low number of bilingual speakers in the early period of the PRC, Han cadres made substantial inputs to the Tibetan language. In searching to find ways to describe party policies and ideals, they were even required to study Tibetan. However, as early as 1956 the PRC began officially promoting and popularizing the use of Putonghua. During the Cultural Revolution the Tibetan language was banned for a period of time and Tibetans suffered a brief but intense intellectual dark ages.¹¹ In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution Tibetan language had suffered immensely and at first only a few qualified teachers and writers were ready to face the task of breathing life back into the language. A generation of Tibetans had grown up and been educated yet were unable to communicate in their mother tongue.

Following the end of the Cultural Revolution, cultural renaissances began to occur all over the PRC and for a brief time in the late ‘80s it seemed that the system of bilingual education would be further developed and the use of Tibetan language would be extended in the Tibetan Autonomous

8 Protests by students against downgrading of Tibetan language spread to Beijing, International Campaign for Tibet, 22 October 2010, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/protests-students-against-downgrading-tibetan-language-spread-beijing>

9 Nicolas Tournadre, The Dynamics of Tibetan-Chinese Bilingualism: The Current Situation and Future Prospects, China perspectives [Online], 45 | January-February 2003, available at <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/231>

10 Translated by ICT, Qinghai Province Mid- to Long-Term Plan Outline for the Reform and Development of Education, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/tibetan-teachers-write-petition-support-tibetan-language-fears-students-after-detentions>

11 Bhum, Pema and Luran R. Hartley, Six Stars with a Crooked Neck, Dharamsala: Bod-Kyi-Dus-Bab (Tibet Times), 2001, pp. 87.

Region (TAR). A plan put forward in 1987 by the previous 10th Panchen Lama and Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, even received support from Party Secretary Hu Yaobang. The 1987 regulations stipulated that all junior middle [secondary] schools in the Tibet Autonomous Area (TAR) would use Tibetan by 1993—Putonghua would be introduced later, by nine years of age.¹² In 1997, the deputy secretary of the TAR Communist Party announced plans to introduce Putonghua at the primary school level, thus creating barriers to the use and development of bilingual Tibetan language education.¹³ However, these regulations were ultimately abandoned due to the precedence given to economic development in the TAR and Tibetan remained the medium of instruction for Tibetan students only at the primary school level.¹⁴ Even at this level, many subjects such as math and science are taught using Putonghua.

However, when students who do have access to bilingual education at a primary level enter into secondary schools they are underprepared and lack the language ability necessary to keep pace with classmates whose first language is Putonghua or who attended Putonghua medium primary schools. In 2010, the proposed remedy to this situation was to simply change the format of bilingual education, making Putonghua the medium of all schools and teaching Tibetan language only as a subject at all levels of education. Though the Chinese government is certainly better staffed to enact this solution instead of working to train a whole fleet of Tibetan medium language teachers in all subjects at all levels, this initiative creates unemployment among current Tibetan medium teachers and does little to properly introduce students to the materials they are expected to learn.

An article published on *China Beat* this March discusses Tibetans' high rate of illiteracy as arising from disconnects between home and school

environments.¹⁵ Students who speak Tibetan in their home environments and outside of school receive infrequent practice in Putonghua. The author goes on to suggest that the PRC's current system of bilingual education has not built upon pre-existing literacy and therefore runs the risk of turning students off to learning in general. A firm grounding in one's native language in which the primary stages of knowledge transmission and education take place in the home environment, is necessary for the successful development of secondary language skill. The 2008 Gongmeng Report, produced by a Beijing lawyers' think-tank, notes the "undermining of the Tibetan language leading to disempowerment of Tibetans," the lack of Tibetan language teachers, and states that "the importance of language for transmitting a nationality's culture goes without saying."¹⁶

While Tibetan students do have separate classes, which teach at slower paces, the current system of bilingual education is largely oriented towards improving students' Putonghua. School authorities assign major responsibility and authority on Putonghua language teachers because in bilingual schools in Tibetan areas, Tibetan does not have a role as the primary language of instruction. Since the mid-1990s, there has been an increased bolstering of Putonghua. This new trend can in part be explained by a series of measures, which were taken particularly in the field of education. These include an increase in the amount of time devoted to learning Putonghua in the curriculum, and its introduction at an earlier age (at the present time, it is taught right from the first class of primary school in the main cities).¹⁷ Tibetan-language education assumes a supplementary role closer to that of foreign-language instruction.¹⁸ In Tibetan

12 Amy Heller and Anne-Marie Blondeau, "How about the use of the Tibetan language?" in *Authenticating Tibet: Answers to China's 100 Questions*, edited by Anne-Marie Blondeau and Katia Butterfille (Berkeley: University of California Press, 20008), pp. 235.

13 Kolas, Ashild and Monika P Thowsen, *On the Margins of Tibet: Cultural Survival on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier*, University of Washington Press, 2004, Print.

14 Id.

15 Literacy and development within China's minorities, *China Beat*, 20 March 2012, available at <http://www.thechinabeat.org/?p=4195>

16 Bold report by Beijing scholars reveals breakdown of China's Tibet policy, *International Campaign for Tibet*, 1 June 2009, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/bold-report-beijing-scholars-reveals-breakdown-china%E2%80%99s-tibet-policy>

17 Nicolas Tournadre, *The Dynamics of Tibetan-Chinese Bilingualism: The Current Situation and Future Prospects*, *China perspectives* [Online], 45 | january-february 2003, 23 November 2006, available at <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/231>

18 Kwon, Christine. *Reading The SignS: Language PoLicy and change in PoST-PRc TibeT*, *Columbia East Asia Review* (2010), http://www.eastasiareview.org/issues/2010/articles/Kwon_Christine.pdf

autonomous areas in Qinghai, where the medium of instruction is Putonghua, a student needs a mere five per cent in Tibetan but 60 per cent in Putonghua to graduate to higher classes.¹⁹ That is to say, Putonghua, as the primary language of instruction, becomes the language that determines academic and professional success.

Today there are clear markers that efforts to promote Putonghua have been successful, especially in urban areas. The majority of signage in Tibet's major cities gives preference to Putonghua. Numerous Tibetan names have been replaced with Putonghua equivalents, and whether in guidebooks, brochures, or daily speech, the names of cities, rivers, lakes, forests, and mountains are almost unanimously in Putonghua. Business transactions, official documents, court proceedings, and schools operate in Putonghua as well. Today, the overwhelming majority of government officials appointed to the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR)—even those who are Tibetan—do not speak

Whereas few Tibetans in central Tibet spoke Putonghua prior to 1949, Putonghua has gained a status similar to that which English holds in many countries today. Its absolute supremacy almost delegitimizes or makes irrelevant the use of other languages in business, trade, and official interactions. As minorities in the PRC, Tibetans therefore face the difficult task of continuing to find not only economic usefulness in their own unique language, but personal and social usefulness as well.

While there is a noteworthy expansion of Tibetan music, recordings, Tibetan language newspapers, TV channels, translations, dictionaries, books, type-fonts, and soap operas, these accomplishments are overshadowed by the economic juggernaut of Putonghua.²⁰ Segments of the population who cannot speak Putonghua will come up

against obvious difficulties finding employment in a national system dominated by the use of Putonghua. For instance, anyone interested in jobs in government, business, or education, for example, must have level two or three Putonghua as according to a standard language proficiency test.²¹

In theory, the Chinese government's system of bilingual education should be diminishing Tibetans' barriers to educational and economic development in a national system dominated by Putonghua. The two-language system should be mitigating the problems faced by Tibetan language speakers and aid in the use and development of the Tibetan language.

Indeed minority languages are protected under the PRC's Constitution and the law on Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities. Article 4 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China states that: "The people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs."²² Yet before attempting to mobilize these documents in defensive of Tibetan language, it is worth noting that these same documents also openly promote the use and propagation of Putonghua as the national language. Article 19 of the Constitution, which outlines the state's role in the development of "socialist educational undertakings", states that "The state promotes the nationwide use of Putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation)."²³

Even the law on Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities holds such dualistic wording. Article 7 begins by stating that "Organs of self-government of autonomous areas determine the educational plan, the establishment of schools, school system, the forms by which schools are run, curricula, language of teaching and method of enrolment, in

19 TIBETAN PURSUIT OF FREEDOM: A Letter from the Land of Snows, TCHRD, 13 December 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=330:tibetan-pursuit-of-freedom-a-letter-from-the-land-of-snows&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

20 Regional Autonomy for Ethnic Minorities in China (2005), available at http://english.gov.cn/official/2005-07/28/content_18127.htm

21 China Language Law Language Policy, Lilama Network, available at <http://www.lilama.org/uploads/documents/China%20Language%20Law%20-%20China.pdf>

22 CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, available at http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/node_2825.htm

23 Id.

accordance with principles concerning education and legal provisions of the state,” but concludes with the following sentence “Chinese language courses shall be offered at different times of the primary school period depending on the particular situation, to propagate the use of Putonghua (standard Chinese).”²⁴

Indeed for every law or clause so often quoted in support of Tibetan language or bilingual education, a parallel clause or law can be found that puts bilingualism on the back burner in favour of Putonghua. In 1995 and again in 2001²⁵, educational laws were passed that promoted the development and widespread use of Putonghua. Article 12 of The Education Law of the People’s Republic of China, adopted in 1995 reads as follows: “The Chinese language, both oral and written, shall be the basic oral and written language for education in schools and other educational institutions. Schools or other educational institutions which mainly consist of students from minority nationalities may use in education the language of the respective nationality or the native language commonly adopted in that region. Schools and other educational institutions shall in their educational activities popularize the nationally common spoken Chinese and the standard written characters.”²⁶

Through these laws and their implementation, the Chinese government has repeatedly reiterated its stance that the national promotion of Putonghua is a prerequisite for growth and development. For a government that equates Putonghua with development and has taken it upon itself the task to “[give] financial, material and technical assistance to the minority nationalities to accelerate their economic and cultural development,”²⁷ it is hardly surprising that the primary goal of bilingual education appears to be improving students’ Putonghua.

When a council of human rights experts from the United Nations issued an appeal to the Chinese authorities urging them to address the increased restriction of the Tibetan language in 2010, the Chinese government responded by stating that “China’s Constitution, the Law on Regional National Autonomy, the Education Law and the Law on the National Language and its Writing all contain clear provisions with regard to the teaching of written and spoken language. The Chinese Constitution clearly stipulates that the language in common use throughout the country shall be popularized; this is done because of the existence of many ethnic and local languages, just as it is done in countries with numerous ethnic groups the world over.”²⁸ In regards to the 2010-2020 Provincial Plan for Medium-term Educational Reform which was the source of student protests in 2010 and again this year, the government defended moves to promote Putonghua over Tibetan, clearly stating that, “in future, bilingual education in Qinghai would emphasize the language in common use throughout the country while providing education in ethnic minority languages, so that minority students would be proficient in their knowledge and use of both the language in common use in the country and their own minority language. This is consistent with national legislation and necessary for the growth and development of minority students.”²⁹

Understanding the importance given to the promotion of national Putonghua is a prerequisite for interpreting both the format of bilingual education in the PRC and the ways in which subsequent, relevant education legislation has affected the development of the Tibetan language. The current and future format of bilingual education for Tibetans, as well as the use and development of the Tibetan language exist within the parameters of primary goal of promoting Putonghua. This goal is clearly stated and the question today is not how to amend the goal itself,

24 See supra note 22

25 Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, available at http://english.gov.cn/laws/2005-09/19/content_64906.htm

26 Education Law of the People’s Republic of China, available at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/education/184669.htm>

27 See supra note 24

28 Tibetan Language: UN Human Rights Experts’ Urgent Intervention with China, International Campaign for Tibet, 25 May 2011, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/tibetan-language-un-human-rights-experts%E2%80%99-urgent-intervention-china>

29 Id.

but how to amend the paths adopted to reach it. There is certainly a pressing need for intercultural communication and common national, even global languages, in the world today. However, whether through their enforcement or lack thereof, many of the policies passed to encourage the use of Tibetan language have actually had an adverse affect on the development of Tibetan language, as they conflict with national programs, namely the promotion of Putonghua.

For example, efforts to enact a bilingual system are handicapped by legislation such as the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language, article 27 of which declares that "Anyone who, in violation of this Law, interferes with other persons' learning and using of the standard spoken and written Chinese language shall be ordered by the relevant administrative departments to put it right within a time limit and be given a disciplinary warning." There is thus a thin line between what can be considered promotion and support of a multilingual system, and what can be interpreted as a direct violation of national laws.

Though there are barriers of implementation, personal interest, and discrimination, there are no theoretical barriers preventing the co-existence of Putonghua and Tibetan. Perhaps the most pressing and insidious force contributing to the decline of Tibetan language today is that as Tibetan language loses ground to Putonghua in daily life, many Tibetans are simply finding it useless. However, the societal failing to impart the importance of language to the youths of today is not a Tibetan problem alone. Courses in Tibetan language are not made available to non-Tibetan students, even in schools within the TAR, where legislation has supposedly placed Tibetan on equal footing with Putonghua.³⁰

While it would be folly to assume that all Tibetans

in the PRC support bilingual education, it is certainly disconcerting that even fewer first language Putonghua speakers seem to support bilingual education. Like many parents in today's globalizing world, Tibetan parents are torn between concerns of economic security and cultural heritage. On the other hand, restrictions, structural inequity, and all other contributing factors aside, there are many youths, Tibetan and Chinese alike who do not find value in learning the Tibetan language, or in teaching it to their children. Very real losses are accruing from lack of cultural appreciation for Tibetan language. The renaissance of Tibetan language education is one that must happen at every level of society; from merchants to mothers, to researchers and reporters abroad. Tibetan language is not in danger of being lost, per se, but it is in grave danger of not being lived. Concerned parties today have the enormous responsibility of providing outlets for people to live in the world in the Tibetan language. Movements like Lhakar inside Tibet are truly important in this regard that they create momentum and pride for culture and language through day-to-day activities, which affect social patterns and practices. Yet, if Tibetan is to be claimed as a national language of the PRC, public interest in its development should be addressed at all levels and across ethnic boundaries.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Considering the inherent contradictions that are present within Chinese law alone, bringing international accords into any debate on language rights and education within the PRC is rather difficult. As most international laws and agreements put forward by bodies such as the UN have no enforcement mechanisms, their influence is largely derived from soft power and the ability to create normative changes. While signatories certainly have a moral obligation to uphold international accords, the power of international law rests on said normative changes that will occur from the ground up. In particular, there is a deep and general, global societal undervaluing of language that must be addressed before documents such as the Universal

³⁰ Law Passed to Protect Tibetan Language (05/23/02), Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in San Francisco, 24 December 2003, available at <http://www.chinaconsulatesf.org/eng/zhuanti/xz/t56928.htm>

Declaration of Linguistic Rights³¹ are able to attain the global acceptance and influence that discourses such as common human rights are only now accruing. Normative changes happen slowly, but are the necessary precursors to substantial political shifts. It is a deep global societal problem that we generally tend to undervalue the importance of language. Language acquisition and study today are largely fuelled by economic concerns. Global literacy has increased, but aggregate funding to the arts and humanities has remained minimal. We do not teach our children to value language in schools and linguistics is nowhere near as popular a degree as accounting. International law can only enter into this global discussion on language rights, when a global discussion of language itself begins. This discussion is the responsibility of every society, community, and individual on earth today.

GRASSROOTS LANGUAGE INITIATIVES

There have been substantial grassroots movements to develop and promote Tibetan by setting up private schools and local organizations. These initiatives include schools founded by local Tibetans, mostly monks, who organize classes on Tibetan language, history, culture, etc., for local children especially during winter vacations. However, acting under laws which restrict the action of non-government approved NGOs, authorities have shut down many of these local initiatives or arrested their founders and members on charges of engaging in “splittist” activities. This reaction towards Tibetan language instruction arises from its association with “separatism.”³² Indeed even today, merely talking about Tibetan language education could get one into political trouble.³³

In October 2012, a well-known Tibetan monk and educator Jinpa Gyatso, founder of Bhoe Amay Rangkey Larso, an organization dedicated to revival and promotion of Tibetan language in Machu (Ch: Maqu) County was secretly detained while he was on his way to Chengdu.³⁴ Since his detention, he has not been heard or seen. In August 2012, Sonam Gyatso, a monk and a traditional medical practitioner fled into exile after Phakey Dhodam Tsogchung (Eng: Society for the Preservation and Promotion of Tibetan Language), the grassroots organization he founded in Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County was forcibly closed and its founding members were subjected to detention and interrogations.³⁵ In April 2012, Chinese authorities in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) County closed down Khadrok Jamtse Rokten School, a locally-founded Tibetan school that had offered classes in Tibetan language and culture for the last 20 years at Khadrok in Kardze County and arrested the school's director and a teacher.³⁶ In March 2012, Khenpo Gyewala, a highly-revered abbot and respected scholar at Gyegyel Zogchen Monastery was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and the school he founded, Monsel School, to offer classes in Tibetan language, Buddhism and cultural values was closed.³⁷

Owing to the continued devaluation of Tibetan language, over 90 Tibetologists from all over the world issued an open petition to the newly-appointed Chinese President Xi Jinping urging him to find a peaceful solution to the crisis that obstructs the promotion and development of Tibetan language and culture. The petition is as follows:

31 Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights, World Conference on Linguistic Rights, Barcelona (Spain), 9 June 1996, available at http://www.unesco.org/pv_obj_cache/pv_obj_id_64A2F5B271ADB276B4B9BF514A1E84ACA9A60000/filename/linguistic.pdf

32 Tsering Topgyal, *The Securitisation of Tibetan Buddhism in Communist China, Politics and Religion in Contemporary China*, No 2/2012 Vol. VI, available at http://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/images/pdf_files/engleski/volume6_no2/topgyal.pdf

33 Woesser, 'Abolishing Tibetan Language Education for the Sake of "Maintaining Stability"', *High Peaks, Pure Earth*, 13/06/2012; available at <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2012/abolishing-tibetan-language-education-for-the-sake-of-maintaining-stabilityby-woeser/>

34 Tibetan monk and educator arrested, journal banned, TCHRD, 1 November 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=305:tibetan-monk-and-educator-arrested-journal-banned-&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

35 NGO's forcible closure drives founder into exile, TCHRD, 27 August 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=278:ngos-forcible-closure-drives-founder-into-exile&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

36 Tibetan School Forcibly Closed, Teachers Arrested, TCHRD, 19 April 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=211:tibetan-school-forcibly-closed-teachers-arrested&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

37 Abbot 'Disappeared', Sister Dies Amid Widening Crackdown in Zatoe, TCHRD, 21 March 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=186:abbot-disappeared-sister-dies-amid-widening-crackdown-in-zatoe&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

AN APPEAL TO VICE-PRESIDENT XI JINPING FROM THE INTERNATIONAL TIBETAN STUDIES COMMUNITY³⁸

Dear Mr Vice-President,

As you will be assuming your new role as President of the People's Republic of China in March 2013, the scientific community of Tibetologists would like to express to you its deep concern about the state of the Tibetan language in the Tibet Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan autonomous prefectures in neighbouring provinces.

We know that many schools have been established in Tibetan areas over the last several decades, and we are delighted at that development. We also appreciate the benefits that schoolchildren can have from being educated in their own language.

However, over the last several years, the authorities have been trying to institute new measures that eliminate or severely restrict the use of Tibetan as the language of instruction in Tibetan-speaking areas, such as the replacement of Tibetan by Chinese as the medium of education (announced in Qinghai in 2010) and the replacement of textbooks written in Tibetan by Chinese textbooks —as was seen in Rebkong in March 2012. These developments have taken place despite the fact that worldwide research on this topic as well as official Chinese statistics have shown that students perform better when they are studying scientific subjects in their own language.

This policy has already been active in the Tibet Autonomous Region for several years and has led to well-known results: students destined for senior positions in the public or private sectors now have only a superficial knowledge of their own language and civilization.

The Tibetan people of Qinghai have repeatedly,

through peaceful demonstrations by citizens, and through petitions and letters, expressed their opposition to the new language policy, which is officially designated the "Qinghai Province Mid- and Long-Term Plan for Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020)." They have made known their strong desire to preserve their language as the medium of instruction and communication in their schools, which does not mean in any sense that they are not willing to learn Chinese. They generally acknowledge the economic and cultural significance of the Chinese language. Such requests are consistent with the Chinese Constitution which specifies in Article 4 that all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs. Moreover, according to the decree of 2002, in the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Tibetan language has the status of an official language in China, though that status does not always seem to be reflected in practice.

Dozens of Tibetans of all ages, men and women, religious and lay, have committed acts of self-immolation over the last few years. Several of them have shouted slogans demanding respect for the language and culture of Tibet.

As specialists in the areas of Tibetan language, culture and religion, we would like to share with you, through this letter, our own concerns about the various measures that jeopardize the continuing viability of this civilization, a civilization that is one of the treasures of humanity and for which the Chinese government has clearly stated its responsibility. We would like to remind you that in China the Tibetan language is, after Chinese, one of oldest continually-used languages, and has also contributed to the understanding and reconstruction of the ancient Sino-Tibetan family, a family that, like Indo-European, contains many hundreds of languages.

Our work has led us to pursue our professional and intellectual lives within the structures of universities and institution of higher education. We know the value of Tibet's civilization and we regret that the

³⁸ An Online Plea to China's Leader to Save Tibet's Culture, New York Times, 14 December 2012, available at <http://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/14/an-online-plea-to-chinas-leader-to-save-tibets-culture/>

Tibetan language, which is its fundamental support, is seemingly marginalized and devalued in the TAR and in various other Tibetan autonomous administrative units at the same time that it is increasingly being taught and studied in universities around the world. The responses of the authorities to the demands of Tibetans who are naturally worried about the disappearance of their culture have not assuaged their deep concerns about the situation.

This is why, at the time when new leadership is taking control of the country, we address you collectively with the hope that you will be sympathetic to the aspirations of Tibetan citizens of China; that you will work with them to find peaceful solutions to this crisis that will allow for the promotion and development of Tibet's language and culture. There is no reason why the Tibetan language and culture cannot coexist peacefully with the Chinese language and culture through the application of the principles expressed in the successive constitutions of the People's Republic of China, which is constituted as a multicultural state.

CONCLUSION

Positive changes in access to education, bilingual education, and eliminating discrimination for Tibetans in the PRC do not require fundamental ideological shifts. Language is an issue that reaches far and beyond politics. Language is the lifeblood of human cultures and is at the heart and centre of issues of education. Not only is language our most basic form of cultural education, it is laden with history, and unique perspectives and interpretations of the world. It is our greatest accomplishment and defining characteristic. When we lose language we lose thousands of years of human history, the ability to express ourselves, and to the ability to understand the forces that created and shaped us.

What remain inadequately enacted today are not only legal frameworks, but also human initiatives. Activists and foreign media in particular, must take responsibility for popularizing issues of

Tibetan language (local dialects included) and for demonstrating the context of its global significance. The deep value of the Tibetan language does not only arise from its indispensability in the field of Buddhism—much of the canon has been centralized in Tibetan. Nor does the value of Tibetan language come primarily from its historical significance in both Asia and the world at large. Rather, the most immediate issue at hand is that the Tibetan language is relevant in the daily lives of millions of people at this very moment. One need not look far to see that when people lose language, they lose more than words. There are millions of people right now, who are losing the ability to communicate with their relatives, their pasts, and their culture. Before dress, dance, practice, custom, and even before religion, language is singularly the most important aspect for the transmission of culture between generations. More troubling than any concern for religion or history is the loss of the societies for whom this religion and culture are realities of daily life.

The situation of language in Tibet is not an isolated matter. It is a wakeup call to the world to reassess the value we give to language. If this call remains unheeded it is not only Tibetans or Chinese who will suffer a loss of expression, but humanity as a whole will have sacrificed part of our tongue by forsaking the chance to speak. Indeed what good is the freedom of speech when we who have this power in theory cannot even use language for the simple task of defending the existence of language itself?

There is no issue to be had with the existence of a monolingual world and global culture if and only if every language and culture has been given the same ability to influence and contribute to the development of the greater whole. Similarly, there is little fault in Mao's dream that the world would eventually move beyond national boundaries and distinctions of class, ethnicity and language. Yet diversity stems not from denying difference, but from embracing it. The question today is not whether the world should be one, but how it will become one. Many unique cultures and languages

are being lost today, not because people have chosen to leave them behind, but because they have been forced to. The most important question today is whether we as members of the human race will passively accept a unity born of violence, linguistic destruction, and cultural conquest, or whether we will work to conscientiously construct a global unity based on respect, mutual understanding, and concern for our fellow beings. This unity is the responsibility of all and the first brick in its foundation is language. The sooner we as people decide to make greater efforts to understand the intricacies and importance of language, the sooner we will realize common patterns in our global cultures. Yet this full realization cannot come to us unless we are able to understand ideas in more than one language, or at least understand the absolute importance of linguistic plurality. After thousands of years of human history we may be surprised to find that our experiences and ideas are not so disparate after all. We may be surprised to find that Buddhism and communism, Christianity and Hinduism, democracy and socialism, all share similar theories. Perhaps we just explain them differently.

TORTURE

We were tortured every day in the jail ... sometimes hung from the ceilings, with our hands and legs tied together... They never fed us regularly. But when they did, they mixed sand in our tsampa [roasted barley flour], which induced thirst, and many of us were forced to drink our own urine.¹

~ Former political prisoner of
Chushur Prison, Lhasa

In May 2012, a Tibetan monk from Nyagrong Monastery died in detention after he was beaten and tortured by the prison authorities while they attempted to force a confession from him.² Karwang, 36, had been arbitrarily detained after posters calling for freedom appeared on the walls of Chinese government buildings in Nyagrong (Ch: Xinlong) County, Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. Karwang's body was returned to his family but the authorities never proved that Karwang was responsible for pasting the leaflets.³

A monk from Kirti Monastery, Lobsang Khedup, 39, was released in January 2012 from Mianyang Prison after serving about six months of his three-

year sentence.⁴ The lower part of his body is paralysed due to torture and beatings he received from prison guards. In addition to his paralysis, Lobsang can barely speak. His release from detention stems from the fact that he has minimal chances of recovery from these injuries, and more importantly, the Chinese authorities did not want another case of death in detention caused by torture to ruin the carefully cultivated image of a 'harmonious, rising' China.

But Tibetan political prisoners continue to succumb to the injuries they suffer at the hands of their prison guards. On 27 December 2011, a lay Tibetan, Norlha Ashagtsang, 49, died in a hospital in Lhasa months after he was released on medical parole.⁵ He had barely finished two years of his six-year sentence when he and his friend Gonpo Dhargyal (both were detained on 27 June 2009 for holding non-violent demonstration against Chinese repression) – were released for medical treatment in 2011. In January 2012, Gonpo was believed to be undergoing treatment for paraplegia or paralysis of the lower part of the body.

Lobsang Tenzin, former Tibet University student and the longest known serving Tibetan political prisoner suffers from multiple health complications in an apparent lack of medical attention.⁶ He has diabetes, which has weakened his eyesight, even causing momentary blindness. As a result of

1 Radio Free Asia, Torture Rampant at Chushur, 21 December 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/torture-12212012151636.html>

2 TCHRD, Tibetan monk tortured, dies in custody, Date, http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=244:tibetan-monk-tortured-dies-in-custody&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

3 Tibetan Monk Dies in Jail, Radio Free Asia, 13 June 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/jail-06132012151826.html>

4 TCHRD, Tibetan prisoner paralysed after severe torture, released, 24 January 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=30738&t=1>

5 Voice of America, Tibetan political prisoner succumbs to the effects of Chinese torture, 10 January 2012, available at <http://www.voatibetanenglish.com/content/tibetan-political-prisoner-succumbs-to-the-effects-of-chinese-torture-137114098/1267109.html>

6 TCHRD, Longest Serving Tibetan Prisoner in Serious Health Condition, 31 August 2012, available at

kidney damage, Lobsang suffers from numbness and extreme difficulty in standing. Originally sentenced to death, in 1991 due to international pressure, his sentence was commuted to life; later, his sentence was commuted to 18 years in prison. Despite hopes of his release this year, he still remains in Chushur prison in Lhasa. In 1991, prison guards caught him handing a letter containing the names of tortured Tibetan political prisoners and details of torture methods used in the prison to the visiting U.S. Ambassador to China James Lilley. For this audacious attempt to expose the secret world of Chinese torturers, Lobsang was brutally beaten and kept in solitary confinement for weeks.

The torture methods used by the Chinese prison authorities are so brutal that it could break the will of many to continue living. Yonten Gyatso, 37, a respected senior monk from Khashi Gyephel Samtenling Monastery in Ngaba County contemplated taking his own life on many occasions while he was tortured by local State Secrets Bureau officers at a detention centre in Chengdu.⁷ On 18 June 2012, after about eight months in secret detention, Gyatso was sentenced to seven years for sharing information about protests in Tibet.

The prevalence of Tibetans tortured inside Chinese prisons is so well known and feared that on 29 March 2012, Gonpo Rinzin, 25, killed himself rather than face Chinese prison.⁸ When Paramilitary Security Bureau officers were en route to Gonpo's home, he declared, before stabbing himself, "it is better to kill myself than be arrested by the Chinese." Gonpo had participated in a protest that broke out in Drango (Ch: Luhuo) County which was violently suppressed by the security forces who employed the practice of indiscriminate shooting.⁹

7 AFP, Tibetan monk tortured and imprisoned: rights group, 23 August 2012, available at http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jF1kjhBZ_9737WvX5Dmx34_5GjvA?docId=CN G.cc6d03c0c825480ba7f1e94d3cf36861.8e1 Also see TCHRD, Senior monk sentenced to 7 years for sharing information, 21 August 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=274

8 Fear of Chinese prison drives Tibetan to suicide, Free Tibet Campaign, 10 May 2012, available at <http://www.freetibet.org/news-media/pr/fear-chinese-prison-drives-tibetan-suicide>

9 International Campaign for Tibet, Three Tibetans shot dead on first day of Chinese New Year, 23 January 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/three-tibetans-shot-dead-first-day-chinese-new-year>

The connection between arbitrary arrests and torture is undeniable. Even China's representative to the United Nations has admitted that "[e]xtended detention is the hotbed of torture."¹⁰ The Tibetan situation is no different, with a majority of the extrajudicial detentions leading to torture. Despite the comprehensive distaste against torture in the international community, the practice is widespread. Torture is abhorred due to its extreme consequences, both mentally and physically. All human beings should be treated with dignity, even those accused and convicted of crimes. Human dignity is universal, and should be treated as such. Governments have an obligation to abide by these principles. The treatment of incarcerated Tibetans by the Chinese government arises to the level of torture as defined by international law. This section will analyze both international law and Chinese domestic law to prove this point.

In order for torture to be curbed in Tibet, there needs to be more accountability in the People's Republic of China (PRC). In other words, there must be more oversight, more complaint mechanisms, and more protection against victims and those who complain and speak out against the Chinese authorities. Without any accountability mechanisms, torture in Tibet by the Chinese government will continue.

I INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

The international community takes a strong stance against torture. The prohibition on torture "forms part of customary international law, which means that it is binding on every member of the international community, regardless of whether a State has ratified international treaties in which torture is expressly prohibited. The systematic or widespread practice of torture constitutes a crime against humanity."¹¹ Falling in line with these principles, there are numerous international treaties and conventions that outlaw torture. Both the

10 Introductory Statement by H.E. Ambassador Li Baodong, Head of Chinese Delegation, at the consideration of the Committee Against Torture on China's 4th and 5th Periodic Reports

11 UN Torture Fact Sheet, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FactSheet4rev.1en.pdf>

UDHR and the ICCPR have clear proscriptions against torture. Article 5 of the UDHR and article 7 of the ICCPR state: “[n]o one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”¹² Following this line of thought, the international community came together and created the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Convention Against Torture). China signed the Convention Against Torture in 1986 and officially ratified the convention into law in 1988. China, however, signed the convention with reservations against article 20, which will be discussed in further detail below.

The Convention Against Torture defines torture as:

Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of 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.¹³

The Convention Against Torture thus decrees that both physical and mental suffering can rise to the level of torture. The complacency of a state actor is also an integral portion of the definition. The Convention Against Torture also sets up standards for what procedures must be available to victims of torture. Article 13 states: “[e]ach State Party shall ensure that any individual who alleges he has been subjected to torture in any territory under its jurisdiction has the right to complain to, and to have his case promptly and impartially examined by, its competent authorities.”¹⁴ In addition to the

existence of a complaint mechanism, measures “shall be taken to ensure that the complainant and witnesses are protected against all ill-treatment or intimidation as a consequence of his complaint or any evidence given.”¹⁵ Therefore, State signatories are not only responsible for allowing alleged victims of torture appropriate avenues to voice their complaints, they are responsible for protecting the victims from any ill effects their complaints may generate.

State Parties to the Convention also have an obligation to prevent acts of torture in their jurisdictions. Article 2 states that a “State Party shall take effective legislative, administrative, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture in any territory under its jurisdiction.”¹⁶ The Convention goes even further, obliging State Parties to prevent questionable behavior by state actors, although perhaps not arising to the level of torture as defined by the Convention in article 1. Article 16 states: “Each State Party shall undertake to prevent in any territory under its jurisdiction other acts of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment which do not amount to torture as defined in article 1.”¹⁷ Articles 2 and 16 thus create an obligation on China to work towards the prevention of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. However, as will be evident, torture still remains prevalent in China, especially in Tibet. Because of this, China must take more proactive measures to eradicate and prevent torture in its jurisdiction.

In the Convention Against Torture, torture is universally prohibited. There are no circumstances that rationalize the existence of torture. Article 2, paragraph 2 states: “[n]o exceptional circumstances whatsoever, whether a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency, may be invoked as a justification of torture.”¹⁸ Additionally, the ICCPR reiterates the universal ban and states that there is no ignoring the prohibition on torture articulated in article

12 UDHR and ICCPR

13 Convention Against Torture, article 1.

14 Convention Against Torture, article 13.

15 Id.

16 Convention Against Torture, article 6

17 Convention Against Torture, article 16, paragraph 1.

18 Convention Against Torture, article 2, paragraph 2

7, not even in times of public emergency.¹⁹ This universal prohibition is important in the context of Tibet. The Tibetan cause is seen by the Chinese government as an insurgency against the Chinese State. Many Tibetans are alleged by the Chinese to have partaken in crimes against the State, and are accused of “splittist” and “subversive” activities. Although the Chinese perspective may be one of separatism and political instability, that mindset does not justify the use of torture.

THE COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE

In addition to defining torture, some basic procedural guarantees to victims of torture, and obliging State Parties to prevent torture, the Convention Against Torture, in article 17, creates the Committee Against Torture (CAT). The CAT is responsible for ensuring the overall implementation of the rights granted by the convention. State parties are required to report to the CAT every four years “on any new measures taken and such other reports as the Committee may request.”²⁰ The CAT meets bi-annually, for four-week sessions, usually in May and November. Currently, there is no future committee session scheduled to address China’s treaty obligations.²¹ The last such session occurred in November of 2008. During these sessions, the committee considers the reports of a handful of state parties, and then makes concluding observations voicing the committee’s concerns and recommendations to the reporting party.

Under article 20 of the Convention Against Torture, the CAT has authority to investigate allegations of torture, however, “[t]he Chinese Government does not recognize the competence of the Committee against Torture as provided for in article 20 of the Convention.”²² By taking a reservation to article 20 of the Convention, the Chinese government has excluded the legal effect of that provision, and thus does not allow the Committee to investigate

the existence of torture.²³ By taking a reservation to this section, China shows to the international community a lack of accountability, thus showing irresponsibility as an international power.

Despite the inability of the Committee to investigate the situation in the PRC, it still has the ability to write its periodic reports. During its last such report on the PRC in November 2008, the Committee remained “deeply concerned about the continued allegations . . . of routine and widespread use of torture and ill-treatment of suspects in police custody, especially to extract confessions or information to be used in criminal proceedings.”²⁴ Further, the “Committee is greatly concerned by the allegations of targeted torture, ill-treatment, and disappearances directed against national, ethnic, religious minorities and other vulnerable groups in China, among them Tibetans, Uighurs, and Falun Gong practitioners.”²⁵

The Committee recognizes that torture is still very much institutionalized in China. The Committee “remains concerned about reports of abuses in custody, including the high number of deaths, possibly related to torture or ill-treatment, and about the lack of investigation into these abuses and deaths in custody.”²⁶ The lack of investigation shows the *laissez faire* attitude that Chinese officials of both the government party and security forces have towards torture, including the “lack of legal safeguards for detainees” and the “lack of an effective independent monitoring mechanism on the situation of detainees.”²⁷ The Committee articulates that China should ensure “that any body established, at the local or the national level, has a strong and impartial mandate and adequate resources.”²⁸ If China were to take the eradication of torture seriously, it could easily create independent and impartial monitoring mechanisms to investigate the widespread allegations of custodial torture. The

19 ICCPR, article 4.

20 Convention Against Torture, article 19.

21 <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/sessions.htm>

22 Available at http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mdsg_no=IV-9&chapter=4&lang=en

23 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, Article 2 Sec. 1(d)

24 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008

25 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008

26 Id.

27 Id.

28 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008

lack of effective investigation and independent monitoring mechanisms is a serious problem that the Chinese government is refusing to address.

The problem is so rampant, that the Chinese domestic law does not even have a definition for torture. In the November 2008 session, the CAT was critical of China's inability to, as previously recommended, incorporate a definition of torture in Chinese domestic law that complies with the definition decreed by the Convention.²⁹ Mainly, the "Committee is concerned that the [domestic law] provisions relating to torture refer only to physical abuse and do not include the infliction of severe mental pain or suffering."³⁰ China must define torture in line with the Convention by including the infliction of mental pain or suffering in order to comply with their signatory obligations. Such an inclusion would also help Chinese security forces to abide fully by international law dictated by the Convention. Without a proper definition, these security forces are given free reign to circumvent international law.

Since the torture situation remains prevalent in China without any proper enforcement procedures or oversight, Chinese authorities continue carry out torture in violation of international and domestic law. Because China has consistently ignored the Committee's recommendations, there is little optimism for the eradication of torture in China.

The United Nations Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials (the "Principles") and the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (the "Code").

One of the elements of torture as defined in the Convention Against Torture is the presence of a state actor. The military, police, and other security forces fall into this category, and thus represent the state in their behavioural functions. The United Nations published certain minimum

standards that highlight the proper role that security forces play in society. Although China is not bound by these standards, they offer important interpretation of what level of force is appropriate for an authority figure to use in the execution of their profession. Additionally, they show the international community's concern with the level of care in custodial treatment. Two such documents are the United Nations Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials (the "Principles") and the United Nations Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (the "Code").

Security forces should be charged with protecting the basic human rights enumerated by international law and standards. In summation, these two documents are reminders that "the use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials should be commensurate with due respect for human rights..." and that "consideration be given to the role of law enforcement officials in relation to the administration of justice, to the protection of the right to life, liberty and security of the person, to their responsibility to maintain public safety and social peace and to the importance of their qualifications, training and conduct."³¹ For instance, article 3 of the Code requires that "[l]aw enforcement officials may use force only when strictly necessary and to the extent required for the performance of their duty."³² The comment accompanying article 3 of the Code states that: "the use of force by law enforcement officials should be exceptional; while it implies that law enforcement officials may be authorized to use force as is reasonably necessary under the circumstances for the prevention of crime or in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders, no force going beyond that may be used."

The force used by Chinese security forces goes beyond mere assistance in lawful arrests. Despite domestic laws to the contrary, the use of torture

29 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008

30 Id.

31 Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/firearms.htm>

32 Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/codeofconduct.htm>

to extract confessions is used extensively during interrogations in Tibet. Jigme Guri aka Labrang Jigme, a respected Tibetan monk scholar, was arbitrarily detained for the fourth time on 20 August 2011. Jigme had previously spoken out about the “racist treatment and torture” he suffered in Chinese police custody.³³ In August 2012, reports emerged on Jigme Guri’s worsening health condition and medical treatment he was receiving at a hospital in Lanzhou city as the Chinese authorities denied two Chinese lawyers from defending his case.³⁴ There are fears for the life of another Tibetan monk, Jigme Gyatso aka Golog Jigme, 43, who ‘disappeared’ in September 2012.³⁵ Jigme Gyatso had earlier been harassed and detained twice for assisting Dhondup Wangchen³⁶ in making the documentary “Leaving Fear Behind” (Tib: Jigdrel). According to the Beijing-based Tibetan writer Woesser who last met him in 2011, Gyatso “suffered from cruel torture, leaving him with a broken body.”³⁷ During his first detention in March 2008, he was beaten several times and hanged from the ceiling for many hours with his hands and legs tied behind his back.³⁸ Further, electric batons were also thrust into his mouth and eyes, and he was deprived of food and sleep.³⁹ On 27 November 2012, the Public Security Bureau of Gansu Province officially called for the arrest of Gyatso through text messages alleging that he was “suspected of voluntary manslaughter.” This has raised further concerns among his friends and relatives that the authorities were attempting to sully his reputation

as a respected cultural advocate and activist while withholding information about his suspected detention.⁴⁰ Days before his ‘disappearance’, local Chinese authorities were making inquiries about Golog Jigme in his hometown of Ragcham village in Sertha (Ch: Seda) County.⁴¹

The use of force by Chinese officials against Tibetans goes beyond the use that the international community has interpreted as appropriate. The Code itself forbids the use of torture by law enforcement. Article 5 of the Code states: [n]o law enforcement official may inflict, instigate or tolerate any act of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”⁴² Article 5 reiterates international norms prohibiting any justification of torture by stating law enforcement authorities cannot “invoke superior orders or exceptional circumstances such as a state of war or a threat of war, a threat to national security, internal political instability or any other public emergency as a justification of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”⁴³

Furthermore, in October 2011, the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment called for a worldwide ban on the practice of prolonged solitary confinement, particularly in the context of the “war on terror” and “threats to national security”.⁴⁴

China Should Adopt the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT) and as such, Recognize the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Torture

33 Tibetan scholar monk who gave torture testimony detained for fourth time, International Campaign for Tibet, 2 September 2011, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/tibetan-scholar-monk-who-gave-torture-testimony-detained-fourth-time>

34 Chinese lawyers blocked from acting for Labrang Jigme; fears for scholar monk’s health, International Campaign for Tibet, 15 August 2012, available at <http://savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/chinese-lawyers-blocked-acting-labrang-jigme-fears-scholar-monks-health>

35 Assistant Filmmaker of “Leaving Fear Behind”, Jigme Gyatso, Missing, Filming for Tibet, 4 October 2012, available at <http://www.filmingfortibet.org/2012/10/04/assistant-filmmaker-of-leaving-fear-behind-jigme-gyatso-missing/>

36 Dhondup Wangchen, Filming for Tibet, available at <http://www.leavingfearbehind.com/dhondup-wangchen/>

37 “Remembering the Missing Monk Golog Jigme”, High Peaks Pure Earth, 11 October 2012, available at <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2012/remembering-the-missing-monk-golog-jigme-by-woesser/>

38 Tibetan Filmmaker Held, Radio Free Asia, 5 November 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/held-11052012125504.html>

39 Id.

40 Filming for Tibet Contests the Official Arrest Order for Jigme Gyatso, Missing Since September 2012, Filming for Tibet, 30 November 2012, available at <http://www.filmingfortibet.org/2012/11/30/filming-for-tibet-contests-the-official-arrest-order-for-jigme-gyatso-missing-since-september-2012/>

41 Tibetan Filmmaker Held, *supra* note 37

42 Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials, Article 5

43 Id.

44 SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON TORTURE TELLS THIRD COMMITTEE USE OF PROLONGED SOLITARY CONFINEMENT ON RISE, CALLS FOR GLOBAL BAN ON PRACTICE, Sixty-sixth General Assembly, Third Committee, 21st & 22nd Meetings (AM & PM), GA/SHC/4014

China, given its long history of torture of persons deprived of their liberties, needs more effective oversight. This oversight is present in the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Torture, and the formation of national preventative mechanisms that would result from signing the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT).⁴⁵ Signing the Optional Protocol would show a commitment by China to eradicate the enshrined and prevalent torture in places of custody. By allowing unrestricted access by the international community to Chinese prisons and other places of incarceration, it shows a willingness to move towards protecting the incarcerated against illegal custodial treatment. In addition, being a State Party to OPCAT would set up more effective domestic preventative measures. In fact, the OPCAT puts a lot of emphasis on the prevention of torture, and the aim of the Subcommittee is to work in conjunction with State Parties to achieve this goal. The preamble to OPCAT explains this goal, “that the protection of persons deprived of their liberty against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment can be strengthened by non-judicial means of a preventive nature.”⁴⁶

The Subcommittee is thus charged with the idea of prevention, instead of creating additional obligations or liability in the State Party. The Subcommittee wishes to prevent torture by working with the State Party, not against it.

The OPCAT also creates the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Torture. The Subcommittee’s aim is to “make recommendations to State Parties concerning the protection of persons deprived of their liberty against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”⁴⁷ The subcommittee is “guided by the principles of confidentiality, impartiality, non-selectivity, universality and objectivity.”⁴⁸ As such, China

should not feel threatened by the Subcommittee. The goal of the Subcommittee is to prevent torture, not to frame or point fingers at China. It is a body that is charged with being more practical in the fight against custodial torture.

Visit to and Follow-up with China by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture

The Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment has previously visited China. The last of such visits occurred back in November and December of 2005.⁴⁹ Currently there is no pending visit request by the Special Rapporteur on Torture.⁵⁰ Even though the last visit occurred about seven years ago, the report of the UN’s expert is still relevant, as it shows a pattern of behavior by the Chinese government. Even more telling is China’s unwillingness to participate in follow up dialogue with the Special Rapporteur on Torture.

During the Special Rapporteur’s visit to China, the Rapporteur concluded “that torture, though on the decline particularly in urban areas, remains widespread in China.”⁵¹ The Special Rapporteur made a myriad of recommendations, among them, defining torture as a crime in line with international law, the need for a more independent judiciary, the need for more judicial oversight, the need for more independent investigation of torture allegations, and the abolition of the RTL system.⁵² Particularly important for Tibet is the recommendation that “Political crimes that leave large discretion to law enforcement and prosecution authorities such as “endangering national security”, “subverting State power”, “undermining the unity of the country”, “supplying of State secrets to individuals abroad”, etc. should be abolished.”⁵³

45 Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Entered into force on 22 June 2006, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cat-one.htm>

46 Preamble to the OPCAT, emphasis added

47 Optional Protocol Article 11 (a)

48 Optional Protocol Article 2, paragraph 3

49 UN Commission on Human Rights, Report on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment: Mission to China, 10 March 2006, E/CN.4/2006/6/Add.6, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/45377b160.html>

50 Un Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Country Visits, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Torture/SRTorture/Pages/Visits.aspx>

51 Report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, Manfred Nowak, 17 February 2009, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/10session/A.HRC.10.44.Add.5.pdf>

52 Id.

53 Id.

China should welcome another visit of the Special Rapporteur on torture and let them independently assess the situation in Tibet. This is especially pertinent given the judicial and legal reforms that have taken place since 2008 in the PRC.

II DOMESTIC STANDARDS

Chinese domestic law does contain some protections against torture and ill treatment, but they do not rise to the level desired by international law. However, the real problem with Chinese domestic law is that security forces fail to abide by the standards dictated by legislation. There is a massive schism between the written word and its implementation. The ingrained practice in China is to disobey the rule of law by continuing with systematic torture and custodial abuse. This practice, coupled with the enormous power and control of the Chinese Communist Party, poses problems in implementation of legal provisions.

THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

The Chinese Constitution does not contain an express prohibition on torture. However, articles 37 and 38 are referred to as the Constitutional provisions responsible for the legal framework to outlaw torture in China.⁵⁴ Article 37 of the Chinese Constitution states: “Unlawful deprivation or restriction of citizens’ freedom of person by detention or other means is prohibited” while article 38 states: “The personal dignity of citizens of the People’s Republic of China is inviolable. Insult, libel, false charge or frame-up directed against citizens by any means is prohibited.”⁵⁵ Thus, in order to outlaw torture, one must approach it from a right to personal dignity perspective. Given the prevalence of torture in China, China should amend the constitution to expressly outlaw the practice of torture.

Although the personal dignity of the citizens of

China, as well as their human rights⁵⁶, are supposed to be respected, a troubling article exists in the Constitution. Article 28 states that the “state maintains public order and suppresses treasonable and other counterrevolutionary activities; it penalizes actions that endanger public security and disrupt the socialist economy and other criminal activities, and punishes and reforms criminals.”⁵⁷ This article is used extensively in Tibet to crack down on Tibetan freedom of expression and to rationalize the deprivation of other rights and freedoms.

2012 CHINESE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE LAW AMENDMENTS

The Chinese Criminal Procedure Law amendments of 2012 include some anti-torture measures. Mainly, the newly amended laws focus on the use of torture to extract confessions and the admissibility of such evidence at trial. Article 50 of the amended law states: “[t]he use of torture or extortion to obtain a confession and the use of threats, inducement, and deception and other illegal means to collect evidence is strictly prohibited; no person may be forced to prove his own guilt.”⁵⁸ These types of evidence, should be excluded, as article 54 of the amended law states: “[c]onfessions by a suspect or a defendant obtained through torture and extortion and other illegal means and witness testimonies and victim statements obtained through the use of violence, threats and other illegal means should be excluded.”⁵⁹ This exclusionary clause must be treated with caution. The word “should” does not create an automatic obligation. The amended law would create a much stronger guarantee against the use of evidence gathered through torture if the words “must” or “shall” were used instead. The

⁵⁴ CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, Adopted on 4 December 1982, available at <http://english.people.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>

⁵⁵ Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, article 38

⁵⁶ Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, Amendment Fourth, Approved on 14 March 2004, by the 10th NPC at its 2nd Session, Article 33 states: “The State respects and preserves human rights.”

⁵⁷ Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, article 28

⁵⁸ Criminal Procedure Law of the People’s Republic of China, article 50 (2012), Li Changshuan, Working Translation of Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Law of the People’s Republic of China, 14 March 2012 (The Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2012), available at http://lawprofessors.typepad.com/files/120320-cpl-amendments_en_final.pdf. The Chinese version of the new law is available at http://www.law-lib.com/law/law_view.asp?id=378480

⁵⁹ Id.

use of the word *should* in the amended law was deliberate, and was not simply lost in translation. The Chinese to English translator points out that “I have not used the word ‘shall’ due to its abuse in English. I have translated the weaker form of obligation *yingdang* (should/ought to), into ‘should’ and the stronger form of obligation *bixu* into ‘must.’”⁶⁰ Thus, article 54, in Chinese, uses the weaker form of obligation when referring to excluding evidence obtained through torture. Since there is never a justification for the use of torture, such illegally obtained evidence should be given the stronger form of obligation when being excluded in criminal proceedings.

Although efforts to end the use of torture to obtain confessions on behalf of the Chinese government is commendable, the law does not go far enough to protect against other uses of torture. For instance, in Tibet, torture might not only be used for the sole purpose to extract confessions, but rather also as a means of discrimination against an ethnicity or religious belief.⁶¹ For instance, an incarcerated Tibetan could face beatings by prison authorities for practicing Tibetan Buddhism in custody, or for praising their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. To this end, there needs to be more focus on the universal eradication of torture, not just the eradication of the use of torture to extract confessions from suspects. For Tibetans, the torture occurs merely because the detainee is a Tibetan, and seen by the state as a threat to “national security”.

As is often the case in the PRC, the law is not enough to protect against torture. As one scholar on the Chinese legal system explains, when a defendant voices allegations of torture, “[i]n fact, notwithstanding the grave disadvantages to the defendant attached to such a posture, allegations of torture and other improper conduct on the part of the police occur regularly and the court does nothing

about it.”⁶² Additionally, “[a] common response by the court is to simply ignore any such allegation [of torture]. In the PRC, a representation that the suspect was subjected to oppressive treatment (whether to the prosecutor, defence lawyer or judge) is generally ignored and is not allowed to disrupt the normal business of the court.”⁶³ Although the use of torture to extract confessions is prohibited, the courts still ignore the fact that the police and other authorities still employ this practice. There needs to be a greater systematic change besides the wording of the laws, China needs to eradicate torture on more levels than just in their law books.

CHINESE CRIMINAL LAW

The Chinese Criminal Law does not define torture. But, it does contain provisions that prohibit the practice of torture. These prohibitions are contained in articles 247 and 248. Article 247 prohibits extortion of a confession under torture by a judicial officer (Ch: *xingxun bigong*) and extraction of testimony by the use of force by a judicial officer (Ch: *baoli quzheng*). Article 248 prohibits physical abuse of inmates as well as instigation of detainee-on-detainee violence by a policeman or other officer of an institution of confinement like a prison, detention house or a custody house. Both articles 247 and 248 also proscribe the punishments that perpetrators of these types of crimes will receive.

Article 247 states “[a]ny judicial officer who extorts confession from a criminal suspect or defendant by torture or extorts testimony from a witness by violence shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not more than three years of criminal detention.”⁶⁴ Additionally, if that judicial officer “causes injury, disability or death to the victim, he shall be convicted and given a heavier punishment in accordance with the provisions of

⁶⁰ Id.

⁶¹ UN Human Rights Council publishes written statement on discrimination in Tibet, International Campaign for Tibet, 28 February 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/un-human-rights-council-publishes-written-statement-discrimination-tibet>

⁶² Mike McConville, et. al., *Criminal Justice in China: An Empirical Inquiry, Police Powers in Relation to Detention and Arrest* (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited 2011) at 342.

⁶³ Mike McConville, et. al., *Criminal Justice in China: An Empirical Inquiry, Police Powers in Relation to Detention and Arrest* (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited 2011) at 343.

⁶⁴ Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, available at <http://www.china.org.cn/english/government/207320.htm>

article 234 or 232 of this Law.”⁶⁵ Article 232 states anyone who “intentionally commits homicide shall be sentenced to death, life imprisonment or fixed-term imprisonment of not less than 10 years; if the circumstances are relatively minor, he shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not less than three years but not more than 10 years.”⁶⁶ Article 234 states that anyone who “intentionally inflicts injury upon another person shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not more than three years, criminal detention or public surveillance.”⁶⁷ Thus, any judicial officer who violates article 247, depending on the seriousness of the crime, can be punished by imprisonment under Chinese Criminal Law.

Article 248 states: “[a]ny policeman or other officer of an institution of confinement like a prison, a detention house or a custody house who beats a prisoner or maltreats him by subjecting him to corporal punishment, if the circumstances are serious shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not more than three years or criminal detention.” Article 248, much like article 247, allows for harsher punishment under more serious circumstances. Article 248 continues “if the circumstances are especially serious, he shall be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not less than three years but not more than 10 years. If he causes injury, disability or death to the victim, he shall be convicted and given a heavier punishment in accordance with the provisions of article 234 or 232 of this Law.”⁶⁸ Additionally, article 248 explains that “[a]ny policeman or other officer who instigates a person held in custody to beat or maltreat another person held in custody by subjecting him to corporal punishment, the policeman or officer shall be punished in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.”⁶⁹

Torture is clearly prohibited by the Chinese Criminal Law. As such, the Chinese government should uphold its own laws and punish those who

are responsible for torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in Tibet and China on the whole. In light of the above mentioned Chinese Criminal Law provisions, those responsible for torture should be held accountable. The Chinese authorities must demonstrate, in practice and not just in words, that its motivations behind passing these laws were aimed at creating a safe haven, protected by the principle of universal human rights, for everyone accused or suspected of alleged crimes of ‘subversion’ and ‘separatism’.

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN OF 2012-2015

The National Human Rights Action Plan of 2012-2015 (“The Plan”) enumerates a commitment to upholding the rights of detainees in the PRC. The Plan claims that “[p]reventative 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.”⁷⁰

However, as has been evident in the past, China has a poor record of enforcing its own laws, especially the laws dealing with custodial torture. The commitment of The Plan is commendable, however, there is little optimism that the plan will be taken seriously. For instance, China claims it “will further strengthen supervision over criminal proceedings, punishment execution and supervision, so as to guarantee the legal rights of detainees.” One such way China plans on doing this in terms of torture is “to prevent and investigate violations of the rights of detainees, such as physical punishment, torture and insult by people working in the detention houses” by improving “regulations regarding detainees’ request to see the resident procurators, meetings between detainees and resident procurators and the establishment of procurator mailboxes.”⁷¹ If followed, it would allow for better communication between the procurators and detainees. Although opening up communication channels is a step

65 Id.

66 Id.

67 Id.

68 Id.

69 Id.

70 Full Text: National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015), 11 June 2012, available at http://english.gov.cn/2012-06/11/content_2158183.htm

71 Id.

forward, this practice will not go far enough to prevent torture. The reason is a detainee can still see a procurator as a State actor, and in such capacity, part of the problem and not the solution. The detainee should be allowed, instead, to voice complaints and allegations of torture to a more trustworthy and independent complaint body.

China also articulates a guarantee to “improve the legal stipulations regarding judicial proceeding to guarantee litigants’ right to fair trial” by “[i]mproving the system of eliminating illegal evidence; all confessions by suspects and defendants extorted by torture or other illegal methods, as well as testimonies and statements of witnesses or victims collected by violence, threat or other illegal means will be eliminated.”⁷² Once again, this commitment is commendable if actually implemented in practice. It should also be noted that the Tibet situation is unique as compared to China as a whole. In Tibet, many of the allegations of torture occur during extrajudicial or secretive detention. Due to the extrajudicial nature of many of the confined Tibetans, there is no trial. If there is no trial, then the authority figures responsible for the torture will not be thinking about whether or not a confession will be admissible in court. Thus, this commitment does little to protect Tibetans against torture.

In The Plan, China explains its compliance with international law: “China completed the sixth report on implementing the ‘Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,’ and submitted it to the United Nations Committee against Torture for consideration” and that “China has continued to carry out administrative and judicial reforms and prepare the ground for approval of the ‘International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.’”⁷³ Thus, those interested in torture in China should pay close attention to the Committee against Torture, as they will most likely be analyzing China’s report in the near future. However, if the previous Committee against Torture report is of any indication as to how this round will proceed, China will still have

significant issues in the eradication and prevention of torture. As far as the ICCPR goes, there is also little hope considering that China signed the ICCPR 14 years ago, giving the country ample time to amend laws to prepare for the ratification of this very important international treaty.

The Plan, if taken seriously, could help in the fight against custodial torture. However, as was the case with the previous NHRAP, one finds little reason to expect that China will follow its own commitments. Additionally, The Plan contains an ‘opt out’ provision,⁷⁴ which allows China to completely reject the universality of human rights.

OTHER REGULATIONS:

China has a handful of regulations that deal with prohibitions on the use of torture. Mainly, the Law on Administrative Punishments for Public Order and Security, the “Six prohibitions on people’s prison police” and the “Six prohibitions for Re-education through Labor (RTL) guards;” the Prison Law; and the People’s Police Law.

The 2005 Law on Administrative Punishments for Public Order and Security⁷⁵ (“The Plan”) “requires inter alia that security organs shall adhere to principles of respect for human rights guarantees and which, in particular, according to the Representative of the State party, ‘has, for the first time established in national law the exclusion rule of illegal evidence.’”⁷⁶ The Law went into effect on 1 March 2006. Article 79 of The Law states: “[p]ublic security organs and the people’s police shall investigate cases of public security according to law. Extorting confessions by torture or collecting evidence by such illegal means as intimidation, enticement or deception is strictly

74 There is one troubling paragraph that essentially rationalizes eliminating all the aspirations of The Plan: “[t]he Chinese government respects the principle of universality of human rights, but also upholds proceeding from China’s national conditions and new realities to advance the development of its human rights cause on a practical basis.”

75 Law of the PRC on Penalties for Administration of Public Security, available at http://www.china.org.cn/china/LegislationsForm2001-2010/2011-02/11/content_21899252.htm

76 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008

72 Id.

73 Id.

prohibited” and that “evidence collected by illegal means shall not be taken as the basis of penalty.”⁷⁷ Article 116 states that if a policeman “extorts a confession by torture, or physically punishing, maltreating or humiliating another person” while handling cases of public security, “he shall be given an administrative sanction according to law; and if a crime is constituted, he shall be investigated for criminal responsibility according to law.”⁷⁸

The Six Prohibitions, both for the people’s prison police and for the RTL guards, outlaw torture in prison and re-education camps. The prohibitions “[s]trictly prohibit beating or subjecting inmates serving a prison (or RTL) sentence to corporal punishment, or instigating others to beat or subject such an inmate to corporeal punishment” and “[s]trictly prohibit using firearms, police equipment, or police cars in violation of regulations.”⁷⁹

Article 22 of the People’s Police Law states that “policemen may not “extort confession by torture or subject criminals to corporal punishment or maltreat them.”⁸⁰ Following this same line of thought is the Prison Law, in which article 14 states that the “police of a prison shall not...use torture to coerce a confession, or to use corporeal punishment, or to maltreat a prisoner” nor shall the police of a prison “humiliate the human dignity of a prisoner” or “beat or connive others to beat a prisoner.”⁸¹ If the police of a prison partake in these acts, “the case constitutes a crime, the offenders shall be investigated for criminal responsibility; if the case does not constitute a crime, the offenders shall be given administrative sanctions.”⁸²

As shown above, despite a plethora of laws that criminalise torture, the problem of torture is

endemic.⁸³ If China is serious about ending torture in the PRC, then, to begin with, it needs an independent judiciary coupled with more effective oversight mechanisms.

2012 WHITE PAPER ON JUDICIAL REFORM

The White Paper on Judicial Reform (“white paper”)⁸⁴ promulgated by the Chinese government on 9 October 2012 shows a commitment to move in the direction of respecting human rights. The white paper also displays China’s own opinion on how and what it is doing to combat torture and custodial abuses. According to the document, it appears that China believes that it is doing what is necessary to combat torture. Nonetheless, torture remains rampant.

At the core of the document is judicial reform. The white paper recognizes that to “strengthen the protection of human rights is an important goal of China’s judicial reform.”⁸⁵ For instance, China points out that both the 2004 Constitution amendments and the 2012 Criminal Procedure Law amendments include a clause about respecting and protecting human rights, and that many of the judicial reforms undertaken are done so in “an attempt to materialize efforts in human rights protection in the sphere of criminal justice.”⁸⁶ China should be commended for its plans mentioned in this document, but much like the past and NHRAP (2012-15), the general public should be wary of China’s commitments and intentions to improve their human rights record, especially in the area of custodial torture. The words of the white paper need to be more than just rhetoric and propaganda, and should be followed with serious implementation and practice.

77 Id.

78 Id.

79 Ministry of Justice Issues Prohibitions to Restrain Prison and RTL Police Abuses, 26 July 2006, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, available at <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/virtualAcad/index.php?showsingle=42789>

80 People’s Police Law, available at http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/12/content_1383708.htm

81 Prison Law, available at http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Law/2007-12/12/content_1383784.htm

82 Id.

83 Radio Free Asia, Torture Rampant at Chushur, 21 December 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/torture-12212012151636.html>

84 Full Text: White Paper on Judicial Reform in China, 9 October 2012, available at http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-10/09/content_15803827.htm

85 Id.

86 Id.

The white paper discusses, in relation to torture, the increase in the supervision of places of custody by procuratorial organs, and the prohibition and determent of extortion of confessions by torture.

Increase in supervision of detention centres:

The white paper does acknowledge the existence of torture in custodial centres in China: “[i]n view of the exposure of some pernicious incidents in detention houses and prisons in recent years, the procuratorial organs, along with related departments, have launched a campaign to review law-enforcement work in detention houses and to ‘remove hidden dangers of accidents and promote safe custody’ in prisons.”⁸⁷ China claims that the “procuratorial organs have intensified supervision over prison and other places of surveillance” by “regulating and strengthening the work on resident procurator’s offices...building up a network to share information on law enforcement and monitoring... and improving and implementing mechanisms for supervision over detention procedures and for on-site inspections.”⁸⁸

The document also promises future reforms, in that the “system of investigation and handling of complaints by detainees will be improved, so will the system of detainees’ meeting with the police, officials of detention houses or resident procurators upon their requests, so as to receive and investigate complaints and accusations by detainees on time.”⁸⁹ These changes are welcome and necessary, and will allow for more effective communication of allegations of torture as well as allow for more opportunity to investigate such allegations. Along the lines of investigations, the paper promises that the “system of inviting special supervisors to inspect detention facilities will be established whereby invited special supervisors may come and inspect the performance of duties and law enforcement by the police in the houses of detention during working hours without notification in advance.”

This is also a welcome reform, in that it would allow for more oversight by outside investigators. What is lacking, however, is the specification that these special supervisors should be independent monitors. They should not be politically motivated or connected to the State or the Party, but instead remain independent in order to more adequately report on torture.

Prohibiting and Deterring Extortion of Confessions by Torture; improving the system of detention, taking a person into custody after arrest and interrogation;

The white paper commends China’s efforts in amending the law to prohibit torture to extract confessions and claims “China is constantly improving its laws to prohibit the exacting of evidence through torture or other illegal means by judicial officials.”⁹⁰ The paper recognizes that to “improve the investigation and questioning system is a prerequisite for building the rule of law, and it is also an important method for strengthening judicial supervision and protecting the legal rights and interests of criminal suspects in accordance with the law.”⁹¹ The document goes on to explain that self-incrimination⁹² has been banned in the 2012 Criminal Procedure Law amendments, along with the exclusion of illegally obtained evidence in court and the procedures to exclude such illegal evidence. The document explains that confessions, testimony and statements “obtained through extortion or other illegal means...should be excluded from evidence.”⁹³

Since secret detention centres create more potential for abuse and torture, the white paper acknowledges that a “person who has been detained must be sent to a house of detention within 24 hours. When a person is arrested, he/she must be taken into custody immediately in a house of detention, where the interrogation shall be conducted.”⁹⁴ This,

87 Id.

88 Full Text: Judicial Reform in China, 9 October 2012, Xinhua, available at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-10/09/c_131895159_8.htm

89 White Paper on Judicial Reform in China

90 White Paper on Judicial Reform in China

91 White Paper on Judicial Reform in China

92 SELF-INCRIMINATION, Cornell University Law School, 19 August 2010, available at <http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/self-incrimination>

93 White Paper on Judicial Reform in China

94 Id.

too, is a welcome step forward. But, in Tibet, the detention centres are secretive, and thus this reform would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to track.

It must be noted that the 2012 Chinese Criminal Procedure Law, however, runs counter to this commitment. The 2012 Criminal Procedure law legalizes enforced disappearances and secret detentions in article 73.⁹⁵ Thus, even though the white paper states that interrogations cannot take place in secret detention centres, the law in actuality allow security authorities to detain an individual on th grounds of “national security”, “bribery” or “terrorism.” Since many Tibetans are accused of “splittist” activities and crimes against the State, Tibetans will still be subject to secret interrogations and thus not protected by any laws requiring interrogations in detention houses.

III. CONCLUSION

The practice of custodial abuses and torture is despicable. Torture is a direct interference with the dignity of the self and causes lifelong consequences of both mental and physical pain, powerlessness and anguish.⁹⁶ There is no justification for torture.

Despite laws to the contrary, the Chinese authorities continue to arbitrarily detain and torture Tibetans without any due process of the law. Torture is also prevalent in Chinese places of custody. Given China’s previous record of circumventing its own laws, there is little optimism that any promises of reform, especially of the judiciary, are anything more than propaganda bluff.

95 Criminal Procedure Law of the People’s Republic of China, article 73

96 Manfred Nowak, UN Convention against Torture, A commentary, Oxford Commentaries on International Law, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 77; See also INTERPRETATION OF TORTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRACTICE AND JURISPRUDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES, available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Interpretation_torture_2011_EN.pdf

ARBITRARY ARRESTS AND DETENTION

“To deprive a man of his natural liberty and to deny to him the ordinary amenities of life is worse than starving the body; it is starvation of the soul, the dweller in the body.”

~ Mahatma Gandhi

Arbitrary arrests and detention occur when a suspect is detained with blatant disregard for legal due process. The existence of legal procedure is for a very important reason, to protect the liberty of the person. The United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights “enshrines the principles of equality before the law, the presumption of innocence, the right to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, and all the guarantees necessary for the defense of everyone charged with a penal offence.”

These basic principles deem it necessary to protect persons charged with crimes. Since all persons share in the right to personal liberty, in the absence of legal process, injustices occur. Beyond the need for legal process, when detentions take place beyond legal oversight, the probability that a suspect will be mistreated increases. Because there is no way to keep track of a detained person’s whereabouts, occurrences of torture and forced confessions run rampant in arbitrary arrests and detentions.

In Tibet, arbitrary arrests and detentions are commonplace occurrences. A high number of arrests and detentions takes place without any explanations from the authorities, and family members and relatives are denied any information about their

loved ones’ whereabouts and condition. Many remain in secret detention without any access to a fair trial or access to their own choice of defense lawyers.¹ The year 2012 witnessed major crackdown on Tibetan protest self-immolations and subsequent detentions many of which remain unreported by the detainees’ family members and friends for fear of official retribution.²

In February 2012, several hundreds of Tibetans who had attended the Kalachakra Buddhist teachings given by His Holiness the Dalai Lama from 31 December 2011 to 10 January 2012 in Bihar state of northern India were detained and forced to undergo political education on their return home to Tibet.³ Among those arbitrarily detained and re-educated were the elderly and sick although those over 70 were later released.⁴ In the Tibetan capital Lhasa, many were detained in ad hoc detention centres such as hotels, an army training centre, paramilitary bases and other well-known detention

1 Chinese lawyers blocked from acting for Labrang Jigme; fears for scholar monk’s health, International Campaign for Tibet, 15 August 2012, available at <http://savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/chinese-lawyers-blocked-acting-labrang-jigme-fears-scholar-monks-health>

2 ‘China detains hundreds in Tibet over self-immolation protests,’ The Telegraph (UK), 31 May 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/tibet/9301849/China-detains-hundreds-in-Tibet-over-self-immolation-protests.html> Also see Unreported detentions related to self-immolations abound in Tibet, TCHRD, 4 December 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=327:unreported-detentions-related-to-self-immolations-abound-in-tibet&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

3 China: End Crackdown on Tibetans Who Visited India, Human Rights Watch, 16 February 2012, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/02/16/china-end-crackdown-tibetans-who-visited-india>

4 Lockdown in Lhasa at Tibetan New Year; unprecedented detentions of hundreds of Tibetans after Dalai Lama teaching in exile, International Campaign for Tibet, 22 February 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/lockdown-lhasa-tibetan-new-year-unprecedented-detentions-hundreds-tibetans-after-dalai-lam>

centres like the Tselgungthang detention centre in the eastern part of the city.⁵ For months, the Tibetan detainees were forced to undergo “legal education” in these detention centres, with some asked to pay for their imposed stay in hotels-turned-detention houses.⁶ Some were asked to pay hundreds of yuan during the time of their detention “imposing unbearable psychological and financial pressure on families and communities.”⁷ Relatives of the detained were not informed about the detention with some spending weeks wondering about their loved ones’ sudden disappearances.⁸ It was not that they had crossed the border illegally or engaged in any criminal activities; those detained had valid papers and permission from the Chinese authorities to travel to India for the religious teachings.

The above mentioned mass detentions took place in the backdrop of heightened security and surveillance in Tibet, most evidenced by the directive issued by Chen Quanguo, the Communist Party chief of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) who called on officials to brace for “a war against secessionist sabotage,” adding that the fight against the ‘Dalai clique’ was a “long-term, complicated and sometimes even acute” one.⁹

This year also witnessed a number of arbitrary arrests and detentions in the wake of continued self-immolation incidents. In May, hundreds of local Tibetan residents and pilgrims in Lhasa were detained following the 27 May twin protest self-immolations staged by two Tibetans, the first-ever self-immolations in the Tibetan capital.¹⁰ Among them, about 80 were detained on suspicion that they had taken pictures or videos of the joint protest self-immolations on their cameras and cellphones.¹¹ Tibetans from Ngaba living in Lhasa were especially targeted because one of the self-immolators,

Dhargye, hailed from Ngaba.¹²

In Tibetan areas outside the TAR, where majority of the protest self-immolations occurred, armed police detained scores of Tibetans, both monastic and lay, in a major crackdown on self-immolations and other protests.¹³

Monasteries such as Nyatso Zikar,¹⁴ Gyalrong Tsodun,¹⁵ Bora,¹⁶ Wonpo¹⁷ and Kirti¹⁸ were particularly targeted.¹⁹ A recurring tactic used in arbitrary arrests by Chinese security forces is to sever all communications channels and lines at monasteries before carrying out arrests. Many arrests occurred at night and arrests were almost always accompanied by indiscriminate beatings and intimidation.

Arbitrary detentions of students and monks were also reported following the 26 November 2012 mass student protests at Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe)

12 Detentions Reported After Lhasa Immolations, TCHRD, 2 June 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=233:detentions-reported-after-lhasa-immolations&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

13 Four Monks Held Over Protest, Radio Free Asia, 17 October 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/monks-10172012174610.html>; Tibetan self-immolator's family members detained, Whereabouts unknown, Phayul, 27 December 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=32727&article=Tibetan+self-immolator%E2%80%99s+family+members+detained%2C+Whereabouts+unknown&t=1&c=1>; Protests as Monks Are Detained, Radio 8 August 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/monks-08082012153912.html>

14 Monks beaten, detained, in Nyitso Zikar Monastery raid, TCHRD, 4 September 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=286:monks-beaten-detained-in-nyitso-zikar-monastery-raid&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

15 Tsodun Monastery Crackdown: Arbitrary Detention of Five Young Monks, TCHRD, 18 August 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=270:tsodun-monastery-crackdown-arbitrary-detention-of-five-young-monks&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

16 Five monks from Bora Monastery ‘missing’ after detention, TCHRD, 18 December 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=333:five-monks-from-bora-monastery-missing-after-detention&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

17 China tightens grip on Tibetans in Wonpo region of Dzachukha, Phayul, 22 October 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=32318&t=1>

18 China detains more monks in Ngaba County, TCHRD, 25 August 2012, available at

19 China continues crackdown on Tibet's monasteries, The Tibet Society (UK), available at <http://www.tibetsociety.com/content/view/317>

5 China: End Crackdown on Tibetans Who Visited India, *supra* note 3

6 *Id.*

7 Lockdown in Lhasa at Tibetan New Year; unprecedented detentions of hundreds of Tibetans after Dalai Lama teaching in exile, *supra* note 4

8 *Id.*

9 Tibet officials ‘prepare for war’, Global Times, 10 February 2012, available at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90882/7725297.html>

10 Hundreds Detained in Lhasa, Radio Free Asia, 30 May 2012, <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/detained-05302012172121.html>

11 *Id.*

in Tsoilho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.²⁰ Three monks were detained and subsequently disappeared for sharing information about the protests.²¹

In August 2012, reports emerged on the arrests of about a thousand Tibetans since March in Diru (Ch: Biru) County in Nagchu Prefecture, TAR.²² Some detentions lasted for a few hours, while others were held for days. Many detentions have resulted in disappearances with many more apparently culminating in jail time.²³

Even solitary, peaceful protesters are beaten and detained.²⁴

As shown above, China ignores and violates both international and its own domestic laws. Fair trial rights are part of the universal rights of all people, but in Tibet, they are ignored because of political dissent. These violations of the laws occur because of democratic protests and the fact that the Chinese government is suppressing the fundamental rights and freedoms of Tibetans.

China is an emerging super power, and as such should follow its own laws and the laws of the international community. But in China, state supremacy reigns over the rule of law. This is evident in the political nature of China's judiciary and the fact that the Chinese Communist Party is supreme over respect for regulations, laws, justice, and human rights. There is a disassociation between the written law and its implementation. There is a lack of oversight of enforcement and implementation of law. Law means much more

than the words that comprise them, they must be followed.

I INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

Arbitrary arrests are clearly outlawed by International law and standards. The United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is the first international document that expresses the basic rights entitled to all persons of the world. Article 9 of the UDHR states that "no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."²⁵ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) also outlaws arbitrary arrests, but goes further to describe certain procedures for the protections of people who are subject to arrests. Article 9 of the ICCPR states that "[e]veryone has the right to liberty and security of the 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 with such procedure as are established by law."²⁶ Additionally, paragraph two of article 9 states "[a]nyone 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."²⁷ The ICCPR offers further protections such as requiring anyone arrested to be brought promptly before a judge, guarantee of a reasonable time for trial, and the right to have court proceedings to decide on the lawfulness of the detention.²⁸ The ICCPR also gives the victim of an arbitrary arrest the chance to be made whole: "[a]nyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation."²⁹ China signed the ICCPR in October of 1998. However, China has yet to ratify the treaty into domestic law. Although not legally bound by the treaty, China cannot "defeat the object and purpose of the treaty."³⁰

20 Tibetan student detentions after protests in Chabcha, Rebkong, International Campaign for Tibet, 19 December 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/tibetan-student-detentions-after-protests-chabcha-rebkong>

21 China 'disappears' three monks for sharing information about protests, TCHRD, 14 December 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=332:china-disappears-three-monks-for-sharing-information-about-protests&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

22 More Than 1,000 Detained, Radio Free Asia, 22 August 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/detained-08222012154059.html>

23 Id.

24 Protester Beaten, Detained, Radio Free Asia, 1 August 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/detained-08012012140549.html>

25 UDHR Article 9, available at http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf

26 ICCPR article 9 Paragraph 1, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm>

27 ICCPR article 9 Paragraph 2

28 ICCPR article 9 Paragraph 3 & 4

29 ICCPR article 9 Paragraph 5

30 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, art. 18, 1155 U.N.T.S. 331 (23 May 1969).

The United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (UNWGAD) looks at various standards of International Law to form legal opinions. Some of the standards the working group looks to are the UDHR, the ICCPR, the Body of Principles for the Protection of all Persons under any form of Detention or Imprisonment, and the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. The working group, although having no official definition of “arbitrary,” has dictated that there are three categories of when an arrest arises to the level of arbitrary. The first category is “[w]hen it is clearly impossible to invoke any legal basis justifying the deprivation of liberty” for example “when a person is kept in detention after the completion of his sentence or despite an amnesty law applicable to him.”³¹ The second category is when the deprivation of liberty is a violation of the UDHR or the ICCPR.³² The third category of arbitrary occurs when the right to a fair trial prescribed the UDHR and other international instruments “is of such gravity as to give the deprivation of liberty an arbitrary character.”³³

The working group has previously found China liable for the second category of arbitrary for violations of articles 9, 18, 19, and 20 of the UDHR for their actions in Tibet.³⁴ The violations stem from Tibetan monks being subjected to arbitrary arrests, violations of the right to freedom of thought and religious belief, freedom of opinion and expression, and the freedom to peaceful assembly. In this case, three monks - Thabkey Gyatso,³⁵ Tsultrim Gyatso, and Kalsang Gyatso - from Labrang Monastery in Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County in Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province, were arrested and detained by the Chinese government for their participation in democratic protests for human rights, as well as calls for the return of His

Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.³⁶ According to the working group report, the monks had no access to lawyers, their families could not visit them in detention, and the monks received heavy sentences (including one life sentence), all for being part of non-violent protests for human rights. The working group found that the “brief assertions made in the Government’s [China’s] reply do not provide sufficient support to establish that the *prima facie* human rights restriction is justified.”³⁷ The working group’s observations are still relevant.

Enforced disappearances are another tool used by the Chinese to suppress Tibetans. Arbitrary arrests and enforced disappearances are closely related in that they are both due legal process violations, both deal with rights to liberty and security of the person, the right to a fair and public trial, and the right of freedom from torture. Recognizing this, the international community has come together to create the International Convention for the Protection from Enforced Disappearance and the United Nations Declaration on Enforced Disappearances. Unfortunately, China is not a signatory to the convention. However, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration, and as such shows a commitment by the international community to move towards certain norms in the arena of enforced disappearances.

The international community has taken a strong stance against arbitrary arrests and detentions. Multiple international norms codified in treaties prohibit this practice by guaranteeing a certain level of rights and protections. These rights and protections are granted to the accused to ensure that one’s civil liberties are respected.

II. CHINESE DOMESTIC LAW

There are some encouraging laws on the books in China. However, there is a significant disconnect between the power of the one-Party State and adherence to rule of law. The Chinese constitution and regulations such as the Regulations of The

31 WGAD No. 29/2010 (China), Communication addressed to the Government on 3 August 2010 Concerning: Thamki Gyatso, Tseltem Gyatso, Kalsang Gyatso

32 Id. Specifically a violation of the freedoms guaranteed by articles 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, and 21 of the UDHR and 12, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 27 of the ICCPR

33 Id.

34 Id.

35 China Blocks Tibet Lawyers, Radio Free Asia, 20 July 2009, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/lawyer-blocked-07202009165943.html>

36 Id.

37 WGAD No. 29/2010 (China)

People's Republic of China on Arrest and Detention offer protections that are in line with international standards for fair trial rights. On the other hand, China has a history of disregarding laws and regulations in the name of State supremacy.

In 2012, China adopted critical new changes to its Criminal Procedure Law. These amendments actually legalize arbitrary arrests and detentions. A seemingly optimistic plan, the National Human Rights Action Plan of 2012-2015 was also promulgated. History shows that this plan, while articulating admirable goals and principles, will likely be ignored at the implementation stage.

THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION

Chinese domestic law seemingly offers protections against arbitrary arrests and detention. Article 33 of the Chinese constitution declares, "The state respects and preserves human rights."³⁸ Article 37 states "[n]o citizen may be arrested except with the approval or by decision of a people's procuratorate or by decision of a people's court."³⁹ Additionally, "[u]nlawful deprivation or restriction of citizens' freedom of person by detention or other means is prohibited; and unlawful search of the person of citizens is prohibited."⁴⁰ Thus, citizens of the PRC should be constitutionally protected from arbitrary arrests and detentions.

REGULATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON ARREST AND DETENTION

On 23 February 1979, China promulgated the Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Arrest and Detention. In line with the constitution, article 2 states that "[n]o citizen of the People's Republic of China may be arrested except by decision of a people's court or with the approval of a people's procuratorate."⁴¹ Article 4 decrees that approved arrests must be performed by a public

security organ, and that when a public security organ wants to arrest someone, they shall first receive the approval of a people's procuratorate. Article 5 mandates the existence of an arrest warrant and an announcement of the arrest to the person to be arrested. Additionally, article 5 dictates that the family of the arrested person must be notified within 24 hours of the reason for the arrest and the location of where the relative is in custody. However, the Chinese regulation gives an exception to the family notification rule "where notification would hinder the investigation or there is no way to notify them."⁴²

The regulations also dictate procedure for when an offender is already in the custody of a public security organ. When a person has already been detained and a public security organ decides to arrest that offender, the public security organ "shall, within three days of detention, give notice to the people's procuratorate at the same level of the facts and evidence related to the crime of the detained person."⁴³ However, the time of detention can be extended four more days under "special circumstances," although such circumstances are never defined.⁴⁴ The people's procuratorate then has three days after receiving the notice from the public security organ to approve or deny the arrest. If the procuratorate does not approve the arrest, "the public security organ shall, immediately after being notified of the decision, release the detained person and issue him a release certificate."⁴⁵ Therefore, if a subject is detained without an arrest warrant or approval of a procuratorate, and the procuratorate does not subsequently approve the detention, then the public security organ has no options but to immediately release the detained.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE LAW 2012 AMENDMENTS LEGALIZE ARBITRARY DETENTIONS

The Criminal Procedure Law 2012 amendments legalize arbitrary detentions. Article 73 of the

38 Chinese Constitution Article 33

39 Chinese Constitution Article 37

40 Id.

41 Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Arrest and Detention

42 Id. article 5.

43 Id. Article 8.

44 Id. Article 8.

45 Id. Article 8. Emphasis added.

new amendments allow law enforcement agencies to detain those suspected of crimes related to “national security”, “bribery” or “terrorism” for up to six months in a location designated by the law enforcement agencies choice.⁴⁶ The amendments do require familial notification of the detention within 24 hours. However, much like the regulations on arrest and detention, there is an exception to this requirement, where if the law enforcement agency believes that notifying the family members would “impede the investigation”, then no such notification is required.⁴⁷ Those detained for crimes related to “national security, bribery or terrorism” can also be denied access to a lawyer for the duration of the detention.⁴⁸

These new amendments are a large step backwards for China, and especially for Tibetans. Because many of the Tibetans detained are frequently accused of “separatist” activities, or being labeled as “terrorists”, these new amendments will give Chinese authorities the ability to arbitrarily detain Tibetans on the rationale that the peaceful protests are crimes related to “national security” or “terrorism”. Since 11 September 2001, China has used ‘counterterrorism’ to discredit and repress Tibetan and Uighur movements.⁴⁹

Allowing law enforcement agencies to secretly detain individuals in the name of national security or terrorism gives rise to a huge potential of abuse. This is because the terms national security and terrorism are broad in scope. The UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, in its visit to China in 2004, “expressed concern regarding definitions in criminal law legislation having such vague, imprecise or sweeping elements like ‘disrupting social order’,

‘endangering national security’, ‘violating the unity and integrity of the State, ‘subverting public order’, ‘affecting national security’ and the like.”⁵⁰ These are precisely the types of crimes in which Tibetans are being accused of during the exercise of their fundamental rights.

The fear is that secret detentions under article 73 will be overused under the guise of national security and terrorist threats. Since the law does not define what actions are considered threats to national security or terrorism, Chinese authorities will have an expansive discretion to conclude that certain actions will fall under these categories, leaving many Tibetans to be arbitrarily arrested and detained as a result of such conclusions. When a detention is secretive, it gives the authorities more protection to abuse prisoners through unlawful methods such as torture. Here, the powers vested in the Chinese authorities are given more weight than the respect for the universal nature of basic human rights.

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN OF 2012-2015

The Chinese government has recently enacted the National Human Rights Action Plan (NHRAP) for 2012-2015. In this plan, many human rights goals are articulated. For instance, the plan promises that “work will be done to strengthen judicial protection of human rights to promote judicial justice” and that “[f]urther efforts will be made to ensure ethnic minorities enjoy equal economic, political, social and cultural rights.”⁵¹

The goals outlined in the NHRAP appear to be reasonable targets. However, there is one troubling paragraph that essentially rationalizes eliminating all the aspirations of the NHRAP: “[t]he Chinese government respects the principle of universality of human rights, but also upholds proceeding from China’s national conditions and new realities to advance the development of its human rights cause

46 Criminal Procedure Law of the People’s Republic of China, art. 2 (2012), taken from: LI CHANGSHUAN, WORKING TRANSLATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE CRIMINAL PROCEDURE LAW OF THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, MARCH 14, 2012 1 (The Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2012), available at: http://lawprofessors.typepad.com/files/120320-cpl-amendments_en_final.pdf [hereinafter 2012 CPL]. The Chinese version of the new law is available at: http://www.law-lib.com/law/law_view.asp?id=378480.

47 Id.

48 Id.

49 China Calls Xinjiang Bombing Terrorism, ABC News, 4 August 2008, available at <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/story?id=5510608&page=1#.UN1maYlesdJ>

50 E/CN.4/2006/6/Add.6

51 Full Text: National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015), available at http://english.gov.cn/2012-06/11/content_2158183.htm

on a practical basis.”⁵² Human rights are universal and thus entitled to all. Here, China is saying that the rights and liberties granted to all persons in the world will only be granted in China when it is convenient for the state. Since human rights are universal, China should not be allowed to circumvent granting its citizens basic fundamental rights, all in the name of the supremacy of the State. This type of opting out of their own human rights action plan is a step in the wrong direction.

The NHRAP (2012-2015) is not China’s first human rights action plan. The first action plan was enacted for 2009-2010. Human Rights Watch reports on the first NHRAP that “[a]t the same time as the Chinese government has pointed to the NHRAP as evidence of its commitment to human rights, the government has systematically continued to violate many of the most basic rights the document addresses” and that China has “broadened controls on Uighurs and Tibetans, and engaged in increasing numbers of enforced disappearances and arbitrary detentions, including in secret, unlawful detention facilities known as ‘black jails.’”⁵³ In fact, HRW says “the government’s failure to implement the Action Plan makes clear it is more of a public relations exercise than a meaningful tool for protecting and promoting human rights for the people of China.”⁵⁴

Due to the lack of serious implementation of the first NHRAP, China faces serious roadblocks in the execution of the current plan. The Chinese government needs to take the human rights goals and principles in the action plan fundamentally. The mentality that human rights are flexible for the practicality of the state needs to be abandoned. Additionally, China should have either an enforcement mechanism or an oversight procedure to ensure that the goals and principles outlined are achieved.

EXTRAJUDICIAL DETENTIONS: RE-EDUCATION THROUGH LABOR, HOUSE ARREST, RESIDENTIAL SURVEILLANCE, AND BLACK JAILS

By definition, something that is extrajudicial employs a method of going outside the rule of law, without the use of any proper proceedings or legal authority to make conclusions. It is inappropriate when the authority to deny an individual their personal liberty is vested in the police force, rather than an independent judicial body. The existence of an independent judiciary is necessary to ensure the proper implementation of the rule of law and the accused be treated fairly within a system. Without the proper checks that a judiciary can offer to security authorities, the authority of the state is allowed to run rampant. This type of police control leads to violations of both Chinese domestic and international laws.

The Chinese government’s use of Re-education Through Labor (Ch: *laojiao*), or RTL, is a violation of not only international law, but also the Chinese constitution. RTL is a system of detention and forced labor, administered through civil authorities and police, without the involvement of the judicial system.”⁵⁵ Public security organs place suspects into detention without conviction by a court for a maximum period of four years, where they are compelled to participate in forced labor and undergo political education.⁵⁶ According to Chinese RTL regulations, “[c]ounterrevolutionaries and anti-socialist reactionaries shall be interned for rehabilitation through labour.”⁵⁷ Thus, RTL is often used as a tool to suppress protests and other forms of political opposition against the Chinese government. In RTL cases, the police can sentence an individual to up to four years in forced labour

52 Id.

53 Human Rights Watch, Promises Unfulfilled: An Assessment of China’s National Human Rights Action Plan, available at <http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/01/11/china-human-rights-action-plan-fails-deliver>

54 Id.

55 Amnesty International, China, Punishment Without Crime: Administrative Detention, 1991. <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=140386>

56 Xu Kai and Zhang Youyi, Qin Xiya, “Re-education Through Labor Reform Hits Critical Point,” 28 August 2012, *Caijing*, available at <http://english.caijing.com.cn/2012-08-28/112087206.html>

57 DECISION OF THE STATE COUNCIL REGARDING THE QUESTION OF REHABILITATION THROUGH LABOUR, (Approved at the 78th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress on August 1, 1957)

camps without any due legal process.⁵⁸ This type of extrajudicial sentencing deprives the liberty of the accused without necessary fair trial procedures, such as access to a lawyer or basic judicial oversight. RTL is also consistently applied to political dissidents and thus many Tibetans are subject to this type of extrajudicial punishment.

There is now an increasing opposition against this practice in China; however, attempts to reform the system have ended in a standstill. Opponents of the system see a “lack of a foundation of legitimacy” and that “[t]he general consensus is that the system is ‘unconstitutional and illegal.’”⁵⁹ Attempts to reform RTL have failed, with security forces citing the desire to “maintain social order and stability.”⁶⁰ The practice of RTL gives security authorities extensive powers to conclude that an accused should be sentenced to incarceration. This type of power is unchecked by any judicial body and thus violates an individual’s right to liberty since in “operation, most re-education through labour approvals are made via the legal departments at municipal public security organs, and require only a signature from relevant officials.”⁶¹

This year, there was some discussion regarding the reform of the use of RTL. In October, it was reported “Jiang Wei, a senior official in charge of China’s judicial system reform, said the country is formulating reforms for the re-education through labour system, adding that the necessity of the reform has been recognized and a plan for the reforms is being developed.”⁶² While insisting that RTL has helped maintain “social order”, Jiang admitted that the “system has been misused to persecute innocent people and illegally punish protestors.”⁶³ However, as mentioned above,

58 SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS OF THE STATE COUNCIL FOR REHABILITATION THROUGH LABOUR, (Approved at the 12th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress and promulgated for implementation by the State Council on November 29, 1979)

59 “Re-education Through Labor Reform Hits Critical Point,” *supra* note 31

60 *Id.*

61 *Id.*

62 Xinhua, Commentary: Reform of labor re-education system inevitable, 11 October 2012, available at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-10/11/c_131900685.htm

63 *Id.*

because the topic of reform has come up many times in the past, there is little optimism that the Chinese government is serious when releasing such statements. The rhetoric used is evidence that the intentions of the Chinese government to reform are once again empty promises. Even if these promises were fulfilled, it would not be enough; the system should be completely abolished, not merely reformed.

The Chinese government also employs the illegal tactics of house arrest and residential surveillance. Under these practices, security forces will heavily guard an individual’s home, controlling their ability to freely move. In addition to the harassment by security forces, the suspected dissident is subject to constant surveillance. This type of confinement is referred to as ‘soft detention’ (Ch: *ruanjin*). Under *ruanjin*, a suspected dissident “may be subject to various forms of harassment, including home confinement, surveillance, restricted movement, and limited contact with others.”⁶⁴ Because this type of confinement is given without any due legal process, *ruanjin* “has no basis in Chinese law and constitutes arbitrary detention under international human rights standards.”⁶⁵ Beyond the fact that this type of confinement is illegal in both Chinese and international law, it is especially troubling that the Chinese authorities can circumvent the law to harass the Tibetans.

Petitioners, or those who travel to Beijing or other major cities in China to lodge complaints against the Chinese government, are placed into black jails to suppress their dissent. Black jails are secretive and privately operated places of confinement, where the petitioners are held without any formal arrest, access to a lawyer, trial, sentence, or other basic due legal process protections. According to the United Nations Committee Against Torture, when referring to black jails, “[d]etention in such facilities constitutes per se disappearance.”⁶⁶ Much like RTL and soft detention, the Chinese authorities use

64 CEEC 2011 Annual Report available at <http://www.cecc.gov/pages/annualRpt/annualRpt11/AR2011final.pdf>

65 *Id.*

66 COMMITTEE AGAINST TORTURE Forty-first session Geneva, 3-21 November 2008, available at <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/docs/CAT.C.CHN.CO.4.pdf>

black jails to circumvent the law and avoid legal due process. In black jails, “[d]etainees are often physically and psychologically abused. Many are deprived of food, sleep, and medical care, and they are subject to theft and extortion by their guards. They have no access to family members or to legal counsel or to courts.”⁶⁷ Dhondup Wangchen, the imprisoned Tibetan documentary filmmaker, was held at Gongshan Hotel, an unofficial place of detention or black jail before he was sentenced to six years in prison on ‘subversion’ charges.⁶⁸ The notoriety of harsh treatment inside the black jails creates an unwillingness of Tibetans to petition against the Chinese government. The fear of being detained in a black jail creates enough motivation to prevent so-called dissidents from being able to peacefully and diplomatically articulate grievances against the Chinese government. This deterrence tactic is another display of Chinese State power and ultimate authority.

CHINA'S 2012 WHITE PAPER ON JUDICIAL REFORM

On 9 October 2012, the Information Office of the State Council or China's cabinet released a white paper concerning judicial reform. The goal of this white paper is to highlight “the progress that has been made in safeguarding justice and protecting human rights” with the focus on “maintaining social fairness, justice and human rights protections.”⁶⁹ The white paper admits that the Chinese judicial system is in urgent need of reform and recognises that “judicial impartiality is a significant guarantee of social justice.”⁷⁰ In dealing with arbitrary arrests and detention, the white paper claims that judicial oversight is exercised through the people's procuratorates. It claims that “China sets enhancing supervision over judicial power as the focus of its judicial reform,

and has taken a range of measures to strengthen legal supervision.”⁷¹ According to the white paper, the people's procuratorates review criminal cases by “examining and approving for arrest, handling people's petitions and visits, complaints of litigants, public opinion and media reports” in order to “promptly find clues to failures in putting a case on file for investigation or wrongfully putting a case on file for investigation.”⁷²

Additionally, when “accepting a case, a charge or a reported offence, or discovering that investigation personnel have collected evidence illegally” the procuratorates are supposed to “give suggestions for correction based on investigation and affirmation, and in the meantime, enhance supervision over the examination and approval of an arrest, the extension or recalculation of an investigation or detention.”⁷³ The procuratorate is thus charged with making sure the approval of an arrest is legitimate according to Chinese law. Continuing further, the procuratorate is given additional responsibility concerning the legality of the detention: “[a]fter a criminal suspect or defendant is arrested, the people's procuratorate should still check the necessity for detention. If the detention is found to be not necessary, the judicial authorities concerned should be advised to release the detainee or alter the compulsory measures.”⁷⁴ The procuratorate has the authority to question a suspect when it approves an arrest application, and it “must question the suspect when it doubts whether the conditions for arrest are met” or when “the investigation may have been in serious violation of the law.”⁷⁵ The white paper thus acknowledges that the procuratorate has a legal obligation to question the suspect when there is an arrest or detention that is counter to the law.

Despite these stated goals, what is troubling is that the white paper says nothing about core problems that beset the Chinese judiciary. According to Stanley Lubman, a long-time specialist on Chinese law, “the lack of judicial independence or the legal

67 Human Rights Watch, *An Alleyway in Hell*, page 2.

68 Amnesty International, *China must release Tibetan filmmaker*, 7 January 2010, available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/china-must-release-tibetan-filmmaker-20100107>

69 Xinhua, *China issues white paper on judicial reform*, 9 October 2012, available at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-10/09/c_131894728.htm

70 Xinhua, *Full Text: Judicial Reform in China*, 9 October 2012, available at http://www.china.org.cn/china/Off_the_Wire/2012-10/09/content_26733617.htm

71 White Paper

72 White Paper

73 White Paper

74 White Paper

75 White Paper, emphasis added

culture of police, judges and prosecutors that lingers from the Maoist period and fosters widespread disregard of laws already in effect” are missing from the white paper.⁷⁶

The paper also suggests that China’s judicial system has proper oversight through these methods. However, as seen in practice, the Chinese judicial system is significantly flawed. Even with this type of oversight, many Tibetans are still arbitrarily arrested and detained. In Tibet, the procuratorates are not fulfilling their legal obligation to protect those who are illegally arrested. This white paper is merely a Chinese propaganda tool to show a façade of reform in the judicial system. It is an exercise in Chinese public relations to show the international community a commitment to change, when in reality the human rights violations still frequently occur within China.

As Beijing University Law School professor He Weifang said, the white paper “does not lay out a concrete path directing the future of legal reform of China. It is an attempt to praise the current leaders.”⁷⁷

III. CONCLUSION

Although outlawed by both international and Chinese domestic laws, the practice of extrajudicial arrests and detentions still occurs frequently in China, especially in Tibet as a tool to suppress legitimate rights. This type of behavior by China is abhorrent. Not only is the practice illegal, it also creates an environment where the detained are exposed to other human rights abuses, mainly the practice of torture.

⁷⁶ Reading Between the Lines on Chinese Judicial Reform, 28 October 2012, Wall Street Journal, available at <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2012/10/28/reading-between-the-lines-on-chinese-judicial-reform/>

⁷⁷ Id.

RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

*[A]fter the highway
Was laid through the centre of the
village
Thanks to coal mining
Sister Dolma's legs were cut off
Uncle Tenpa's life was taken
Boy Tharlo was left orphan
Can I call the above "the change"
in my homeland? ~*

Khawa Lhamo¹

In his landmark book, *Development as Freedom*, Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen argues that the goal of any development policies should be to secure human freedom. Sen writes, "the expansion of human freedom should be both viewed as the primary end and the principle means of development."² His thesis shifts radically from the development agendas of the neo-liberal practices that are adopted by most of the nations today. The focus of the neo-liberal development policies is on what they refer to as rapid 'economic growth,' which empowers and enriches minor sections of the society, leaving behind a huge population in poverty. One constant distress of such development policies is the massive income gap between the rich and the poor, which in turn causes all kinds of social, political and psychological instabilities, often threatening the integrity of a nation. As economist Joseph Stiglitz said, "inequality leads to lower growth and less efficiency. Lack of opportunity means that its most

valuable asset - its people - is not being fully used."³ Sen, therefore, is one of those rare economists, who put the notion of justice and fairness in the centre of economic development.

As Norwegian economist Bertil Tungodden writes in his critical review of Sen's book, *A Balanced View of Development as Freedom*:

"Many academics and practitioners seem to consider Sen as the economist that saved the world from economics, where it is assumed that economics is not at all about poverty, inequality, justice and fairness."⁴

Such a notion of development as freedom is also supported by the United Nations, which advocates the concept of what it calls as 'Rights based Approach to Development.' Under the human rights-based approach to development, the main objective of all development projects and programs should be to fulfil human rights. Further, a rights-based approach "focuses on the realization of the rights of the excluded and marginalized populations, and those whose rights are at risk of being violated, building on the premise that a country cannot achieve sustained progress without recognizing human rights principles (especially universality) as core principles of governance."⁵

1 Tibet Web Digest, *The Change in My Homeland – A Poem*, 10 November 2012, available at <http://tibetwebdigest.com/the-change-in-my-homeland/>

2 Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 150-151.

3 Joseph E. Stiglitz, *the Price of Inequality*, 5 June 2012, available at <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-price-of-inequality>

4 Bertil Tungodden, *A balanced view of developments as Freedom*, Chr. Michelsen Institute Development Studies and Human Rights Working Paper 2001: 14

5 Frequently Asked Questions on a Human Rights-based Approach to Development Cooperation, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FAQen.pdf>

Rights-based Approach to Development does not put profit motives as the be-all and end-all of economic development, but also takes into account the need for overall improvement of human rights of the people. These include important issues like right to “adequate standard of living, protection and assistance to the family, women and children, to attain highest physical and mental health, education, culture, science, decent work and other civil and political rights.”⁶

Similarly, article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development defines it as “an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.”⁷ Further article 2(3) of the Declaration calls on governments “to formulate appropriate national development policies that aim at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals, on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of the benefits resulting therefrom.”⁸

The 2000 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report succinctly sums up the essence of development: “The mark of all civilizations is the respect they accord to human dignity and freedom.”⁹

DEMOCRACY - SINE QUA NON FOR DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

Development policies aimed at realizing human freedom is not possible without participatory democracy - that is without having rights and

opportunities for the people to actively engage and participate in the development policy-making decisions that will impact their lives. Therefore Sen advocates that in order to realize the goals of development as freedom, what is indispensable is participatory democracy. Without political freedom, the marginalized, the poor and the oppressed cannot reap the benefits of economic freedom. He gives certain empirical proofs of how social and political freedom enhanced economic development in parts of East Asia, and how the absence of transparency played a pivotal role in the Asian Financial Crisis.

Development as freedom, said other wise, is not possible in an authoritarian political system, deprived of the rule of law, where decisions regarding all aspects of lives are taken and implemented by a few people on top, not taking into account the unique local cultural contexts. In the case of Tibet, even the quasi-independent Chinese scholars admit that Tibetan people are not given any rights to participate in setting the ‘development’ agendas in Tibet. An online Chinese journal quoted many Chinese scholars as saying that “aid policies to ethnic regions need to adapt to local conditions and include participation from local communities.”¹⁰ Citing Jin Wei, director of ethnic religious studies at the Central Party School of the CCP, the report said 70 per cent of the aid projects between 1984 and 2005 had little effect on boosting economic growth in Tibet. According to the report, Jin said, “many of the programs failed to factor in cultural contexts and relied on government-oriented measures.”

A few years ago, Andrew Fischer, a well-known development expert on Tibet, articulated the same concerns about exclusionary development in Tibet: “Essentially, the most urgent economic problem facing development in Tibet at this time is what I have called ‘ethnically exclusionary growth.’ This means that despite exceedingly rapid economic growth, or precisely because of the exceedingly

⁶ Id.

⁷ UN Declaration on the Right to Development, available at <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>

⁸ Id.

⁹ Human rights and human development – for freedom and solidarity, 2000 Human Development Report, UNDP, available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2000_EN_Overview.pdf

¹⁰ Aid Programs in Tibet Lack Efficiency, Says Scholar, Caixin Online, 18 December 2012, available at <http://english.caixin.com/2012-12-18/100473750.html>

rapid unequal growth and its extreme dependence on outside sources of funding, the majority of Tibetans are just as rapidly being marginalized from this growth. In other words, they have less and less ability to act as significant participants or beneficiaries in the rapidly growing parts of the economy, even while their traditional bases in farming and herding are less and less able to sustain their livelihoods.”¹¹

The World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in 1993, adopted the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, which recognises this principle, as it advocates that democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing.¹²

Furthermore, the fifth paragraph of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted unanimously by 171 nations, states: “All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis. While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.”¹³

The Vienna Declaration and other major international human rights instruments put emphasis on the universality of human rights, stating that human rights should be approached in a holistic manner, rather than selective prioritization of say, right to food over right to vote. Although in 2006 China recognized the universal nature

of human rights during its candidacy to Human Rights Council membership¹⁴, in its recent second National Human Rights Action Plan (2012-15), China made an about-turn from its earlier commitment stating instead that “[t]he Chinese government respects the principle of universality of human rights, but also upholds proceeding from China’s national conditions and new realities to advance the development of its human rights cause on a practical basis.”¹⁵

Having no say in matters that concern their livelihood and overall wellbeing, Tibetans are deprived of their own native agency in spite of all the double-digit growth figures published in Chinese government publications. The statistics fail to highlight the poverty, illiteracy, environmental ravages, powerlessness and suffering on ground.

The development policies in Tibet are framed in Beijing and implemented by local authorities appointed by Beijing, who parachutes the so-called Chinese Aid Tibet cadres and professionals to help ‘develop’ Tibet generally on two to three years’ duty.¹⁶

The economic development in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is subsidized at a rate of 90 per cent with government money fuelling the growth, even as a large portion of this amount goes in maintaining and expanding Chinese military and administrative infrastructure.¹⁷

With the railways and airports built or being build all over Tibet bringing in a steady stream of migrant labourers from all over China, Tibetans, particularly the former nomads, face increasing challenges in finding employment and social relevance in an

11 Andrew Martin Fischer, perversities of extreme Dependence and Unequal Growth in the TAR, Tibet Watch Special Report, August 2007

12 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action: Report of the World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, 14-25 June 1993, UN Doc A/CON.157/23; 32 ILM 1661 (1993), I.5

13 Id.

14 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, HUMAN RIGHTS IN PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (2007), available at <http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/china/report-2007>

15 Full Text: National Human Rights Action Plan of China (2012-2015), 11 June 2012, available at http://english.gov.cn/2012-06/11/content_2158183.htm

16 Andrew Martin Fischer, The Political Economy of Boomerang Aid in China’s Tibet, China Perspectives [Online], 2009/3 | 2009, available at <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/4842>

17 Id.

increasingly Chinese dominated urban centres. Furthermore, the official emphasis on urbanization articulated again in its 12th Five-Year-Plan will make matters worse for Tibetans who are over 80 per cent rural.

In the Tibetan capital Lhasa, overt discrimination was observed in Tibetan job markets where online advertisements show rampant use of “limited to Han” want ads.¹⁸ Chinese language proficiency is becoming an indispensable requirement for employment.

Amartya Sen’s notion of Development as Freedom and the United Nation’s ‘Rights-based Development Approach,’ the implementation of which rests upon political freedom, is hardly applicable to the situation in Tibet, which is under direct control of Chinese authoritarian government. China’s ‘development’ policies in Tibet are aimed to consolidate its control over Tibet and the Tibetan people. The governor of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Jampa Phuntsok, in a television interview with official CCTV news channel bluntly explains the aims behind the ‘development’ policies: to fight off Tibet independence spearheaded by the ‘Dalai Clique and foreign anti-China forces.’¹⁹ During his visit to Tibet’s capital Lhasa, Xi Jinping, the Chinese vice-president asserted that “the economic and social development of Tibet” should always aim to “maintain social stability in Tibet and fight separatist activities led by the Dalai Lama group.”²⁰

China’s development policies in Tibet are therefore the invisible mask that attempts to hide in its cloak its repressive practices. Lifted straight out of Machiavelli’s Prince, which advocates kings who subjugate other territories to use, apart from

military measures, non-military ones, notably settlement of civilian population, to consolidate the occupation,²¹ the Chinese government implements the ‘Western Development Project’ to further absorb Tibet into China.

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS UNDER THE WESTERN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The ‘Western Development’ Strategy (WDS) began in 1999-2000. Among other things, the WDS project is about national minority populations becoming culturally more like the Chinese, attaining “culture with Chinese characteristics.”²² In 2001, a year after the announcement of WDS, China’s parliament, the National People’s Congress adopted significant changes to the 1984 Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law to streamline policy objectives under WDS.²³ In line with WDS objectives, the revised Law calls for “integration and socialist modernisation, resolving the ethnic issue, developing the socialist market economy, safeguarding the national unity, and so on, describing more what is required of TAR officials and ordinary citizens than what they may aim for themselves.”²⁴

Under this campaign, the Chinese government has launched various projects aimed at economically, geographically and socially transforming Tibet and the Tibetan plateau. With the rise of China’s economy due to Deng Xiaoping’s ‘Opening up and liberalization’ policies, the Chinese government, apart from consolidating their control of Tibet, today more than ever before China needs Tibet’s rich mineral resources to feed its booming factories. As a result, it has initiated projects such as mining, damming of Tibetan rivers, nomadic resettlement, tourism, all of which has been extremely profitable

18 Evidence of overt Chinese discrimination against Tibetans in the job market, International Campaign for Tibet, 31 January 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/evidence-overt-chinese-discrimination-against-tibetans-job-market>

19 Champa phuntsok wants to fight independence through ‘development.’ CCTV, 15 March 2009, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pOcrWwBXOkQ>

20 China’s VP vows to speed up Tibet’s development while fighting separatism, Xinhua, 19 July 2011, available at http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-07/19/c_13995866.htm

21 The Prince by Niccolò Machiavelli, Online Reader available at Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/catalog/world/readfile?fk_files=2877627

22 Susette Cooke, Merging Tibetan Culture into the Chinese Economic Fast Lane, China perspectives [Online], 50 | november- december 2003, <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/775>

23 National Autonomy Law Revised To Support Western Development Policy, Tibet Information Network, 2001, available at <http://www.tew.org/development/autonomy.law.html>

24 Susette Cooke, supra note 26

to the Chinese government, but severely destroying not just the delicate ecology of Tibet, but the Tibetan people and their culture. These activities have not only been continued but saw further escalation this year, and will continue at least until 2015. China's 12th Five-Year-Plan stressed that "high priority should be given to the strategy of large-scale development of the western region."²⁵

MILITARIZATION AS DEVELOPMENT

Some analysts have pointed out in the past that large scale infrastructure development including roads, railways, airports and oil-pipe lines prioritised under the WDS in Tibet and Xinjiang is prompted more by security concerns than any serious effort at improving the material conditions of the Tibetans.²⁶

In August 2010, Chinese state media reported that the Qinghai-Tibet railway would significantly enhance transportation capabilities, particularly to supply the air bases and airstrips of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF).²⁷

Further, in 2007, Xinhua quoted an anonymous PLA official as saying that the railway would become 'a main option' for transporting soldiers to Tibet.²⁸ Analysts say the heavy infrastructure build-up and expanding military capabilities in TAR are "well beyond the genuine needs of Tibet and the Tibetan people."²⁹

"THEY ARE DIGGING SOMETHING OUT OF THE EARTH" - LITHIUM, COPPER, AND GOLD EXTRACTIONS

Since the early 1960s, the Chinese geologists have been aware that the Tibetan plateau contained rich reserves of lithium in Drangyer Tsaka but then lithium was of moderate demand both in Chinese and international markets. It was used as a raw material for "unglamorous products like ceramics, industrial greases, and partly in anti-depressants."³⁰ However, now the demand for lithium is jumping up, because it powers mobile phones and laptops much in demand in an age of information and technology. Moreover, the real game changer, as one seasoned researcher puts it, is that it powers lithium batteries driving electric cars.³¹ For the Chinese these growing demands for lithium would be met by the huge reserves found in Drangyer Tsaka and the Tsaidam basin. The Chinese battery-making company, BYD, has capitalized on this treasury, not only taking an equity stake in the Drangyer Tsaka lithium salt deposit, but also occupying contractual rights to its lithium salt for the next twenty years. Even the Americans jumped on this bonanza, as two of the world's richest men Bill Gates and Warren Buffet, flew all the way to Chengdu in 2010 to hold negotiations with BYD, the latter even buying 10 per cent equity stake.

Besides lithium, the Chinese have also found massive reserves of copper and gold in Tibet. China has become the world's biggest producer of copper, and the second biggest consumer of gold. Both copper and gold are used for producing cars, household appliances, power cables, Apple iPad, and Lenovo computers consumed by the wealthy Chinese. But all these coppers and gold are mined in Tibet.

25 China's 12th Five Year Plan (2011-2015) <http://www.britishchamber.cn/content/chinas-twelfth-five-year-plan-2011-2015-full-english-version>

26 Dr. Subhash Kapila, China's Infrastructure Development in the Western Regions: Strategic Implications, South Asia Analysis Group, 15 March 2001, available at <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/paper210>

27 Tibet railway to boost logistical support, The Hindu, 6 August 2010, available at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/article553831.ece>

28 Chinese troops travel to Tibet using mountain railway, Times of India, 1 December 2007, available at http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2007-12-01/china/27987788_1_qinghai-tibet-tibet-railway-chinese-troops

29 Chansoria, Monika. China's Infrastructure Development in Tibet: Evaluating Trendlines, Centre for Land and Warfare Studies (New Delhi), 2011, available at

30 Lafitte, Gabriel. Tibet's resource curse, China Dialogue, 19 December 2012, available at <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4696>

31 Id.

Today, mining is rampant in hundreds of locations across Tibet. The increase in the price of gold, and the growing Chinese demand for gold, has made Tibet a “magnet for gold seekers.”³²

ASSAULT ON THE CRADLE OF TIBETAN CIVILIZATION

China’s aggressive mining activity has intensified to such an extent that the cradle of Tibetan civilization, Yarlung and the adjoining areas are under its assault. In Tibet, the biggest copper and gold deposits are in Shetongmon, Gyama and Yulong districts. Shetongmon is close to the Yarlung Tsangpo, the majestic river that powered Tibetan civilization and Shigatse city, the historic seat of the Panchen Lamas, and the mining activity there are invested by Canadian companies. With the completion of planned railway to Shigatse, the mine will be operational.³³

MINING HAZARDS ON TIBETAN ENVIRONMENT AND THE TIBETAN PEOPLE

While the Chinese and foreign companies are jubilant with the enormous profit they would reap from their investments in Shetongmon, Gyama and Yulong mines, the Tibetan landscape and the Tibetan people have had to bear the brunt of its catastrophic effects. The environmental cost of gold mining is extremely high, with cyanide and mercury being used in the processing, despite their toxic effects on those living downstream. Because of the Shetongmon mine’s proximity to river Tsangpo (Brahmaputra), serious environmental issues are at stake. According to Tibetan research scientists “there is already a natural heavy-metal load in the river; any leakage from the hillside dam waste

tailings could be disastrous. The down stream India and Bangladesh would be affected.”³⁴

Similarly, Gyama mine, which is already operational, located just upstream Lhasa, threatens the purity of water in Lhasa. According to Gabriel Lafitte, a long-term researcher on Tibetan environment and development issues, “the area is seismically unstable, vulnerable to earth quakes. A study of water quality carried out in 2010 revealed that elevated concentrations of heavy metals in the surface water and stream-bed at the upper/middle part of the valley pose a considerably high risk to local environment and to down stream water users. Environmental changes such as global warming or increased mining activity may increase the mobility of these pools of heavy metals.”³⁵

Of serious and immediate concern is the threat of Gyama mine to the health of the Tibetans living in and around the area. The lead content of the Gyama deposits, lying forever in waste dumps below the mine, could severely impact the growing brains of the children of Lhasa. Worse, Tibetan communities do not receive any royalty out of these mining activities. They are not even permitted to voice their legitimate concerns and protests to the Chinese government.

TOURISM AND THE DEVALUATION OF TIBETAN CULTURE

Another project aggressively promoted by the Chinese government in the name of development is tourism. For long, the Chinese government has found the economic opportunities of making money out of Tibetan tradition and culture. While undermining the serious features of Tibetan culture, which empowers Tibetan agency and nationalism, and thus threatens its control of Tibet, the Chinese government has promoted - both for propaganda purposes and hard cash - the superficial traits of

32 Lafitte, Gabriel. China: Tibetans stop mining on sacred mountain, Minority Voices, 28 June 2012, available at <http://www.minorityvoices.org/news.php/en/1147/china-tibetans-stop-mining-on-sacred-mountain>

33 Lhasa-Shigatse railway will be operational within 2 years, 9 November 2012, available at <http://www.tibettravel.org/news/201211091757.html>

34 Lafitte, Gabriel. Tibet’s Mining Menace, China Dialogue, 5 September 2011, available at <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4509>

35 Lafitte, Gabriel. Tibet’s Mining Menace

Tibetan culture and tradition among the western and nouveau-rich Chinese tourists. One classic example of this crude commercialization and devaluation of Tibetan culture is the Chinese government's promotion of Derge (Ch: Deqe) County in Kardze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, as the original location of the novelist James Hilton's mythical Tibetan paradise Shangri-la.

Liu Jianqiang, a well-known Beijing-based Chinese environmental journalist, visited the location of 'Shangri-la' village that the Chinese call Yubeng. Instead of a heavenly paradise filled with physical and spiritual beauty, he witnessed the filth and degeneration spawned by crude commercial tourism. Liu writes:

I went on a journey in search of the "real" Shangri-la trekking up mountains and crossing rivers... only to discover that the paradise is on its way out.... the Shangri-la I'm looking for is a small Tibetan village that has been hidden in the folds of Khawa Karpo for hundreds of years - Yubeng. In times long past, says a local legend, a stranger would visit villages near the mountains every year, asking for grain. He would never say where he came from, and so curious villagers cut a hole in his sack and followed the trail of grain ... But I am not following a trail of grain, I'm following a trail of rubbish: plastic bags, food wrappers, instant-noodle pots, fodder containers, beer cans - all strewn along the winding path of Yubeng.³⁶

While the rich Chinese and western tourists visiting 'Shangri-la' indulges in rampant consumerism, the Tibetan natives of Yubeng have been forced to do petty and slavish work of cleaning up the filth and heaps of trash that follow from such consumerist culture, subjecting them to worst form of human indignities. As Liu writes, "The area was managed by a management bureau - rubbish removal was

the responsibility of villagers, who had their names written on bins placed every 50 meters along the road."³⁷

Traditionally, Khawa Karpo is regarded as one of the most sacred mountains in Tibet. Tibetans believe that near the cave of Khawa Karpo, Guru Padma Sambhava, who is credited with introducing Buddhism to Tibet in seventh century, meditated. As a result, for centuries Tibetans have worshipped the Khawa Karpo Mountain and its adjoining areas as sacred destinations, drawing spiritual sustenance from them. Now, these places of historical, cultural and spiritual significance are being subjected to massive commercial degradation and devaluation of Tibetan culture. Liu continues: "[I]n the October national holiday some 500 tourists arrive everyday, each staying at least two days - meaning that at any one time, there were 1,000 visitors in the village. There weren't enough pack horses, there weren't enough beds, many people couldn't even get drinking water ... tourists were washing in sacred waterfalls, hanging their clothes over prayer flags and shouting loud voices."³⁸

As the American novelist Toni Morrison said, with "predatory capitalism," comes cultural and spiritual degradation.³⁹ The devaluation of human values in favour of the pursuit of naked commercialism and profit making has also occurred at the 'original spot of Shangri-la,' and by extension in all other parts of Tibet. Liu Jianqiang quotes a local Tibetan and his anxieties over the degradation of human values due to rampant commercialism: "[T]he villagers used to make frequent pilgrimage circuits around the sacred mountains, but they are doing that a lot less now, preferring to earn money; they used to treat each other like relatives, like brothers, but now some have learned bad business habits from outsiders, competing and undercutting one another. Give it another five years and we'll all be enemies."⁴⁰

36 Liu Jianqiang, *Vanishing Shangri-la*, China Dialogue, available at <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4518-Vanishing-Shangri-La-1->

37 Id.

38 Id.

39 Toni Morrison, *Paraphernalia of Suffering*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tv4QwIKNNk>

40 Id.

WATER DIVERSION CONTINUES

Another ambitious project under the ‘Western Development Campaign,’ is the plans underway to transfer Tibet’s water to the parched lands in China. One initiative that is of particular concern to the Chinese government is the “Shuotian Canal that will help bring water from Tibet to the city of Tianjin in China’s east coast.”⁴¹ This particular project has received strong backing from Chinese military and influential academics. However, there are many scholars and academics who express serious concerns over the long-term feasibility and sustainability of this project. For instance Xu Daoyi, a retired senior researcher from China Earthquake Administration’s Institute of Geology, was scathing in his assessment of this project: “[T]he proposal barely touches on the seismic and environmental risks, even though the canal would cross several earthquake-prone areas. Its tunnels would also pass through the high mountains of the southwest, where devastating landslides are possible. There is no way to rout the project without passing through these geologically unstable areas.”⁴²

Another Chinese geologist agrees with him. Yang Yong, who has been conducting research on the water diversion project for four years, has put forward his main concerns regarding this project: “[R]isk of triggering earthquakes and geological disasters on the Tibetan plateau; failure to supply the quantity of water claimed in the proposal; the project lacks the necessary mechanisms to respond to emergency situations like drought, earthquakes and mudslides, putting at serious risks the lives of the Tibetans inhabiting in and around the area.”⁴³

The devastating mudslides that killed at least 1,400 people in 2010 in Drugchu (Ch: Zhouqu) County could have been averted if the dams built eleven years ago to hold back such an avalanche of mud and rocks were not “flimsy”, “sub-standard”, badly

designed and constructed, and wholly inadequate for their purpose, according to Professor Chen Ningsheng, an expert from the Chinese Academy of Sciences.⁴⁴

Associated with this massive project is a series of plans being laid down to build hydropower stations for the Yarlung Tsangpo. Major Chinese hydropower firms have already made their presence felt in Tibet. As Chinese researcher Zhou Wei writes, “the Tibet Generating Company [responsible for the Zangmu project] has built a residential area on the open spaces alongside the river at Zangmu and a flourishing town is taking shape with a supermarket better-stocked than those in the county’s main town. The boss, from Zhejiang, moved here from Xiaowan dam in Yunnan, south-west China, two months ago and is positive about the future: ‘there’ll be loads of workers next year, business will be great.’⁴⁵

That means further migration of Chinese labourers, technicians and skilled workers to Tibet, intensifying the alienation and marginalization Tibetan natives are suffering already. Due to such increasing industrialization and urbanization, Tibetan rivers and lakes are shrinking dramatically, raising deep fears that lakes and rivers would dry up if measures are not undertaken to reverse the impacts of climate change, rapid industrialization and urbanization. Water resource projects, like the Zhangmu, are particularly blamed for record low level in fresh water lakes.

RESETTLEMENT OF NOMADS

Another issue of serious concern with China’s ‘development’ activities in Tibet is the forced “settlement”⁴⁶ and “resettlement” of hundreds of

41 Zhou Wei, Divided waters in China, China Dialogue, 20 September 2011, available at <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4539>

42 Id.

43 Id.

44 Nothing natural about these disasters, China Policy Institute, 24 August 2010, available at <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/publications/commentaries-reports/2010/natural-disasters-jackie-sheehan-24-08-2010.aspx>

45 Id.

46 Tashi Tsering at University of British Columbia makes a distinction between settlement (*ding ju*) and resettlement (*yi min*) of nomads. He says settlement usually refers to provision of housing near the same general area where people live and resettlement means people are moved away from their lands to a different place. See <http://tibetanplateau.blogspot.in/2012/05/state-council-opinion-on-promoting-and.html>

thousands of Tibetan nomads from their traditional lands. The official explanation of the Chinese government for this project is to preserve the sustainability of the nomadic grasslands due to excessive animal grazing.⁴⁷ The logic behind this claim is that the nomads and their lifestyles are harming the Tibetan landscape and thus needs to be resettled with a different lifestyle and profession. But it appears other motives drive the nomad resettlement policy. Tibetan nomads who fled into exile in India because of the resettlement projects have this to say: “The Chinese government is not resettling us to save the grasslands from overgrazing, as they claim. The main reason is they are digging something out of the earth. They bring heavy machines to it, and all the jobs are given to Han Chinese. They seem not to trust us in handling these jobs.”⁴⁸

In other words, the Chinese government has been quite successful in hiding its mining activities from the outside world by cloaking its activities as ‘nomadic resettlement to ensure sustainability of grasslands.’ But the truth is, as Tibetans are increasingly pushed against the wall and resort to extreme measures to resist Chinese government’s mining encroachments, even to the point of committing self-immolations to draw world’s attention to their plight.

According to a Chinese government document titled ‘State Council Opinion on Promoting and Speeding Up Sound Development in Grazing Areas’ issued in August 2011, the ‘basic’ work of settling nomads will be completed by 2015 and the settlement process of nomads will be fully completed by 2020.⁴⁹

Experts warn that the “new Socialist villages”⁵⁰ created to relocate about 80 per cent Tibetan rural population may become a source of “violent and brutal disturbance” rather than of well-being for the life of the Tibetan countryside.⁵¹ The policy of building new houses in ‘new Socialist villages’ implemented since 2006 in TAR and now in other Tibetan areas will not only destroy Tibetan landscape and historical landmarks, but also completely disregards the empirical knowledge and flexible expertise grounded in a radically different mode of rural life.⁵²

Since 1980s, China has established many ‘protected nature reserves’ in Tibet either by relocating or evicting the Tibetans who had lived there for generations. However, the flip side of such protected parks and nature reserves is that it allows the Chinese government to “introduce mechanisms for social control and facilitate resource development and eco-tourism plans.”⁵³ Interestingly, the prescribed boundaries for ‘protected parks and nature reserves’ can be changed depending on the availability of mineral reserves, as it happened with the San Jiang Yuan Three Rivers Headwaters Nature Reserve (SNNR), which was formed in 2000 to protect the sources of the Zachu (Mekong), Driчу (Yangtze) and Machu (Yellow) rivers. The boundary of SNNR has since been changed to allow gold mining in the region.⁵⁴

The SNNR project remains one of the most controversial environmental projects initiated by the Chinese government on the Tibetan plateau. Tens of thousands of Tibetan nomads were resettled to create the SNNR causing intense social-cultural disruption among the resettled nomads. Developmental economist Andrew Fischer points out that a large number of self-immolation protests

47 The Last Nomads of the Tibetan Plateau, Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, 25 October 2012, available at <http://pulitzercenter.org/reporting/china-glaciers-global-warming-climate-change-ecosystem-tibetan-plateau-grasslands-nomads>

48 Tsering Dhondup, DIIR Environment and Development Desk, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala, India, TCHRD interview, 15 December 2012

49 State Council Opinion on Promoting and Speeding Up Sound Development in Grazing Areas, Tibetan Plateau Blog, 22 May 2012, available at <http://tibetanplateau.blogspot.in/2012/05/state-council-opinion-on-promoting-and.html>

50 “Comfortable housing and happy lives of Tibetan farmers and herders,” available at <http://2007.tibetmagazine.net/english/2007-1/751585E DAFE09205A4F59140CF0A8D71.html>

51 Robin, Françoise. The “Socialist New Villages” in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, No. 2009/3, China Perspectives, available at <http://chinaprospectives.revues.org/4845?file=1>

52 Id.

53 Mining for gold after kicking out the Tibetan nomads, Tibetan Plateau Blog, 14 April 2012, available at <http://tibetanplateau.blogspot.in/>

54 Id.

has occurred in areas in and around the San Jiang Yuan nature reserve which indicates in no uncertain terms the severity of nomad resettlement in Tibetan areas.⁵⁵

The resettlement projects also cause intense dislocation and uprooted-ness, and thus severe pangs of identity crisis, among the nomads as they are compelled to encounter an alien world imposed from the top. According to Robert Barnett, the relocation and settlement project in the TAR is “forced, heavily regulated ... without the normal safeguards of consensus and consultation.”⁵⁶ Lobsang Monlam, a Tibetan monk activist in Tibet, writes in a secret letter⁵⁷ sent out to the Tibetans in exile:

The Chinese are also exploiting natural resources by digging mines; official cadres are dispatched to various Tibetan towns and villages to oppress and grab our lands. These have become normal routine in some of the remote areas of Tibet, the Chinese, by resorting to various means of trickery, are forcefully changing the identity of Tibetan people through acts of sinicization, reducing them to the status of ‘neither-Tibetan-nor-Chinese (bod min rgya min).

In a petition submitted to the EU in absentia, a Tibetan monk in Tibet writes, “China’s principal objective in building railway lines and highways is to plunder Tibet’s cultural heritage, along with its mineral resources including gold, silver, copper, iron, and timber.”⁵⁸

Monlam’s assertion found resonance in an article written by a Chinese researcher Xia Liwei.⁵⁹ Writing about the implications of nomadic resettlements on

the edge of Gormo (Ch: Golmud), he wrote: “The herders used to live by moving their herds around the grasslands, finding fresh grass and water, but relocation has taken away their livelihood: they are not herders any more [...] the herders expected to live comfortable lives in the towns; they put a lot of faith in the local government. They never expected that they would not only lose their original way of life, but also suffer what they call four hardships: not being able to afford meat, milk, butter tea or heating fuel. The herders’ standard of living is generally low than it was before - and much lower than that of other locals.”

Xia added further, “Chinese government’s resettlement project thus not only robs off the nomads’ ‘original way of life’ and historical memories but also have spawned a dependency-complex among them, even as they are deprived of the joys of nomadic herding and labour due to the ‘expectation that they would live comfortable lives in the towns.”

Control over land is the most important source of autonomy and power for subjugated and marginalised peoples.⁶⁰ The Chinese government’s top-down approach of policy-making in Tibet ensures that local economy and industry are tightly controlled by the State with no participation allowed from the main stakeholders, that is the Tibetans. With the relentless pumping of government subsidy in maintaining and effecting an artificial growth bubble, Tibetans are more dependent on State hand-outs than genuine empowerment.

DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE

The unfolding catastrophe on Tibetan culture after decades of flawed government policies in the name of development has elicited concerns to the extent that China is accused of committing “cultural genocide” in Tibet.⁶¹

In December 2012, in connection with the

55 The Geopolitics of Politico-Religious Protest in Eastern Tibet, *Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology*, 9 April 2012, available at <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/530>

56 “China orders resettlement of thousands of Tibetans,” 6 May 2007, <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?article=China+orders+resettlement+of+thousands+of+Tibetans&cid=16462>

57 Thoughts and Suggestions for the Special meeting to be held in Dharamsala, India, TCHRD http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=330

58 Tibetan Monk Petitions EU, Radio Free Asia, 30 May 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/petitions-05302012153510.html>

59 Xia Liwei, Who are these people now? <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4759>

60 Niezen, Ronald. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*, University of California Press (2003), pp. 90

61 60 Years of Chinese Misrule: Arguing Cultural Genocide in Tibet, Interational Campaign for Tibet, June 2012, available at <http://www.savetibet.org/resource-center/ict-publications/reports/60-years-chinese-misrule>

self-immolation protests, Ursula Gauthier of the French daily *Le Monde* wrote, “After having long pretended to protect minority cultures, if only by limiting them to their folklore, China seems to have switched to an undeclared policy of accelerated assimilation. This is the focus of the Tibetans’ revolt.”⁶²

While making a distinction between “ethnic cleansing” and “ethnocide” in his book *The Origins of Indigenism*, Ronald Niezen writes, “ethnocide stems from the prevailing notion that cultures are malleable, that entire peoples are capable of guided transformation and therefore that inconvenient or threatening attachments to differences can be peacefully disposed of through strategies of cultural reform.”⁶³

In this regard, the official Chinese view on culture published in a recent political education booklet that caused thousands of Tibetan students to hold mass demonstration in Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe) County is instructive. The propaganda booklet, aside from denouncing the Dalai Lama and Tibetan self-immolations, adds: “Culture should not be immutable. Like a river, the beauty of a culture lies in its adaptation and its transformation with changing times.”⁶⁴

Chinese leaders increasingly stress on ‘cultural construction’ and ‘cultural stability’ as Li Changchung, the then Chinese propaganda chief, did on his visit to Tibet Autonomous Region in July 2012. Speaking at a seminar in Lhasa, Li stressed on strengthening propaganda and cultural campaign to promote ethnic unity.⁶⁵

A 14 March 2012 article in *People’s Daily*, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of China, was

62 Translated by Marie-Louise Broch, Tibet: Quiet, People Are Dying, *Le Monde*, 13 December 2012, <http://www.lemonde.fr/>

63 Niezen, pp. 92

64 China alienates, angers Tibetan students with political education, TCHRD, 29 November 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=322:china-alienates-angers-tibetan-students-with-political-education&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

65 TAR Propaganda Chief Stresses Protecting Official Secrets in Tibet, TCHRD, 27 July 2012, available at http://tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=253:tarp-propaganda-chief-stresses-protecting-official-secrets-in-tibet&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

more blunt in its call for arming the minds of all ‘ethnic groups’ with the ‘mainstream Chinese culture’ and moulding their identity as ‘Chinese people’:

Cultural construction is the spiritual pillar of national unity; similarly, national unity is the deepest root for social stability. Facing the problems and challenges in culture construction, we must enhance the crisis awareness to insist arming the minds of the leaders and the masses of all the ethnic groups with advanced culture of Marxism, and make further innovation on both theory and practice, to strengthen spiritual support for social stability and awareness of the state, citizenship and Chinese nationality, so that the people could have a firm belief on their identity as Chinese people and as Chinese citizens, thus take part in developing a new type of socialist interethnic relationship based on a unity in diversified ethnic groups.⁶⁶

Although both ethnic cleansing and ethnocide can be complementary, Niezen continues, “the main difference is that one has the goal of eliminating a people whereas the other has the goal of removing those features that make them distinct.”⁶⁷

However, French ethnologist Robert Jaulin wrote in his ground breaking book, *La paix blanche: introduction à l’ethnocide* (“White Peace: Introduction to Ethnocide”) that ethnocide sometimes include physical extermination especially when the culture of a people is taken away and that culture is their mode of existence.

It is undeniable that a significant number of Tibetan self-immolations occurred in remote nomadic communities, particularly in areas where intensive resettlement policy is being implemented.

“NO TREES WILL BE TAKEN EVEN

66 Cultural Construction Is “The Spiritual Pillar” Of Social Stability, *People’s Daily*, 14 March 2012, available at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/100668/102793/102810/7758310.html>

67 Niezen, pp. 92

IF I HAVE TO DIE”: TIBETAN RESISTANCE

China's 'development' projects in Tibet do not enjoy a smooth ride however. For instance, on 3 March 2012, Tibetans staged a huge protest against mining activities at Shetongmon in Shigatse (Ch: Xigaze) Prefecture in TAR. But the protest was suppressed, as usual, by a large number of Chinese armed forces, who severely beat and then arrested the unarmed protesters. Later, a Chinese court sentenced to prison a group of protesters, including Venerable Sangpo, the abbot of Lingka Monastery, to prison terms of four to five years.⁶⁸

On 16 August 2012 in Markham County in TAR, Chinese police threw tear gas shells, and fired upon a crowd of unarmed Tibetans who were protesting against mining and environmental hazards caused by it. The crackdown resulted in the death of one protester named Nyima and detention six others.⁶⁹

On 29 August 2012, at Gade county in the Golog (Ch: Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai, Tibetan nomads set fire to Chinese gold miners' tents and launched 24-hour patrols around the mountain to keep the gold miners at bay, vowing to give up their lives if necessary to protect the site, the abode of a local god.⁷⁰ The Chinese were digging gold out of the sacred mountain, Dringye Ngo Sorma, which is believed to be a bla ri (soul mountain) because of its beauty and its historical importance in Tibetan spiritual world - it has lake at its base, green meadows on its slopes and other characteristics of sacred mountains. Mining activities in such mountains are extremely offensive to the Tibetans, as they believe these would pollute the soul-deity that inhabit them and that inspires

all the beauty associated with the mountains.

Given its extremely paranoid political culture, China does not allow its citizens even rights of peaceful expression and dissent, which would help in easing tensions. In February 2012, the Tawu Environment Protection Association founded by Tibetans in Tawu (Ch: Daoфу) County to protect environment from rampant mining, deforestation and smuggling of wildlife products immediately shut down and four of its members were detained.⁷¹ Tawu was then kept under heightened security surveillance with armoured vehicles patrolling day and night in the area. According to a source in Tibet, the People's Armed Police officers made frequent patrols on foot in Tibetan neighbourhoods forcibly dispersing Tibetan gatherings of more than three or four people. Because of such airtight control, things often become desperate, with deadly clashes and protests often occurring between the government and the people, including self-immolations.

On 20 November 2012, in Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) county of Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Prefecture, a father of three, Tsering Dhondhup, died after he set himself on fire to protest Chinese gold mining activities at Ghong-ngon Lari mountain in Amchok (Ch: Amuqu) County.⁷²

On 27 June 2012, a Tibetan mother of two in her 40s died of self-immolation protest against forced eviction and land grabs by the Chinese authorities, in Kyegudo (Ch: Yushu) Prefecture.⁷³ Hundreds of Tibetans in quake-hit Kyegudo had in April 2011 protested over seizure of their land for 'development' projects in their area. Instead of listening to the

68 15 Tibetans put behind bars over anti-mining protests in Shigatse, Phayul, 14 February 2011, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=29103&t=1>

69 Tibetan shot dead in anti-mining protest in Markham, Phayul, 16 August 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=31913&t=1>

70 Tibetans guard sacred mountain, Radio Free Asia, 29 August 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/guard-08292012161702.html>

71 Four Tibetan Environmental Activists Detained in Tawu, TCHRD, 15 March 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=179:four-tibetan-environmental-activists-detained-in-tawu-&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

72 Tibetan man dies of burning protest at a gold mining site, TCHRD, 21 November 2012, available at http://www.tchrd.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=313:tibetan-man-dies-of-burning-protest-at-a-gold-mining-site&catid=70:2012-news&Itemid=162

73 Land seizure protests in Keygudo prompts self-immolation, Phayul, 4 July 2012, available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=31688&article=Land+seizure+protests+in+Keygudo+prompts+self-immolation>

grievances of the Tibetan people, 500 armed police beat and detained several protesters.⁷⁴

Chinese migrants who are the main beneficiaries of the development policies such as building hydro electricity projects in Tibet are also forcing Tibetan nomads to give up their lands. In April 2012, Chinese authorities forcibly grabbed land from three Tibetan nomadic villages in Gepasumdo (Ch: Tongde] County in Tsoho (Ch: Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai Province.⁷⁵ The seized land was meant for accommodating thousands of Chinese migrants who were coming to work on two large hydroelectricity projects in the area. At a meeting convened by Chinese government officials on 25 April 2012, Tibetan residents of five nomadic villages in Gepasumdo were told to give up 60 per cent of their land and get rid of 54 per cent of their animals within this year. But the Tibetans refused the Chinese government proposal to seize their lands.

In 2010 in Derge County, in the name of “building houses” for the poor, the Chinese were felling trees on a massive scale. The natural and scenic beauty of Derge, especially its forest, has traditionally inspired the local people to achieve an elegant folk culture, including music. As one collector of folk songs said, “without trees, [folk] songs would never have been sung - the music is like the river, flowing through the forest: it needs to be protected and nurtured by the trees.” Now these trees are being felled excessively, and the forest has been cleared away, with littered trees lying on the roadsides. Apart from the loss of folk culture, the felling of trees has caused mudslides and floods. Unable to bear such injustices, the Tibetan residents of Derge took matters into their own hands. As Feng Yongfeng, a journalist for the Chinese environmental NGO Green Beagle, wrote:

One day ... the people decided that they were

not going to stand for it any longer - they stormed the camps [where the Chinese were living], sabotaged the chainsaws and chased away the loggers, putting an end to the felling ... then they built a simple hut at the entrance to the forest and erected a crude roadblock: this was the villagers’ timber block checkpoint ... without their saying so, no one can remove a single tree, nor can the trucks get in. In the year since since they set up this system, the villagers have stuck to their guns: “No trees will be taken, even if I have to die,” said one.⁷⁶

In another instance of Tibetans resisting the onslaught of resource extraction on their land, residents in Abin village successfully stopped mining activities at Khawa Karpo, one of the most sacred ‘soul mountains’ of Tibet. As Gabriel Lafitte writes:

In February 2011, a small gold-mining operation started near the village of Abin, which is on the western side of Kawagebo [Khawa Karpo], along the path of an 800-year-old pilgrimage route that circles the mountain, attracting tens of thousands of Tibetans annually.

In 2012, Tibetan villagers, acting out of reverence for the holy peak, attempted to stop the operations of a Chinese mining company. The response was threats and violence from company representatives, then harassment and arrests by local police. On two occasions, men armed with wooden sticks with nails reportedly attacked villagers, injuring more than a dozen.

After efforts to negotiate with the local government failed, villagers pushed US\$ 300,000 worth of mining equipment into the Nu River. A leader of the group was arrested, but later released when 100 villagers surrounded

74 Tibetans Protest Land Grab, Radio Free Asia, 5 April 2011, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/protest-04052011163110.html>

75 Tibetan Land Seized For Chinese Migrants, Radio Free Asia, 1 May 2012, available at <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/land-05012012200310.html>

76 Feng Yongfeng, Material concerns in Sichuan (1), China Dialogue, 22 June 2012, available at <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/4367-Material-concerns-in-Sichuan-1->

the local police station where he was being held. A few months later, however, mining resumed and tensions grew. Harassment, death threats and attacks on villagers increased, and some women and children fled to other villages to escape the violence.

On 20 January 2012, a village leader who had tried to confront the mining company was arrested by local police. Some 200 community members surrounded the police station, resulting in violence and injuries on both sides, with at least one villager hospitalized with serious injuries. Hundreds more villagers from the surrounding area joined in. On 23 January, with tensions mounting, a local government leader ordered the mine closed and the equipment trucked out of the village.

CONCLUSION

With the ‘opening of Tibet’ in the 1980s and the implementation of the Western Development Strategy in early 2000, China’s absorption of Tibet has intensified, despite resistance and protests from the Tibetan people. These ‘development’ projects, including mining, water diversion, tourism, have not only encouraged massive Chinese population transfer to Tibet, but also further marginalized and devalued the Tibetans, their traditional livelihood, culture, religion and language. Rather than benefiting the local Tibetans, the development policies of China with their main focus on resource extraction have become a major source of marginalization, exploitation and suffering for the Tibetans. The displacement of nomads from their land and livelihood, the environmental destruction and health hazards due to the mining activities, all contribute to growing resentment and alienation among Tibetans who are increasingly being pushed against the wall. The situation has become so desperate today that many are resorting to extreme forms of protests like self-immolations. Despite such critical circumstances, the Chinese government has not moved an inch from their

policies to “develop Tibet to fight the separatist activities of the Dalai clique.” China’s 12th Five Year Plan (2011-2015) has laid down goals to “maintain a rapid and stable economic development” giving “high priority to large-scale development of the western region” by “develop[ing] hydro-power actively,” “western China trunk lines such as the Lhasa-Shigatse Railway” and “study the feasibility of constructing Sichuan-Tibet Railway.”⁷⁷ Said other wise, China’s absorption and sinicisation of Tibet through ‘development’ projects would continue in the near future, which means more powerlessness and suffering among the Tibetan people.

⁷⁷ China’s Twelfth Five Year Plan (2011-2015)- the Full English Version, British Chamber of Commerce in China, available at <http://www.britishchamber.cn/content/chinas-twelfth-five-year-plan-2011-2015-full-english-version>

APPENDIX: 1

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
10-001	Yonten Gyatso	M	37	monk, chant master; DMC director; Khashi Gephel Samtenling Monastery	18/10/2010	Mianyang Prison	7	Ngaba County, Ngaba Prefecture "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-002	Asong	M	22	monk; Tsodun Monastery	16/08/2012	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-003	Tenzin Palsang	M		monk, official; Draggo Monastery	02/04/2012	Kardze pref. (general location)		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-004	Lobsang Tsering	M	21	monk; Kirti Monastery	26/06/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
11-005	Lodroe	M	36	monk; Kirti Monastery	20/10/2011	Sichuan (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-006	Konchog Dargye	M		monk; Bongtag Monastery	dd/02/2012	Haixi pref. (general location)		Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-007	Konchog Gyatso	M			dd/02/2012	Ge'ermu (general location)	1	Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-008	Sherab Zangpo	M		monk; Bongtag Monastery	dd/02/2012	Delingha (general location)	1	Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-009	Dragpa	M			dd/02/2012	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?		Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-010	Jamyang Oezer	M			dd/02/2012	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?		Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-011	Kalsang Jangsem	M			dd/02/2012	Qinghai (general location)	9	Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-012	Sanggye	M			dd/02/2012	Qinghai (general location)	10	Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-013	Khedrub Gyatso	M		monk, senior; Bongtag Monastery	dd/02/2012	Qinghai (general location)	11	Wulan County, Tsonub Mongol & "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-014	Jang Rin	M		monk; Shingtri Monastery	16/03/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-015	Pema Rigzin	M		monk; Shingtri Monastery	16/03/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-016	Tsegon	M			14/03/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-017	Drugdrag	M			14/03/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-018	Dzomlha Kar	M			10/03/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-019	Siga	M			10/03/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-020	Karma Tharlam	M			10/03/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-021	Khedrub Dorje	M	38	monk; Dza Samdrub Monastery	07/03/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-022	Tamdrin	M	32		22/02/2012	Xining (general location)	2	Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-023	Gewa	M			08/03/2012	Xining (general location)	2	Dzatoe County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-024	Sanggye	M			24/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-025	Tashi Phuntsog	M			23/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-026	Tashi Oezer	M			23/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-027	Tenzin Tsering				14/04/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-028	Tsenor	M			14/04/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-029	Tsamchen	F			14/04/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-030	Tenzin Thabkhe	M			25/02/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
11-031	Urgyen Tenzin	M	55		28/02/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr. (Gutsa)		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-032	Tsondu Gyatso	M		school, director; Luchu Private Orphanage School	dd/01/2011	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Luchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown
12-033	Sanggye Dondrub		33	teacher; Luchu Private Orphanage School	07/05/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Luchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-034	Nyandrag		51	school, director; Khadrog Jamtse Rogten School	02/04/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-035	Dawa				dd/02/2012	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-036	Dragpa				dd/02/2012	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-037	Lubum				dd/02/2012	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-038	Sengge	M			dd/04/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-039	Padgyal	M			dd/04/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-040	Lhagpa	F			dd/03/2012	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-041	Migmar Kalsang		44	possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs prasing the DL	dd/03/2012	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-042	Urgyen Tenzin	M	25		dd/02/2012	Qinghai (general location)	2	Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-043	Tenzin Tsering	M			15/04/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-044	Tashi Gyatso	M	22	monk; Bora Monastery	23/03/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown
12-045	Sonam	M	20	monk; Bora Monastery	23/03/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown
12-046	Kalsang Lodroe	M	23	monk; Bora Monastery	23/03/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown
12-047	Sanggyal Gyatso	M	30	monk; Bora Monastery	23/03/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	Unknown
12-048	Tashi Tsering	M			dd/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-049	Tashi	M			dd/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-050	Rigzin Dorje	M			dd/03/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
08-051	Khedrub Gyaltsen	M	32	monk; Tsang Monastery	dd/03/2008	Qinghai (general location)	10	Yulgan Mongol Autonomous County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-052	Tsulsang Gyatso	M	27	monk; Tsang Monastery	dd/03/2008	Qinghai (general location)	10	Yulgan Mongol Autonomous County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
08-053	Chogtrin Gyatso	M	30	monk; Tsang Monastery	dd/03/2008	Qinghai (general location)	10	Yulgan Mongol Autonomous County, Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Sentenced
12-054	Choephel Dawa	M	21	monk; Tsanden Monastery	15/01/2012	Lhasa? (general location)	2	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Sentenced
12-055	Sonam Gyewa	M		monk; Zilkar Monastery	16/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-056	Lobsang Nyima	M		monk; Zilkar Monastery	16/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-057	Lobsang Samten	M		monk; Zilkar Monastery	16/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-058	Dawa Dorje	M		researcher; Nierong [Nyanrong] County Procuratorate	dd/02/2012	Lhasa? (general location)		Nyanrong County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-059	Dorje	M			05/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-060	Tsering Tashi	M			05/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-061	Tsering Zangpo	M			05/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-062	Tsering Palden	M			05/02/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tridu County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
11-063	Lobsang Tashi	M	26	monk; Kirti Monastery	dd/11/2011	Chengdu? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
11-064	Tsering Kyi	F			17/10/2011	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-065	Namkha Gyaltzen	M	25		25/01/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-066	Tharpa	M			26/01/2012	Dzamtang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzamtang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
10-067	Tsering	M	26	former monk; Kirti Monastery	dd/04/2010	Sichuan (general location)	5	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-068	Sonam Namgyal	M	22		17/06/2010	Chamdo pref. (general location)		Pashoe County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-069	Gyatso	M	42	monk, former teacher; Kirti Monastery	21/11/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-070	Lobsang Gedun	M	48	monk, former disciplinarian; Kirti Monastery	dd/10/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-071	Lhaten	M	44		01/11/2011	Lhasa (general location)		Tagtse County, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-072	Lodroe Rabsei	M		monk, abbot; Karma Monastery	05/11/2011	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-073	Namse Sonam	M		monk, abbot; Karma Monastery	05/11/2011	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-074	Lobe	M	21	monk; Kirti Monastery	04/11/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-075	Yonten	M	19	monk; Kirti Monastery	04/11/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-076	Choepa Lugal	M		publishing (unspec.); Gansu People's Publishing House	19/10/2011	Lanzhou? (general location)		Lanzhou Shi Muni. Urb. Area (County), Lanzhou Shi (Prefecture), Gansu Province	
11-077	Tobden	M			23/10/2011	TAR PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-078	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	50	monk, geshe; Ditsa Monastery	dd/07/2011	Haidong (general location)		Bayan Khar Autonomous County, Tsoshar Prefecture, Qinghai Province	
11-079	Pachen	M	21	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	dd/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-080	Choegon	M	19		25/09/2011	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-081	Kalsang	M			dd/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-082	Kunsang Choegyal	M	25		02/08/2011	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-083	Yonten	M		monk; Gyalmo Monastery (Sangchu)	01/08/2011	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-084	Kaljam	M		monk; Gyalmo Monastery (Sangchu)	01/08/2011	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-085	Jigme Samten	M		monk; Gyalmo Monastery (Sangchu)	01/08/2011	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-086	Tenzin Gyatso	M		monk; Gyalmo Monastery (Sangchu)	01/08/2011	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-087	Lobsang Kalsang	M	19	monk; Kirti Monastery	22/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-088	Paljor	M	38		20/03/2011	Mianyang Prison	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-089	Samphel Dondrub	M	23		10/07/2011	Sichuan (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-090	Tashi	M			20/07/2010	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-091	Tenzin	M			20/07/2010	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-092	Nyima	M			14/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-093	Tashi	M			06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-094	Jamyang Nyima	M			06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-095	Gedun	M			06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-096	Butob	M			06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-097	Delo				06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-098	Lobsang Tsultrim	M			06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-099	Butri				06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-100	Tsesong				06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-101	Tashi				06/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-102	Jamyang Trinle	M	62		02/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-103	Tashi Namgyal	M	60		02/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-104	Arsong	M	56		02/07/2011	Dzogang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-105	Lobsang Ngodrub	M			29/07/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-106	Pema Tsering	M		monk; Beri Monastery	07/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-107	Dorje	M	22	monk; Zhabten Monastery	06/07/2011	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-108	Ngawang Phuntsog	M	34		15/07/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-109	Sonam Nyima	M	19		24/06/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-110	Sonam Choegyal	M	19		24/06/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-111	Tsering Kyipo	M	25		dd/06/2011	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-112	Lobsang Gyatso	M	39	monk; Kirti Monastery	09/07/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-113	Jampa Wangchug	M	35	monk; Dargye Monastery (Kardze)	05/07/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-114	Lobsang Choejor	M	35	monk; Dargye Monastery (Kardze)	05/07/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-115	Dosa	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-116	Karma Monlam	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-117	Karma Zoepa	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-118	Urgyen Samten	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-119	Gaya Tashi	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-120	Sherab	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-121	Jigtag	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-122	Karma Samten	M		monk; Zurmang Monastery	12/07/2011	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
11-123	Tashi Tsewang	M	19	monk; Dargye Monastery (Kardze)	22/06/2011	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-124	Kunga Choezom	F	22		28/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-125	Dekyi Lhamo	F	18		28/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-126	Jampa Choedon	F			15/06/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-127	Shi Lhamo	F			15/06/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-128	Yangchen	F			15/06/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-129	Namgyal Lhamo	F			13/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-130	Tashi Choedron	F			13/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-131	Paltrug	F	34	nun; Nyagye Nun.	18/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-132	Choesang	F	31	nun; Nyagye Nun.	18/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-133	Choenyi Lhamo	F	29	nun; Gaden Choeling Nun. (Kardze)	20/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-134	Drolma Palmo	F			19/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-135	Jamtrug Drolma	F			19/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-136	Trinle Drolma	F		nun; Nyagye Nun.	18/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-137	Lobsang Khadro	F		nun; Nyagye Nun.	18/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-138	Lobsang Yangtso	F		nun; Nyagye Nun.	18/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-139	Tseyang	F			09/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-140	Dega	F		nun; Lamdrag Nun.	10/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-141	Tsewang Drolma	F		nun; Lamdrag Nun.	10/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-142	Shoga	F		nun; Lamdrag Nun.	10/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-143	Riga	F	20	nun; Lamdrag Nun.	10/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-144	Goyang	M	30	monk; Tsitsang Monastery	10/06/2010	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-145	Ngawang Lobsang	M	37	monk; Dargye Monastery (Kardze)	15/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-146	Oezer Phuntsog	M	31	monk; Beri Monastery	07/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-147	Gyurme Sonam	M	18	monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	06/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-148	Tsewang Tashi	M	18	monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	06/06/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-149	Lobsang Geleg	M	27	monk; Kirti Monastery	08/04/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-150	Lobsang Choephel	M	19	monk; Kirti Monastery	12/05/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-151	Chogyam	M	33		15/04/2011	Chengdu (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-152	Chime	F	37		15/05/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-153	Lobsang Khedrub	M	36	monk; Kirti Monastery	06/05/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-154	Lobsang Rinchen	M	21	monk; Kirti Monastery	09/05/2011	Ngaba pref? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-155	Pesang	M		monk; Jophu Monastery	dd/01/2011	Pome Prison (Bomi)	2	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
11-156	Lobsang Palden	M	34		01/05/2011	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-157	Konchog Tsultrim	M	31	monk; Kirti Monastery	dd/03/2011	Ngaba pref? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-158	Lobsang Dargye	M	31	monk; Kirti Monastery	11/04/2011	Ngaba pref? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-159	Jampa Tso	F	28	nun; Phuntsog Choeling Nun. (Badag)	16/04/2011	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-160	Tsering Dradul	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	dd/04/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-161	Lobsang Konchog	M	28	monk; Kirti Monastery	28/04/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-162	Lobsang Tenzin	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	25/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-163	Tenzin Gyatso	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	08/04/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-164	Donyoe Dorje	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	08/04/2011	Chengdu? (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-165	Tenzin	M	21	monk; Kirti Monastery	25/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-166	Lobsang Choephel	M	24	monk; Kirti Monastery	30/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-167	Lobsang Ngodrub	M	32	monk; Kirti Monastery	30/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-168	Lobsang Tsepag	M	27	monk; Kirti Monastery	25/03/2011	Beijing (general location)		Haidian Dist., Beijing Shi Muni. Urb. Area (Prefecture), Beijing Shi (prov.)	
11-169	Oezer Dorje	M	28		23/03/2011	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-170	Ador	M	35		23/03/2011	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-171	Dorje	M	35		23/03/2011	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-172	Palkho	M	43		23/03/2011	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzamthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-173	Choetso	F	64		dd/03/2011	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-174	Mochag	M	47		dd/03/2011	Dege PSB Det. Ctr.		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-175	Sonam	M			22/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-176	Wangchug	M			22/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-177	Lobsang Jamyang	M	16		22/03/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-178	Samdrub	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	11/04/2011	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-179	Pasang Tsering	M	21		dd/mm/2010	TAR (general location)		Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-180	Namtse	M		editor (unspec.); Pandita Printing Press	dd/03/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-181	Tenzin Gyatso	M		monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	16/03/2011	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-182	Wangchen Geleg	M		monk; Dontog Monastery	10/03/2011	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-183	Pema Tso	F	17	typist; Pandita Printing Press	26/02/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-184	Tsering Tenzin	M		monk; Palyul Namgyal Monastery	03/01/2011	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-185	Tsering Dondrub	M	23	monk; Rongtha Monastery	dd/03/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr.		Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
11-186	Zoepa Gyatso	M		monk; Tenzar Drenpa Monastery	15/01/2011	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-187	Jamyang Rigsang	M	34	monk; Lingkha Monastery	18/12/2010	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-188	Rigzin Pema	M	35	monk; Lingkha Monastery	18/12/2010	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-189	Tsewang Dorje	M	37	monk; Lingkha Monastery	18/12/2010	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-190	Jamyang Tsering	M	38	monk; Lingkha Monastery	18/12/2010	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-191	Kalsang	M	49	monk, abbot; Lingkha Monastery	18/12/2010	TAR (general location)	4	Shetongmon County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
10-192	Dondrub Dorje	M			dd/mm/2010	Lhasa (general location)	4	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-193	Wangdrag Nyima	M	40		dd/mm/2010	Lhasa (general location)	3	Damshung County, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-194	Lobsang Dondor	M			dd/mm/2010	Lhasa (general location)	2	Damshung County, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-195	Tenpa Lodroe	M		monk; Ngagyur Densa Chenmo Monastery	29/12/2010	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Palbar County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-196	Tashi Tobgyal	M	29		dd/08/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5	Tsona County, Lhokha Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-197	Sonam Bagdro	M	44		dd/08/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Tsona County, Lhokha Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-198	Jangtse Donkho (Nyen)	M	32		21/06/2010	Mianyang Prison	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-199	Samdrub	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	10/03/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-200	Kalden	M	32	monk; Drepung Monastery	10/03/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-201	Ngawang	M		monk; Shelkar Choede Monastery	19/05/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-202	Dawa (Joleb Dawa)	M	38		01/10/2010	Ngaba pref. (general location)	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-203	Sonam Dorje	M	25	monk; Taglung Monastery (Serthar cty.)	05/05/2010	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-204	Tsegon	M			30/09/2010	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-205	Samten	M			30/09/2010	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-206	Dorje Dragtsal	M			dd/09/2010	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-207	Palden Choedrag	M			dd/09/2010	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-208	Donkho Gyagpa	M	45		25/08/2009	Chengdu (general location)	5	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-209	Choedar	M	33	monk; Kirti Monastery	25/08/2009	Chengdu (general location)	13	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-210	Konchog Nyima	M	39	monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa? (general location)	20	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-211	Jampal Wangchug (Tsephel)	M	51	monk, disciplinarian; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Chushur Prison	20	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-212	Wangdu Gyatso	M	26	monk; Palyul Namgyal Monastery	02/08/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-213	Gyurme Tenzin	M		monk, official; Mindrolling Monastery	dd/09/2010	Dranang PSB Det. Ctr?		Dranang County, Lhokha Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-214	Lhamo Kyab	F		teacher, primary; school (primary)	dd/03/2008	Lhasa (general location)	15	Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-215	Dargyal	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-216	Dashin	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-217	Dorje Trinle	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-218	Tobgyal	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-219	Tenphel	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-220	Gedun	M			dd/06/2010	Ngari (general location)		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-221	Tenzin Dorje? (Tendo)	M			07/06/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-222	Ngawang Dorje? (Ngado)	M			07/06/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	6	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-223	Sonam Ngodrub (Sonam)	M	40		09/06/2009	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	5	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-224	Petrug	M	23		19/04/2010	Bathang (general location)		Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-225	Gyiga	M	18		dd/12/2009	Bathang PSB Det. Ctr?		Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-226	Kalsang Jinpa (Garmi)	M	35		19/07/2010	Mianyang Prison	3	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-227	Buddha	M	34	doctor, writer; Aba [Ngaba] County Hospital	26/06/2010	Mianyang Prison	4	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-228	Tenzin Choedak (Tenchoe)	M		NGO, development; Panam Integrated Rural Development Project	dd/04/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-229	Buga	M	22		14/04/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	6	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-230	Dragden	M	20	student, high; Ma'erkang Nationalities Higher Middle School	17/03/2010	Barkham (general location)		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-231	Kalsang Tsultrim (Gyitsang Takmig)	M	30	monk; Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery	27/07/2010	Lanzhou? (general location)	4	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
11-232	Sherab Gyatso	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	dd/03/2011	Chengdu? (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-233	Trintse	M	25	monk; Kirti Monastery	29/03/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	9	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-234	Khyenrab Norbu	M		monk; Shag Rongpo Monastery	21/07/2010	Nagchu pref. (general location)		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-235	Jigme	M	40		07/02/2009	Ngaba pref. (general location)	7	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-236	Tashi Tobgyal	M	30		05/07/2010	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-237	Rinchen Dorje	M	40		dd/03/2010	TAR (general location)		Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-238	Dorje Tsering	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-239	Loche	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-240	Jigje Kyab	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-241	Lhago	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-242	Atam	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-243	Konlho	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-244	Choelho	M			27/06/2010	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-245	Gyurme Trinle	M	24		18/03/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	10	Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-246	Jigme Gonpo	M		artist, painter (Tib. thangka); Thangka Buddhist Academy (Kangding)	dd/03/2008	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-247	Sonam Gyalpo	M	15		09/05/2008	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-248	Chogden Tsultrim	M	19		20/04/2008	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-249	Chamdu Dudrub	M	52		dd/04/2008	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-250	Tsultrim Tendar	M	21		dd/04/2008	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-251	Ngawang Lodroe	M	17		dd/04/2008	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-252	Tashi	M	24		dd/02/2010	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-253	Dasher	M			13/03/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-254	Tashi	M	22	monk; Guru Monastery	08/04/2010	Chengdu? (general location)		Nyagrang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-255	Rinchen Samdrub	M	44	farmer, environmentalist; Vol. Environ. Protection Assoc. of Kham Anchung Senggenamzong	07/08/2009	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	5	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-256	Karma Samdrub	M	42	art collector, environmentalist; Qinghai Three River Environmental Protection Assoc.	03/01/2010	Yanqi PSB Det. Ctr?	15	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-257	Tashi Wangdu	M	35	monk; Wara Monastery	06/06/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-258	Tashi Lhundrub	M	22	monk; Wara Monastery	07/06/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-259	Kalsang Dargye	M	32	monk; Wara Monastery	06/06/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-260	Tselo	M			15/05/2010	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-261	Gonpo Thar	M			15/05/2010	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-262	Gonpo Lhundrub	M			15/05/2010	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-263	Jalo	M			15/05/2010	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-264	Konchog Namgyal	M	22		20/03/2010	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-265	Tashi Gyatso	M	26	monk; Sarma Monastery	08/04/2010	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-266	Tagyal	M	29	monk, senior; Wara Monastery	16/05/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-267	Sonam Gonpo	M	26	monk; Wara Monastery	15/05/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-268	Nangse	M	27	monk; Wara Monastery	15/05/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-269	Thinley	M	25	monk; Wara Monastery	15/05/2010	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr.		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-270	Choephel	M		teacher, vocational; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	dd/03/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-271	Kirti Kyab	M		teacher, writer; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	18/03/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?	32011	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-272	Sonam	M		writer; Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	17/03/2010	Barkham Prison	22011	Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-273	Tobden	M		teacher, primary; Machu Tibetan Nationality Primary School	28/03/2010	Machu PSB Det. Ctr?		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
10-274	Choekyong Tseten	M		school, headmaster (assistant); Machu Tibetan Nationality Middle School	dd/03/2010	Machu PSB Det. Ctr?		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
10-275	Thakchoe	M	20		05/04/2010	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-276	Urgen Namgyal	M	25		31/03/2010	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-277	Wangchen Tobgyal	M	15	monk; Serthar Buddhist Inst. (Larung Gar)	30/03/2010	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-278	Tenzin Gyatso	M	16	monk; Serthar Buddhist Inst. (Larung Gar)	30/03/2010	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-279	Trinle	M	45		18/03/2010	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Gar County, Ngari Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-280	Lobsang Donyoe	M		monk; Zakhog Monastery	26/04/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	6	Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-281	Samphel	M		monk, former treasurer; Zakhog Monastery	26/04/2008	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-282	Tashi Gyaltsen	M		monk, former abbot; Zakhog Monastery	26/04/2008	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dege County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
10-283	Yeshe	M	20	monk; Ditsa Monastery	14/03/2010	Hualong PSB Det. Ctr.		Bayan Khar Autonomous County, Tsoshar Prefecture, Qinghai Province	
10-284	Jamyang	M	19	monk; Ditsa Monastery	14/03/2010	Hualong PSB Det. Ctr.		Bayan Khar Autonomous County, Tsoshar Prefecture, Qinghai Province	
09-285	Tashi	M	25		dd/12/2009	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-286	Pema Yeshe	M	28		11/03/2009	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr?	20	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-287	Tsewang Gyatso	M	32	school, cook; school (primary)	11/03/2009	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr?	16	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-288	Sonam Gonpo	M	24	school, cook; school (primary)	11/03/2009	Deyang PSB Det. Ctr?	20	Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-289	Choenga Tsering	M	41		07/12/2009	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-290	Tsejor Gonpo	M	43		07/12/2009	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-291	Tenzin Dargye	M	21		02/12/2009	Lhasa pref. (general location)	3	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-292	Jamdro	M			05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-293	Lobsang Wangchuk	M			05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-294	Tsering	M			05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-295	Tenzin Trinle	M			05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-296	Sherab Drolma				05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-297	Tsering Dondrub	M			05/12/2009	Yajiang [Nyagchukha] (gen. area)		Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-298	Tsepag	M	28	monk, trulku; Khakhor Monastery	04/12/2009	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-299	Sherab Nyima	M	25	monk; Tsakho Monastery	04/12/2009	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-300	Nobe	M		monk; Tsakho Monastery	04/12/2009	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-301	Ngagsung	M	23	monk, abbot; Tsakho Monastery	04/12/2009	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Matoe County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-302	Sonam Tobgyal (Sotob)	M			07/06/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	7	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-303	Yeshe Namkha	M	25		01/10/2009	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-304	Sheba	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-305	Tharshong	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-306	Sonam	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-307	Thubpo	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-308	Dagyam	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-309	Trinle Nyima	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-310	Loyag	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-311	Nemel	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-312	Dawa	M			29/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-313	Yagar	M			30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-314	Thambo	M		monk, disciplinarian; Tashi Gephelling Monastery	30/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-315	Dechen Trinle Rinpoche	M		monk, trulku; Tashi Gephelling Monastery	29/08/2009	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr.		Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-316	Ngawang Dondam	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	dd/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-317	Ngawang Choenyi	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	dd/04/2008	Lhasa? (general location)	15	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-318	Lobsang Wangchuk	M	26	monk; Drepung Monastery	dd/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)	15	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-319	Lobsang Dargye	M		monk; Ragya Monastery	22/03/2009	Machen PSB Det. Ctr?		Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-320	Gage	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-321	Tsering	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-322	Samphel Norbu	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-323	Rigchung Nyidrag	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-324	Sangay Tashi	M	38		21/06/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xin-duqiao)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-325	Gonpo Dargye	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-326	Norlha	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-327	Gyaltzen Dorje	M			27/06/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-328	Yonten Gyatso	M	40		21/07/2009	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-329	Lobsang Nyandrag	M	18	student (unspec.); Guru Gewa School	28/06/2009	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr.		Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-330	Thabkhe Gyatso	M	34	monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	15/03/2008	Lanzhou (general location)	15	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
08-331	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	35	monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	22/05/2008	Lanzhou (general location)	20	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-332	Sonam Geleg	M		monk, chant master; DMC director; Denma Choekhorling Monastery	01/04/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-333	Tseten Sonam	M		monk; Denma Choekhorling Monastery	01/04/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-334	Sonam Nyima	M	40	monk; Tsitsang Monastery	01/04/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-335	Ngagchung	M	39	monk; Serthar Buddhist Inst. (Larung Gar)	08/07/2008	Ya'an Prison?	7	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-336	Jampa Sonam	M	21		05/04/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-337	Tsering	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-338	Paga	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-339	Lhadar	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-340	Sonam Palmo	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-341	Lobsang Palden	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-342	Yeshe Dorje	M			dd/05/2009	Jomda PSB Det. Ctr?		Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-343	Kalsang Gyatso	M	36	monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	13/04/2009	Kanlho Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
09-344	Thubpa	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-345	Dorje Tsering	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-346	Dorje Kyab	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-347	Phurbu	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-348	Pema Drime	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-349	Pema Dorje	M			07/06/2009	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-350	Sonam Gyatso	M	38	monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	19/05/2009	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
09-351	Tsondru Gyatso	M	35	monk; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	19/05/2009	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
09-352	Jamdo	M	27		dd/05/2009	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-353	Tenpa	M	30		dd/05/2009	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-354	Tsundue	M	30	monk, DMC; Zhabten Monastery	11/04/2009	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-355	Tsultrim Gyaltsen	M	34	monk, geshe; Zhabten Monastery	11/04/2009	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-356	Thubten Thabkhe	M	47	monk, former abott; Zhabten Monastery	11/04/2009	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
09-357	Paga	M			23/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-358	Olu	M		monk; Lhagang Monastery (Minyag)	25/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-359	Thubten	M		monk; Lhagang Monastery (Minyag)	25/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-360	Choekyi	F			27/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-361	Palchen				27/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-362	Yali				27/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-363	Pema Lhamo	F			27/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-364	Khethar	F			27/03/2009	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-365	Konchog Gyatso	M		monk; Lutsang Monastery	dd/04/2009	Guinan [Mangra] (general location)		Mangra County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-366	Aga	F			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-367	Gonpe	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-368	Kyalga	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-369	Gyalshe	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-370	Dawa Dragpa	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-371	Dragbe	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-372	Alo	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-373	Yiga	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-374	Gonpo Tsewang	M			15/04/2009	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-375	Kunga Tsayang (Gangnyi)	M	20	monk, writer; Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery	17/03/2009	Lanzhou? (general location)	5	Chigdril County, Golog Tibetan Auto. Prefecture, Qinghai Province	
09-376	Thugsam	M	36	monk; Nurma Monastery	11/03/2009	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
09-377	Thabkhe Gyatso	M		monk; Lutsang Monastery	dd/04/2009	Guinan [Mangra] (general location)		Mangra County, Tsolho "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-378	Gyaltsen	M		monk; Ragya Monastery	22/03/2009	Machen PSB Det. Ctr?		Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-379	Tsultrim	M		monk; Ragya Monastery	21/03/2009	Golog pref? (general location)	4	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-380	Mengag	M		monk; Ragya Monastery	22/03/2009	Machen PSB Det. Ctr?		Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-381	Sonam Yangchen	F		nun; Lamdrag Nun.	24/03/2009	Chengdu? (general location)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-382	Dorje Lhamo	F			16/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-383	Jampa Dondrub	M			16/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-384	Pachen	M	30		21/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-385	Tsering Wangdrag	M	40		21/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-386	Dungkar Dorje	M	40		21/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-387	Jampa Dondrub	M	27	monk; Tsitsang Monastery	19/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-388	Palden Gyatso	M		monk, disciplinarian; Ragya Monastery	22/03/2009	Golog pref? (general location)	7	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
09-389	Lobsang Khadro	F	21	nun; Gema Drawog Nunnery	06/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-390	Choekyong Tsering	M	18	monk; Lithang Monastery	22/03/2009	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-391	Lobsang Wangchug	M	29	monk; Lithang Monastery	10/03/2009	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr?		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-392	Dawa Tsering	M	25		14/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-393	Sonam	M			12/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-394	Tsering Wangmo	F	17		11/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-395	Choetso	F	16		11/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-396	Sanggye Tsering	M	17		14/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-397	Rinchen Wangsal	M	16		14/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-398	Karma Norbu	M	17		14/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-399	Namsal Dorje	M	28		14/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-400	Choenyi Gyatso	M	18		05/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-401	Tsering Dragpa	M	17	student, middle; Ganzi (Kardze) Middle Sch.	05/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-402	Rinchen Phuntsog	M	15	student, middle; Ganzi (Kardze) Middle Sch.	05/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-403	Pema Yangtso	F	22		05/03/2009	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-404	Gyatso (Mewa Gyatso)	M		monk; Kirti Monastery	05/03/2009	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-405	Jamyang Phuntsog (Jankho, Jangkor)	M	36	monk; Kirti Monastery	03/03/2009	Chengdu? (general location)	6	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-406	Konchog Tsephe	M	39	Internet, Web site operator; Chomei (Web site)	26/02/2009	Lanzhou? (general location)	15	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
09-407	Tashi	M	24	monk; Kirti Monastery	27/02/2009	Barkham (general location)		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-408	Sonam Tenpa	M	29		16/02/2009	Lithang "Tsaka" PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
09-409	Lobsang Lhundup	M	38	monk; Nekhor Monastery	15/02/2009	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.		Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-410	Tenzin Zoepa	M		monk; Jowo Monastery (visiting Samye Monastery)	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Tsome County, Lhokha Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-411	Tenzin Buchung	M		monk; Langthang Monastery (visiting Samye Monastery)	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality, Xizang "TAR"	
08-412	Phuntsog	M		monk; Samye Monastery	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Konpo Gyamda County., Nyingtri Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-413	Nyima Tashi	M		monk; Samye Monastery	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Gongkar County, Lhokha Prefecture, , Xizang "TAR"	
08-414	Gyaltsen	M		monk; Samye Monastery	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Tsona County,, Lhokha Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-415	Kalsang Nyima	M		monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	09/06/2008	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-416	Ngodrub Phuntsog	M	53		18/03/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	8	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-417	Norbu Tsering	M	49		18/03/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-418	Sherab Sangpo	M	26	monk; Dongthok Monastery	26/03/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xinduqiao)	6	Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-419	Paljor Norbu	M	81		31/10/2008	Lhasa (general location)	7	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-420	Sonam Tseten	M			dd/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-421	Yeshe Choedron	F	57		dd/03/2008	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-422	Tsewang Dorje	M	40		dd/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	8	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-423	Migmar Dondrub	M	37		14/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	14	Lhasa Municipality, Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-424	Yeshe Palden	M	27	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	14/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-425	Phuntsog Nyingpo	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-426	Thubchog	M	38	monk, DMC; Nyethang Ratoe Monastery	16/04/2008	Chushur PSB Det. Ctr.		Lhokha Prefecture, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-427	Konchog Thabkhe	M		monk; Tagtsang Lhamo (Kirti) Monastery	17/04/2008	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-428	Konchog Rabten	M		monk; Tagtsang Lhamo (Kirti) Monastery	17/04/2008	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Dzoege County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-429	Lobsang Palden	M		monk; Beri Monastery	18/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-430	Thangnye	M		monk, former chant master; Beri Monastery	18/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-431	Lobsang Geleg	M		monk, chant master; Beri Mon- astery	18/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-432	Dradul	M		monk; Ramoche Temple	26/05/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-433	Buchung	M		monk; Ramoche Temple	26/05/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-434	Yudrum	M			19/06/2008	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Serthar County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-435	Tashi Ngodrub	M	30	monk; Beri Monastery	24/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-436	Kalsang Yeshe	M	27	monk; Beri Monastery	24/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-437	Gyurme Wangdrag	M			dd/06/2008	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-438	Tenpa	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-439	Lobsang Jampa	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-440	Jamsem	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-441	Jampa	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-442	Gaden Lhagyal	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-443	Choewang	M		monk; Drepung Monastery	11/04/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-444	Tsewang Dragpa	M	22		06/06/2008	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xin- duqiao)	5	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-445	Jampa Tashi	M	24		14/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-446	Kunsang Tsering	M	22	monk; Dargye Langna Monastery (Kardze)	15/07/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-447	Yonten Gyatso	F	19		17/07/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-448	Dorje	M	30		11/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-449	Lobsang	M	20		11/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-450	Gado	M			26/07/2008	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
08-451	Jamsang	M			26/07/2008	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
08-452	Ngoso Konkyabsang	M	35		26/07/2008	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
08-453	Asang Bersatsang	M	21		26/07/2008	Nangchen PSB Det. Ctr.		Nangchen County, Yulshul "TAP", Qinghai Province	
08-454	Yiga	M			31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-455	Wudor	M		monk; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-456	Paldor	M		monk; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-457	Sopal	M		monk; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-458	Thubten Tsering	M		monk; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-459	Sonam Nyima	M		monk; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-460	Lobsang Yangphel	M		monk, disciplinarian; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-461	Lobsang Dondrub	M		monk, chant master; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	31/03/2008	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-462	Atri Rinpoche	M	50	monk, trulku; Dzachuka Wonpo Monastery	15/03/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	5	Sershul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-463	Lobsang Choegyen	M	18	monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	14/05/2008	Chengdu (general location)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-464	Lobsang Tenpa	M	17	monk; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	14/05/2008	Chengdu (general location)	5	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-465	Solu	M	18	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	09/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-466	Jampa Dorje	M	18	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	09/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-467	Jampa Phuntsog	M	18	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	09/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-468	Serga	M	37	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kardze)	22/06/2008	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-469	Sonam Lhatso	F	35	nun; Pangri Nun.	14/05/2008	Chengdu (general location)	10	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-470	Dorje Khadro	F	34	nun; Pangri Nun.	14/05/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-471	Tenzin Gyephel	M		monk; Shelkar Choede Monastery	19/05/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Dingri County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-472	Wangmo	F	29		25/03/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-473	Dolma Yangtso	F	23		25/03/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-474	Khagongsang Choedron	F	43		25/03/2008	Chengdu? (general location)	7	Draggo County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
10-475	Sungrab Gyatso	M	34	monk; Mura Monastery	25/03/2010	Gansu (general location)	3	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP", Gansu Province	
08-476	Zoepa	M	30	monk; Mingge Monastery (visiting Sera Monastery)	10/03/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	5	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-477	Lodroe (Sonam Lodroe?)	M	30	monk; Dza Bonpo Monastery (visiting Sera Monastery)	10/03/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Sershul County, Kardze TAP, Sichuan	
08-478	Lobsang Ngodrub	M	29	monk; Dza Bonpo Monastery (visiting Sera Monastery)	10/03/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	5	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Sershul County, Kardze TAP, Sichuan	
07-479	Lhakdon	M	31	teacher, middle; CCP; middle school (Khangmar, Nagchu)	14/06/2007	Shigatse Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?, Nyari		Khangmar County, Shigatse Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
07-480	Phuntsog Gyaltsen	M	33	CCP, cadre (PSB; dep. town head); Palgon (Bange) County PSB	19/04/2007	Nagchu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Palgon County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
07-481	Adrug Kalgyam	M	26		03/09/2007	Kardze Pref. Prison? (Xin-duqiao)	5	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
07-482	Jamyang Kunkhyen	M	32	teacher, middle; Lithang Middle School	22/08/2007	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	9	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
07-483	Adrug Lupoe	M	45	monk; Lithang Monastery	21/08/2007	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	10	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
07-484	Ronggye Adrag	M	52	herder; Yoruma clan, Lithang	01/08/2007	Mianyang Prison	8	Lithang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
05-485	Dolma Kyab (Lobsang Kelsang Gyatso)	M	30		09/03/2005	Xining Prison	10	Tsojang, TAP, Qinghai Province	
06-486	Namkha Gyaltsen	M		monk, chant master; Kardze Gepheling Monastery	dd/03/2006	Ngaba Prison? (Maowun)		Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
04-487	Gyalpo	M	25		04/02/2004	Kardze Pref. Prison (Kangding)	11	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
04-488	Lobsang Khedrub	M	21		dd/02/2004	Kardze Pref. Prison (Kangding)	11	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
00-489	Tsering Lhagon	M	40		19/03/2000	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
02-490	Trulku Tenzin Deleg (Angag Tashi)	M	54	monk, trulku; Jamyang Choekhorling Monastery	04/07/2002	Chuandong Prison	20	Nyagchukha County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
01-491	Tashi Gyatso	M	37		05/05/2001	Xining area (brick factory)	12	Machen County, Golog "TAP", Qinghai Province	
00-492	Nyima Dragpa (Dragpa)	M	26	monk; Nyitso Monastery	22/03/2000	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr.	9	Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
00-493	Choeying Khedrub (Khedrub)	M	28	monk; Tsanden Monastery	19/03/2000	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	20	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
03-494	Jampa Choephel (Zoepa)	M	33	monk; Khangmar Monastery (Kakhog)	dd/01/2003	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	12	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	
96-495	Dawa Gyaltsen	M	25	staff (unspec.); bank	dd/02/1996	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
03-496	Choedar Dargye (Sherthar?)	M	35	monk, chant master; Khangmar Monastery (Kakhog)	dd/01/2003	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	12	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
99-497	Bangri Chogtrul (Jigme Tenzin Nyima)	M	40	care provider (children), Kongpo Bangri Monastery; Gyatso Children's Home	26/08/1999	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	18	Lhasa City, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-498	Nyima Dragpa (Dragpa)	M		monk; Nyitso Monastery	19/04/2008	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.		Tawu County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
08-499	Wangdu Gyatso	M	26		09/00/8/2/	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	20	Gonjo County, Chamdo, "TAR"	
94-500	Triga	M	17		1994	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	18	Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
95-501	Konchog Phuntsog	M	45	doctor; Panchen Lama (relative)	17/05/1995	Beijing? (general location)		Lhari County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
93-502	Karma Sonam	M	32		dd/mm/1993	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	23	Bathang County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	
96-503	Jigme Gyatso	M	34	monk; Amdo Labrang Monastery	30/03/1996	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	18	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
95-504	Dechen Choedron	F	43	nurse; Panchen Lama (relative)	17/05/1995	Beijing? (general location)		Lhari County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-505	Wangdu	M	40	NGO, health; HIV Prevention in Lhasa Project (Burnet Institute)	14/03/2008	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	20	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture Taktse County, Xizang "TAR"	
05-506	Sonam Gyalpo	M	43		28/08/2005	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	12	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-507	Phuntsog Dorje	M	40	business owner, restaurant; Snowlands Hotel	dd/03/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	9	Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-508	Ngawang Namgyal (Tashi Tseten)	M	51	monk, former; Drepung Monastery	16/03/2008	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Municipality, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-509	Gyaltsen Choedrag (Namkar, Nangkar)	M	44	monk; Nyethang Ratoe Monastery	16/04/2008	Chushur PSB Det. Ctr.		Chushur County, Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-510	Aa Dhonyoe	M		Gonsar Monastery			6	Derge County, Kardze "TAP"	
08-511	Astruk Phuntsok	M					8	Kardze "TAP" Sichuan province	
10-512	Ahbo Tashi	M	22	Guru Monastery	8/4/2010			Nyarong County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan province	
11-513	A-Kyakya	M	30	Nomad	Before 8/6/2011			Meruma (1st Ruchen) Ngaba	
11-514	Ani Chemi	F	37	Dakgon Nunnery Kardze County	26/6/2011			Khotse township, Kardze County	
08-515	Bagdro	M			00/03/2008		15	Lhasa City, Municipality, "TAR"	
99-516	Bangri Rinpoche	M	40	Kongpo Bangri Morinpocnastery	26/08/99	Chushul prison	18		
08-517	Basang (Passang)	M		Dingkha Monastery			0	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-518	Bhu Tengay	M		Benkar Monastery	00/08/2008		8	Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture "TAR"	
08-519	Bhuchung Norbu	M		Benkar Monastery	00/08/2008		8	Driru County, Nagchu Prefecture "TAR"	
08-520	Bhumo	F	36	Pangri Na Nunnery	14/05/2008	Trimon	9	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan province	
11-521	Bhumo Jamga	F		Lamdrak Nunnery	10/6/2011			Kardze	
11-522	Bomo	F	17	Kardze	26/6/2011				
08-523	Chime	F	20		00/00/2008		10	Namling County, Shigatse Prefecture "TAR"	
11-524	Choe Kyi Nyima	M	37		24/06/2011			Khok tse township, Kardze County	Unknown
11-525	Choega	F	35	Daknon Nunnery, Kardze County	26/06/2011			Khok tse township, kardze County	Unknown

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-526	Choephel Tashi	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Unknown
11-527	Choeyang	F	27	Gyetsul Nunnery	12/6/2011			Do-nga village, Soongo township, Kardze County	Unknown
08-528	Daku	M			dd/06/2008		52009	Datho township, Kardze County	
08-529	Dashi	M	30		15/03/2008		10	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-530	Dawa Sangpo	M	30		00/00/2008		0	Taktse County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
98-531	Dawa Tsering	M	54	Farmer	00/09/98	Chushul Prison	15	Markham, Chamdo TAR	
09-532	Dechen Thinley Rinpoche	M		Chaktsa Monastery	29/08/2009			Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-533	Deyang	F	19		26/6/2011			Datho township, Kardze County	
08-534	Dhargyal	M	26	Ngaba Kirti Monastery	24/04/2008		5	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-535	Dhargye	M	26	Sog Tsedhen Kyiti Monastery	10/8/2010			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-536	Dheyang	F	18	Kardze	26/06/2011			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-537	Dhola	M			15/03/2008		15	Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-538	Dhondup Wangchen	M	33		26/03/2008	xichuan prison	6	Qinghai Province	
11-539	Dhonkho	F	57	Wife of Gerig	19/03/2011			Meruma (3rd Ruchen) Ngaba	
10-540	Dhoru Tsultrim	M	32	Gomage Monastery	25/05/2010			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-541	Dhunka Dorjee	M	40		21/03/2009			Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-542	Docru Tsultrim	M	28	Monk and News Editor	4/1/2009	Thintso Prison	4852011	Tso Ngon	
08-543	Dorjee Tashi	M	40	Tibetan businessman	14/03/2008		0	Labrang County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
09-544	Dokru Tsultrim	M		Ngaba Gonmang Monastery	00/04/2009			Tsolho "TAP" Shinghai Province	
10-545	Dokru Tsultrim	M	32	Gongmang Monastery	25/05/2010			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-546	Dolha	M		Teacher, Aba T&QAP Nationalities Teachers Training College	27/03/2010	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?		Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-547	Dolkyab				7/6/2009			Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-548	Dolkyab Tsang Lama Kyab	M	19		11/4/2008		15	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-549	Dolma Namgyal	M		Layman	00/04/2008	Chengdu prison	6	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-550	Dorjee	M			2008	Amdo Tsoe prison	5		
11-551	Dorjee	M	16	Kirti Monk			3	Ngaba County, Lontsang Village	
08-552	Dorjee Dhargyal	M			00/03/08		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	
08-553	Dorjee Dolma	F			15/03/2008		14052012	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	
08-554	Dorjee Tsering	M	38	Tibetan Businessman	14/03/2008		6	Labrang County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-555	Dorjee Wangyal	M	31	Thanggya Monastery	1/4/2008		15	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	
08-556	Dorjor	M			00/03/2008		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	
10-557	Drakden	M	20	Student	17/03/2010			Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-558	Drakpay	M			15/04/2009			Nyarong County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
95-559	Gedun Choekyi Nyima	M	6	Tashi Lhunpo Monastery	17/05/95	Beijing?		Nagchu, Lari County, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
10-560	Geleg	M		Zeka Monastery	00/03/2010		9.5	Jundhar County Chamdo "TAR"	
11-561	Gelek	M	27	Kirti Monk	8/4/2011			Merumu (1st Ruchen) Ngaba	
11-562	Gepel	M	23	Kirti Monk	Before 08/06/2011			Meruma (2nd Ruchen) Ngaba	
11-563	Gerig	M	60	Layman	19/03/2011			Meruma (3rd Ruchen) Ngaba	
11-564	Gompo Tsetan	M			2008	Len Toe Phyuel Prison	5	Tsoe Dhoker	
11-565	Gonpo	F	22	Kardze Monastery	12/6/2011			Yarkhang township, Kardze County	
08-566	Gonpo Tsekho	M	30		00/00/2008		14	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
10-567	Goshul Lobsang	M	38		10/9/2010		11	Amdo Machu County	
11-568	Gyaltsen	M		Kardze	21/08/2011			Nyeshap village, Tawu, Kardze County	
11-569	Gyatso (Thongsho)	M	63	Nomad	24/07/2011			Choe-Jayma township, Ngaba County	
08-570	Gyurme Dhondup	M	28	Thanggya Monastery	1/4/2008		0	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	
09-571	Gyurme Gonpo	M		Taklung Monastery	00/05/2009	Jombda PSB DC?		Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-572	Jamchu Trukul	M		Jonphu Monastery	00/02/2010			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	
11-573	Jampa Lhatso	F	25	Lamdrak Nunnery	10/6/2011			Rongtsa township, Kardze County	
09-574	Jamyang Sherab	M	42	Dhen Choekor Monastery			13	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	
03-575	Jamyang Soepa	M	41	Hu Yen Monastery	2003	Yak Nga Prison Dardho	12	Amdo Hu Yen County	
07-576	Jamyang Tenzin	M	33	Youru Geydenling Monastery	10/3/2007	Lithang PSB DC	8	Youru Sakhor, Lithang, Kardze "TAP"	
08-577	Jigme	M	26	Dingkha Monastery	17/03/2008		15	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	
11-578	Jigme	M	30	Kirti Monk	24/04/2011			Amdo Machu County	
11-579	Jigme	M	28	Kirti Monk	00/04/2011			Tokho-Mehma, Machu County	
10-580	Jigme Gyatso	M		Monk	00/11/2010		4	Kanlho "TAP" Qinghai Province	
96-581	Jigme Gyatso	M	17	Monk	1996	Lhasa Chushul Prison	17		
11-582	Jigtak	M		Surmang Monastery, Nangchen	12/7/2011	Nangchen Counyt, Detention Centre			
08-583	Kalbha	M	23		17/03/2008		0	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-584	Kalden Chodak	M			15/03/2008		14052012	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-585	Kalsang Bakdo	M	28	Dingkha Monastery	17/03/2008		15	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-586	Kalsang Dhondup	M	22		10/3/2008		14032012	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR"	
11-587	Kalsang Jamyang	M		Diza Monastery	6/11/2011			Thanmchen County (DC) Qinghai Province	
10-588	Kalsang Julme	M	29	Wara Monastery	15/05/2010			Jundhar County, Chamdo "TAR"	
08-589	Kalsang Tsering	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-590	Kalsang Tsering	M		Thanggya Monastery	1/4/2008		0	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
10-591	Kalsang Tsultrim	M	22	Gongmang Monastery	20/05/2010			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-592	Karma Dawa	M	27	Dingkha Monastery	18/03/2008		15	Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
10-593	Karma Pelsang	M	22	Zeka Monastery	00/03/2010		9.5	Jundhar County, Chamdo "TAR"	
11-594	Karma Samten	M		Surmang Monastery, Nangchen	12/7/2011	Nangchen County Detention Centre			
11-595	Karma Soepa	M		Surman Monastery, Nangchen	12/7/2011	Nangchen County Detention Centre			
11-596	Karyak	M		Monk	13/07/2011	Detention Centre		Nangchen Surmang Monastery	
08-597	Kelden	M			00/03/2008		20	Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
09-598	Kelsang Gyatso	M	21	Lutsang Monastery	25/02/2009			Mangra County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	
08-599	Khando Lhamo	F		Ngangong Nunnery	25/03/2008	Chengdu prison?	7	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-600	Khechok	M	36		11/4/2008		13	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-601	Kunchok	M	16	Tsendrak Monastery	11/4/2008		10	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
11-602	Kunchok Dhondup	M			2008	Len Toe Phyucl Prison	9	Machu County	
09-603	Kunchok Jinpa	M	33	Gaden Choephel Ling Monastery	18/03/08		12	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
10-604	Kunchok Nyima	M		Drepung Monastery	11/4/2008		20	Dzoge County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-605	Kunchok Tsephel	M	39		26/02/2009			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-606	Kunga Phuntsok	M	19	Thanggya Monastery	3/4/2008		10	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
08-607	Kunga Tenzin	M	20	Thanggya Monastery	2008		15		
07-608	Kunkhen	M	32	Teacher, Lithang Middle School	8/22/2007	Dhartsedo PSB DC	9	Lithang, Kardze "TAP"	
08-609	Kunyang	M		Khenpa Lung Monastery			3		
08-610	Lama Kyab	M	20		11/4/2008		15	Kardze, "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-611	Lama Phuntsok Lamchung	M		Drepung Monastery	00/04/2008			Damshul County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-612	Lama Tagyal	M		Gonsar Monastery			3	Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-613	Legshi Drakpa	M		Monk	26/03/2010			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
09-614	Lhakpa Tsering	M			2008		7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-615	Lhakpa Tsering	M	22		2008		5	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	
08-616	Lhakpa Tsering (Chewa)	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality, "TAR"	Sentenced
11-617	Lhama Tsering	M	21	Khangmar Monastery	17/06/2011			Shenang village, Soonga, Kardze County	
11-618	Lhama Tsering	M	17	Khangmar Monastery	18/06/2011			Gyensangdha village, Soonga, Kardze County	
11-619	Lhasang	F							
11-620	Lhundup	M	26	Behri Monastery	12/6/2011			Behri village, Serkhar township, Kardze County	
09-621	Lobsang	M	36	Gaden Choephel Ling Monastery	18/03/2008		21	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
11-622	Lobsang Choephel				12/7/2001				

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-623	Lobsang Dhargyal	M	22	Kirti Monk	23-25/03/2011 (12/4/11)		2	Meruma (2nd Ruchen) Ngaba	
09-624	Lobsang Gyaltsen	M	21	Mera Monastery	29/01/2009			Dzogong County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
08-625	Lobsang Gyatso	M	19	Woeser Monastery	14/05/2008		5	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
11-626	Lobsang Gyatso	M		Kardze Monastery			9		
08-627	Lobsang Khechok	M			15/03/2008		14052012	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
04-628	Lobsang Khedrup	M	22		00/02/2004	Ngaba Prison	11	Kardze County, "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-629	Lobsang Lhundup	M			10/7/2011				
11-630	Lobsang Palden	M	30	Monk	26/04/2011			Kham Dhagya Zakho	
11-631	Lobsang Phuntsok	M	17		10/7/2011				
08-632	Lobsang Samten	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-633	Lobsang Tashi	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
88-634	Lobsang Tenzin	M	22	"TAR" University	19/03/1988	Chushul Prison	18	Lhasa	
11-635	Lobsang Tenzin	M	26		23/06/2011			Lhuba township, Kardze County	
11-636	Lobsang TenzinX	M	21	Kirti Monk	23/03/2011			Chuklay, Ngaba County	
11-637	Lobsang TenzinX	M	21	Kirti Monk	00/05/2011		102	Ngaba County (30/08/2011) Sentence from Barkham Peo Court	
08-638	Lobsang Tsemey	M			15/03/2008		15	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-639	Lobsang Tsephel	M		Ratoe Monastery	2008		9	Chushul County, Lhasa Municipality "Tar"	
11-640	Lobsang Tsundue	M	46	Kirti Monk	Fill in the details			Meruma (2nd Ruchen) Ngaba	
08-641	Lodoe	M	19	Tsendrak Monastery	21/03/2008		12	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
09-642	Lodoe	M	30	Oenpo Monastery	10/3/2008	Chushul Prison	10	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-643	Lodoe	M	36	Kirti Monk	27/10/2011			Ngaba County, Adhue village	
93-644	Lodroe Gyatso	M	33	Performer, traditional; Sog Drama Association	17/01/1993	Chushul Prison	21	Sog, Sogrongmi, Nagchu Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	
08-645	Lodrup Phuntsok	M	23	Achog Tsenyi Monastery	20/03/2008		13	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-646	Lodrup Yeshe	M	33	Achog Tsenyi Monastery	20/03/2008		13	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-647	Lodup Tendar	M		Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008		7	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-648	Loten				2008		6	Derge County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-649	Mewship Gyatso	M	42	Kirti Monk	21/11/2011				
08-650	Migmar	M			00/03/2008		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-651	Migmar	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-652	Migmar Dhondup	M			2008		14	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
10-653	Migme	M	40	Ngaba Kirti Monastery	7/2/2009		7	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-654	Mipang Delek	M	22	Zekar Monastery	11/3/2010		9	Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
09-655	Namlha				00/04/2009			Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture "TAR"	
10-656	Namsel	M	27	Wara Monastery	15/05/2010			Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
08-657	Nangrin	M	36		24/04/2008		11	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-658	Ngawang	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
97-659	Ngawang Geyser	M	21	Sog Tsendhen Monastery	18/08/1997	Disappear		Sog Ya-Ngashang	
08-660	Ngawang Choeyang	M			00/03/2008		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
09-661	Ngawang Tashi	M	51	Dhen Choekor Monastery				Jomda County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
09-662	Ngawang Tenzin	M	19		00/09/2008		5	Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
08-663	Ngoegha	M	53		18/03/2008		8	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-664	Norbu	M		Kardze	19/08/2011			Rinah Lungpa, Tawu Kardze County	
10-665	Nordon	F		Nyimo Gaysey Nunnery	00/03/2009		2	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-666	Norzin Wangmo	M		County Court official			5	Marthang County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-667	Nyanel Phuntsok	M		Dhargyaling Monastery	6/11/2011			Qinghai Province Thanmchen County DC	
08-668	Palden Thinley	M		Kardze Monastery	18/05/2008		7	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-669	Passang Rinchen	M		Khangmar Monastery	11/06/201				
11-670	Pelyang Dolma	F	17		26/06/2011			Datho township Kardze County	
11-671	Pema Rinchen	M		Writer	5/7/2011			Kham Kardze County	
11-672	Pema Rinchen	M			5/7/2011			Drango County, Kardze Prefecture	
09-673	Penkyi	M	23		2008		0	Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
11-674	Penpa Lhamo	F	22	Gyetsul Monastery	12/6/2011			Drooklang village, Lhopa township, Kardze County	
08-675	Phelsam Tashi	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	Sentenced
08-676	Phuntsok	M					29	Chushul County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
11-677	Phuntsok	M	28	Kirti Monk	17/10/2011			Ngaba County, Ngatsang Me village	
11-678	Phuntsok	M	25	Layman	16/03/2011			Meruma (2nd Ruchen) Ngaba	
11-679	Phuntsok Dolma	F	48	Gaden Choeling Nunnery	19/06/2011			Tsoshe village, Dhadho township, Kardze County	
09-680	Phuntsok Dorjee	M	40		00/00/2008		9	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-681	Rinchen Gyaltzen	M	28	Thanggya Monastery	1/4/2008		10	Gonjo County, Chamdo Prefecture "TAR"	
11-682	Rinchen Gyatso	M		Khangmar Monastery	17/06/2011			Kardze County	
08-683	Rongchok Tsang Khechok	M	30		11/4/2008		13	Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
10-684	Samkar	M	33	Toden Medul TashiKyil Monastery	13/08/2008		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
09-685	Sangha	M	33	Takten Bon Monastery	13/08/2008		8	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-686	Ser Loklok	M	25	Kardze Monastery	12/6/2011			Gyagar village, Rongtsa township, Kardze County	
97-687	Sey Khedrup	M	27	Sog Tsendhen Monastery	19/03/2000	Chushul Prison	0	Sog Yognashang	
08-688	Sherab	M	40	Makur Namgyaling Monastery	23/03/2008			Chentsa County, Malho "TAP" Qinghai Province	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-689	Sherab			Surmang Monastery, Nangchen	12/7/2011	Nangchen County DC			
03-690	Sherab Dargyal	M	41	Hu Yen Monastery	2003	Yak Nga Prison Dardho	12	Amdo Hu Yen County	
03-691	Shethar	M	35	Khangmar Monastery	00/01/2003	Ngaba DC	12	Marthang County	
10-692	Sodhar	M	38	Sog Tsendhen Monastery	10/8/2010			Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-693	Soe Lhatso	F	35	Pangri Na Nunnery	14/05/2008	Trimon	10	Kardze County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-694	Sonam Dakpa	M	35	Oenpo Monastery	19/03/2008	Chushul prison	10	Sersbul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-695	Sonam Dakpa	M	21		23/06/2011			Lhuba township, Kardze County	
08-696	Sonam Dekyi	F	30	Dragkar Nunnery			4	Dartsedo County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-697	Sonam Dhondup	M	18	Student	17/03/2010			Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-698	Sonam Ngodup	M	40		6/9/2009		5	Chamdo "TAR"	
08-699	Sonam Norbu(Tsering)	M					0	Lhasa Real Estate Driver	
10-700	Sonam Rinchen	M	19	Student	17/03/2010			Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-701	Sonam Topgyal	M		layman	6/5/2010		2.5	Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-702	Sonam Tsering	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-703	Sonam Tsering	M			29/04/2008		0	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
10-704	Sonam Tsering	M	23		25/05/2010		0	Dege County Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-705	Sonam Tsering	M	23	Layman			0	Pheyul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-706	Sonam Yarphe	M	21		2/4/2008	Thring Chen	12	Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-707	Samdup	M		Ngaba Kirti Monastery	22/03/2011			Meruma (2nd Ruchen) Ngaba	
08-708	Talo	M	29		18/03/2008		10	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-709	Tashi	M	19	Woeser Monastery	14/05/2008		8	Markham County, Chamdo prefecture "TAR"	
10-710	Tashi Choedon	F		Businesswoman	25/05/2010		37	Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-711	Tashi Dolkar	F	35	GadenChoeling Monastery	19/06/2011			Woksang village, Dhado township, Kardze County	
08-712	Tashi Gyatso	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-713	Tashi Namgyal	M			15/03/2008		14052012	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
10-714	Tayun				25/05/2010		7032012	Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-715	Temi Kyab	M	30	Teacher	00/05/2010			Bhakam County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-716	Tenpa Dhondup	M			15/03/2008		14052012	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-717	Tenphal	M	25	Sera Monastery	9/7/2008	Sertha County prison		Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-718	Tenzin	M	44	Gaden Chokorling Monastery	23/03/2008		15	Chone County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
11-719	Tenzin						10		
11-720							3082011		
08-721	Tenzin Chodak(TenCho)		20		13/04/2008		15	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-722	Tenzin Gyatso	M		Gaden Chokorling Monastery	23/03/2008		13	Chone County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
11-723	Tenzin Gyatso	M	40		After2008		15	Amdo Chone County	
11-724	Tenzin Gyatso	M	28		After2008		13	Amdo Chone County	
01-725	Tenzin Khedup	M		Tsamping Monastery	18/07/01	Chamdo DC	0	Tengchen County	
08-726	Tenzin Lhamo	F			15/03/2008		10	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
11-727	Tenzin Lhatso	F	27	Kardze	12/6/2011			Lhakyi village, Thinga township, Kardze County	
09-728	Tenzin Norbu		29		00/09/2008		5	Markham County, Chamdo prefecture "TAR"	
08-729	Tenzin Yeshe	M			15/03/2008		14	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-730	Terzoed	M	25		16/03/2008		15	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-731	Tharchin	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
10-732	Theram(Tashi Rabten)	M	28	Writer, editor, student, university; Northwest University for Nationalities	06/4/2010	Sichuan (general location)	40711	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-733	Thinley(Thintse)	M	30	Ngaba Kirti Monastery	22/03/2008		9	Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-734	Thinley Wangyal	M	21	Thanggya Monastery	2008		5		
08-735	Thupten Gyatso	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-736	Thupten Nyima	M	30	Palyul Monastery	19/03/2008		6	Chigril County, Golog "TAP" Qinghai Province	
05-737	Thupten Thabkai	M		Tsamping Monastery	18/07/2001	Chamdo DC	0	Tengchen County	
11-738	Thupten Wangchuk	M	26	Farmer	17/03/2011			Totsik Ngaba County	
11-739	Topten	M			19/10/2011			Kham Dhaka Zokchen	
92-740	Trinkar	M	33	Farmer	00/00/92	Chushul Prison	22	Sog County, Nagchu "TAR"	
10-741	Trukul Namgyal	M	19	Sethar Tatse Monastery	2/4/2010			Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-742	Trulku Jangchup	M		Jophu Monastery	00/03/2011		3		
08-743	Trungwang Dakpa	M			2008		5	Tawu County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-744	Tsechoen	F			16/03/2008		15	Ngaba County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-745	Tsedak	M	31		22/03/2008		6	Ngaba County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-746	Tsekho	M	27		17/03/2008		13	Ngaba County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-747	Tsekho	M	30	Kirti Monk	20/03/2011		2.5	Sekor village, Totsik township Ngaba County	
08-748	Tsenam	M		Ratoe Monastery	2008		5	Chushul County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
97-749	Tsepel	M	64	Serwa Monastery	1997	Chushul Prison	16	Chamdo Pashoe	
08-750	Tsering	M			29/04/2008		0	Lhasa "TAR"	
10-751	Tsering Dhondup(Kentse)	M	26	Tsedol Monastery	12/2/2010			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-752	Tsering Nyima	M	17	Thanggya Monastery	2008		10		
11-753	Tsering Tamding	M			30/08/2011		13		
11-754	Tsering Tashi	M	34	Farmer	19/03/2011			Athoe Thawa, Ngaba County	
08-755	Tsetan	M	30	Thanggya Monastery	00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
08-756	Tsewang	M	36	Kholo Monastery	2008		0	Jomda County, Chamdo "TAR"	
09-757	Tsewang Dakpa	M			6/6/2008	Chengdu	7	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-758	Tsewang Gyurme	M			25/05/2010			Payul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
10-759	Tsewang Richen	M		Kholo Monastery	2009		0	Jundhar County, Chamdo "TAR"	
08-760	Tsewang Yeshe	M	20	Thanggya Monastery	3/4/2008		9	Gonjo County, Chamdo "TAR"	
03-761	Tsokphel	M	31	Khangmar Monastery	00/01/2003	Ngaba DC	12	Marthang County	
08-762	Tsulkho	M	36		19/03/2008		6	Chigdril County, Golog "TAP" Qinghai Province	
08-763	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	37	Labrang Monastery	22/05/2008		0	Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	
08-764	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	42	Achog Tsenyi Monastery	2008		9	Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-765	Tsundue	M	46	Kirti Monk	12/4/2011		1129811		
08-766	Tulku Phurba Tsering	M		Tehor Kardze Monastery	18/05/2008		8.5	Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-767	Wamo	F		Ngangong Nunnery			7	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
11-768	Wangyang	M		Kardze Monastery	19/06/2011			Kardze County	
08-769	Yargay	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-770	Yeshe	M	35		2008		12	Phenpo Lhudup County, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
08-771	Yeshe	M			00/03/2008		14032012	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality "TAR"	
11-772	Yeshe Lhatso	F	22	Gyetsul Nunnery	12/6/2011			Do-Nga village, Soongo township, Kardze County	
96-773	Yeshe Tenzin	M	32	Sog Tsedhen Monastery	17/03/2010	Chushul	15	Sog, Sogrongmi	
10-774	Yeshe Tsomo				25/05/2010		37	Palyul County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
08-775	Zaru Tenpa Gyatso	M		Taktsang Lhamo Kirti Monastery	29/03/2008		5	Zoge County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	
03-776	Zoepa (Soepa)	M	33	Khangmar Monastery	00/01/2003	Ngaba DC	12	Marthang County "TAP"	
12-777	Thupten Dhonyoe	M	40	Abbot, Bekhar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-778	Geylong Nyendak	M		Bekar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-779	Gyatso	M	55	Bekar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-780	Tashi Sonam	M	41	Bekar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-781	Dakpa Gyaltsen	M	41	Bekar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-782	Bhudho	M	36	Bekar Monastery	00/03/2012	Lhasa Prison		Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-783	Tsethar (Yeshe Drupsel)	M	27	Bekar Monastery	00/02/2012	Toelung	1	Bekar Monastery, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-784	BhuchungNga	M		Layperson	00/02/2012	Toelung		Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-785	Yeshe Lodoe	M		Layperson	00/02/2012	Toelung		Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-786	Thupten Jampa	M		Monk	00/02/2012	Toelung		Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-787	Lochoe	M		Monk	00/02/2012	Toelung		Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-788	Tsering Tashi	M	31	Monk	00/02/2012	Toelung	2	Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Sentenced
12-789	Rinchen	M	35	Layperson	00/02/2012	Toelung		Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-790	Norbu	M	39	Layperson	00/02/2012	Toelung	1	Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	sentenced
12-791	Lhundup	M	29	Monk	00/10/2012			Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-792	Migyur	M	28	Layperson	00/10/2012			Bekar, Diru County, Nagchu Prefecture, "TAR"	Unknown
12-793	Ngawang	M			24/07/2012	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Gonjo] Cty. Chamdo Pref, TAR	Unknown
12-794	Chechog		48	Layperson	13/08/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba Cty. Ngaba TAP Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-795	Bonkho Kyi	F	44	Layperson	13/08/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Ngaba Cty. Ngaba TAP Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-796	Tashi Tobgyal	M	31	Accountant, Drango Monastery	00/01/2012	Kardze pref? (general location)		Draggo Cty. Kardze TAP Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-797	Trinle	M	42	Manager, Drango Monastery	00/01/2012	Kardze pref? (general location)		Draggo Cty. Kardze TAP Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-798	Tsewang Namgyal	M	42	Geshe, Drango Monastery	00/01/2012	Kardze pref? (general location)	6	Draggo Cty. Kardze TAP Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-799	Tashi Tsering	M	33	Layperson	00/03/2011	Sichuan	3	Ngaba Cty.Ngaba TAP Sichuan Province	Sentenced
12-800	Choeyang Gonpo	M	21	Student, Khantsa Nationality Middle School.	18/03/2012	Xining Prison?	3	Kangtsa County, Tsojang TAP, Qinghai Province	sentenced
12-801	Tashi Tsering	M	22	Student, Khantsa Nationality Middle School.	18/03/2012	Xining Prison?	3	Kangtsa County, Tsojang TAP, Qinghai Province	sentenced
12-802	Kalsang Yudron	F		villager	15/08/2012	Markham PSB DC	3	Markham County, Chamdo Pref. Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-803	Jamyang Wangmo	F		villager	15/08/2012	Markham PSB DC		Markham County, Chamdo Pref. Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-804	Phuntsog Nyima			villager	15/08/2012	Markham PSB DC		Markham County, Chamdo Pref. Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-805	Atsong	M		villager	15/08/2012	Markham PSB DC		Markham County, Chamdo Pref. Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-806	Dawa	M		villager	15/08/2012	Markham PSB DC		Markham County, Chamdo Pref. Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-807	Thubwang Tenzin	M	20	Monk, Tsodun Monastery	16/08/2012	Barkham PSB DC		Barkham County, Ngaba Pref. Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-808	Namse	M	18	Monk, Tsodun Monastery	12/8/2012	Barkham PSB DC		Barkham County, Ngaba Pref. Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-809	Lobsang Sengge	M	19	Monk, Tsodun Monastery	12/8/2012	Barkham PSB DC		Barkham County, Ngaba Pref. Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-810	Jampa	F	38		23/01/2012	Ngaba PSB DC		Ngaba County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-811	Lobsang	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho TAP Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-812	Tsultrim Rinchen	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho TAP Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-813	Tenzin Rangshar	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	16/03/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho TAP Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-814	Thubten Yeshe	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	23/05/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoho TAP Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-815	Kalsang Tenzin	M	22		4/7/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Kardze County, Kardze TAP Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-816	Sherab	M		Monk, Tsoe Monastery	7/8/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Tsoe Shi County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province	Unknown
12-817	Choephel	M		Monk, Tsoe Monastery	7/8/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Tsoe Shi County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province	Unknown
12-818	Sangdrag	M			00/05/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa City, Lhasa pref. TAR	Unknown
12-819	Tamdin Kyab	M			00/05/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa City, Lhasa pref. TAR	Unknown
12-820	Khambe				00/05/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa City, Lhasa pref. TAR	Unknown
12-821	Nyurgyog				00/05/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa City, Lhasa pref. TAR	Unknown
12-822	Drolma Kyab	M			00/05/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Lhasa City, Lhasa pref. TAR	Unknown
12-823	Karma Rabten	M		Monk, Rata Monastery	5/6/2012	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Chamdo County, Chamdo pref. TAR	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-824	Kalsang Gyatso	M		monk, chant master, Palyul Mon.	17/7/2012	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?			Unknown
12-825	Tashi Dondrub	M		Monk, Palyul Monastery	14/07/2012	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Palyul County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-826	Pema	M		Villager,	4/14/2012	Ngaba PSB DC		Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-827	Jamyang Woezer	M		Themchen county, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	00/02/2012	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?			Unknown
12-828	Damchoe Tsultrim	M		Themchen county, Tsonub "TAP", Qinghai Province	00/02/2012	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?			Unknown
12-829	Sherab Palsang	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoelho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-830	Yeshe Dorje	M		Monk, Shintri Monastery	16/03/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Gepasumdo County, Tsoelho "TAP", Qinghai Province	Unknown
08-831	Jamphel Wangchuk	M	55	Disciplinarian, Drepung Loseling Monastery	2008		0	Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Prefecture, "TAR"	
12-832	Gedun Gyatso	M	47	Bora Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	3/12/2012			Lhabun Thangri Gapma village	Unknown
12-833	Lobsang Phagpa	M	34	Bora Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	3/12/2012			Keykya Nomdic camp,	Unknown
12-834	Jamyang Soepa	M	25	Bora Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	3/12/2012			Bogtsa Nomadic camp,	Unknown
12-835	Jamyang Lodoe	M	20	Bora Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	3/12/2012				Unknown
12-836	Jamyang Gyatso	M	20	Bora Monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	3/12/2012			Lower Norlung Nomadic village	Unknown
12-837	Jinpa Gyatso	M	38	Educator and Activist, Mayul Samten Choeorling Monastery, founder of Bhoé Amay Rangkey Lasor. Journal called Rewei Kanglam (2Path of Hope)	25/10/2012			Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	Unknown
12-838	Thupdor	M	25	Layperson	18/09/2012	Mianyang Prison Sichuan Province	7	Barkham	Unknown
12-839	Lobsang Tashi	M	26	Kirti Monastery, Ngaba	18/09/2012	Mianyang Prison, Sichuan Province	7	Barkham	Unknown
12-840	Tenzin Sherab	M	28	Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Yushu "TAP", Qinghai Province	10/1/2012			Dharmar Nomadic village	Unknown
12-841	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	19	Monk, Kirti Monastery	00/03/2012		11	Soruma nomadic village, Choejema Township, Ngaba County.	Unknown
12-842	Lobsang Jangchup	M	17	Monk, Kirti Monastery	00/03/2012		8	Cha Township, Ngaba County	Unknown
12-843	Tsering Gyaltsen	M	40	Drango Monastery	9/2/2012	Beaten by PSB security of-ficers. Died same day.		Norpa village, Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	
12-844	Shonu	M	42	Monk, staff, Drango Monastery	00/02/2012	Mianyang Prison	12012	Garwa village, Drango County	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-845	Tulku Lobsang Tenzin,	M	40	Abbot, Gochen Monastery, Drango, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan province	00/01/2012		7		Unknown
12-846	Thinlay	M		Manager, Drango Monastery	00/01/2012		5		Unknown
12-847	Tashi Topgyal aka Dralha	M		Accountant, Drango Monastery	00/01/2012		6		Unknown
12-848	Logya	M	33	Layman	23/01/2012	Mianyang prison in Sichuan Province	4	Meruma township, Ngaba	Unknown
12-849	Tsering Dugkar	M			23/01/2012		2	Mema township, Machu County	
12-850	Yarphel	M	18	Gyalrong Tsodun Monastery, Barkham, Ngaba.	12/8/2012			Tsegtse village, Tsodun Township in Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-851	Thupwang Tenzin	M	20	Gyalrong Tsodun Monastery, Barkham, Ngaba.	16/08/2012			Tsanlha County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan province	Unknown
12-852	Lobsang Sangye	M	30	Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County	14/08/2012			Chilgdril County, Golog "TAP" Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-853	Lobsang Konchok	M	40	Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County	17/08/2012			Chashang Chukle Gongma Township, Ngaba County, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-854	Lobsang Tenzin	M		Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County	00/08/2012				Unknown
12-855	Sangdhue	M		Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County	00/08/2012				Unknown
12-856	Lobsang Rabten	M	34	Monastery Management official, Tsodun Monastery, Barkham, Ngaba	19/08/2012			Tsukde nomadic village, Tsodun Township, Barkham County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-857	Lobsang Sangya	M	22	Kirti Monastery, Ngaba county.	28/08/2012			Raruwa nomadic village, Ngaba County. "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-858	Jayang Khyenkho	M	60	layperson	28/08/2012			Kanyag nomadic village, Totsig Township, Ngaba County "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-859	Sonam Sherab	M	40	Nyatso Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Tridu County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/9/2012			Gyachen nomadic camp	Unknown
12-860	Lobsang Jinpa	M	30	Nyatso Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Tridu County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/9/2012			Sheshing nomadic camp	Unknown
12-861	Tsultrum Kalsang	M	25	Nyatso Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Tridu County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/9/2012			Kharang nomadic camp	Unknown
12-862	Ngawang Monlam	M	30	Nyatso Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Tridu County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/9/2012			Geshing nomadic camp	Unknown
12-863	Sonam Yignyen	M	44	Nyatso Zilkar Monastery, Zatoe town, Tridu County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/9/2012			Gyachen nomadic camp	Unknown
12-864	Yonten Sangpo	M		Drango	23/01/2012			Drango	Unknown
12-865	Tashi Dhargye	M		Drango	23/01/2012			Drango	Unknown
12-866	Namgyal Dhondup	M		Drango	23/01/2012			Drango	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-867	Kunchok Kyap	M	29	Self immolated on 30th Nov 12. Zoege County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	30/11/2012	Local PSB took him away from the scene		Zoege County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-868	Sungrab Gyatso	M	36	Khyamru Monastery, Serchen County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	1/12/2012			Lhade Chu-nga Village, Serchen County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-869	Yeshe Sangpo	M	37	Khyamru Monastery, Serchen County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	3/12/2012			Telnag nomadic camp, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-870	Draksang	M	26	Khyamru Monastery, Serchen County, Tsolho "TAP" Qinghai Province	3/12/2012			Telnag nomadic camp, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-871	Sonam Gewa	M		Nyatso Zikar Monastery, Zatoe County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province.	1/9/2012	Siling Prison, Qinghai Province	2		sentenced
12-872	Lobsang Nyima	M		Nyatso Zikar Monastery, Zatoe County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province.	1/9/2012	Siling Prison, Qinghai Province	19		sentenced
12-873	Lobsang Samten	M		Nyatso Zikar Monastery, Zatoe County, Jyekyundo "TAP" Qinghai Province.	1/9/2012	Siling Prison, Qinghai Province	19		sentenced
12-874	Achog Phulchung	M		Singer,	00/08/2012			Amchok township, Chuchen county, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-875	Kalsang (Gonkar)	M	42	layperson	00/03/2011	Ngaba County DC	3	Unknown for 9 months 00/03/2011 to 00/01/2012	sentenced
12-876	Dawa Dorjee	M	2728	Researcher, office of the county prosecutor, Nyanrong county Nagchu "TAP"	00/02/2012	Detained at Gonggar Airport		Nyanrong county, Nagchu "TAP"	Unknown
12-877	Jigme Gyatso	M		Labrang Monastery, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province	20/08/2012			Labrang Monastery, Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province.	Unknown
12-878	Sherab	M		Traffic policeman, Machu County	May/June 2008		4	Dzoge, Machu County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province.	
12-879	Gangkye Drubpa Kyab,	M	33	Writer	15/02/2012			Sertha County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-880	Kelsang Tsultrim	M	19	Sog Tsenden Monastery, Sog County, Nagchu "TAR"	15/01/2012			Rongmey Tsashog Township in Sog County, Nagchu "TAR"	Unknown
12-881	Choeying Logyal	M		Sog Tsenden Monastery, Sog County, Nagchu "TAR"	00/02/2012	A prison in Nagchu DC?	2		Unknown
12-882	Choephel Dawa	M		Sog Tsenden Monastery, Sog County, Nagchu "TAR"	00/02/2012	A prison in Nagchu DC?	2		Unknown
12-883	Tsekhog	M		Layperson,	21/03/2012	Arrest due to Self immolation attempt		Luchu County, Gansu Province	Unknown
12-884	Thinly	M	17	Student,	00/03/2012	Arrest due to Self immolation attempt		Sertha County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-885	Tashi Woesser	M		Worpu Monastery, Kardze "TAP" Gansu Province	00/03/2012				Unknown
12-886	Tashi Phuntsok	M		Worpu Monastery, Kardze "TAP" Gansu Province	00/03/2012				Unknown
12-887	Soga	M			00/03/2012			Nyagrong County, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-888	Guru Sangye	M			00/03/2012				Unknown
12-889	Samdrub Gyatso	M	28	Layperson, Lhasa	1/5/2010	Chushul Prison, Lhasa	5	Dashi County, Tsojhang "TAP" Qinghai Province	
12-890	Tenzin Thabkey	M		Teacher	25/02/2012			Lenchu townshi, Driru County, Ngaba "TAR"	Unknown
12-891	Nyima Tsering	M		Businessman	23/02/2012			Driru County, Ngaba "TAR"	Unknown
12-892	Sonam Gonpo	M	48	Businessman	10/4/2012			Lopa township, Kardze County, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-893	Nyendak	M	51	Teacher	00/04/2012			Rongpo Tsa township, Kardze County, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-894	Yama Tsering	M	36	Teacher, khadrok Jamtse Rogten School	00/04/2012			Rongpo Tsa township, Kardze County, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-895	Yeshe Choegyal				15/04/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-896	Wangchen	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-897	Wangdu				15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-898	Lobsang Tsewang	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-899	Yeshe Jungne	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-900	Tragyal			Monk	15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-901	Tenzin Tsonдру	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-902	Tengyal	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-903	Yonten	M			15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-904	Tenzin Tsering				15/04/2012			Doda village, Dzatoe township, Dege county, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-905	Alo		28	Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012	Lhasa (general location)		Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-906	Lhakpa	F		Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	9/3/2012				Unknown
12-907	Jamyang Tashi			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-908	Choezom			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-909	Phurba Gyal			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-910	Tsering Jigmey			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-911	Rabten			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-912	Pagyal			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-913	Tsering Sonam			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-914	Thubten Tsomo			Possessing images of the DL/ Karmapa or songs praising the DL	00/03/2012			Lhasa Prefecture, Xizang "TAR"	Unknown
12-915	Lo Lo	M	29	Singer	19/04/2012			Dhomda town, Jyekundo County, "TAP" Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-916	Ugyen Tenzin	M	25	Singer	00/02/2012		2	Nangchen County, Jyekundo "TAP" Qinghai Prefecture	Unknown
12-917	Pegyal	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-918	Tenzin	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-919	Khyithar	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-920	Migyur	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-921	Gurnam	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-922	Kalsang	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-923	Petop	M		Monk, Dzogchen Monastery	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-924	Ribo	M		Layperson	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-925	Senge	M		Layperson	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-926	Phurbu Tsering	M		Layperson	22/04/2012			Dzogchen township, Dege County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-927	Sonam Lhundrub	M		Layperson	26/04/2012		0	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-928	Wangchen Tsering	M	30	Layperson	26/04/2012		9	Gephen Likhokma village, Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-929	Jewo				26/04/2012		12	Gephen Likhokma village, Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-930	Adzi Shopo				26/04/2012		3	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-931	Choenam,				26/04/2012		3	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-932	Kuntho		20		26/04/2012		13	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-933	Kundrub		30		26/04/2012		11	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-934	Nyendrag		30		26/04/2012		18	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-935	Phurba Tsering		30		26/04/2012		2	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-936	Wangtse		20		26/04/2012		19	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-937	Damdul				00/00/2012		10	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-938	Pema Woesser				00/00/2012		5	Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	sentenced
12-939	Tashi Thargyal	M		Monk, Drango Monastery	00/00/2012	Dartsedo prison ?		Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-940	Namgyal	M		Monk, Drango Monastery	00/00/2012			Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-941		M		Layperson	00/00/2012			Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-942	Khedup Dorjee	M	38	Monk, Za Samdup Monastery	7/3/2012			Hena town, Zacog township, Kardze County "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-943	Sonam Rinchen	M			00/00/2012			Drango County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-944	Tashi Palden	M			11/2/2012			Kardze County "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
11-945	Atsun Tsondu Gyatso	M		School Director, Luchu Private Orphanage School	00/01/2011				Unknown
12-946	Sangye Dondrub	M	38	Teacher, Luchu Private Orphanage School	6/5/2012				Unknown
12-947	Jamyang	M	28	Teacher Luchu Private Orphanage School	6/5/2012				Unknown
12-948	Athar	M	33	Comedian, Lithang County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	00/02/2012		3	Lithang, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-949	Karwang	M	32	Monk	25/05/2012			Tapewa nomad group, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-950	Phulten		40	Layperson	2/6/2012		3	Gyalde village, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan provinve	Unknown
12-951	Gyurkho			Layperson	2/6/2012		2	Gyalde village, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan provinve	Unknown
12-952	Pema			Layperson	2012			Pekhe village, Andu township, ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-953	Losang Phuntsog	M	29	Monk, Kirti monastery, Barkham, Ngaba "TAP"	17/10/2012		84		Unknown
12-954	Jigme Dolma	F	17	Layperson	24/06/2012		3	Shongka village, Karashang township, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-955	Jamsem	M		Director, Bongtak monastery, Themchen County, Tsonub Pref.	00/00/2012		9		Sentenced

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TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-956	Khendup	M		Bongtak monastery, Themchen County, Tsonub Pref.	00/00/2012		11		Sentenced
12-957	Samgyal	M		Bongtak monastery, Themchen County, Tsonub Pref.	00/00/2012		10		Sentenced
12-958	Damchoe	M		layperson	00/07/2012			Kharma, Themchen county, Tsonub Pref.	Unknown
12-959	Ma	M	30	Head of PSB assigned to Jachung Monastery, Tsapon township, Bayan Khar County, Tsoshar Pref.	1/7/2012				Unknown
12-960	Kelsang Tenzin	M	22		4/7/2012	Kardze County prison		Thinka, Kardze "TAP"	Unknown
12-961	Tashi Dhondub (Mewod)	M		Writer, monk, Palyul Monastery	14/07/2012			Yulshog, Samkha subdivision, Riwoche county, Chamdo prefecture "TAR"	Unknown
12-962	Kelsang Gyatso (Gomkul)	M		Writer, monk, Palyul Monastery	14/07/2012			Nangchen region, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-963	Ngawang	M			00/07/2012			Bolo, Tikar township, Chamdo pref. "TAR"	Unknown
12-964	Kunchok Yarphe	M	22	Monk, Talung monastery, Sertha County	1/8/2012			Nyitoe Yultso, Sertha County, Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-965	Choksal	M		Singer,	29/07/2012			Driru county, "TAR" Qinghai province	Unknown
12-966	So Yig	F	40	Businesswoman, Activist	00/09/2012			Zatoo County, Jyekyundo "TAP"	Unknown
12-967	Nangchen Tashi	M	47	Businessman	00/09/2012	Unknown since september		Nangchen, Jyekyundo "TAP" Sichuan province	
12-968	Sogtruk Sherab	M		Singer, Actor	00/09/2012			Yulgan County, Malho Pref. Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-969	Jigme Gyatso	M		Monk,Dokar monastery	17/10/2012				Unknown
12-970	Kalsang Gyatso	M		Monk,Dokar monastery	17/10/2012				Unknown
12-971	Kunchok Gyatso	M		Monk,Dokar monastery	17/10/2012				Unknown
12-972	Tashi Gyatso	M		Monk,Dokar monastery	00/10/2012				Unknown
12-973	Golog Jigme Gyatso	M	43	Filmmaker Monk	00/09/2012			Ragcham village, Sertha County, Sichuan Province	Unknown
12-974	Dawa	M			28/10/2012			Meri town, Driru County, Nagchu Pref. "TAR"	Unknown
12-975	Lhadrup	M			28/10/2012			Meri town, Driru County, Nagchu Pref. "TAR"	Unknown
12-976	Aku Tsondue	M	49	Monk, head of Dorje Dzong monastery, Tsekhog	12/12/2012			Dokarmo, Tsekhog County, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-977	Chakthab	M	47	Layperson, Tantric Practitioner	12/12/2012			Dokarmo, Tsekhog County, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-978	Shawo	M	30	Head of local religious centre	12/12/2012			Dokarmo, Tsekhog County, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-979	Choedon	F		Nun	12/12/2012			Dokarmo, Tsekhog County, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-980	Rigshey	F		Nun	12/12/2012			Dokarmo, Tsekhog County, Qinghai Province	Unknown
12-981	Rabten			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-982	Wangdue Tsering			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced

POLITICAL PRISONER DATABASE

TCHRD Record	Name	Sex	Age at detention	Affiliation	Date of detention	Prison	Sentence	Origin	Status
12-983	Jampa Tsering			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-984	Choekyong Kyab			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-985	Sangye Dhondub			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-986	Dola Tsering			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-987	Tsering Tashi			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced
12-988	Kusang Bum			Student, Medical School, Chabcha	5/12/2012		5		Sentenced

APPENDIX 2

Table Listing Relevant International Human Rights Instruments Signed and/or Ratified by the People's Republic of China

Instrument	Signed on	Ratified on	Ideals
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	27 October 1997	27 March 2001	Recognising that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal 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.
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	5 October 1998		Recognising that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights as well as his economic, social and cultural rights.
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)		29 December 1981	Considering that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination.
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	17 July 1980	4 November 1980	Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity.
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	12 December 1986	4 October 1988	Desiring to make more effective the struggle against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment throughout the world.
United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	29 August 1990	2 March 1992	Considering that the Child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the UN, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity.