



TIBET AT A TURNING POINT

The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown



A report by the International Campaign for Tibet
Washington, DC | Amsterdam | Berlin | Brussels
August 6, 2008

TIBET AT A TURNING POINT

The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown



A report by the International Campaign for Tibet
Washington, DC | Amsterdam | Berlin | Brussels
www.savetibet.org

CONTENTS

Summary	2
Tibet at a turning point	5
Protests in Tibet since March 10, 2008	15
Peaceful protests and the riot of 3/14 in Lhasa	41
An 'arduous struggle': Protests in Kardze since March 10	65
Ngaba protests: 'I recognise the Party's great kindness'	73
Machu: Major protest leads to crackdown in town and nomad areas beyond	81
Labrang: 'Like the setting sun over the peak of a mountain'	85
'Smashing the Splittist Clique': An analysis of leadership involved in the crackdown	93
Detentions and disappearances in Tibet since March 2008: A new list of political prisoners	119
New official attack on Tibetan Buddhism and monks in Kham	137
ICT recommendations on Tibet	141
Poetry and song	145

SUMMARY

SINCE MARCH 10, a tidal wave of mainly peaceful protests against the Chinese government has swept across Tibet. Tibetans have risked their lives to demonstrate that their exiled leader the Dalai Lama represents their interests, and not the Chinese state. This uprising is a result of more than half a century of Communist Party misrule and reveals the breakdown of Beijing's Tibet policy at a time when China seeks to convey an image of harmony in the buildup to the Olympics.

Hu Jintao's leadership appears to have found itself with no other means than force and intimidation to restore control, and has imposed a brutal crackdown that owes more to the political extremism and paranoia of the Maoist era than to a 21st century would-be superpower. China has dramatically tightened security in Tibet and announced new 'anti-terror' plans in order to prevent any possible embarrassment to the ruling Communist Party before a worldwide audience during the Olympics.

In order to hide its repression in Tibet, Beijing has sealed off virtually the entire plateau despite promising increasing openness in the buildup to the Olympics and imposed a news blackout. This report includes evidence gathered at great risk of:

- The 'disappearance' and detention of hundreds of Tibetans, including monks, nuns and schoolchildren, who are treated with extreme brutality in custody;
- Unarmed peaceful protestors who have been shot dead, and names of those who have died following torture in prison or as a result of suicide due to despair over the crackdown or being made to denounce the Dalai Lama;
- More than 125 protests across the Tibetan plateau — the overwhelming majority non-violent;
- Sweeping new measures to purge monasteries of monks and ban worship in the wake of the protests, revealing a systematic new attack on Tibetan Buddhism led by Chinese leader Hu Jintao that is reminiscent of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution;
- An insight into the Chinese leaders presiding over the current crackdown.

The International Campaign for Tibet is calling for world leaders attending the Olympics to publicly express concern in Beijing about the crackdown in Tibet and the suppression of freedoms that led to the spring uprising. The Chinese leadership must also be pressed for a full accounting of the more than one thousand Tibetans whose status following the spring demonstrations in Tibet is unknown.

President Hu, whose rise to power is linked to his role as former Party boss in Tibet, was involved in drafting the hardline policies that led to Tibet's spring uprising. In order to resolve the deepening crisis now, President Hu must be urged to engage directly with the Dalai Lama — recognized by the world as the pre-eminent representative of the Tibetan people — on Tibet's future.



A clip from a video depicting Tibetan nomads as they raise the banned Tibetan flag in place of a Chinese flag in Amchok Bora in far eastern Tibet. The footage, filmed by a Canadian TV crew, can be viewed on YouTube.

TIBET AT A TURNING POINT

APRIL, 2008, TIBET. A group of Tibetan nomads on horseback gallop along a rough track towards a small town; a monk is seen shaking his fist in the air, crying: “We want the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet!” The crowd around him roars its support. The blurred image shifts, and we see the Tibetans tearing down a red Chinese flag, and raising the banned Tibetan snow lion flag.

The bold protest by the nomads and monks of Amchok Bora in far eastern Tibet, which can be seen on YouTube unless you live in China, is one of the defining images of a tidal wave of protests that swept across the Tibetan plateau since hundreds of monks took to the streets in Lhasa on March 10. It is the most significant uprising against Chinese rule in almost 50 years, and it has untold political significance for China and Tibet.

Since March, one or more instances of protest have been reported in each of at least 52 county-level locations in Tibetan areas of China, as well as in Chengdu (the capital of Sichuan), Lanzhou (the capital of Gansu), and Beijing, where Tibetan students held a silent vigil for those killed in the crackdown. ICT has monitored more than 125 protests across the plateau, and this is likely to be a conservative estimate — a minimal number of reliably reported incidents of dissent. The overwhelming majority of the protests have been non-violent, while the crackdown has been brutal.

Unarmed Tibetan protestors have been shot dead by security forces while others have died as a result of beatings in custody. Several monks and nuns have committed suicide, and thousands of Tibetans have been detained, with extreme brutality a routine feature of their detention. Some Tibetans are profoundly psychologically disturbed upon release, with others unable to walk or speak, or with broken or dislocated limbs. Hundreds remain in custody, although a definitive number of prisoners cannot be given due to the security crackdown and China’s efforts to silence Tibetans and block information flow. A prisoner list included with this report names 263 prisoners believed to be in custody following the protests that began March 10, the 49th anniversary of the Lhasa Uprising in 1959, which led to the Dalai Lama’s escape from Tibet nearly half a century ago.¹

It is believed that at least 100 Tibetans were killed in Lhasa and nearby areas during the crackdown from March 14 onwards, while at least 40 Tibetans were shot dead or

died as a result of the repression of dissent in other Tibetan areas. Some of the names of those who died, either by being shot, tortured, or committing suicide, are provided with this report. The names of all of those who died are not known due to the harsh repression in Tibet and attempts by the Chinese authorities to impose an information blackout. Wherever possible, the authorities attempted to hide evidence of the killings by taking bodies away from families, or removing them from the scene of the deaths. The names given in this report are only available thanks to the courage and determination of Tibetans in communicating with the outside world at tremendous risk to their own safety.

In order to hide its violent repression in Tibet, particularly as it seeks to project an image of stability and unity in the build-up to the Olympics, China has sealed off virtually the entire plateau — despite promising increasing openness prior to the Games in August. Although the Tibet Autonomous Region [TAR] opened up to foreign tour groups on June 25, according to an announcement in the official media, tourism is not in any way back to normal, despite official reports. It is still highly restricted and monasteries are still closed.²

The scale of these protests across the entire Tibetan plateau far exceeds the three years of pro-independence demonstrations in Lhasa and beyond in the late 1980s, culminating in the imposition of martial law by the then Party Secretary of the TAR, Hu Jintao, now Party chief and President of China. The protests from 1987–89 were also taking place following a period of relative political liberalization after the Cultural Revolution, compared to today's protests, which happened in an atmosphere of already intense political repression.

This report includes vivid eyewitness detail from inside Tibet of the uprising and its suppression as well as providing the first analysis of the scale and scope of the protests against Chinese rule. According to numerous reports received by ICT, Tibetans fear the crackdown could worsen still further after the Olympics, once the global focus is no longer on China. They are concerned — and in some cases, have been warned by Chinese security personnel — that more reprisals may follow the Olympics, with people who are now being monitored being taken into custody later.

While demonstrators in the late 1980s were primarily monks and some nuns, although many protests were joined by laypeople too, unrest since the spring has involved farmers, nomads, university students, school children, laborers, and intellectuals as well as monks and nuns, expressing a unified nationalistic sentiment and a wish for the Dalai Lama to return home. There have been many instances of

lay people trying to protect monks and nuns, and vice versa, from the excesses of the repression. The use of mobile phones for text messaging and the internet has undoubtedly contributed to the spread of dissent across the entire plateau and the momentum of the protests after March 10.

The Chinese authorities' response to the protests has been a massive and wide-ranging crackdown, with the deployment of thousands more troops to the plateau, combined with an intensified and aggressive 'anti Dalai Lama' campaign that forces Tibetans to denounce the Tibetan leader they revere. This requirement, imposed after hundreds of Tibetans have risked their lives to demonstrate their loyalty to the Dalai Lama, has led to further unrest and dissent. Similarly, the crackdown and detention of Tibetans have led to a new cycle of protests in support and sympathy, including the first known demonstration by Tibetans in the heart of China's capital, Beijing. The Chinese government is creating further instability through its policies of suppression, and appears to have found itself with no other means than force and intimidation to re-impose its control.

The protests that broke out across the plateau on March 10, and that are still continuing in some areas, are a result of 50 years of Chinese misrule and reveal a breakdown of Beijing's Tibet policy. The clear message of Tibetan protestors across the plateau is that the Dalai Lama represents their interests, not the Chinese state.

Beijing has had two decades of unfettered control to find a way to manage Tibet and win a measure of legitimacy to govern the Tibetan people. By any measure, it has failed. China has instituted increasingly hardline policies that undermine Tibetan culture and religion; the Tibetan people have been denied freedom of expression; their language has been downgraded; and their economic resources have been appropriated by the Chinese state and increasing numbers of Chinese migrants to the Tibetan plateau. The Tibetan people had reached a breaking point. In risking their lives to make their feelings clear, from March 10 onwards, they propelled Tibet to the top of the international news agenda and forced the international community to view Tibet as a more serious issue than before, resolvable only through political means.

Disappearances and detentions as climate of fear deepens in Tibet

Since the first protests in Lhasa and Qinghai on March 10, the 49th anniversary of the Lhasa uprising, monasteries have been encircled by armed soldiers, while thousands of Tibetans — farmers, nomads, monks, nuns, students, shopkeepers — have

'disappeared.' In Lhasa, people sleep in their clothes, fearful of a knock on the door in the middle of the night. Someone disappeared from almost every Tibetan household in Lhasa in the weeks since March 14, according to one Tibetan source, while another described the situation as a "second Cultural Revolution."

Many Tibetans are being taken to prisons far from their homes, and their families have no idea whether they are alive or dead. Hundreds of Tibetans from Lhasa, including many monks, have been seen being taken out of the city on the new train to Qinghai. This report includes the stories of some Tibetans who remain in custody.

In more than 125 protests across the Tibetan plateau since March 10, only the events of March 14 in Lhasa escalated to serious violence against Chinese civilians, according to ICT's information, although there may be incidents that are not known yet. At least 15 other incidents included damage to government property such as police stations, or police cars, or confrontations with police, with three of those also including some damage to Chinese civilians' property, but not as far as ICT knows to civilians themselves.

In official statements since the uprising, the Chinese authorities have indicated their determination to crush any remaining dissent as well as their acknowledgement of the possible "long-term" nature of the impact of the uprising and Tibetan discontent. Officials in Ngaba (Chinese: Aba) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province (the Tibetan area of Kham) affirmed that there should be a recognition of "the strenuous nature, the turbulent nature and the long-term nature of the present struggle" and that they should therefore strengthen "the struggle against splitism with firm resolution, in defence of the political stability of Ngaba prefecture."³

New measures reveal government plan to purge monasteries and restrict Buddhist practice

Sweeping new measures introduced in Kardze to purge monasteries of monks and restrict religious practice in the wake of protests across the plateau reveal a systematic new attack on Tibetan Buddhism that is reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution. The new measures, which will apply to hundreds of monasteries, strike at the heart of Tibetan religious identity at a time of unprecedented tension in Tibet, as this report shows, and are likely to create further resentment among the Tibetan people.

According to the new measures, specified in an official document from Kardze (Chinese: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province (the Tibetan area of Kham):

- Monks who express dissent or refuse to ‘conform’ can be expelled and their residence demolished;
- Tulku (reincarnate lamas) could be ‘stripped of the right to hold the incarnation lineage’ if they communicate with foreigners or engage in protests against the Chinese authorities — a measure that is consistent with an earlier ruling that all reincarnate lamas must have the approval of the Chinese government;
- Buddhist practice will be suspended in monasteries where a specific percentage of monks have engaged in protest or dissent;
- Senior religious teachers could face public ‘rectification’ or imprisonment if they are shown to have even ‘tolerated’ peaceful protest activity.

The document, dated June 28 and published in Tibetan on an official website⁴, has been translated into English by ICT and included at the end of this report (see pp. 137–139). Published under the name of the head of Kardze prefecture, Li Zhangping, the measures are aimed at “dealing clearly with participants in illegal activities aimed at inciting the division of nationalities, such as shouting reactionary slogans, distributing reactionary writings, flying and popularising the ‘snow lion flag’ and holding illegal demonstrations.”

The measures have disturbing implications for the lives of monks and nuns in Tibet, and represent a further attempt by the Chinese authorities to seriously weaken the institution of Tibetan Buddhism. They emerge from the authorities’ position of equating any expression of Tibetan identity with separatism, which has stifled debate, led to a climate of fear, and created a serious threat to the survival of Tibetan culture and religion.

Hundreds of Tibetans, including monks, nuns and laypeople, have been imprisoned in Kardze in the last few months for peaceful protests against Chinese rule since demonstrations began across the Tibetan plateau on March 10, the anniversary of the Lhasa Uprising in 1959. Monks and nuns in Kardze led a second wave of protests in the last few weeks demonstrating against the severe implementation of ‘patriotic education’ in religious institutions, which requires monks and nuns to denounce the Dalai



The protests against Chinese rule since March have been overwhelmingly peaceful, although severe violence broke out in Lhasa on March 14. Around 15 of the protests monitored by ICT involved serious damage to property, particularly symbols of government authority, such as this police station in Machu in March.

Lama. Many nuns in Kardze were also detained for protesting against the brutal treatment of other Tibetans in custody since March.

Entitled ‘Measures for dealing strictly with rebellious monasteries and individual monks and nuns (An order from the Peoples Government of Kandze TAP no.2),’ the new measures issued by the prefectural government describe how monasteries with “10%–30% of monks or nuns participating in disturbances” will be systematically “sealed off, searched, suspect persons detained according to law and any banned items they have hidden shall be confiscated. All religious activities will be suspended, inmates will be prohibited from leaving the premises, and they will be cleaned up and rectified in the proper manner.”

In an edict reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution, the ruling states that the rooms of monks and nuns who refuse to be registered or who do not conform to the demands of political education will be demolished, and the monks and nuns expelled: “Monks and nuns returning to the monastery who cannot give a clear reason for having gone outside, who cannot make a clear stand with respect to the unification of the Moth-

erland and rejection of the separation of nationalities will be expelled, and their cells demolished.”

The Kardze document also places a strong emphasis on the public ‘rectification’ of senior lamas and religious figures, and states that those “who fail to make their attitude clear or take a two-faced stance will not only be strictly warned, but will have to give a detailed examination of their behaviour in front of a general assembly of the monastic community, and a written guarantee, and the giving of this examination and written guarantee will be shown repeatedly in newspapers and on television.”

The new official measures also state that reincarnate lamas (tulkus) can be “stripped of the right to hold the incarnation lineage” and will be “severely punished by the law” if they attempt to communicate information about what is happening in their monastery outside, or participate in protests or “tolerate them.” This ruling appears to follow from, and is consistent with, earlier controversial measures introduced in September 2007, ‘Management measures for the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism, which give the Chinese authorities final oversight over the selection process for reincarnate lamas.’⁵ This new edict in Kardze means that not only can the Chinese state, that promotes atheism, approve or reject a candidate to be a reincarnate lama, but the government can also withdraw the title.

Like these earlier measures, the new edict is deliberately targeted at one of the core belief systems of Tibetan Buddhism, revealing the Party’s agenda to undermine and supplant the Tibetan religious hierarchy and weaken the authority of legitimate Tibetan religious leaders including the Dalai Lama.

The Olympics and Tibet

The spring uprising in Tibet — which has continued into July in some Tibetan areas — calls into question China’s policies in Tibet over the past 50 years. Although the Olympics did not provide the main impetus for the protests, it is likely that some Tibetans factored it into their decision to protest. Some, particularly the monks in Lhasa, may have calculated that they were less likely to be shot on sight in an Olympics year, although that hope ultimately proved unfounded.

A Tibetan in exile who is close to sources in Tibet said: “March 10, the anniversary of the 1959 uprising, was the significant date — not August 08. Tibetans were marking March 10 in their protest. Everyone knew the significance of March 10 as a date. Even

before that date, intensified restrictions had been evident, because the authorities knew it too. But, at the same time, people were aware and expected something to happen because His Holiness is getting more popular around the world and also because it is an Olympic year.”

Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, from the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, agrees that the Olympics were a factor in the 2008 protests. “In certain symbolic ways, China also politicized the Games, seeing them in part as a way to advertise to the world its ownership of the Tibetan plateau — hence the plan to take the torch up Mount Everest and the adoption of the Tibetan antelope as one of the mascots for the Games. In that sense, both the Tibetan protestors and the Chinese government saw this as an important moment to highlight Tibet, for different reasons.”⁵

The Chinese authorities have taken wide-ranging measures to impose an information blackout to hide the repression in Tibet as part of their attempts to present an image of ‘unity’ in the PRC in the buildup to 08/08/08. While the crackdown continues in Tibet, Tibetan cultural performers will be featured in the Olympics opening ceremony in an attempt to convey the impression that Tibetan culture is thriving and that the Tibetan people are united with the rest of the PRC.

According to a recent announcement in the Chinese media, a group of Tibetan traditional opera singers will be performing in Beijing for the ceremony. They have been warned that they must be on “their best ideological form,” with a senior government official in the TAR giving them the following briefing “All performers who are going to Beijing must have the strongest consideration for political responsibility and must show the best ideological form in order for the performance to be lively and attractive.”⁶ The group of 45 Tashi Olympics Lhamo performers left Lhasa for Beijing on July 23. The same government official added: “The performance must be symbolic of the great unity of ethnic groups in the TAR and to represent the remarkable achievement of Tibetan people under the excellent Communist Party’s leaders and their policies.”

A new element of the government’s implementation of ‘patriotic education’ in Tibet emphasizes the importance of upholding the Communist Party line on the Beijing Summer 2008 Olympics. A recent report in China’s state media links patriotic education with ensuring “security and stability” during the Olympics and provided the example of a monastery in Lhundrub (Chinese: Linzhou) county in the TAR where patriotic education includes passing onto monks “relevant knowledge” about the Olympics.

¹ The Lhasa Uprising in March 1959 was sparked by the fear that the Chinese were planning to abduct the Dalai Lama and take him away to Beijing. Fears for the safety of the Dalai Lama became acute when the Chinese Army Command invited the Tibetan leader to a theatrical show in the military barracks on March 10. Tibetans became even more suspicious when the Chinese instructed that the Dalai Lama be not accompanied by bodyguards as was the tradition. On March 10, 1959, a massive demonstration was held and thousands of people surrounded the Dalai Lama's Summer Palace, the Norbulingkha, to prevent the Dalai Lama from attending the Chinese show. For the next few days, Tibetans took to the streets to demand that the Chinese forces leave Tibet and restore the country's full independence. In the ensuing repression, thousands of Tibetans were killed and imprisoned, while thousands of others followed the Dalai Lama into exile.

² Domestic tour groups have been allowed into Tibet since late April, followed by visitors from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan in May; as of June 20, the region had received more than 160 tour groups, according to CCTV.com, June 25, 2008. A journalist for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* allowed entry to Tibet reported in an online diary on July 24 that: "Our requests to visit the Drepung monastery — once the biggest monk-training school in Tibet — were rejected. The monastery, which critics charge has become a prison camp for monks, remains closed to outsiders." (www.feer.com/) Drepung monks began the current wave of protests on March 10.

³ Ngaba prefecture People's Government website, April 30 2008.

⁴ http://zw.tibet.cn/news/xz_news/ttxw/200807/t20080718_413324.htm.

⁵ 'New measures on reincarnation reveal Party's objectives of political control,' ICT, April 15, 2007, www.savetibet.org.

⁶ The new "Management measures for the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism," which are described by the official press as "an important move to institutionalize the management of reincarnation" were passed by the State Administration of Religious Affairs (SARA) for implementation from September 1, 2007. The Chinese authorities use the term 'Living Buddhas' to describe reincarnate lamas or tulku (Tibetan: sprul sku), individuals who have consciously decided to be reborn, often many times, for the benefit of all others. (See, 'New measures on reincarnation reveal Party's objectives of political control,' ICT, August 15, 2007, www.savetibet.org.)

⁷ 'Tibetan Questions,' Tsering Shakya, *New Left Review* 51, May–June 2008, www.newleftreview.org.

⁸ News bulletin on Xizang TV, July 22, 2008.



Tibetan protesters raise an image of the Dalai Lama outside Kirti monastery, March 14, 2008.

PROTESTS IN TIBET SINCE MARCH 10, 2008

“I thought that this [the uprising] was the right thing to do. I participated in the protests and was among the protestors in the area of Ramoche monastery [in Lhasa] for about two hours [on March 14]. I knew that the protests were expressions of Tibetan despair over Chinese oppression in our own country.”

— a Tibetan participant in the March 14 protests, testimony to ICT

“It could be that they [the protestors, particularly referring to the monks] could not take oppression any more. The fact that the Chinese are forcing Tibetans to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama everyday makes Tibetans put their lives on the line and protest.”

— a Tibetan source who witnessed a protest in Kardze on March 18,
speaking to the Tibetan newspaper in exile *Bod Kyi Bang Chen*

“I think the main issue [behind the protests] was getting China to allow the Dalai Lama to come back to Tibet, as well as human rights. [...] I think these were defensive protests, concerning questions of national identity.”

— Professor Tsering Shakya, *New Left Review* 51, May–June 2008.

THIS NEW LIST OF PROTESTS prepared by ICT and the map showing their geographical distribution shows the rapidity and intensity with which unrest spread through eastern and far eastern regions of the plateau following the events in Lhasa on March 10–14. These are predominantly rural areas, most of which have not seen nationalist uprisings since the 1950s, and some of which enjoy the highest levels of economic development and educational opportunity of all Tibetan regions of the PRC.

If it were true that the majority of rural Tibetans are reconciled with Communist Chinese rule and prospering under recent economic policies, Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Chinese: Gannan TAP) in Gansu province and eastern Qinghai, the most affluent Tibetan regions, in closest proximity to urbanising centres in mainland China, should provide the most evidence of this. Instead, they were at the forefront of the uprising. This was not just in relatively politicised monastic centres like Labrang (Chinese: Xiahe) in Kanlho TAP and Rebkong (Chinese: Tongren) in Malho TAP in Qinghai province: March 2008 brought the names of places like Machu (Chinese: Maqu) in Kanlho TAP, Amchok Bora in Chone (Chinese: Zhuoni) in Kanlho TAP,

Tsoe, Dzoge (Chinese: Ruangui) in Ngaba TAP in Sichuan province, Chentsa (Chinese: Jaincha) in Malho TAP in Qinghai and Mangra (Chinese: Guinan) in Tsolho TAP in Qinghai to the world's attention. In addition, it was mainly people from these regions who led simultaneous protests in the great monasteries near Lhasa and on university campuses across mainland China.

A less obvious point is the areas of Tibet from which little or nothing was heard in this period. The most striking of these are Nagchu (Chinese: Naqu) and Lhokha (Chinese: Shannan) prefectures of TAR, and Yushu prefecture in southern Qinghai, where robust nationalist sentiment is known to prevail. The scarcity of reported protests in these areas may be attributed to pre-emptive policing (Nagchu in particular was effectively under martial law in all but name from March 10 onwards), but at this stage it would not be safe to assume that no such incidents took place. Similarly, there are relatively few reports from Chamdo (Chinese: Changdu) prefecture in the TAR and the western parts of Kardze prefecture in Sichuan, and almost none from Dechen (Chinese: Diqing) prefecture in northern Yunnan, where armed police are also known to have been deployed pre-emptively. The lack of reports from Shigatse (Chinese: Rikaze), Ngari (Chinese: Ali) and Nyingtri (Chinese: Ningchi) prefectures in the TAR and Tsonub (Chinese: Haixi) prefecture in western Qinghai are perhaps less surprising in the sense that these regions are less politically volatile.

One of the reasons behind the geographical spread of the dissent across the plateau since March has been the use of mobile phones — in particular, text messaging — and the internet to spread news among Tibetans. Tibetan historian Professor Tsering Shakya says: “It is noticeable that very few protests took place in Western Tibet, where there is no mobile phone network in operation, whereas many took place to the East and in regions on the borders of Sichuan and Qinghai, where the system is well developed. These demonstrations erupted within a matter of days, after the initial March 10 monastery protests were put down by the police.”¹ Another factor is that there are fewer people in western Tibet, and that the Tibetan area of Amdo (now incorporated into Qinghai) has the largest, most educated and politicised population in Tibetan areas of the PRC. In Sichuan, too, incorporating the traditional Tibetan area of Kham, there is a strong sense of religious and cultural identity, with many important lamas remaining in some rural areas.

In different areas of Tibet where protests have taken place, the authorities have confiscated cell phones and computers, turned off cellular transmission facilities or cut landlines, and interfered with internet access, according to various reports received by ICT.² Reports have reached ICT of Tibetan families who have received immediate visits from security personnel after taking phone calls from family or friends in exile.



The Tibetan national flag, banned by the Chinese authorities, flying atop a cell-phone mast in Tagong County in Sichuan province. According to ICT's source, the flag was hung on Monday March 17, and eventually taken down by Chinese police officers on Wednesday March 19.

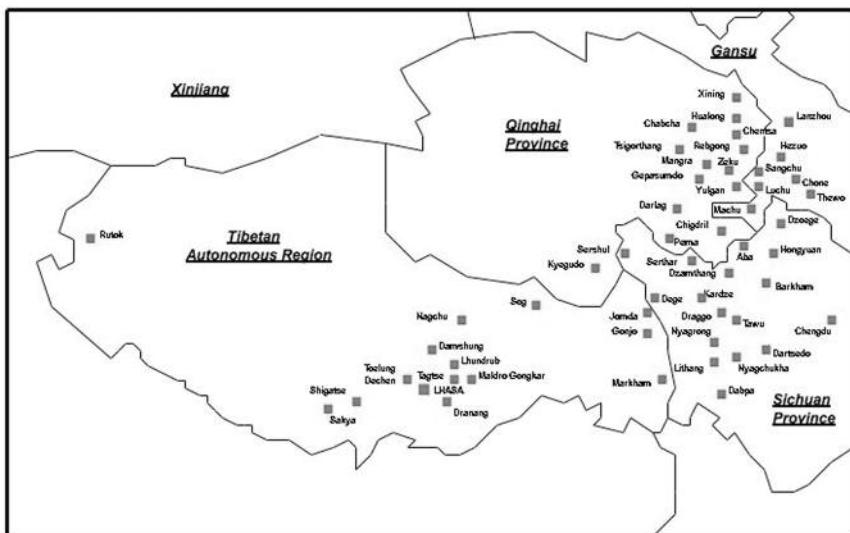
(Photo: ICT)

In one case, a young Tibetan woman was beaten so severely in an act of reprisal for taking a call that she had to be hospitalized. This seems to indicate that the authorities are most concerned about information leaking to the outside world, rather than the possibility of Tibetans using communications technology to synchronise further protests. In some areas, mobile phone users received a text message in mid-March sent by China Mobile to all users asking the public to send any information on those participating in the protests.

The protests in Lhasa were against the Chinese government and its policies, but also against Chinese people, particularly police and police informers — on March 14, Chinese shops were burnt, and Chinese people were beaten severely and killed. The pattern elsewhere in Tibetan areas was different; in many areas, demonstrators attacked symbols of Communist Party power, tearing down the Chinese flag in some areas and replacing it with the banned Tibetan snow lion flag. While there were attacks on Chinese shops, by all accounts ordinary Chinese people were not targeted outside Lhasa. Even the official state media has not reported attacks on Chinese civilians outside Lhasa.

In a moving and bold message received by ICT from a monastery at the heart of the crackdown, Kirti monastery in Ngaba TAP, Sichuan, monks took pains to explain that their protests had not been aimed at the Chinese people, but at the government. The

Map of Tibetan Protests



Red squares on the map indicate counties or cities (e.g., Lhasa, Xining, Lanzhou, Hezuo) where protests have taken place. Within a county there may have been numerous protests in different villages or monasteries. Sites compiled from various sources where protests are reported to have taken place since March 10, 2008.

monks from Kirti, where at least 10 Tibetans were shot dead during protests in March, also applied for special permission to hold prayers for the Chinese victims of the earthquake in Sichuan in May. Their statement is reproduced in full in this report.³

Professor Tsering Shakya has also commented that almost all areas where protests have occurred since March were in places where the senior lamas had left Tibet, driven into exile due to repressive policies on religion, and specifically the imposition of a Chinese Panchen Lama in 1995. Some of these senior lamas, such as the 17th Karmapa, now in India, and abbot of Kumbum monastery Agya Rinpoche, had acted as moderate voices and Party mediators in the past. Since March, some senior religious figures have attempted to act as mediators, but have often been treated harshly for doing so, as this report shows.

However, the question may not only be the issue of the presence of senior religious figures, as some still exist in areas of Kham in particular, but the fact that the influence of senior lamas has been systematically undermined by Party policy and there is less space for voices of moderation. In many cases too since March senior religious figures and lamas have been unable to prevent the expression of sentiment towards the government.

The list that follows is a conservative assessment of incidents of protest and dissent in Tibet since March 10, 2008, representing the minimum number of reliably reported incidents. The actual number is certainly higher in some regions, especially Ngaba, Machu, Dzoge and Tsoe during the second half of March, there were too many incidents of protest in rural areas to be counted precisely in the present state of knowledge.

GANSU		
Date	Location of protests by county. Note, all counties listed are in Kanlho TAP. (Monastic institutions in brackets.)	Details*
2008		
March 10	Sangchu (Labrang)	M
March 14	Sangchu (Labrang)	C D L M V
March 15	Sangchu (Labrang)	C D L M V
	Luchu	D F L S Ve
March 16	Machu, multiple incidents	C D M Ve
	Luchu (Shi-Tsang)	D F M Ve
	Sangchu (Amchok), multiple incidents in county	L M Ve
	Sangchu (Ngok-Gyalmo)	M
	Lanzhou City, NW Nationalities Institute	S
	Tsoe, Tibetan Middle School	S
March 17	Machu	C D F? M S V Ve
	Tewo	C D L M V
	Chone (A'kor Dragkar)	D L M
	Tsoe, Tibetan Middle School	C S
March 18	Machu	C D F M S V Ve
	Sangchu, multiple incidents	C? D L M V
	Sangchu (Labrang, Thangsar)	D L M
	Chone (Choepel Shing)	M
	Tsoe (Kakhameny)	D L M
	Luchu	L M
March 23	Chone (Tashi Choeling)	D M
	Sangchu (Labrang)	D M
April 8	Tsoe (Gyalmo)	M
April 10	Sangchu (Labrang)	C D M V
May 8	Sangchu (Labrang)	C? D M V

*C = casualties reported; D = detentions reported; F = fatalities reported; L = layperson protestors; M = monk protestors; N = nun protestors; S = student protestors; V = violence reported, perpetrated by security forces; Ve = violence reported, perpetrated by protestors. ? = reports of relevant detail were inconclusive.

QINGHAI

Date	Location of protests by county. (Monastic institutions in brackets.)	Details*
2008		
March 10	Mangra, Tsolho TAP (Lutsang)	L M
	Bayan, Tsoshar TAP (Ditsa)	M
March 16	Rebkong, Malho TAP (Rongwu, Rong Gonchen)	D M
	Machen, Golog TAP (Rabgya)	M
	Kawasumdo, Tsolho TAP	L M
	Chabcha, Tsolho TAP	L M
March 17	Yulgen, Malho TAP (Tsang)	C? D M V
	Mangra, Tsolho TAP (Kagya)	L M
	Chigdril, Golog TAP (Minthang, Lungkar)	L M
	Rebkong, Malho TAP (Gartse, Rongwu)	M
March 18	Yushu Middle School, Yushu TAP	S
	Chigdril, Golog TAP, multiple incidents	C? D F L M V Ve
	Xining, Qinghai Nationalities University	S
March 20	Pema, Golog TAP, multiple incidents	D L
	Tsekhog, Malho TAP	L M
	Chentsa Middle School, Malho TAP	S
	Xining, Qinghai Nationalities University	S
March 21	Darlag, Golog TAP	D L M
	Xining, Qinghai Nationalities University	S
March 22	Chentsa, Malho TAP (Makur Namgyaling)	M
	Chentsa, Malho TAP, multiple incidents	C? D L M N V?
	Tsigorthang, Tsolho TAP (Atsok)	M
	Darlag, Golog TAP	L M
March 23	Chentsa, Malho TAP (Nyarong)	D L M
March 24	Yulgen, Malho TAP (Shingsa)	M
	Gabde, Golog TAP	D M
March 25	Tsigorthang, Tsolho TAP	L M
March 26	Tsigorthang, Tsolho TAP	D L M
March 30	Chabcha Teachers Training School, Tsolho TAP	S
April 15	Yulgen, Malho TAP (Tsang)	M
April 17	Rebkong, Malho TAP (Rongwu)	C D M V
June 18	Nangchen, Yushu TAP	L

*C = casualties reported; D = detentions reported; F = fatalities reported; L = layperson protestors; M = monk protestors; N = nun protestors; S = student protestors; V = violence reported, perpetrated by security forces; Ve = violence reported, perpetrated by protestors. ? = reports of relevant detail were inconclusive.

TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION

Date 2008	Location of protests by county. (Monastic institutions in brackets.)	Details*
March 10	Lhasa City, Lhasa Municipality (Sera, Drepung)	C D L M V
March 11	Lhasa City, LM (Sera, Ganden)	C D L M V
March 12	Lhasa City, LM (Chubsang, Ganden)	C D L M N V
March 13	Lhasa City, LM (Chubsang, Reting)	D N
March 14	Lhasa City, LM Toelung Dechen, LM	C D F L M N V Ve C D F? L M N V
	Samye, Lhoka prefecture	M
	Chushul, LM (Ratoe, Nyetang)	D L M
	Shigatse, Shigatse prefecture (Tashi Lunpo)	C D F? V?
March 15	Lhasa City, LM Phenpo Lhundrub, LM (Ganden Choekor)	C D F L M N V Ve C D F L M V
	Lhasa CITY, LM (Nyangre)	D M
	Shigatse, SP (Tashi Lunpo)	C? D F? M V
	Toelung Dechen, LM	C D F? M V
	Taktse, LM	D L V Ve
March 16	Phenpo Lhundrub, LM (Ganden Choekor) Meldro Gungkar, LM (Pangsa)	D L M N D M
	Damshung, LM (Tenkang)	D M
March 17	Toelung Dechen, LM (Khangmar); (Dhingka)	D L M
	Phenpo Lhundrub, LM (Ganden Choekor)	C D L M N V
	Meldro Gungkar, LM (Pangsa)	C D M L V
March 19	Sakya, SP (Sakya)	D M
	Gonjo, Chamdo prefecture	D L
March 20	Markham, CP	D L
March 27	Nagchu, Nagchu prefecture	D L M S
March 28	Lhasa City, LM (Jokhang)	D? M
March 29	Lhasa City, LM Sog, NP (Nyimaling)	D L M
	Biru, NP	M
March 30	Gonjo, CP (Tangkyia)	D M
March 31	Jomda, CP (Wara)	M
April 3	Gonjo, CP (Tangkyia)	D M
	Jomda, CP (Wara)	M
April 8	Jomda, CP (Sibda)	C F L M V
April 10	Lhasa City, LM (Drepung)	D M

TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION (continued)

April 12	Meldro Gongkar, LM (Pangsa, Choekor)	C D F? M N V
April 14	Phenpo Lhundrub, LM	L M
	Markham, CP (Oeser)	L M
April 15	Jomda, CP (Sibda)	M
April 19	Lhasa City, LM (Nechung)	D M
May 12	Markham, CP (Oeser, Khenlung)	D L M
May 19	Tingri, SP (Shekar Choedhe)	D M

SICHUAN

Date 2008	Location of protests by county. (Monastic institutions in brackets.)	Details*
March 10	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Soktsang)	M
March 14	Lithang, Kardze TAP	L
	Sershul, Kardze TAP (Sershul)	D L M
	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Soktsang)	M
March 15	Lithang, Kardze TAP (Nyingma)	D L M
	Tawu, Kardze TAP	L M
	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Taktsang Lhamo)	C D M V Ve
March 16	Ngaba, Ngaba TAP (Kirti)	C D F L M V Ve
	Litang, Kardze TAP	L M
	Derge, Kardze TAP	D M
	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Soktsang)	C L M V Ve
March 17	Ngaba, Ngaba TAP (Ngatoe)	L M N Ve
	Sertha, Kardze TAP (Kiku)	L M
	Kakhok [Marthang], Ngaba TAP	C D S
	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Darje, Dongri)	M
	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP	C D L M V
	Chengdu, SW Nationalities University	S
March 18	Kardze, Kardze TAP	C D F? L M V
	Kakhog [Marthang], Ngaba TAP (Amchok Tsényi)	M
	Sertha, Kardze TAP	C D L M V
	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Tringwa)	C? D M
	Ngaba, Ngaba TAP (Nangshik)	M
	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Rongbatsa)	L S
March 19	Dzoge, Ngaba TAP (Jam-mey)	D L M
March 20	Sertha, Kardze TAP, multiple protests	C D F? L M V

SICHUAN (continued)

March 20	Dzamtang, Ngaba TAP	D L M
	Barkham, Ngaba TAP (Tsodun)	M
March 21	Kardze, Kardze TAP	L M
March 24	Drango, Kardze TAP, multiple protests	C D F L M N V
March 25	Drango, Kardze TAP (Trehor, Gaden, Chokri)	C D L M V
March 26	Dartsedo, Kardze TAP	L
March 29	Nyarong, Kardze TAP (Shiwa)	M
March 31	Sershul, Kardze TAP (Woenspo)	D L M
April 2	Tawu, Kardze TAP (Ratroe, Nyatso); Bathang, Kardze TAP (Ba-Chodae)	C D F? L M N V
April 3	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Thongkor)	D L M
April 5	Tawu (Nyatso, Gartar)	C D F L M V
April 12	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Dragkar)	C D L N V
April 15	Nyakchuka, Kardze TAP	L M
April 23	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Dragkar)	D N
April 28	Dege, Kardze TAP (Dzakok)	M
May 5	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Dragkar)	D N
May 11	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Dragkar)	D N
May 12	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Dragkar)	C D N V
May 13	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Kardze)	D M
May 14	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Pangri, Gaden Choeling) Kardze, Kardze TAP (Shugri Ling, Dhe Gongpo)	C D N
	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Tashi Gephel Ling)	C D N
May 17	Kardze, Kardze TAP	D L
May 18	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Kardze)	D M
May 20-31	Kardze, Kardze TAP, multiple, mainly at nunneries	D N V
June 6	Drango, Kardze TAP	M
June 8	Drango, Kardze TAP (Samtenling, Watak)	C D N
June 10	Ngaba, Ngaba TAP (Se)	M
June 11	Kardze, Kardze TAP	C D M
June 18	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Bheri) Kardze, Kardze TAP (Gewa Drak)	D M
	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Gewa Drak)	C D N
June 19	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Kardze)	C D M
June 21	Kardze, Kardze TAP	D L M N
June 22	Kardze, Kardze TAP (Khangmar)	D M

*C = casualties reported; D = detentions reported; F = fatalities reported; L = layperson protestors; M = monk protestors; N = nun protestors; S = student protestors; V = violence reported, perpetrated by security forces; Ve = violence reported, perpetrated by protestors. ? = reports of relevant detail were inconclusive.

Since the re-emergence of nationalist protest in 1987, the vast majority of demonstrations in Tibet have been led by monks and nuns, with or without the participation of laypeople. There are various reasons for this (the social role of the clergy in Buddhist societies, their greater capacity for clandestine organisation and willingness to risk arrest and imprisonment) but it has given the impression that dissent is strongest among the clergy. One of the most significant features of the recent uprising is the prevalence of lay protest. Given the denial of freedom of speech and association in ethnic minority regions of the PRC, and therefore the lack of organisation and leadership among ordinary citizens, this is a significant demonstration of the strength of discontent among the Tibetan people across the plateau. 'Combined' protests mean those led by monks or nuns and joined by often much larger numbers of laypeople. Most of the largest protests in March/April 2008 fall into this category, including Lhasa on March 14, Labrang in Qinghai on March 14–15, Phenpo in the TAR on March 15–16, Chigdril in Qinghai on March 18, Dzoge in Sichuan on March 19, Tsekhog in Qinghai on March 20, Thongkor in Kardze, Sichuan on April 3 and Tawu in Sichuan on April 5.

Violence, restraint and deaths of Tibetans

In the present state of information, at least 14 of the protests are known to have involved a significant degree of violence. In Lhasa on March 14, Tibetan rioters looted and burned Chinese-owned shops, banks, government and privately owned vehicles, and are alleged to have attacked and even killed members of the security forces and ethnic Chinese civilians. Tensions have been particularly high in Lhasa since the opening of the Qinghai-Tibet railroad in July 2006, a centerpiece project of China's campaign to develop the Western regions, which has led to a significant influx of Chinese workers and tourists to Lhasa. Some Tibetans have described the Chinese migration as a "second invasion".⁴

Minor incidents of attacks on property have been reported in several other cases, including Taktse (Chinese: Daze) in the TAR on March 15, in Amcho, in Sangchu county in Qinghai on March 16, and in Luchu county in Gansu on March 16. In Ngaba in Sichuan and Machu in Gansu on March 16–17, demonstrators attacked and burned government buildings, vehicles and Chinese-owned shops.

In the following cases, security forces are alleged to have fired on, killed or wounded unarmed demonstrators: Lhasa (from March 14), Phenpo in the TAR on March 10 or 15 (reports vary), and Ngaba (March 16). ICT could not confirm reports that monks and laypeople who staged a demonstration at a monastery in Serthar (Chinese: Sertar) in

Kardze in Sichuan, on March 18 were fired upon, although it is known that they were dispersed by armed police. Reliable reports indicate that some protestors at Serthar were injured, possibly from gunshot wounds.

A Tibetan businessman in his twenties, Jinpa, from Sumkar township, was killed after police opened fire on demonstrators in Phenpo county in the TAR. Demonstrations in Phenpo on March 15 involved monks from Ganden Choekor monastery joined by laypeople, calling for the release of those detained earlier, according to Radio Free Asia and ICT sources.

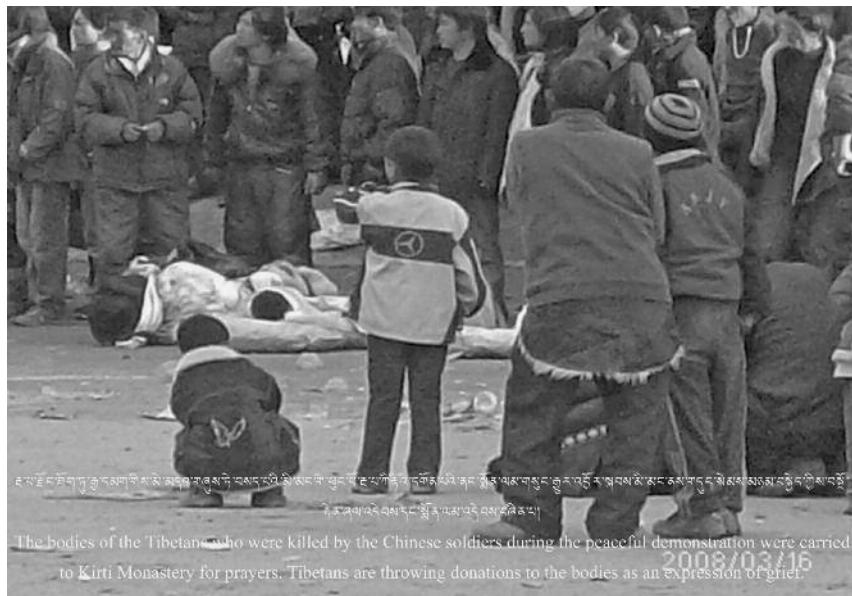
A Tibetan exile newspaper, the *Tibet Express*, reported that a 14-year old boy was shot dead and others injured during a protest at Jomda (Sibda) in the TAR on April 8.

Security forces also fired upon protestors at Drango (Chinese: Luhuo) county in Sichuan province on March 24, according to TCHRD. This followed a protest of monks of Chokri monastery and nuns of Ngyoe-go nunnery in Drawo Township, Drango county, joined by lay protestors, who shouted slogans in support of independence, the Dalai Lama and freedom. According to the same source, which could not be independently corroborated, a monk called Kunga was killed. Security forces reportedly also opened fire on unarmed protestors at Tawu on April 5. A 25-year old nun called Tsing Dolkar reportedly died following a protest in Meldro Gungkar in the TAR.

Security forces reportedly also opened fire on unarmed protestors at Tawu in Sichuan province on April 5 and in Jomda (Sibda) in the TAR on April 8.

On April 3, troops fired upon protestors from Tongkor (Chinese: Donggu) monastery 60 kilometers from Kardze town, killing at least 14 people.⁵ The protests appeared to have been sparked by the arrival of an official work team to carry out ‘patriotic education’ in the monastery. After the shooting, about 20 seriously injured people were taken to a local hospital under armed guard. This hospital was surrounded by troops and no visitors were permitted. The local authorities announced a reward of thousands of *yuan* to anyone who gives information about those who are leaking news of the protests and their suppression to the outside world. (1000 *yuan* = US \$146.)

The Tibetans who died have been named as follows: Tsewang Rigzin, age 38, disciplinary master, and Thupten Sangden, age 27, former chant master, from Thongkor monastery in Kardze; Lobsang Rinchen, age 25, Kunchok Sherab, age 30, Khechok Pawo, age 20, Lhakgo, age 35, Tseyang Kyi (family: TsarNgo Tsang), age 23, Tsering Dhondup, (younger), Kalsang Choedon, age 35, Sonam Tsultrim, age 32, Drukmo Tso, age 34, Tenlam, age 32, Bubu Delek, age 30, and Tsering Dhondup (older), age 43.



The bodies of the Tibetans who were killed by the Chinese soldiers during the peaceful demonstration were carried to Kirti Monastery for prayers. Tibetans are throwing donations to the bodies as an expression of grief.

2008/03/16

Bodies of protestors killed by police at a demonstration in Ngaba. At least 10 Tibetans were killed after police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators.

In a few instances, it appears that security forces attempted to use restraint and defuse protests without opening fire on unarmed civilians. Most of these cases occurred in Qinghai province, including in Mangra county (Lutsang) and Bayen county (Ditsa) on March 10, and Tsigorthang county (Holka) on March 25–27. Security forces in Kanlho in Gansu and throughout Qinghai appear to have had orders not to shoot.

A number of protests included calls for the Chinese government to engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama, according to reports. One of these protests was held in Tsekhog county in Qinghai on March 20, where hundreds of protestors called for the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet, and for the peaceful resolution of the Tibet issue, according to sources of Radio Free Asia. The Tibetan writer Woeser reported on her blog that some protestors carried images of the Dalai Lama, the missing Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima, and the 17th Karmapa, who lives in exile in India after his escape from Tibet in 1999.⁶

In Machu, it seems that troops did not fire upon protestors despite significant damage to property. But this could hardly be described as restraint; many individuals were



Protestors demonstrate in Machu (Chinese: Maqu) county town in Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu (Amdo) on March 16, 2008. (Photo: ICT)

beaten severely and several reports have reached ICT of individuals who participated in the Machu protest being tortured in custody. The same is true for the situation at Labrang (further details below).

Tibetan deaths in the crackdown since March

The following Tibetans died in the crackdown following the protests across the Tibetan plateau. ICT does not have a comprehensive list of the names of people who died in the suppression following the protests due to China's information blackout on the plateau. ICT has received numerous reports of bodies of Tibetans who were killed being taken away from families, or from the scene of the death, in order to hide the evidence.

- Tashi Tsiring, from Bha in Xining in Qinghai was a businessman in Lhasa, who died in the Lhasa protests.

- Dergam, age 40, and Lotse, age 24, were from Sori nomadic group in Ngaba TAP. They died on March 16, 2008 in the Lhasa protests.
- Yesi, from Bha, Xining was a businessman in Lhasa who died in the Lhasa protests.
- Ngodup Phuntsok, from Kardze was killed at around 2:00 pm, on March 18, during protests in Kardze county.
- Paltop, from Ngushu village in Ngaba, died in a protest (most likely to Ngaba).
- Ngoga (family: Chekha Tsang), around 40, and Pema Dechen (family: Tagu Dhe Tsang), both from Sichu village, Kardze, died on March 18.
- Wangchen, in his forties, was the disciplinary Master at Kardze monastery. He died on March 18 in the Kardze protests.
- Atisha, a 25-year old former monk at Ngaba Ngushul monastery, was killed on March 16, and his body left close to the police office.
- Penpa, age 25, a monk at Drepung monastery was originally from Tsongdue township, Phenco Lhundrup county in the TAR. He died on March 14 in the Lhasa protests.
- Jinpa, age 28, from Dhakpa village, Sumkar township, Phenco Lhundrup county in the TAR was a businessman in the area. He died from a gunshot wound in Phenco Lhundrup county protests on March 15.
- Tsering Dolkar, age 25, a nun in Meldro Gunkar in the TAR died in a protest likely to have been the Meldro Gungkar protest on April 12.
- Tsewang Rigzin, age 38, disciplinary master, and Thupten Sangden, age 27, former chant master, from Thongkor monastery in Kardze, were killed during the suppression of protests at Thongkor in Sichuan on April 3.
- The following Tibetans also died during or after the same protest: Lobsang Rinchen, age 25; Kunchok Sherab age 30; Khechok Pawo, age 20; Lhakgo, age 35; Tseyang Kyi (family: TsarNgo Tsang), age 23; Tsering Dhondup, (younger); Kalsang Choedon, age 35; Sonam Tsultrim, age 32; Drukmo Tso, age 34; Tenlam, age 32; Bubu Delek, age 30; and Tsering Dhondup (older), age 43.

- Bhendhe Tsering, from Lukyel nomadic region, Ala township, Luchu county in Gansu died in the protests. Fifty-three year old Lapo from the same area committed suicide, reportedly in despair at the treatment of Tibetans in the region.
- Talha, aged around 40, from Pashoe (Chinese: Basu) county in the TAR was a doctor who committed suicide on April 10 reportedly in despair at having been forced to denounce the Dalai Lama.
- Dzati was detained and died after being beaten by police in Ngaba TAP in Sichuan. Instead of returning his body to family members, the authorities cremated his remains, supposedly to hide the evidence.

Further protests sparked by 'patriotic education'

Once the height of the uprising through the second half of March had passed, the response of the PRC authorities was to step up 'patriotic education' campaigns throughout Tibet, especially in affected areas. These campaigns have been ongoing, and deeply resented, in many parts of Tibet since at least 1996, and indeed one of the first protests in the 2008 uprising — at Ditsa monastery in Qinghai — on March 10 seems to have begun in response to such a campaign. The Drepung monks who took to the streets on March 10 in Lhasa were also believed to be distressed by the intensification of patriotic education at their monastery, particularly since many of them attempted to celebrate the Dalai Lama being honoured with the Congressional Gold Medal by the US President and Congress in October, 2007.

The Chinese government's implementation of state religious policy is particularly harsh in Tibet. Tibetan Buddhism is an integral element of Tibetan identity and Tibetan nationalism and therefore is perceived as a potential threat to the unity of the country and the authority of the Communist Party, which requires Chinese citizens to 'love the country' above all else.

The intensification of these political campaigns in the aftermath of serious protest was accompanied by punitive searches of monasteries by security forces (including those hitherto uninvolved in protest), arrests of monks and others for possession of photos of the Dalai Lama (hitherto permitted in Tibetan areas outside the TAR), imposition of demands such as that individuals sign statements confessing involvement in the uprising, and that heads of monastic communities guarantee that no further demonstrations take place and agree to fly the PRC flag from the monastery roof. In

many cases, the campaigns also began to target laypeople, who were exempt prior to the protests in some areas, with demands that they denounce the Dalai Lama and pledge loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party.

Reports have been received from various monasteries of distress due to pictures of the Dalai Lama being trampled by armed police or work teams, for instance at Shi-Tsang Gatsel monastery in Luchu county in Gansu province. According to the Tibetan government in exile, armed police raided the monastery and detained around 28 monks. The Tibetan government in exile reported that armed forces also trampled on images of the Dalai Lama at Choephel Tashi Chokor-Ling monastery in Chone (Chinese: Zhuoni) county in Kanlho TAP, where a number of monks had also been detained.

A number of suicides have been linked to the patriotic education campaign and intensified clampdown. A doctor in his forties, Talho, from Pashoe county in Chamdo in the TAR, committed suicide on April 10; according to a report received by ICT, “because he was forced to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama, which he couldn’t tolerate.”

The first known case of renewed protest sparked by patriotic education teams entering monasteries was at Nangshik monastery in Ngaba on March 18, just two days after the massive protest at Kirti monastery. Further examples of such protests have been reported from Sakya county in the TAR on March 19, Nyarong (Shiwa), Sok and Biru counties in the TAR on March 29, Sershul (Woenspo) in Sichuan on March 31, Kardze (Thongkor) in Sichuan on April 3, Tsue (Gyalmo) in Gansu on April 9, Meldro Gungkar in the TAR on April 12, Markham (Oeser) in the TAR on April 14, and Jomda in the TAR, where monks at Wara monastery told work team officials on April 3 that they would never defame the Dalai Lama “even at the cost of our lives.”⁷

In Meldro Gungkar in the TAR on April 12, hundreds of local people joined monks together with and monks and nuns from other monasteries and nunneries, shouting slogans rejecting official demands that they denounce the Dalai Lama and blame Tibetan exiles for starting recent protests in Tibet. The demonstrators also called for an end to arbitrary detention and killing of Tibetan protestors and the release of all political prisoners, according to reports received by ICT. The demonstration was brutally broken up by armed police who appeared to be intent on causing maximum injury, trying to break arms and legs by beating with rifle butts. Local police and security forces apparently returned that night and arrested an unknown number of villagers from their homes in the area.



Photos of the Dalai Lama and other senior religious leaders at Kirti monastery in Ngaba county, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan province, were damaged by armed police following a raid on the monastery in early April 2008. Kirti monastery was at the center of the wave of protests in eastern Tibet when monks were joined by laypeople and schoolchildren in a major protest on March 16, calling for a free Tibet, with pictures of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan flags on display.

Other protests against the aggressive anti-Dalai Lama campaign and imposition of political campaigns against religion took place in Yulgen (Tsang) in Qinghai and Nyagchuka in Sichuan on April 15, in Derge (Dzakok) in Sichuan on April 28, and Markham (Khenpalung) in the TAR on May 12, as well as in Nechung monastery in Lhasa on April 19.

One of the most significant protests of this second wave occurred on May 14, when approximately 55 nuns from Pangri nunnery in Su-ngo township, Kardze county in Kardze TAP, staged a demonstration. According to Tibetan sources, the Pangri nuns protested on May 14 because of their distress and anger at the crackdown, detentions and disappearances that have followed peaceful protests in different areas of the Tibetan plateau, as well as resentment against the implementation of the patriotic

education campaign by the Chinese authorities.

The Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD), based in Dharamsala, India, reported that the nuns vowed not to take part in any ‘patriotic education’ campaigns and said: “It is better to die than to denounce, criticize and attack the Dalai Lama, to sign official documents denouncing the Dalai Lama, if there is no place for us to worship and live, let us go somewhere else or die, if the Chinese authorities kill us, let us be killed, we have no regrets.”⁸⁸ On the afternoon of May 14, the nuns marched peacefully towards the Kardze county government headquarters chanting slogans including “Long live the Dalai Lama” and calling for the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet. They were detained as soon as they approached the building and taken away in police vehicles.

According to a Tibetan source in exile, “Police and soldiers responded violently to the protest and the nuns were arrested on the spot, many got severely beaten up and stains of blood were seen on the street, with nuns’ robes and shoes scattered everywhere. The nuns were seen being taken away in trucks. People were too scared to pick up the nuns’ robes for fear of being detained themselves.”

Sympathy protests

Several protests were conceived as expressions of sympathy with those killed in the uprising and as appeals for clemency. In most cases they were staged by monks or by high school students. These include the prayer services held at Rabgya in Qinghai on March 16, and Chigdril (Lungkar) in Qinghai on March 17, the marches in Sertha in Sichuan on March 17, and Drango in Sichuan on March 25, and Tibetan student sit-ins at Dalian in Liaoning on China’s eastern seaboard on March 21, and Chabcha in Qinghai on March 30.

On March 17, Tibetan students held a silent vigil in Beijing to honor the courage of Tibetan protestors in Tibet. The group of around 50 students sat silently in a circle with heads bowed outside the Central Nationalities University in the Haidian district of western Beijing for around six hours. They were surrounded by an official security cordon preventing outsiders and other students from joining the protest, although some foreign reporters succeeded in gaining brief access to the protestors.

While some Tibetan students are known to have taken part in the pro-democracy demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in June 1989, this was the first known demonstration by Tibetans in China’s capital.

There was also a peaceful protest on the same day by students at the Southwestern Nationalities University in Chengdu.

These two peaceful vigils followed a peaceful sit-down protest on March 16 by around 200 Tibetan students on the campus of Northwest Nationalities University in Lanzhou, the capital of Gansu province. In a message to a Tibetan in exile, one of the students said: "We are staging our protest in a very peaceful manner and we are going to hold a candlelight vigil tonight." A foreign reporter who spoke to some of the students said that some of the students knew people who had been killed during the previous week's protests in Tibet, and that they wanted to pay silent tribute to their courage.

On the evening of March 20, Tibetan students at the Qinghai Institute for Nationalities started a silent sit-in in the western section of the campus.

According to TCHRD, nuns at Ratroe nunnery in Tawu in Kardze TAP in Sichuan marched to the county government headquarters on April 2 to express their solidarity with, and pray for those who lost their lives in protests across the Tibetan plateau. People's Armed Police and Public Security Bureau officers ordered the nuns to return to their nunnery or be forcibly returned. The nuns dispersed and returned to Ratroe nunnery.⁹

In several cases, local religious leaders reportedly attempted to intervene to prevent the escalation of protest. Examples of this include Bora in Gansu on March 18, Chentsa in Qinghai on March 22, Rebkong in Qinghai on April 17 (see below), and Jomda in the TAR on March 31. A senior lama from Wara monastery persuaded monks and laypeople to stop protesting, according to reliable reports. A crowd had gathered after a quarrel between some young Tibetans and Chinese shop-keepers, which led to monks from the monastery joining local laypeople in a protest which involved calling for the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet. Although the lama reportedly succeeded in calming the situation, there was still a security buildup in the town.

Protestors in Amchok Bora, a primarily Tibetan nomadic area in Kanlho TAP, Gansu province, and laypeople who demonstrated on March 18 were persuaded to calm their demonstration when asked to do so by a respected lama and possibly other monks too. According to a reliable source, they broke into Chinese shops in the area and destroyed property, although they deliberately avoided violence against people in their attacks on property. According to the same source, they stopped when they were asked to do so by the lama and monks. The source also said that large numbers of Tibetan nomads gathered in the area and were persuaded not to carry out protests by



On March 17, Tibetan students at the Central Nationalities University in Beijing held a silent vigil to honor the Tibetans who were killed in protests in Tibet since March 10. It was the first known demonstration by Tibetans in China's capital.

local monks. Casualties as a result of the protest, which was met by armed police, could not be confirmed.

At Rabgya monastery in Machen County, Golog TAP in Qinghai on March 16, local people performed a *puja* (Tibetan Buddhist prayer ceremony) for those killed near Kirti monastery. According to at least one reliable report, police surrounded the monastery and asked the senior monks to stop the *puja*, otherwise they would use force. The lamas then asked the monks to stop.

Some Tibetans who committed suicide following the protests were said to have done so because they could not bear to witness the oppression. A Tibetan called Lapo in his fifties, from a nomadic area in Luchu county in Gansu, committed suicide because "he was unable to bear Chinese oppression on fellow Tibetans", according to a report ICT has received based on information from Tibet. A 31-year old nun, Losang Tsomo,

from Cholung nunnery, was so traumatised by what she had witnessed during the crackdown on protests in Meldro Gungkar on April 12 that she committed suicide later that day.

Dissent and crackdown in Rebkong

Rongwu monastery in Rebkong (Chinese: Tongren) county, Tsolho (Chinese: Huang-nan) TAP, Qinghai, is still under lockdown and the whereabouts of monks detained after a protest on April 17 is unclear, according to reports from Tibetans with connections in the area. Armed police raided the monastery and confiscated pictures of the Dalai Lama after monks staged a protest calling for the release of other monks detained following earlier demonstrations and incidents of dissent in the area in February and March. Monks were seen being taken away from the monastery with their hands tied behind their backs and being loaded onto trucks. Two days later, a number of the monks taken into custody were released after being subject to severe beating in custody, according to sources. Dawa, the disciplinary master who was first detained on April 18, is believed to have been released.

In June, further raids of the monastery took place, and it is believed that no religious activities are allowed there.

The former head of Rongwu monastery, Alak (an honorific title, meaning ‘lama’) Khaso, a highly respected local figure, had attempted to mediate between the monks and local authorities on April 17, but was injured following the police crackdown on the protest. He is reportedly now recovering in hospital in Xining from a broken leg that may have been the result of treatment while in custody. One reliable Tibetan source said that some Tibetan women and an elderly man rushed to try to help the lama after they saw his head bleeding, but were also detained. The same Tibetan source said: “Their hands were tied with wires. At that time they arrested up to 100 people, who filled four military trucks.”

The crackdown in Rebkong follows a protest on February 21 after authorities interrupted the annual Monlam ceremony at a local monastery, which was scheduled to end on February 22, and a further incident of dissent by monks on March 17. Radio Free Asia reported approximately 200 protestors, mostly monks, were detained in February after authorities used tear gas to disperse crowds gathered for the religious celebration. It is believed that most of the detained have been released, but many were reported to have suffered injuries.¹⁰

According to one source, protestors demonstrated at the county seat the next day, demanding that the local government release the monks and lay people who had been taken into custody. The demonstrators were later released; however, three monks and an elderly man suffered injuries after being severely beaten.

There has been a heavy police presence in Rebkong since the February protests, but despite this repressive atmosphere, on March 17 monks from Rongwu burned incense and shouted slogans of support for the Dalai Lama and Tibetan freedom. They also called for the authorities to let the Dalai Lama return to Tibet, and to “hand back the Panchen Lama and his parents to the Tibetan people.” Gendun Choekyi Nyima, recognized by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama, has been in Chinese custody in an unknown location since 1995. The monks were prevented by armed police from taking the protest further.¹¹

Account of a monk from Rebkong: ‘The monks are frightened to sleep alone; pictures of the Dalai Lama were torn and burnt’

The following account of the latest situation in Rebkong was passed onto ICT by a monk who is in exile.

“Like all the Tibetan-inhabited regions, Chinese army trucks with machine guns are everywhere in Rebkong, checking every move by the monks in the monastery and surrounding areas. The monks are no longer allowed to go around in groups of more than two and they have to attend patriotic education classes every day or they are threatened with imprisonment. All the monks are not allowed to travel out of their county if they don’t have a permit from the local authorities to do so and no train tickets from Siling (Xining, capital city of Qinghai province) to Lhasa are sold to the monks. Likewise, the villagers are also not allowed to go to villages other than their own out of fear of that they would hatch a plot against the Chinese — there are rumours that the Chinese are building walls around some villages to prevent further disruptions — as there were strong suggestions from lay Tibetans that they should wage a war against the Chinese in the aftermath of the uprising because they simply couldn’t bear seeing the beatings and arrests of their monks and lamas. They knew that they wouldn’t win the war but they simply wanted to die instead of letting the Chinese kill their monks and lamas but fortunately some lamas and monks could calm them down and convince them that there was no point in killing people or dying themselves.

“Tensions are building and frustration and disappointment are taking their toll too. Soldiers with automatic weapons march all through the streets of the town every day

to intimidate the Tibetans. If a Tibetan and a Chinese have a little argument, the soldiers will beat the Tibetan up without a question; as a result of that, Chinese often discriminate against Tibetans for no reason as they have a ruthless strong backing so the tensions between the two ethnic groups are high. Recently, an additional army of 10,000 soldiers arrived in Rebkong to intimidate and suppress the Tibetans more [ICT cannot independently confirm this total].

“Surveillance cameras are installed everywhere and the soldiers often raid the quarters of the monks at night. Almost all the monks dare not sleep alone out of fear that they would go missing, as there have been many cases like that. Immediately after the incident, all the quarters of the monks were searched while the monks were pushed out at gun point; their shrines were destroyed and the pictures of His Holiness the Dalai Lama were torn and burnt. Windows and doors were aggressively smashed as if they were the cause of their trouble. Money is taken if found, at least it happened in one case — the case is presented in the court of law but it's almost being lost as the local authorities don't care.

[This is a reference to a monk from Rongwu monastery who sent a letter to the county authorities stating that 20,000 *yuan*, US \$3000 had been taken from his room during a police raid on the monastery, and asking for this to be returned. The money was being saved by the monk and other friends in order to rent a room at the monastery. ICT has a copy of this letter, which was posted on a Tibetan blogsite and signed by the individual monk, who also names the police personnel who searched his room. The monk says: “The money was wrapped in a yellow cloth and put in a red pouch. On April 19, the red pouch was left on the bed and the money was missing. I believe that search party from the police department must know of the happening and therefore must take responsibility for it. I request that the county prosecutor investigate this matter in a speedy way and return the money to me.” This rare and bold quest for accountability is one of several similar cases that have been reported across the plateau in recent months; various monasteries such as Tsendrok monastery in Machu county in Gansu, depicted on the cover of this report, have attempted to hold local authorities accountable for the theft of sacred statues during police raids.]

“As the international community withdraws its attention from the crisis in Tibet and there is no positive result for the dialogue between Beijing and Dharamsala [a reference to the ongoing Sino-Tibetan dialogue between representatives of the Dalai Lama and Beijing officials] and Beijing continues to say that it will never change its position towards Dharamsala, Tibetans in Tibet are getting frustrated and even some are getting disappointed that they have suffered loss of lives for nothing. While the security is getting tighter and pressure is building, Dharamsala [home of the exiled Dalai Lama and

base of the Tibetan government in exile] is very quiet, many see no possibility of a normal life under the current situation. Some lamas and monks are consoling their fellows saying that they will soon hear some fresh message from Dharamsala. But the fear that the situation will get worse after the Beijing Olympics is widespread.”¹

Pamphlets and *ad hoc* protests

The posting of pamphlets expressing political demands or sentiments was reported in Yushu in Qinghai on March 9, Labrang in Gansu and Kardze and Peyul in Sichuan on March 10, and in Lithang (Yuru), and Kardze in Sichuan on March 16. Officials arrived at Lithang monastery in April and the atmosphere is said to continue to be oppressive. At Tse-nyi monastery, a branch of Lithang, monks reportedly refused to be photographed holding a Chinese flag in one hand, according to a report by the Tibetan government in exile on April 23.

The posting or dissemination of pamphlets was also reported in the following places: Tawu (Lhagang) in Sichuan on March 17, Pashoe (Tsawa) in the TAR on March 28, Jomda (Sibda) in the TAR on March 29, and Gyeltang and Sog in the TAR sometime in April. Local security forces responded with searches, intimidation and arrests. Examples of symbolic protests by individuals or small groups include suicides at Sershul (Woepo) in Sichuan on April 4, Meldro Gungkar (Cholungy) in the TAR on April 12, and slogan shouting in the following places: Sog in the TAR on May 9, Drango in Sichuan on May 12, and Ruthog in Ngari prefecture in the TAR in early April.

¹ ‘Tibetan Questions,’ Tsering Shakya, *New Left Review* 51, May-June 2008.

² From the early 2000s onwards, the Party initiated a multi-pronged counterattack against internet communication. Cyber-divisions were set up by the Party in police departments in every city, and according to veteran China analyst Willy Wo Lap Lam, the strength of cyber-police nationwide was estimated at more than 50,000. Beijing’s control over the internet is assisted by the fact that at least officially, all Chinese internet users have to register with the government and use officially approved or government-run internet service providers. A study by the Harvard Law School in 2002 found that China had the most extensive internet censorship in the world, and the sophistication of these operations has increased dramatically since then.

³ See also: ‘Tibetans in monasteries under crackdown hold prayer ceremonies for earthquake victims: message of reconciliation from monastery under repression,’ ICT, May 21, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁴ Just as rail connections to Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang (XUAR) in the 1950s brought an influx of Chinese settlers, overwhelming the indigenous population in certain areas, the same is happening in Tibet, marginalising the Tibetan population still further. A full account of the impact on Tibetans is given in ICT’s report, ‘Tracking the Steel Dragon: How China’s economic policies and the railway are transforming Tibet’, published a month before the March uprising and available for downloading at www.savetibet.org.

⁵ See also: 'Eight Tibetans killed in Kardze: new phase in protests in Tibet,' ICT, April 4, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁶ Updates on the protests which appeared on Woeser's blog can be read in translation at: www.chinadigitaltimes.net.

⁷ 'China launches renewed "Patriotic Education" Campaign across all sections in Tibet,' TCHRD, April 24, 2008, www.tchrd.org.

⁸ 'China arrests 55 nuns of Pang-ri Nunnery for protesting,' TCHRD, May 17, 2008, www.tchrd.org.

⁹ 'A new phase of defiance: Nuns of Tawu County hold prayer session for those killed in recent crackdown,' TCHRD, April 4, 2008, www.tchrd.org.

¹⁰ 'Tibetans, Chinese Police Clash at Festival,' RFA. February 22, 2008, www.rfa.org.

¹¹ 'Protests continue in eastern Tibet,' ICT, March 20, 2008. www.savetibet.org.



Drepung monks confront police in Lhasa on March 10, beginning a wave of protests that swept the plateau. The whereabouts of many of these monks is now unknown.

PEACEFUL PROTESTS AND THE RIOT OF 3/14 IN LHASA

“I can honestly tell you that none of the means we have adopted [in Tibet] have exceeded the constitutional rights of the armed forces or international law. [...] I can also very clearly assure you that not a single person has exceeded their mandate.”

— Wu Shuangzhan, Commander of the People’s Armed Police,
quoted by Reuters on March 16, 2008

ON MARCH 10, the anniversary of the 1959 uprising, up to 300 Drepung monks staged a protest march towards the city center. The nature of the protest is still unclear, although it is known to have involved expressions of support for the Dalai Lama, like virtually all of the protests across the plateau since March. Some sources stated that the Drepung monks were seeking the release of fellow monks detained on political charges the previous October, linked to their attempt to celebrate the honoring of the Dalai Lama with the Congressional Gold Medal. ICT does not have a record of Drepung monks detained at this time so cannot confirm that this is the case. The monks do not appear to have been calling for independence, according to Tibetan sources, but certainly their frustration with hardline policies towards religion, in particular the ‘patriotic education’ campaign, was evident. Drepung monks had suffered from more stringent restrictions than normal since their attempts to celebrate the honor to the Dalai Lama; pictures obtained by ICT of the aftermath of the celebrations show rows of military vehicles outside the monastery.¹

On March 10, the monks were blocked at the main road by security forces, where many of them staged a sit-in protest. A Tibetan woman from Lhasa told ICT: “They recited prayers including Galwai Shabten (Long Life offering for His Holiness the Dalai Lama) and Tsemey Yonten (a prayer offering for the benefit of Tibet, composed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in early 1960s). Many monks were crying out of sadness and people who happened to be there were crying as well.” After a standoff, dozens were arrested and the rest obliged to return to the monastery. The armed police on the scene were clearly under orders to use restraint.

The monks were not shot on sight, as monks carrying the Tibetan flag had been in the late 1980s. London-based journalist Jonathan Mirsky recounts such an incident: “I have seen, in the late Eighties, an army officer, in the square opposite the Jokhang, shoot dead a monk carrying the Snow Lion flag at the head of a small march of monks chanting praises of the Dalai Lama.”² At first it seemed that initial toleration of the sit-

down protest by the monks without being shot might herald the possibility of a new form of protest.

Professor Robert Barnett of Columbia University, a specialist in contemporary Tibet, gives the following account of the monks' protest. "The young monks of Drepung monastery have to meet each afternoon to carry out group debating, and it was this event that spilled out into the march. [...] They had several reasons to be antagonised about China's policies in Tibet, besides what some might see as 50 years of foreign occupation, particularly its repeated campaigns since 1994 forcing them to denounce the Dalai Lama; an unprecedented ban on pictures or worship of him; an end to new monasteries or any increase in monk numbers; a ban on students or government employees having religious possessions or practices; the forced settlement of 100,000 nomads announced this year; the relocation of 250,000 farmers to roadside houses, partly at their own expense, in 2006; the much-publicized railway line opened that year, with its unacknowledged encouragement of yet more Chinese migration to Tibetan towns, demonstrated by the construction of a new satellite town to the south of Lhasa; the ban on criticism of most governmental policies. No doubt the monks were also aware through leaflets sent secretly from exile and foreign radio broadcasts in Tibetan of major exile protests that same day in India; they may also have calculated that the Olympic dividend would deter the police from using lethal force. But outside instigation would not have been required to explain why the monks chose to mark this anniversary with public action."³

Following the incident, Drepung was then blockaded by the security forces and remained so for the following weeks and months. It is still closed, as far as ICT is aware, and is likely to remain closed until after the Olympics given the political sensitivities. The number of monks killed or arrested remains unconfirmed.

Also on March 10, a group of around 14 monks from Sera monastery along with laypeople staged a demonstration calling for Tibet's independence outside the Jokhang (Tsuklakhang) temple in the city centre. An eyewitness report including images posted online by tourists of the incident in the Jokhang Square, in the centre of Lhasa, reported that Tibetans "formed a strong, silent, peaceful circle around the police" after between seven and nine monks from Sera monastery shouted slogans outside the temple. A feature of the protests in Tibet since March have been the attempts by laypeople to prevent harm coming to monks or nuns who have engaged in peaceful protests, despite the risks.

The tourists, who posted their account and images on a blog, said that "hundreds" of

Tibetans formed a circle around the police, but that soon the police called for backup: "Undercover agents, not so difficult to recognize, film the whole happening. Especially the faces. This is one method to create fear. Suddenly there is panic. Six or seven monks are arrested and driven away. Tibetans are very scared because of the stories about the prisons and tortures. In the meanwhile big numbers of policemen arrive. They drive everybody apart."⁴

They were beaten and arrested, and have now been charged and imprisoned. The following day, hundreds of Sera monks attempted to march into the city demanding their release. They were blocked by security forces (2000 riot police according to various reports) and confined to the monastery, which was also sealed off. Sera monastery remains closed. Journalists from the international media who visited Lhasa for the Olympic torch relay on June 21 reported meeting only a handful of monks at Sera, which was virtually empty, during a strictly controlled visit organised by the Chinese authorities. Reporting for Canada's *Globe and Mail*, Geoffrey York observed that the usual 550 monks had disappeared from sight. Only about ten were left, giving terse answers to the media's questions before being whisked away by security officers. It is not clear whether the monks were detained or told to return to their home areas until after the Olympics if they did not have the required identification cards.

On March 12, the Ganden monks also staged a protest, resulting in a confrontation with security forces and blockading of the monastery (40 km outside the city). These blockades were so effective that accurate reports of events during March in all three of Lhasa's major monasteries in Drepung, Ganden and Sera — are still unavailable. Hundreds of monks appear to have been arrested, although some have since been released, and those from areas of eastern Tibet outside the TAR are believed to have been sent back to their native districts. During the blockade in the first few weeks of protest, there were severe shortages of water and food at all three monasteries.

Meanwhile, local officials and police began house searches in the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa, looking for unregistered monks and nuns and checking on residents with previous political records, as well as searching for images of the Dalai Lama. Movements of Tibet University students were restricted, and the small number of foreign NGO staff remaining in Lhasa were warned against passing information on the situation to the outside world. Former political prisoners and their families were particularly targeted; the whereabouts of some of them remain unknown. Foreign and Tibetan witnesses reported seeing a large influx of security personnel and military vehicles in the western part of the city at this time.

At midday on March 14, a confrontation between Ramoche monks, local people and security forces erupted into a riot. The Ramoche temple is in the heart of Lhasa, facing onto a busy pedestrianized market street in one of the few areas of the city that has remained a largely Tibetan quarter. The circumstances of the beginning of the riot are unclear; one reliable report received by ICT indicates that one of the security personnel on duty nearby provoked a Tibetan who was already angry about the intimidation of monks, which escalated into a physical conflict. Nearby police vehicles were set on fire, and hundreds of local Tibetans confronted the police, who were outnumbered and soon withdrew. Eyewitnesses recalled seeing the police being pelted with stones. The riot spread to the area around the Jokhang temple, and across the Tibetan quarter. One group of protestors attempted to march from the temple square towards the TAR government compound, but was turned back by armed security forces. Another group attacked shops and property in the area around the main mosque (Wobaling), where there were also confrontations with the security forces. Protestors shouted slogans calling for Tibet's independence and the swift return of the Dalai Lama.

The security forces were not to emerge again on the streets to tackle the rioters for several hours, according to numerous eyewitness reports. Professor Robert Barnett of Columbia University writes: "No reinforcements were sent into the area for some three hours, though they were waiting on the outskirts. It was the traditional Party method for handling serious unrest, waiting for orders as to whether to shoot or not. This vacuum allowed what were now rioters to turn from attacking police to the next available symbol of Chinese governance, the Chinese migrant population, whose rapid increase in Tibetan towns, in many of which they appear now to be a majority, has increasingly fuelled until now silent resentment among the indigenous population."⁵

During that afternoon, rioters targeted official premises and vehicles and Chinese- and Muslim-owned shops and businesses in the Tibetan quarter and adjacent areas on Beijing Road and North Lingkor Road, breaking doors and windows, removing and burning merchandise, and setting buildings and cars on fire. There are also reports of mob attacks on ethnic Chinese civilians.

Due to the chaotic and incendiary character of the protest and subsequent information blackout, the precise course of events has yet to be established. According to the Chinese media, 18 civilians and one police officer died as a result of the March 14 rioting (*China Daily*, June 21), but Chinese officials have not yet provided information about criminal charges and prosecution linked specifically to the deaths.

By most accounts, it was not until early evening that security forces closed in on the

Tibetan quarter with tanks and armored personnel carriers (these vehicles, with caterpillar tracks, are often described as tanks by witnesses), shooting at and arresting those demonstrators who had not already fled. According to Tibetan witness accounts, security forces (whether military or armed police) fired on unarmed demonstrators, killing dozens, especially in the western areas of Lhasa including Drapchi and Karma Kunsang residential areas, and on South Lingkor Road. By the following morning, order had been restored to the city centre; although martial law was not declared, witnesses report that martial law had been effectively imposed in all but name. Military convoys patrolled the city and soldiers and police guarded every intersection. Foreign tourists and many Chinese residents were moved out of the Tibetan quarter, while Tibetan residents were confined to their homes or places of temporary shelter.

Military analysts have reported that China's handling of the Lhasa riots was very similar to the way it dealt with the 1989 demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. In the early phase, a large number of regular troops from the People's Liberation Army were sent to the scene to deter the protestors. Within 48 hours of the start of the riots in Lhasa, T-90/89 armored personnel carriers and T-92 wheeled infantry fighting vehicles appeared on the streets as the 149th Division of the No. 13 Group Army under the Chengdu Military Region was dispatched to Lhasa. The 149th Division was also the first People's Liberation Army combat unit to arrive on the scene when unrest occurred in 1989 in Lhasa — although at that time, they arrived by road, lacking the option of arriving by rail. Military analyst Andrei Chung, editor-in-chief of *Kanwa Defense Review Monthly*, wrote: "This rapid troop deployment indicates that with the completion of the Qinghai-Tibet railroad in 2006, the rapid reaction capability of the Chinese armed forces in the Tibet region, particularly the ability to quickly maneuver heavy equipment, has been greatly enhanced."⁶

There are reports of further demonstrations that day in outlying areas of the city (for instance, Nyangre township in north Lhasa). By the evening of March 15 at the latest, security personnel (including the military) began house to house searches, making arrests of those suspected of involvement in the protests, including anyone without valid residence papers or with a previous record of dissent. Even by later official admission, many Tibetans who had not participated in the protests were arrested at that time.

On the evening of March 14, ICT started receiving reports that Tibetans "with long hair" were being targeted — a reference to Tibetans from the eastern areas of Kham and Amdo, who were believed to have been active in the protests and rioting. Many of the monks from Drepung, Sera and Ganden monasteries involved in the protests were from these areas too.

On March 16, four trucks in convoy made a slow progress through the streets of Lhasa, with about 40 people, mostly young Tibetan men and women, standing with their wrists handcuffed behind their backs, witnesses said (reported in *The London Times* on March 17). “A soldier stood behind each prisoner, hands on the back of their necks to ensure their heads were bowed,” reported Jane Macartney, the *Times* correspondent in Beijing. “Loudspeakers on the trucks broadcast calls to anyone who had taken part in the violent riots on Friday, in which Han Chinese and Hui Muslims were stabbed and beaten and shops and business set on fire, to turn themselves in. Those who gave themselves up might be treated with leniency, the rest would face severe punishment, the broadcasts said.” This rare public parade of prisoners, a frequent sight during the Cultural Revolution across China, was likely to be an attempt to intimidate the local population.

A Tibetan source, who is now in exile, gave ICT the following account of the atmosphere in Lhasa that prevailed after March 14: “Roundups of Tibetans happen at night, usually around two o’clock in the morning. Every one is so petrified, whether they took part in any of the protests in March or not. When house to house searches began [after March 14], Tibetans had such a hard time hiding their secret pictures of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. There are grim tales of the dead and arrests. Family members of those missing went from prison to prison searching for their loved ones. Many are still missing. One friend of mine saw a truck escorted by two police cars, one in the front, one in the back. When they looked closely, they saw that it appeared to be carrying the body of at least one monk. They could see the monks’ robes.”

Tibetan witness accounts report an extreme level of arbitrary brutality in the conduct of searches and arrests, including deliberate attempts to cripple detainees, break limbs and cause internal injuries. One source said: “[Many of] those released are facing serious physical injuries or mental disorders.” The same source said that several local Tibetan policemen in Lhasa who had complained of excessive torture and aggressive interrogation tactics had disappeared, although this could not be confirmed.

The main detention facilities in Lhasa were filled to capacity and extra detention centres were improvised in Toelung Dechen county (Chinese: Duiling Deqing) in Lhasa Municipality, and in a warehouse near the new railway station. All reports received speak of appalling conditions, overcrowding, no provision of water or food, denial of medical treatment to the wounded, and torture during interrogation. These accounts also claim that Lhasa hospitals refused to treat the wounded, and that security forces took possession of all corpses of those killed, by force if necessary, in order to destroy evidence of the manner of death. ICT has received several reports that large numbers of such corpses were disposed of in the new crematorium behind Yabda township in

the Toelung valley. In one reliable account, a Tibetan spoke of witnessing bodies piled together in the back of an army truck on the road leaving Lhasa. The side of the truck was covered with dried blood. The source estimated there were more than 15 bodies in the truck.

Stories 'to give you nightmares'

Many eyewitness or other reliable reports have reached ICT of deaths of Tibetans during the crackdown in Lhasa following the rioting on March 14. A Tibetan eyewitness told a source that in the afternoon of March 14, he saw four people carrying a Tibetan who had been shot dead. In the evening, a member of the family went to collect a child from school at around 6 pm, and the source said: "The military was shooting at the locals who went to pick up their children. One woman got shot in her leg and one man was hit in the head or neck and he died. Later his brother wanted to get his corpse from the hospital, but the hospital didn't want to give it [to him]. Finally the brother got so desperate that he threatened to burn himself and the hospital if they didn't give his dead brother to his family. The hospital gave him his brother's body, but just a few hours after he got home the military came and took the dead body away again."

The same source said that after March 14, in order to take a member of a family who had died for sky burial, a traditional Tibetan ceremony, three different papers were needed from the local police, hospital and a legal office, and that the reason for the different levels of bureaucracy was in order to ensure that the bodies of Tibetans who had been shot dead were not photographed and sent outside Tibet. Similarly, according to several sources, the corpses of those who had been shot were immediately taken away from people's homes by armed police or the military. The source added: "Walking the streets of Lhasa today, seeing big tea houses unusually empty and many shops still closed, makes you aware of how scared people are now. Very few people stop on the street when they meet friends, because every gathering of people is suspicious. A lot of people still stay at home because they are scared they will get arrested for no reason if they go out. When you finally find someone who is not too scared to talk to you, you hear consistent, dramatic, disturbing and daunting stories to give you nightmares."

There were further protests in several districts around Lhasa over the weekend of March 15–16. In Pheno Lhundrup (Chinese: Linzhou) county police reportedly fired on a crowd of hundreds demanding the release of monks arrested for demonstrating. A young businessman in his twenties called Jinpa was killed. All 90 or so monks of Ganden Chokor monastery and hundreds of local residents were arrested at the time and in subsequent search operations in the county town and surrounding villages.



Military camp in Lhasa, April 2008.

A monk-led protest in Dechen township in Toelung Dechen county on March 17 was broken up by security forces and up to 70 were arrested, most of whom were later released. Monk-led protests in Nyetang township in Chushul county on March 14 and Meldro Gungkar county on March 17 were peacefully contained by security forces, but those held responsible were detained in subsequent police operations. ICT has no reliable account of the protest in nearby Taktse county on March 14–15.

'Like a bird frightened by the sound of a bowstring'

In the last week of March, the Chinese authorities organized two official visits — a group of international media, and a group of Beijing-based diplomats. Both were met by protests. During these visits, military personnel and vehicles were kept out of sight. When a group of Beijing-based European and other diplomats left Lhasa at around 1 pm on Saturday, March 29, security was built up again in the Barkhor area. A source in Lhasa, writing on an English-language website, said that everyone in the city "became like a bird frightened by the sound of a bowstring". Reliable reports

received by ICT, and published by RFA and the Tibetan government in exile, refer to a protest that occurred in the Barkhor area that afternoon that appears to have been timed to coincide with the diplomats' visit, although it seems to have taken place after they left. An eyewitness cited by RFA referred to the involvement of at least 80 people in the incident.

The first high-level delegation of senior Party and government officials to Lhasa since the outbreak of the protests visited Lhasa on March 23–24, led by Minister of Public Security Meng Jianzhu. Meng told members of management committees at Drepung, Sera, and the Jokhang temples that the Dalai Lama is “unfit to be a true follower of Buddhism,” and that the Party and government would “deepen education in patriotism” in monasteries.

The first public sentencing of convicted rioters in Lhasa took place on April 29, including participants in the Phenpo Lhundrup and Tolung Dechen incidents. Three were given life sentences, and seven received 15-year sentences. Hundreds detained after March 14 were released without charge through late April. The security forces retained a tight grip on public order throughout this period, and Tibetan residents who qualified were issued permits costing 50 *yuan* (US \$7.30) just to move around their immediate neighbourhood. These restrictions were eased slightly in late June, once the Olympic torch had been paraded through the city under tight security.

A renewed ‘patriotic education’ campaign was formally begun in Lhasa in April, to last two months, with the theme of ‘Opposing Separatism, Safeguarding Stability and Promoting Development’, according to the official newspaper *Tibet Daily*. The campaign appeared to be aimed specifically at the lay community, as rigorous patriotic education is already ongoing in the main Lhasa monasteries. Tibetans are being required by the campaign to denounce the Dalai Lama, with the aim of “deepening the anti-separatist struggle and counter-attacking the Dalai clique’s scheme to split [the country]” (*Tibet Daily*, April 21). The report in *Tibet Daily* stated that “performance” in the campaign will be used as a means of “assessing the achievements of Party members and cadres.” There is evidence that since the protests began on March 10, there has been intensified distrust of Tibetan Party members and cadres.

A Tibetan source in Lhasa told a contact: “At the schools and in the offices people have to write stories about March 14th and they have to speak ill of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. When they write about the Dalai Lama they are only allowed to write Dalai, otherwise they have to write it again. My child already had to write such stories several times.”

The Jokhang monks protest: killings and imprisonment in Lhasa

On March 28, a group of 30 monks in Tibet's most sacred temple and place of pilgrimage, the Jokhang, made a bold protest in front of foreign press who were on an official tour of Lhasa orchestrated by Beijing. Images of the monks speaking directly to the journalists, some of them weeping, about the crackdown in Tibet's capital and the "lies" of the Communist Party were captured on film by the press and broadcast all over the world. According to information received by ICT, the monks were not immediately detained, and remain at the Jokhang, although their continued safety is under question.⁷ The monks' peaceful protest shattered the authorities' plans to convey an image that the situation in Lhasa was under control after the rioting and demonstrations, which Beijing says were instigated by the Dalai Lama.

A translation of a tape made by a reporter from the Associated Press who was among the media delegation is enclosed below. The first few minutes are missing, and many of the monks are weeping. After several different conversations at the same time, the monks realize some of the journalists speak Chinese and gradually begin to express some of their concerns. Two or three Chinese-speaking journalists ask questions. Seven minutes into the tape officials come in and order the monks to move away.

The monks, often speaking at the same time, told the journalists: "The CCP tricked the people." "The government is always telling lies, it's all lies." "They killed many people. They killed many people." "They (the government) have destroyed the way we are seen by the people." "The cadres and the army killed more than 100 Tibetans." "They arrested more than a thousand." "There were monks and lay people, both." "We want freedom and we want peace." "But after you leave, we are probably going to be arrested."

Deaths in Lhasa: eyewitness reports

The following eyewitness testimony was published as part of a moving and vivid account by a well-known Tibetan writer in July.⁸

The account was given by a Tibetan who was in Lhasa on March 14 and is now in exile. The Tibetan speaks about his arrival in Beijing prior to leaving the country, saying: "During the first few days in Beijing, when I walked on the street people asked me where I was from, I truthfully told them that I was from Tibet but immediately those people's expressions became very unsightly. It was as if I were a terrorist.

"[When I arrived in Lhasa on March 14] in the streets near the east there were shops and cars being smashed or burned. I ran to the area near the Post and Telecommunications Building, where there were many people standing on the streetside watching Tibetans protesting. We can say that, for a few hours, Tibet seemed to be independent. Not long after, I saw quite a few armoured cars drive over there, shooting tear-gas with the noise *thum-thum-thum*. The crowd dispersed right away. Those who had experience were cleaning their eyes with the water in shops. I only felt that my throat hurt greatly, and I could not hold back my tears..."

"I didn't [see firing into the crowd], but my friend saw that a man was killed in the area near Lhasa Middle School, and he was a Tibetan [...] I quickly ran back to my place. I was tired and frightened, so I fell asleep as soon as I lay down. [The next morning] as soon as I stepped out of my house, I became stunned. In front of me there were soldiers everywhere, some holding sticks and clubs and others holding guns in their hands. I wanted to go back, but the soldiers called out loud to me 'Come over!' I had to force myself to go over there.

"Two soldiers told me to hold up my two hands just like when one surrendered himself, then they searched my body. I was terribly frightened. I had my amulets in the pocket of my jacket. One of the amulets was a sacred object especially blessed by the Dalai Lama, symbolizing the removal of ill-fortune and avoidance of calamities. I also had a badge of Kundun [one of the honorific titles for the Dalai Lama, literally meaning 'presence']. If the badge had been found by the soldiers, then I would definitely have died. I was quietly praying to Kundun. Indeed Kundun was protecting me. Though the soldier frisked my pocket several times, he did not find it. Then he howled at me, 'Beat it!' [The account then refers to soldiers pulling images of the Dalai Lama from around the necks of Tibetans.] After throwing them on the ground, they also had Tibetans step on them. If anyone refused to trample them, they would be arrested and taken away. Some young people wore rosaries on their wrists, and when they were found by the soldiers, they were also arrested and taken away.

"As long as you are Tibetan, no matter whether you are a man or a woman, old or young, just like me, you would be searched by raising your hands like you were surrendering. Do you know that I had never experienced such an insult before? I saw we Tibetans raising our hands as if we were surrendering and being searched by soldiers with guns in their hands. Even the old people were not spared, neither were girls. I remembered the movies I had watched. Those movies about Japanese 'devils' invading China or about the nationalists fighting against the communists were just like what were happening in front of my eyes.



Security officials arrive at the Jokhang Temple during demonstrations on March 10, 2008.

"I had a *thangka* [Tibetan religious painting] in my house which is a portrait of the Dalai Lama but painted like a traditional *thangka*. Later my neighbours told me that the house had been searched twice. One time it was searched by armed police, and the other time it was by cadres from the Neighbourhood Committee. Those armed police probably did not recognize that image on the *thangka* as the Dalai Lama who is portrayed like Manjushri,⁹ so they did not touch it. Cadres from the Neighborhood Committee were certainly able to tell and I am sure they must have taken pictures and kept a copy for the record. I have a small chest in which I put Tibetan coins I had collected and currencies of various countries given by tourists when I served as their tour guide. This small chest was taken away. I do not know whether it was taken by the armed police or by cadres from the Neighborhood Committee. They were just like thieves.

"I thought that I could not stay in Lhasa any more and I had to leave, otherwise I would probably be arrested. During the first few days in Beijing, when I walked on the street people asked me where I was from, I truthfully told them that I was from Tibet

but immediately those people's expressions became very unsightly. It was as if I were a terrorist. Once I was even interrogated and examined by the armed police. Therefore, if I do not have any errands or business to attend to, then I will not go out, but I feel very bored. Then I watched TV. On TV there were only programmes showing Tibetans beating, smashing, looting or burning but there were never any programmes about how Lhasa and other Tibetan areas are under the control of soldiers. It never mentioned how many Tibetans were killed or arrested. All those officials are lying, claiming that the troops had never fired on people and saying that the troops went on the street to clean the streets. It is right that they came to clean the streets, and what they wiped out were us Tibetans, because we are garbage in their eyes."

'Come out, tsampa eaters!'

This second eyewitness account was published on the same blog as above.

"I need to start with March 10. About 5:00 pm that afternoon, when I just arrived at Makye Ame [a Tibetan restaurant located at the intersection of the South Street and East Street in Barkhor], I ran into a friend who told me that an incident happened at Tsuklakhang (Jokhang Temple) square. We ran to see what happened and we saw eight people arrested and thrown into a police car. Four of them were monks, and some said that the other four were Khampas but others said that they were from Amdo. Anyway, they were very young. Still others said that before this some monks were already arrested. It seems that the policemen were from Barkhor Police Station and they beat people viciously. There were many onlookers. Some Tibetans said quietly '*nying je, nyig je*'(pity, pity) a few old women were crying, covering their mouths. My friend used his cell phone to take pictures, then a policeman in plain clothes came over and snatched the camera away, and confiscated it. We were very frightened.

"On the second day, the policemen in plain clothes had increased greatly in the Barkhor Street. There were also 30 or 40 women with very short hair, and all of them were Han Chinese. When they saw there were people chatting with each other, they would walk over to listen to the conversations. I do not know whether they could understand but they scared people. They had their lunch and dinner on the square, they ate food in boxes delivered to them. There were cars that sent boxed lunches and dinners. The crowd did not disperse until it was about to be dusk. All Tibetans knew that they were policemen in plain clothes, and we were reminding each other quietly. There were also more policemen, who looked very serious, and were walking back and forth in the square. Oh, that's right, I heard that monks from Drepung and Sera monas-

teries had staged a demonstration but they were beaten back by many armed police. The Jokhang and Ramoche Temples were also closed [to the public].

"[On the day of March 14] after 11:20 am, like any other day, when I, together with a few of my friends, passed by Ramoche Temple, an incident had already happened there. Many Tibetans were shouting, and were throwing stones at the soldiers. We were all stupefied. We heard somebody near us saying that for these last few days there had been police cars at the gate of Ramoche Temple, and just now some monks rushed out to overturn the cars as they claimed that the cars were blocking the road to the monastery. Immediately, the policemen called the armed police to come to assist them, then those armed police who had shields and sticks in their hands began to beat the monks. Tibetans on the streets could not bear to continue to watch, thus the people began to demonstrate. [...] I saw many Tibetans were very young, and not well dressed. While throwing stones, they were shouting 'Come out, tsampa eaters' [tsampa is a traditional Tibetan food, of roasted barley, and in this context it symbolizes the Tibetan identity].

"A Tibetan peddler wanted to join the others, but his wife exerted all her strength to drag his arms while crying, and pleaded with him not to go. There were also many girls, who said to us "Young man, are you still a Tibetan? If you are, then come over to join us", and when they saw we did not join them, they spat on the ground, and said scornfully, '*Ngo tsa, ngo tsa*' (shame on you). To tell you the truth, I was very sad, but I dared not to participate, and only stood aside to watch. Among my friends, some of them ran over there and threw a stone, but immediately they came back again.

"[The eyewitness is asked whether he thinks these actions were pre-organised and pre-meditated] *Kun chok sum* [Vow to the Three Jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha — roughly equivalent to 'By everything I hold holy' in English], it is not so. The stones they threw were those used by people in the neighborhood to build their houses. Some of them were holding knives, but they were not Tibetan knives, instead, they were long knives. I do not know where they got them either. Many people were waving *khatags* [Tibetan white blessing scarves], and it is possible they seized them from the nearby shops, anyway, there were many khatags in those shops. Then they poured into Tromsikhang [the market at the corner of Barkhor Street] from Ramoche Temple. On the way, many shops owned by Chinese and Chinese Muslims (Hui) were destroyed. Part of the Tromsikhang market was also burned down. The Chinese all ran away, and the Chinese Muslims took off their white caps and ran away, too. It is strange that no policemen were there, and all of them also ran away. [...] Many people know that there are video cameras, but they weren't afraid. [...] They did it for the sake of our

nationality. They are really tough.

"I had been following the people all the time. There were more and more people pouring from Tromsikhang into the Barkhor area. There were about 100 people. There were people from Amdo, Kham and Lhasa. There were also a few monks. People walked around the Barkhor twice. While walking, they were shouting "*Gyawa Rinpoche kutse trilo tenpa sho*" (Long live the Dalai Lama), "*Bo Rangzen*" (Tibetan Independence). While they were walking around, they destroyed the shops owed by the Chinese and Chinese Muslims. Silk and satin in one shop were thrown out, which was colourful and they were scattered all over the ground. Some people also set fire to Barkhor police station diagonally across from Jokhang Temple but it did not burn fiercely. [...] Probably when it was nearly 3:00 pm or it just after 3:00 pm, people in black clothes came, their faces covered and only showing two eyes. They were holding guns and they fired at people. [...] These were special police. [...] There were about 30 or 40 people who were all dressed in black with their faces covered. They only showed their eyes and were holding their guns high.

"At that time, I was at the entrance of North Barkhor street, I saw them rushing to Tsuklakhang Square, and they threw tear-gas bombs into the crowd. People in the front were stopped and arrested. Then they fired and killed people in the back.

"I, together with many people, was frightened and we retreated back into Barkhor Street. But not very far from the entrance of North Barkor Street, it was right there when a teenage girl picked up a stone and was about to throw it, the special police fired at her, and the bullet pierced through her throat. She fell on the ground right away. At that time I was over 10 or 20 meters away from her and I saw it very clearly. Many people saw that. It was really horrible. [...] I think she was only 17- or 18-years old. [...] That girl fell on the ground, twitching and bleeding. Very soon the car of the special police drove over, their car looked like a Toyota 4500 in a dark color. The car stopped right in front of the girl, then two special policemen jumped off the car, and threw the girl's corpse into the car. The car again continued to drive forward a little, then turned back. It is very strange that after the car drove back and forth, there was no blood on the ground. There was not even a blood stain on the ground. [...]

"Except for this girl, I did not see any dead people. But a friend who owns a restaurant in Barkhor saw from the roof that the special police fired and killed many people in Barkhor. It is strange that these special policemen seemed to be in charge of Barkhor only, not other areas. At that time, we saw that the corpse of the girl was being taken away by the police car, I, together with other people, started to flee. I ran all the

way to Makye Ame restaurant, then turned a corner, and ran across the small alley. Most of the shops on both sides were destroyed, and many messy things were scattered all over on the way. As you know, this area is mostly Chinese Muslim and the mosque is just ahead. I saw some Tibetans burning cars. Three cars and one motorcycle were set on fire in front of the mosque. I dared not stay, so I walked through the crowd and walked through that especially high gate. TAR Public Security Bureau is located just across the street.

“What is more strange is that there were over ten policemen in front of the gate of the TAR Public Security Bureau, but they only stood there looking on. But only one street away, there were actually Tibetans smashing and burning things. I remember two butcher’s shops owned by Chinese Muslims and seven cars were destroyed, but the policemen did not do anything. They acted as if this had nothing to do with them. There were also many onlookers, who were standing on the edge of the streets. They were watching and discussing things amongst themselves.

“There was only one street between these two sides, but they were like two worlds. Even now I still do not understand why the special policemen in Barkhor fired and killed people, but the policemen outside of Barkhor did not go to stop [the people] at all. It seems that not long after there were three tanks [these are likely to be armoured personnel carriers] that drove over from Jiangsu Road, and arrived at Lingkhor East Road. All the soldiers in the tanks were holding guns. When the tanks drove over, the ground was vibrating. As soon as people saw tanks coming, all the onlookers dispersed. [...] I don’t know what the tanks were doing because I simply fled. [With my friends] I drank beer until past 11:00 at night, and we were all drunk.

“We were not very drunk, but it seems that we all had courage now and no matter what, we wanted to go back to our own places. When we three arrived at the cross-roads of Jiangsu East Road, we were stunned, and almost sobered up — 40 or 50 soldiers were standing there, with their guns in their hands, and they were also holding rubber clubs, batons or something like them. We were ordered to stop and hand in our papers. Luckily we had our I.D. cards in our wallets, then the soldiers said ‘Beat it.’ One of my friends retorted “We have our papers, what makes you think can curse at us?” Immediately we were done for. The soldiers pounced on us and started to beat us. Two of them held our arms and two others started to randomly beat us right in the face. My eyes were beaten severely and began to swell and at that time I thought I would be beaten so severely that I would become blind.

"These soldiers kicked us to the ground, swearing at us the whole time. [...] We were taken to the police station. There two policemen came who took our pictures and recorded our I.D. numbers. When we were interrogated, one Tibetan policeman said in Tibetan 'Don't say too much.' He sounded very vicious, so the Chinese policeman must have thought that he was cursing at us. I did not expect at this time there would be a policeman who would help Tibetans. Perhaps because they could not get anything out of three drunkards, eventually they released us. [...] We heard gun shots all the way home. I really do not know how many people like that girl were killed."

"[Later] I heard that all three of my friends who rented rooms at the big compounds inhabited by many families were all arrested. Though they never shouted a slogan, did not throw a stone, nor were they even among the onlookers, they were actually arrested and taken away. What made it very funny is the reason for their arrest is that one of them has very long hair and looks like an impressive Khampa, the other has very short hair and looks very much like a monk. As for the reason for the third one, ha, ha, he has a gold inlaid tooth in his mouth. Many Khampas and Amdo people love to inlay gold in their teeth, and there were many Khampas and Amdowa people who participated in this uprising. The reason he was arrested because of his golden tooth is probably because he was suspected to be a Khampa or an Amdo person.

"[Some days later] I heard that they had begun to sell train tickets, then I directly went to the train station. On my way to the train station, only two kilometers from my friend's house to the railway station, I was checked by soldiers with guns and clubs seven times. They all spoke Sichuan dialect. They were thin and small, and looked like mice, but they were more frightening than tigers.

"They repeatedly checked my I.D card and my certificate of temporary residence. If the person did not look like the photo in the papers, he would be arrested and taken away right on the spot. They also checked very carefully the text messages and pictures in people's cell phones. Fortunately, I cannot take pictures with my cell phone. My luggage was also leafed through and checked. I had one small album in it, and they opened the album and looked at the pictures one by one. The strangest thing is that they actually told me to roll back my sleeves, and stroked my two arms back and forth several times. Why? Were they looking for rosaries? If a person wears rosaries on one's wrist, if one is not a monk, then one is somebody who believes in Buddhism. Later I heard there were people who were arrested because of rosaries. Eventually, I was able to buy a standing room ticket [and was able to leave Lhasa]."

'Those injured had no choice but to wait for death'

This account was given to the Tibetan language section of Radio Free Asia on April 14 by an unnamed Tibetan caller (www.rfa.org).

"It is very difficult to give an exact number of people who were killed. One of the main reasons is that many were killed in the area of the Jokhang, and many of these had come from the Kham and Amdo regions to Lhasa for different reasons. Most of them did not have residence permits. Therefore, because of a lack of documentation, there is no way to verify who was killed. Over 100 Tibetans were killed. Many of my friends saw Tibetans being killed.

"In the beginning, many injured Tibetan protestors were taken to Chinese hospitals, where they were treated. Later, when injured Tibetans were taken to hospitals, they were detained instead of receiving medical attention. In fact, on the second day of the protests, even Tibetans who had bruises were treated as suspects and detained. So Tibetans who were injured had no choice but to wait for death.

[ICT has received similar reports, indicating that some Tibetans may have died due to lack of access to medical treatment. In some cases, individuals with medical knowledge provided emergency first aid and tended to the wounded but it was generally not regarded as safe to go to government-run hospitals.]

"Now, the situation for Tibetans in Lhasa is very tense. If a Tibetan argues over prices with a Chinese grocery-shop owner, the shop owner calls the police and the Tibetan is detained as a suspect. Any Tibetan without a residence permit is also detained. Even elderly Tibetans who cannot walk straight and Tibetan schoolchildren are searched. The Han Chinese don't need residence permits. Their spoken Mandarin language is itself their permit."

Loss of life in Lhasa and the removal of monks from monasteries

This account from a Tibetan woman who was eyewitness to events in Lhasa in March, and who spoke to others who witnessed events, was given to ICT on her arrival in exile.

"I was in Lhasa earlier this year when protests broke out. I wanted to report what I saw and heard when I was there as accurately as possible. This information was relayed to

me by family members, relatives, co-workers, and friends.

“On March 10, a large number of monks from Drepung monastery planned to march to Lhasa for a peaceful protest but they were stopped at the intersection of the Khet sel Luding by Chinese security personnel. The monks than staged a sit-in protest, and for the whole day they recited prayers including *Galwai Shabten* (Long-Life offering for His Holiness the Dalai Lama) and *Tsemey Yonten* (a prayer offering for the benefit of Tibet, composed by the Dalai Lama in early 1960s). Many monks were crying out of sadness and people who happened to be there were crying as well. As darkness descended and people began to disperse, security forces took this opportunity to force the monks back to the monastery. Later there were reports stating that more than 15,000 Chinese soldiers had surrounded Drepung monastery.

“On March 11, monks from Sera monastery attempted to march to stage a peaceful protest and were confronted by Chinese security personnel. The confrontation resulted in a scuffle between the two parties and few monks were able to go to Lhasa and protest. A Tibetan working as a security guard told on them and Chinese security personnel arrested 17 people — monks and laypeople. There were few people around the area but they did not understand what was going on and therefore accurate information came only after some time. The Tibetan who informed on the protestors went into hiding after people threatened him.

“A Chinese police car is always parked right outside Ramoche Temple. On March 14, a monk from Ramoche asked why Chinese police had set up a surveillance station right outside the temple. He was shoved in the temple and the gate was closed from the outside. At the time other monks were attending prayer sessions.

“Two monks from another temple called Meru Nyingpa reached the gate of Ramoche temple and were barred from entering by police. An woman onlooker threw a stone at the policeman. Another onlooker, a person from eastern Tibet, a Khampa, came forward with his sword [knife] sparking a public protest. [ICT has received a further account of a Khampa with a knife objecting to police intimidation and presence at the Ramoche temple on March 14].

“The public threw stones at police vehicles and set them on fire. The public burned Chinese stores and threw items from the stores outside. As security personnel started shooting, [there was] a mass revolt all over Lhasa. Many young Tibetans and students joined in the protest and their slogans were: ‘(Red) Chinese leave Tibet, Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.’

“The crackdown in the aftermath of the protest resulted in loss of lives and injuries to thousands of Tibetans. [...] During the height of the incident, one Tibetan clinic played a vital role in keeping Tibetan dead bodies and treating injured ones. [...] That night [March 14], two Tibetans worked hard and covertly in transporting bodies and injured to their respective homes.

“From March 15 onward Chinese security detained all injured Tibetans from Barkhor area and kept all dead bodies within the compound of the Tsuklakhang Temple [this could not be confirmed]. As night fell, the police cremated all the dead bodies — including a few still alive and moving [this detail is given by one source and could not be independently confirmed] — at lower Ratsak Hill [the afore-mentioned crematorium near Yabda township in Tolung]. This hell on earth was witnessed by a woman; she was utterly distraught by the experience.

“I have heard that all major prisons in Lhasa area — Gutsa [Detention Center], Sangyib, Nyithang, Tsalgungthang, and Toelung — were filled to maximum capacity, so other detained Tibetans were kept in the garage of the military station (Chinese: Jun Chu) on South Lingkor road in Lhasa.

“Detainees were subjected to harsh beating and their major body joints — hands and legs — were [often] dislocated as soon as they were brought into custody. Then they were forced into kneeling position for days, as blood dripped from their body. They were questioned everyday [from] the first day [onwards]. During the interrogation, they were forced to kneel and lower their heads. Beatings, including stomping on their entire body, and electrocution by electric prods. [Sometimes] when detainees fell unconscious, they were woken up by cold water being splashed upon them. Furthermore, detainees were beaten with sacks over their head. [...] Detainees, regardless of whether they have committed any crime or not, were treated in such brutal and inhumane ways. Those who have been charged were in for a more brutal torture, including inserting bamboo through their nails and fingers tied tight and beaten.

“Detainees were fed one small and dry steamed bun [Tibetan: *Tingmo*] and a small mug of water once a day. The lack of sufficient food to eat and water to drink forced them to drink their own urine, even though some were urinating blood [after this treatment]. I heard these accounts from a few people who have been released. They say they were not fed and were beaten severely. They were ordered not to tell anybody anything or face arrest. Those released were fined 2000 *yuan* (US \$293)

[ICT has received numerous reports from different areas of Tibet of the authorities

charging large fines for the release of individuals. In some cases, the fines have been paid by monasteries for the release of monks, as they are often too high for individual families to be able to afford.]

“[Detainees] who were released would emerge in a grave condition. Psychologically they were so fearful that I heard some would hide under a table or something similar. Some were physically so weak that they died within few days of release. I do not know how many].

“In Drepung monastery there are 1200 monks and out of those, only 800 are from the monastery while the rest are monks from different places who have come to Drepung to study. The 400 monks not from Drepung were ordered to return to their hometowns and fined 5000 *yuan* (US \$732) each. But any of those who participated in the protests were detained. Work committees were sent to the monastery, but I heard that the monks have rejected their demands and have instead told them that the protests were not instigated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as claimed by the authorities. [...] The monks also objected to everything they did being labeled as political. Due to their defiance, aside from a few older monks, most monks were taken to Tsethang prison in Lhoka prefecture. The locals who saw them taken onto the bus were crying. [...] Likewise, monks from Sera monastery were taken to Tselgunthang prison.

“I left Lhasa on [date withheld]. Both the Jokhang and Ramoche temples were still closed when I left. Jokhang monks were barred from leaving the temple. The Barkhor remained empty while police roamed the streets.”

‘The right thing to do’: an account of the protests in Lhasa

A Tibetan who was in Lhasa at the time of the protests gave Radio Free Asia (www.rfa.org) the following eyewitness account during a roundtable discussion on April 5.

“[...] Within a short period, about 200 Tibetans were detained. In the midst of the commotion, it was hard to tell who was alive or dead and who was taken away. I saw some Chinese with head injuries. Then, my sister told me that she had seen nine Tibetan bodies in the area of Lephuk. I myself saw a Tibetan woman and a man lying dead in Ani Tsamkung hospital. When I arrived at the Lhasa City People’s Hospital, I saw

three Tibetans being brought in. One of the injured was Tenzin Norbu from Kham Pelbar. His sister brought him in, and I recognized him. He had been shot in the head, and the hospital suggested that he should be taken to the TAR People's Hospital. He was vomiting and may not have survived. That boy was very young — about 21 or 22 — and according to his sister he was a student in a school just below Sera monastery. Another youth had also been shot in the head. He was bleeding heavily, and there was little hope for his survival. Another Tibetan youth had been hit in the hip and had about four bullet wounds.

"I thought that this [the uprising] was the right thing to do. I participated in the protests and was among the protesters in the area of Ramoche monastery for about two hours. I knew that the protests were expressions of Tibetan despair over Chinese oppression in our own country. The actual suppression and crackdown by Chinese forces began on the night of March 14. At roughly 8:00 pm, Tibetans in the Lhasa area heard that Chinese forces were coming. Many left and went to their homes, while others continued their protests. That very night I saw many Tibetans being taken away and Chinese armed police firing on Tibetans. I saw them myself. I heard gunshots on March 14, 15, 16. One of those who died in Lupuk was Lhakpa Tsering. He was known to us. He is survived by a young daughter. He was from Toelung Dechen and worked as a driver. He died on Friday and his funeral was planned for the following Monday, but local officials took his body for a post mortem because of the gunshot wound to his head. Later, they handed over some ashes instead of his body. Most of the Tibetan families whose loved ones were killed could not be traced. It was difficult to know whether they were alive or dead or in detention. Most of the dead bodies were taken away and disposed of by the Chinese."

Shooting in Lhasa on March 15

A Tibetan caller to Radio Free Asia on March 15 gave the following account:

"I am in the Lhasa area. There was shooting today. Many Tibetans who were dead and barely alive were collected at the TAR Security Office area, and I heard from a reliable source that there were 67 bodies. Some were alive and most were dead when they were brought in. [...] This included male and female, and I don't have the details. [...] But it's confirmed that there were in total about 67 bodies collected at this place. I cannot tell you the source of my information, but 67 bodies were seen by my source. [...] Right now I can hear shootings. We saw many tanks. Sometimes they fire in the air to threaten the Tibetans. At some places, like the Karma Kunsang area, they are firing

right now. Every Tibetan is stopped and their I.D.s are checked. Even Tibetan government workers are checked, but the Chinese are free to move around. Many Tibetans who were arrested were taken toward the Toelung area and several other jails in different parts of Lhasa.”

¹ See: ‘New images confirm security buildup at Drepung on day Dalai Lama awarded the Congressional Gold Medal,’ ICT, November 14, 2007, www.savetibet.org.

² ‘The non-violent nature of Tibetan resistance: eyewitness to history’, in ICT report ‘Incomparable Warriors’, www.savetibet.org.

³ ‘Thunder from Tibet,’ Robbie Barnett, *New York Review of Books*, Volume 55, Number 9, May 29, 2008, www.nybooks.com.

⁴ ‘Second day of protests in Lhasa: monks dispersed by tear-gas,’ ICT, March 11, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁵ See endnote 3.

⁶ ‘Analisis: controlling Tibet — Part 1,’ UPI, July 2, 2008, www.upi.com.

⁷ ‘Jokhang monks make bold protest: transcript,’ ICT, April 3, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁸ ‘“The Fear in Lhasa, as Felt in Beijing,” Tsering Woeser, July 16, 2008, www.phayul.com.

⁹ Within Tibetan Buddhism, Manjusri is a tantric meditational deity considered to be a fully enlightened Buddha, and the embodiment of wisdom.



Sangye Lhamo, a 26 year old nun from Serchuteng township, Kardze county, was detained on May 28 along with two other nuns from Dragkar nunnery in Kardze, Tsewang Kando, 38, also from Serchuteng township, and Yeshe Lhadon, 24, from Tsotzi village, Kardze county. According to sources now in exile, the three were detained following a peaceful demonstration in the town market square where they distributed leaflets. The three nuns are currently being held in Kardze town jail, however they have been denied family visitation.

7AN 'ARDUOUS STRUGGLE' – PROTESTS IN KARDZE SINCE MARCH 10

"Monks at the local monastery have been making donations and presenting Hada [khatags, Tibetan white blessing scarves] to ordinary people who were beaten and injured by police during a peaceful protest [in Kardze] not long ago. At the same time, the monastery authorities have announced to the monks and ordinary people that two cadre monks on the patriotic re-education work group (one of them is called Yeshe) have been too severe, and so an extremely severe sanction has been taken out on these two monks as well as their entire families: "jirulebire", which means that from now on, no monks or believers are permitted to perform prayers or other religious activities for these two monks and all of their families, including funerals. It's being said among Tibetan religious believers that this is the most fearful punishment."

— The Tibetan writer Woeser, writing on a blog site on May 21

KARDZE TOWN, the historic centre of the Trehor region, is now a county town under Kardze TAP, Sichuan province — the prefectoral government seat is Dartsendo (Chinese: Kangding). Tibetans in Kardze TAP (in the Tibetan region of Kham) are known for their strong sense of Tibetan identity and nationalism; many Khampas were involved in resistance to the Chinese invasion in 1949–50 and to the Chinese presence in 1956–59. Hardline Chinese campaigns against the Dalai Lama and economic policies that have led to the loss of their land and livelihoods as well as the extraction of minerals by Chinese prospectors have caused deep resentment in the region. The recent intensification of restrictions on religious expression, and the requirement to denounce the Dalai Lama, have compounded frustration in the region and appear to have increased the likelihood of Tibetans taking risks to express their discontent.

An article in *Ganzi Daily* published on January 4, 2008, noted that the county's remote location and "historical reasons" — a reference to Tibetan pro-independence sentiment and loyalty to the Dalai Lama — had made the work of "maintaining public order and safeguarding stability [...] very arduous." Kardze, one of 18 counties in the prefecture, has been the site of more known political detentions of Tibetans (55) by Chinese authorities than any other county outside the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) since the current period of Tibetan political activism began in 1987, based on data available in the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC) Political Prisoner Database (PPD).¹

The local tradition of symbolic protests in the marketplace, usually involving flags and leaflets, came into its own after the March 2008 uprising — and took place in a political climate that was already deeply repressive. Confrontational hardline strategies involving a stringent campaign of ‘patriotic education’ had been adopted throughout Kardze TAP since spring last year (2007), leading to increased resentment and frustration in the monastic and lay community.

Kardze was one of several places in Kham where pro-independence leaflets were posted in public places on March 10, and there was an enhanced security presence on the streets in the days before the first serious disturbance occurred on March 18. Several reports have emerged of what happened that day, all naming more or less the same group of core protestors who were killed or arrested, but each giving a different version of events. Most agree that one or two individuals started a protest that afternoon by shouting slogans in the main marketplace, and were quickly joined by a large crowd. They were soon confronted by armed police or soldiers who broke up the demonstration, killing four protestors, perhaps with live ammunition although this could not be confirmed, and arresting at least 15.

The disciplinary master of Kardze monastery, Wangchen, in his forties, was reportedly one of those who died in Kardze on March 18. Ngodup Phuntsog, and 40-year old Ngoga and Pema Dechen, both from a nearby village of Sichu, were also killed in Kardze on March 18, according to a report received by ICT.

One eyewitness said: “Extra security forces had arrived in Kardze in previous days [up until March 19] to bolster security, and they confronted the protestors. They threatened to shoot unless the protestors dispersed, and after that one section of the crowd broke away and obeyed the order. The protestors remained entirely peaceful, not even a stone was thrown. Police moved in on the remainder, beating them with clubs, and arrested at least 12 of them. They beat people savagely, aiming at the head, and it is possible that one or two may have been killed or mortally wounded on the spot, but no-one knows exactly.”

The same evening troop reinforcements arrived and set up a new camp below town, enforcing virtual martial law in the area. In the aftermath of the protest, security forces conducted searches and made further arrests. Smaller protests were also staged by the monks of Darje monastery on March 17 and by school students and laypeople in nearby Rongbatsa on March 18.

The next major protest in the area took place in Trehor township under neighboring



Nuns from Dragkar nunnery (pictured above) have staged three demonstrations in recent weeks. Prior to the May 28 protest by Sangye Lhamo, Tsewang Kando, and Yesi Lhadon, two Dragkar nuns, named by TCHRD as Sonam Lhamo and Thubten Dolma, were detained on May 11, after protesting against 'patriotic education'. The next day, a group of Dragkar nuns again protested against the Chinese authorities in Kardze and ten were detained, according to TCHRD and other Tibetan sources.

Drango (Chinese: Luhuo) county on March 24. The monks of Chokri and nuns of two local nunneries, Ngang-gong and Kharsar, led hundreds of local people in a pro-independence demonstration. They were fired on by security forces, causing at least one death and several injuries. In protest at this incident, the monks of Drango monastery staged a demonstration in the county town next day that, despite a tense standoff with security forces, remained peaceful. There were 200 arrests over the following days, including 90 nuns, and authorities stepped up punitive patriotic education campaigns for ordinary residents, resulting in further incidents. State media acknowledged the March 24 incident, claiming that rioters had attacked police.

A Tibetan in Kardze told Radio Free Asia on March 20: "There is no peace in Kardze city. [...] The families of those who were taken away have no hope of seeing their relatives alive; they are just waiting for the bodies. However, the families have no regrets and believe that they have died for a good cause. [...] No Tibetan is allowed to move freely near the main Kardze county center — only the People's Armed Police (PAP) can go there. The local county government officials have no authority, and administrative control has been taken over by the PAP. Local people saw the arrival of 40 new vehicles and two planes and estimate that close to 10,000 armed police are now here."

On April 3, many or most of the 350-strong monastic community of Tongkor monastery (Tongkor township, in Kardze county) led hundreds of local people in a protest to the local government office. The previous day, a large contingent of soldiers or armed police had arrived at the monastery, intimidated the monks, and announced the start of a patriotic education campaign. (This reportedly happened at other large monasteries in Kardze prefecture that day). The senior monks refused to cooperate, a search was conducted and two arrests made. The protestors were demanding the release of these two monks, and calling for Tibet's independence and for the Dalai Lama to be allowed to return to Tibet.

Armed police were deployed and shot at the crowd, killing at least eight Tibetans, whose names are listed on p. 26 of this report. Radio Free Asia's Cantonese service was told by a source: "One monk has been killed, and seven Tibetans. Yesterday morning the police came to some Tibetan houses and asked them not to mourn those Tibetans who died in earlier clashes, and not to post the Dalai Lama's pictures. Then they had a clash with the police. Many people have been beaten up and arrested." (Radio Free Asia Tibetan service report, April 4).

Many of the protestors fled into the mountains to evade arrest, and the troops responded by vandalising and closing down the monastery, and issuing ultimata for protestors to give themselves up. According to one Tibetan source, in the days to follow, three monks from one local monastery, Dugu Gonpa, committed suicide, in an act that may have been in protest against the crackdown and subsequent pressure to denounce the Dalai Lama. There were also large demonstrations in neighbouring Tawu county on April 2 and 5.²

On April 23, two nuns from Dragkar in Kardze town attempted to distribute pamphlets and were immediately detained. The Dragkar nuns stepped up their campaign, apparently in response to the re-education campaign being conducted at their monastery, with protests in Kardze town on May 11 and 12. Two monks from the

main Kardze monastery staged a protest the next day. Then on the afternoon of May 14 over 50 nuns from nearby Pangri nunnery managed to march in protest up to the county government offices. They were beaten and arrested, and further restrictions placed on the nunnery, culminating in the arrest of Phurbu Tsering Rinpoche, one of the senior Kardze lamas and head of Pangri, on May 18.³

The remaining Pangri nuns and inmates of the nearby old people's home (founded by Phurbu Tsering Rinpoche) protested again on May 19 demanding his release, and were arrested. A Tibetan source told ICT "The tension heightens after each such protest, how small it might be. Word gets around and there is an increase in the number of troops in the area."

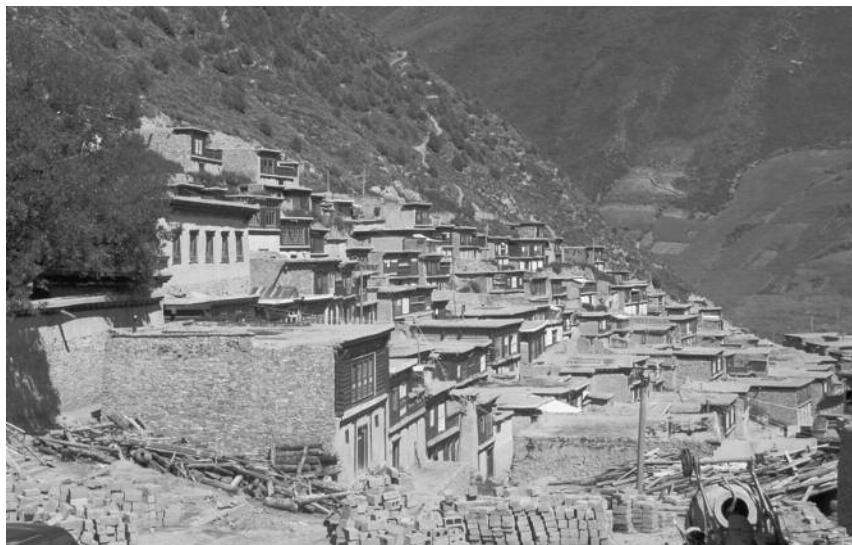
Tibetan nuns have taken a leading role in dissent in Kardze TAP with further peaceful protests on May 28 and at least six more separate protests since the Pangri nuns were detained after their bold demonstration on May 14. More than 80 nuns are reportedly still detained following the unrest in Kardze that has continued despite the severe 'anti-separatist' crackdown in Tibetan areas which has been upheld even since the earthquake struck Sichuan on May 12.⁴

In an incident on May 28, a 21-year old female student, Rinchen (or Rigden) Lhamo, was fired upon and possibly injured in the leg by armed police after she unfurled the banned Tibetan 'snow lion' flag at the government headquarters in Kardze, according to an eyewitness report received by the Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD), and other Tibetan sources. Her whereabouts are now unknown, although she is assumed to be still in custody.

Detention of a 'gentle, strong' nun

On May 28, Sangye Lhamo, a 26-year old Tibetan nun from Dragkar nunnery, was joined by fellow nuns Tsewang Kando, 38, and Yeshi Lhadon, 24, in handing out leaflets during a peaceful protest in Kardze town before being detained, according to Tibetan sources with contacts in the area. The three nuns are currently being held in Kardze town jail and have been denied family visitation. A relative of Sangye Lhamo's in exile told ICT "[She] is both very strong and also incredibly gentle, and we are deeply concerned about her. The nunneries in Kardze are places of joy and strength of character, and now I am so afraid for them."

Protest resumed in Drango county in Sichuan on June 6 (three monks with a national



Tongkor (Chinese: Donggu) monastery 60 kilometers from Kardze (Chinese: Ganzi) town in western Sichuan (the Tibetan area of Kham). On April 3, police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators including monks from Tongkor, killing at least eight Tibetans. The monastery was later raided by armed police. (Photo: ICT)

flag), and on June 8, 200 nuns from Watak nunnery marched on the county to protest the arrest of a Watak nun who had protested earlier that day. They were stopped by security forces before reaching town, and many were detained. Protests by small numbers of monks, nuns and laypeople continued every few days through June in Kardze town, particularly on June 21 and 22, coinciding with the Olympic torch parade in Lhasa. Officials responded by detaining protestors and stepping up patriotic education meetings in rural areas.

A Tibetan source who witnessed the protest in Kardze on March 18 told the Tibetan newspaper in exile *Bod Kyi Bang Chen*: “It could be that they [the protestors, particularly referring to the monks] could not take oppression any more. The fact that the Chinese are forcing Tibetans to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama everyday makes Tibetans put their lives on the line and protest.” The same source reported that a nun in the area left behind a letter with her relative before joining a protest in Kardze, saying: “I cannot bear any longer the constant denunciation campaign against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I cannot even concentrate on my prayers. I have 500 yuan [US\$72]—give away 50 to others and keep the rest for prayer after I die.”

Detention of an esteemed lama in Kham: Phurbu Rinpoche

Four days after the demonstration by the more than 50 nuns from Pangri on May 14, a senior lama who was the head of the nunnery, Phurbu Rinpoche, was detained in connection with the protest, according to Tibetan sources in exile who received information from the area. Phurbu Rinpoche, an incarnate lama of Trehor Kardze monastery who lives in Dragyab village, Kardze, was taken into custody on May 18 or 19, according to the same sources. His current whereabouts and welfare are unknown.

Phurbu Rinpoche is a deeply respected local figure known for his work in the community, including the building of a center for elderly people, and two clinics. In addition to Pangri, Phurbu Rinpoche is also the head of Ya-tseg nunnery, according to TCHRD. According to the Tibetan writer Woeser, writing on a blog site on May 21, “At around 4:00 in the afternoon on the 18th in Kardze county in Kham [...] local police burst into the home of Phurbu Rinpoche and arrested him. [...] He [...] is held in very high esteem. The arrest of such a well-known religious figure has given rise to a great deal of anger and resentment among local Tibetans.”



Phurbu Rinpoche, an incarnate lama of Trehor Kardze monastery and head of Pangri nunnery disappeared into Chinese custody on May 18 or 19. His whereabouts and welfare are currently unknown

¹ ‘Party, Government Launch New Security Program, Patriotic Education, in Tibetan Area,’ CECC, March 17, 2008, www.cecc.gov.

² ‘Aggressive anti-Dalai Lama campaign in Kham; imminent food shortages feared as result of security sweep,’ ICT, April 17, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

³ ‘More than 80 nuns detained after peaceful protests continue in Kham,’ ICT, May 30, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁴ ‘Tibetans in monasteries under crackdown hold prayer ceremonies for earthquake victims: message of reconciliation from monastery under repression,’ ICT, May 21, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁵ ‘China detains Drakar and Gaden Choeling Nuns in Kardze,’ TCHRD, May 17, 2008, www.tchrd.org.



Protester killed after police opened fire on demonstrators near Kirti monastery in Ngaba (Chinese: Aba) in Sichuan province (the Tibetan area of Amdo).

NGABA PROTESTS: 'I RECOGNISE THE PARTY'S GREAT KINDNESS'

"Too much for our hearts to hear about, and too much for our eyes to witness."

— Letter from Kirti monks dictated to monks in exile about the crackdown

NGABA COUNTY is in Ngaba TAP in Sichuan province — administered from Barkham. Kirti monastery near the county town is one of the largest in Tibet with a population of over 2500, and many branch monasteries in the region. The next largest monastery, Taktsang Lhamo, is nearby, but falls under Dzoge county. Ngaba has never been 'opened' to foreign visitors, apparently because of its history of resistance to Chinese rule, and the presence of military bases there. Many Ngaba people, including the late incarnate lama of Kirti, have come into exile in India over the years, and established large monastic institutes there. The contact between Ngaba monks in India and their compatriots in Tibet allowed for an unusually high volume of information about the March protests to reach the outside world, including photographs of ten to 20 people shot by security forces on March 16.

On the evening of March 15 Taktsang Lhamo monks led a demonstration of several hundred local people in the nearby marketplace. They attacked the local police station, burned the PRC flag and set fire to Chinese-owned shops. The monks withdrew to the monastery, which was soon blockaded by security forces, and has remained so ever since.

On the following morning, hundreds of Kirti monks gathered in the monastery courtyard preparing to lead a demonstration into the county town. They were confronted by large numbers of armed troops who penned them into the monastery. Meanwhile, hundreds or perhaps thousands of local people who had gathered outside the monastery proceeded to the town in protest, shouting slogans calling for Tibet's independence. They were confronted by security forces and shots were fired. A large group of Kirti monks then managed to break out of the monastery and join the demonstration. The crowd attacked the county Public Security office and set fire to vehicles and Chinese owned shops. Security forces opened fire on them, killing and wounding an unknown number.

There was also a protest in Lota township that day led by monks from nearby Dongri, who pulled down the PRC flag at the local school and government buildings and burned it.

On March 17 there were several more demonstrations in rural areas of Ngaba county and adjacent regions. The largest seems to have been in Me'u Ruma township, a pastoral area, where hundreds gathered under the Tibetan national flag shouting independence slogans. They were confronted by armed police who fired on the crowd. Protests were also reported in the pastoral areas of Chojema, Saruma and Jakorma, where local police stations were attacked and Tibetan flags raised. There were also demonstrations by the monks of Trotsik and Nangshik monasteries, and the nuns of Mama nunnery, and by school and college students in Barkham (Chinese: Ma'erkang) and Mewa (Chinese: Hongyuan) counties.

There was a further protest in Rong Kharsar township on March 19, and large protests also took place at monasteries under neighbouring Dzoge county, including Tangkor Soktsang, Jam-me and Tringwa March 17–19. (A protest by the people of Mugu and Tsokni pastoral areas in Rong-ngen around this time has not been dated). By this time, Kirti monastery had been blockaded by soldiers, preventing movement in and out, including food supplies. Extra troops were dispatched into the area, and all schools closed down and occupied by the army. Many of those who participated in the protests fled into the mountains in fear of arrest if they returned to their homes.

On March 20, local officials accompanied by armed soldiers conducted a search of Kirti monastery and began a patriotic education campaign requiring monks to sign statements of guilt and of loyalty to the Party and state, a campaign which gathered intensity over the following days. The soldiers guarding the monastery (estimated in thousands) trained cannon on the building, and military aircraft (from the nearby airbase) flew low overhead, apparently to intimidate. Security forces began house-to-house searches in rural areas including Lota and Me'u Ruma and made numerous arrests. Official announcements were made that suspects from the March 16 protest would be shot on sight and that rewards would be given to informers.

On March 28 Tibetan shops and businesses in Ngaba county were closed down and thousands of soldiers and police began a systematic search of the monastery, arresting monks and taking them into detention in the county town. Those found with telephones and other communications equipment, and those with Dalai Lama photos or other politically suspect materials were the first to be arrested. By the following day their number had exceeded 500. Many of this first wave of detainees have now been released after severe maltreatment in custody. The police confiscated Dalai Lama photos and burned them. They are also accused of vandalising religious objects and seizing cash from the monasteries.

On March 30 similar operations took place at Taktsang Lhamo, Gomang and Dongri monasteries. By early April the patriotic education campaign was extended to ordinary people in affected rural areas, who were obliged to denounce the uprising and pledge loyalty to the Communist Party. There were eight points to be repeated in front of a video camera and those who refused to state these were threatened with imprisonment. The points were as follows:

1. I oppose the Dalai clique;
2. I will not keep the Dalai's photo in my house;
3. My thinking is not influenced by the Dalai clique;
4. I will not follow splittism;
5. The conspiracy to split nationalities cannot succeed;
6. I love the Communist Party;
7. I will follow the Party no matter what;
8. I recognise the Party's great kindness.

By the end of April many detainees had been released without charge, while hundreds still in custody were moved to prisons in Dujiangyan and Wenchuan. Their fate after the May 12 earthquake is still unknown. Deaths of prisoners and prison guards have been reported after the major Ngaba prefectural prison — Maowun (Chinese: Maoxian) in Wenchuan, was partially destroyed in the earthquake.¹ The Chinese press reported that in other prisons in the area, too, prisoners and staff were killed in the earthquake. While it could not be confirmed whether Tibetans imprisoned following the recent protests in Ngaba were among the victims, Tibetan protestors are understood to have been imprisoned in the area, including in detention facilities at Wenchuan, Maoxian and Dujiangyan.

Deaths in Ngaba

According to exile monks from the region now in India, Nechung, a 38-year old woman was among those who tore down the signboard on a Ngaba police station entrance on March 16. She was detained two days later, and when she was released on March 26, she could not speak, or eat without vomiting. Her relatives tried to admit her to hospital but did not get permission. She died on April 17, and monks were not allowed to perform death rites for her. Her husband has fled to the mountains, and she

is survived by four children under 18. Two of her sons were subsequently arrested, and the eldest had both his legs broken.

Lektsok, a 74-year old Gomang monk from Keshi in upper Ngaba, committed suicide in early April. It is reliably reported that when the Chinese military came to Gomang monastery on March 30, Lektsok was on his way to perform religious rituals for a local household, accompanied by two younger monks. The Chinese armed police met them on the road, beat them severely, detained them for a few days, and then sent them back to the monastery. Lektsok repeatedly told his companions "This is unbearable". He carefully counted out deposits of money to be given to his students and relatives, sent one of his monk pupils to deliver them, and once the pupil had left, he took his own life.

Detainees had 'to stand day and night'

Kirti monks in exile provided the following information on the conditions for detainees following the protests.

"More than 30 people were crammed into small rooms no larger than one pillar (approximately 2 meters square) in size. They had no room to sit and had to stand day and night. They were given one bowl of rice soup each per day, and were obliged to urinate and defecate where they stood. Educated and prominent individuals were singled out for especially harsh beatings. Relatives of the detainees waited outside the gate with food and provisions, but were not allowed to deliver them. Those who could not be crammed into the prison were detained in other places like private houses, so their relatives could not even discover their whereabouts. Although most were held for only a few days, none were in good health when they returned home."

About 30 Kirti monks went missing after the March 16 protest, and although they might have escaped, local people assumed that they had either been killed or secretly detained. Detainees were threatened that they had to denounce the Dalai Lama and accept whatever the Chinese government said. In particular, there was a determined investigation to uncover the leaders of the uprising and those who had sent pictures of dead bodies out of Tibet.

In a training session held on April 29 by the Ngaba prefecture justice bureau, officials affirmed that "All legal personnel should prioritise 'Facilitating the capacities of the legal administration and vigilantly serving the construction and maintenance of a

harmonious Ngaba', and diligently examine and set standards for the maintenance of social stability. They should profoundly recognise the strenuous nature, the turbulent nature and the long term nature of the present struggle. They should not retain any lack of clarity in their thinking, nor any hesitation in their actions. Their resolution should not waver. With clear outlook, unambiguous flag-waving and confidence in their ability to succeed, they should affirm a high degree of solidarity in thinking and motivation with the Party central leadership and provincial and prefectural Party organs, strengthening the attitude of personal responsibility for the struggle against Splittism with firm resolution, in defence of the political stability of Ngaba prefecture." (Ngaba prefecture People's Government website April 30, 2008.)

A message of reconciliation from the heart of the crackdown: the Kirti monks

*"Everyone can see that no matter what happens with the Tibetan issue,
Tibetans and Chinese have to live side by side as neighbors."*

Monks at Kirti monastery in Ngaba prefecture, where at least 10 Tibetans were shot dead during protests, applied for special permission to hold prayers for the Chinese people killed during the earthquake that shook Sichuan on May 12. They also sent a moving and bold message from inside the monastery expressing compassion for those who died, and explaining that their protests had not been aimed at the Chinese people, but at the government.²

TRANSCRIPT OF STATEMENT BY KIRTI MONKS, MAY 15, 2008

The message was dictated in Tibetan to monks in exile. A copy received by ICT is translated into English below.³ On the day the message was sent, special religious ceremonies were held to help alleviate the destruction wrought by the earthquake.

New message: to all the knowledgeable bodies

To all the compassionate ones and to those who are working for others, wherever they are on the entire planet, and to all the compassionate beings born from a mother, and to all the venerable monks who give life meaning. To all the developed countries in the world, and all the notable educational centers, and to all others who respect the law of cause and effect (karma) and religious faiths, I have a message to you from the bottom of my heart.

1. At 2:28 pm on May 12, 2008, there was an earthquake in China, affecting Sichuan province and other areas, and resulting in tens of thousands of lives lost, with others badly injured or bereaved. Some people trapped under the rubble cried over their mobile phones. It is still unknown whether some of those who were trapped are dead or alive. In Lungu county, all the roads were damaged so that it was impossible for vehicles to pass through, and the only way to travel was by airplane or helicopter. Seeing such widespread destruction, I strongly request permission to help with whatever is needed and to do whatever is helpful to those who are in need.
2. I request permission to work hard to allow the dead to pass without fear, to have no suffering in their next life, and to be reborn in lands which are peaceful and prosperous. And for all the ones who are left behind to be relieved from their sadness, and for those who are injured to be relieved from their pain and any other unpleasant conditions so that they may be able to experience a happy life once again.

As Lama Tsong Khapa⁴ said, “To all the people who insult me, and speak to others about my shameful deeds, may I, without hatred, forgive them and speak to them only in a positive way.”

I request to perform religious ceremonies, if there is a way. If not, to merely say mantras such as OM MANI PADME HUNG, etc. for the most beneficial effect for the needy and for those who have passed away.

3. How to enjoy complete freedom and to have a good climate, how to be prosperous, how to bring renewed happiness to life, how to avoid diseases, wars, drought, and other natural disasters. All the scholars and leaders of all the countries in the world should discuss these things thoroughly. The religious figures of the world should all pray hard.

This message is from 3000 monks at Ngaba Kirti monastery in south Amdo on May 15, 2008, with the hope that it be received graciously by all the knowledgeable bodies outside [Tibet].

[The following statements were made in addition to the main message above by several Tibetans. It is not known whether they were monks or laypeople.]

This is how the local Tibetans see the importance of this message [appealing to be allowed to carry out prayers for quake victims]:

1. Buddhism means helping others without discrimination. As we are followers of the Buddha, no matter what kinds of situations we may face, we never transgress this teaching. We are doing the same thing this time.
2. Since March 10, in all places covering the three main regions of Tibet, Tibetans protested against the Chinese authorities. The Chinese Communist Party sent in personnel in an organized fashion, and marked every Tibetan, especially monks, as criminals. Bloody killings and beatings that were completely inhuman took place — too much for our hearts to hear about, and too much for our eyes to witness. Innocent Tibetans were labeled as criminals in the minds of the Chinese, with whom we have shared thousands of years of history as neighbors. But because of these negative views, Tibetans, especially monks, are treated more like enemies by ordinary Chinese people. But from our side, we are making it clear that we are not protesting against ordinary Chinese people but against the policies of the Chinese government towards Tibet.
3. Everyone can see that no matter what happens with the Tibetan issue, Tibetans and Chinese have to live side by side as neighbors. We are seriously stating our hope for the improvement of the relationship between both peoples.

¹ ‘Sichuan prison system goes all out to organize earthquake response [*Sichuan jianyu xitong quanli zuzhi kangzhen jianzaij*],’ *Legal Daily* [*Fazhi Ribao*], May 14, 2008, www.legaldaily.com.cn.

² ‘Tibetans in monasteries under crackdown hold prayer ceremonies for earthquake victims: message of reconciliation from monastery under repression,’ ICT, March 21, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

³ ICT is indebted to Rebecca Novick from the LA-based Tibet Connection radio program for help with obtaining this transcript. <http://thetibetconnection.org>.

⁴ Lama Tsong Khapa was a famous Buddhist teacher whose activities led to the foundation of the Gelugpa (Yellow Hat) school of Tibetan Buddhism (the Dalai Lama’s tradition).



Troops arriving to conduct a search at Tsenshukluk Monastery in Mayma township, Machu county, Gansu, on April 18. A Tibetan source told ICT that the large military convoy from Lanzhou (Northwest Military Division), of approximately 27 vehicles, arrived at the monastery, broke down doors and windows, conducted random searches, and took with them precious religious artifacts. Similar searches – for items of political significance such as Dalai Lama pictures – took place in other monasteries in the area at around the same time. (The cover image of this report also depicts troops arriving at this monastery).

MACHU: MAJOR PROTEST LEADS TO CRACKDOWN IN TOWN AND NOMAD AREAS BEYOND

MACHU (CHINESE: MAQU) COUNTY is a pastoral area in Kanlho TAP in Gansu, north of Ngaba TAP in Sichuan province. As far as is known, this area has not seen overtly nationalist protest since the crushing of armed resistance in 1958.

At 6:00 pm on March 16, thousands of local people, led by a group of monks and students from the county Tibetan middle school, joined a protest march in Machu county town. They carried the Tibetan national flag and photos of the Dalai Lama and shouted slogans for his long life, his speedy return to Tibet and the restoration of human rights and religious freedom. The crowd attacked the entrance gate of the People's government building and set fire to the county public security office, broadcasting office, traffic police office and post office, as well as shops owned by Chinese and Muslim traders. Nineteen vehicles belonging to public security and traffic police were also destroyed in the protest, which continued for around three hours. On March 17, hundreds of soldiers despatched from the Gansu Military District imposed strict control on the county.

Also on the evening of March 16, there was a large protest in Ngulra township, where hundreds took over the town, replaced Chinese flags with Tibetan flags and attacked the buildings and vehicles of the local police station. This continued the following day, when the local government building was set ablaze. The monks of Ngulra monastery led their own similar protest in Ngulra Gongma township on March 17. Simultaneous protests of a similar character took place on March 17 in Mema township (led by Tsendrok monks), in Welben township (led by Sar monks), and in Tsenuur township, Chukama township and Makuk Tara town. In Welben, the Tibetan flag flew over the township for several days until the security forces finally arrived on March 23.

On March 19, a further 30 truckloads of soldiers were sent to the area. Four to five truckloads of police and soldiers were sent to each township to begin arresting those involved in the protests. Hundreds were arrested through early April, and reportedly severely beaten, with several taken to the hospital suffering permanent disabilities. A number of deaths were reported. There were also reports of serious food shortages and compulsory blood donations in detention.

According to recent information received by ICT, a 16-year old Tibetan boy in Machu was sentenced to 12 years in prison. Although the charges cannot be confirmed, sources in the area indicate that his offence was 'political' and likely to be due to involvement in the Machu protest. Kunchok, who is believed to be an orphan, was reportedly detained on April 11 and asked to pay a large fine of up to 15,000 *yuan* (US \$2195), which he was unable to pay. According to the same account, even after some Tibetans found the money to pay his fine, he was not released, and was sentenced on June 15. The same Tibetan source said: "The sentencing occurred around the time of the Olympic torch relay in Lhasa and Xining — at this time, the number of security personnel was stepped up and people were speculating that it must be because of the Olympics."

Long sentences were also handed down to two other Tibetans who may have been involved in the protests at around the same time. Twenty year old Lama Kyap, a monk from Upper Nurma village, Tseu Nur township in Machu, was sentenced to 15 years, and Khechok, in his thirties, was sentenced to 13 years. Details of the charges against them are not known.

Most detainees seem to have been released during May, on payment of hefty fines, ranging from 5000 *yuan* (US \$732) per person to 15–20,000 *yuan* (US \$2195–US \$2930) for those suspected of active involvement in the protests. The county has remained under virtual martial law, with search and arrest operations continuing sporadically (for instance at Tsendrok monastery on April 18).

According to reports circulating in the area, local Tibetans are disturbed by other actions of security personnel now entrenched in Machu — in particular, news has reached ICT of soldiers or armed police shooting and eating Tibetan mastiff dogs, and also taking cash from monasteries where patriotic education is being enforced.

A stringent campaign of patriotic education has begun in the monasteries of the nomadic area of Machu county following the protests. There are nine monasteries in this area, mostly with small populations of monks, and many of them were involved in the protests in March. More than 100 personnel were sent into the area to implement patriotic education in the monasteries after the protests broke out in March, and there was a particular emphasis — as with other campaigns across Tibet — on denunciations of the Dalai Lama.

A Tibetan source in exile with connections in Machu told ICT: "Tibetan Buddhist monks were advised to learn about Communist Party rule rather than about Bud-

dhism.” The same source quoted a monk from the area saying: “What is happening in the monasteries now with regard to patriotic education is a real disaster for monks, we are trying to practice our religion but it is hardly possible.” The same report said that some monks were leaving the monasteries in response to the campaign. The patriotic education campaign is also being extended to laypeople in Machu.



Protests near Labrang monastery on March 14, 2008. (Photo: TCHRD).

LABRANG: 'LIKE THE SETTING SUN OVER THE PEAK OF A MOUNTAIN'

LABRANG TASHIKHIL is one of the largest monasteries in Tibet, adjacent to the present Sangchu county town (Chinese: Xiahe) in Kanlho TAP, Gansu province. As the principal Tibetan cultural centre in the region, it has also been a focus of symbolic nationalist protest in recent years, mostly by local monks and nuns — and in rural areas of the county there has been tension over military appropriation of pastureland and official settlement of herders since 2004/5.¹

Labrang monks led a crowd that grew into thousands of local people on a pro-independence demonstration in Sangchu county during the afternoon and evening of March 14, the same day that the Lhasa protests escalated into violence. This was the first major signal that the protests were to spread right across Tibet, apparently taking the PRC authorities by surprise. They converged on the public security and government buildings in the county town, where security forces tried to disperse them with tear gas. Around 30 truckloads of troop reinforcements arrived in the town that evening from Lanzhou.

Thousands of people gathered for a second day of protest on March 15, and again converged on the county government. They were eventually dispersed by PAP firing tear gas. There are no reports of looting or attacks on property by protestors, nor of shooting by security forces, but no comprehensive account of events in Labrang is yet available.

According to one source, armed police raided Labrang monastery on the night of March 14, smashed altars, burned photos of the Dalai Lama and threatened the monks. Geshe Jamyang Gyatso, one of the most senior lamas and state-appointed tutor of the Chinese choice of Panchen Lama, Gyaltsen Norbu, is believed to have written a letter later to the central government complaining about the conduct of the security forces. Even this senior religious teacher's room was apparently searched.

Over the following three days there were multiple protests in rural areas of Sangchu county, and by students in the prefeturral town Tsoe (Chinese: Hezuo). These included Amchok and Bora on March 16, Gengya, Sangkok and Meshul on March 17, Bora, Sangkok and Tsayu on March 18. The latter protest in Bora, where local herders descended on the township, calling for Tibet's independence and replaced the chinese flag in the local primary school compound with the Tibetan flag, was captured

by a Canadian TV crew and broadcast around the world.²

Also on March 18, all the educational institutes in Tsoe town were closed down indefinitely. Further demonstrations in Bora and Sangchu county were reported on March 23. At least by the March 21, when 20 Meshul people were arrested, county police backed by armed troops had started making arrests of those suspected of involvement in protests. In Amchok and Bora the police reportedly collected fines of 5–10,000 *yuan* (US \$732–US \$1464) per household, apparently for ‘collective responsibility’, or seized property if no payment was forthcoming. The Meshul detainees were released on April 13 on payment of a fine, but the Tangsar monks who had led the protest remained under strict blockade.

On April 10, a group of foreign journalists visited Labrang monastery as part of a tightly controlled official visit from Beijing, when 15 monks interrupted the visit to put their case and appeal to the outside world (see below for an account of their protest). They are believed to have been arrested and severely beaten; their current whereabouts is not known. Then on April 14 police and soldiers conducted raids at Labrang and several other monasteries in the county, making arrests and confiscating property. 200 monks are said to have been arrested from Labrang, however all but 13 were released the following day after their fellow monks made appeals and protests at the county public security office.

According to interviews and scattered reports, search and arrest operations continued sporadically in Sangchu county through April and May, usually at night. Detained individuals could not be traced by their relatives. A further raid on Labrang monastery reportedly took place on May 7 when at least 100 were arrested, but most were released the following day after their fellow monks protested again.

The Tibetan government in exile reported on July 16 that two Labrang monks, Tsultrim Gyatso (37) and Chone Khedup (around 40), were taken to a prison in Lanzhou. The Chinese authorities had searched for them after they left Labrang following the protests and they “were arrested under gunfire,” according to the Tibetan government in exile report.³

New tests for monks at Labrang

A new set of questions for monks has been issued by the authorities in Labrang since the protests. The questionnaire, which has created unease within the monastic com-

munity, appears to be aimed at gathering intelligence on the remaining monks at Labrang and identifying potential “troublemakers.” According to a June 20 report in *Tibet Times*, an exile newspaper published in India in Tibetan, one of the questions asks “This year [a] few monks and nuns have carried out activities of smashing, looting, and burning. Do you think these actions go against the Buddhist teachings?” Another question asks simply “Were you present at a mass public gathering? Yes or No.” Monks are also asked about their main communication method with foreign countries, indicating the authorities’ strong concern about Tibetans passing on information to the outside world. According to the source who obtained the questionnaire, many monks returned the sheet without answering questions, while a few only wrote comments on the side. A translation of the questionnaire, which was published in Tibetan in *Tibet Times*, is enclosed below.

Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire is to understand the purpose of staying at a Tibetan Buddhist monastery in our country. You do not have to provide your name and your answers’ confidentiality will be kept. We request you to be truthful and choose the option that is true to the best of your knowledge. You can write suggestions on above the line. We thank you for your support.

1. Why did you join the monastery?

- Your own wish Your parents, relatives or friends asked you to Other

**2. What is the most important issue that has been overcome
[since your admittance] to the monastery?**

- The issue of getting an education The issue of finding a livelihood
- The issue of finding a profession Other

3. Who influenced [you] the most in the monastery?

- Your teacher The reincarnate lama of your monastery
- Your monk mate Head of management committee

4. Who do you regularly communicate with?

- Your family Your teacher Your religious mate Other

5. Were you present at a mass public gathering? Yes or no.

- If yes, once a month Once [every] six months Once a year

6. Not legible

7. What is your main communication method with foreign countries?

- By internet
- By phone
- By mobile phone
- By letter post
- By voice post (note: not sure what this is?)
- Other

8. What is your most common news avenue?

- Through phone
- Through mail
- Through television
- Through radio

9. Do you listen to news channels from within the country?

- Never
- Occasionally
- Always

10. Do you listen to news channels from outside the country?⁴

- Never
- Occasionally
- Always

11. What is your primary source of income?

- Family
- Direct sponsor
- Sponsor through the monastery
- Religious payment from the monastery
- Help from the government
- Other

12. How would you rate the facilities and environment for Buddhist study?

- Very good
- Good
- Normal
- Very bad

13. Where did you study Buddhism?

- Buddhist school
- Dialectics school
- From my teacher

14. What is your biggest worry in a day?

- Livelihood
- Education

15. Do you think you enjoy all the rights and responsibilities given to a normal human being?

- No
- Yes
- Don't know

16. Have you ever been to other countries to study Buddhism?⁵

- Yes
- No

17. If yes, how long did you stay in foreign country?

- 1 year
- 1 year to 3 years
- 3 years to 5 years
- More than 5 years

18. This year a few monks and nuns have carried out activities of smashing, looting, and burning. Do you think these actions go against Buddhist teachings?

- Yes No Don't know

19. In which areas do reincarnate lamas excel?

- Religious teaching Monastic management Publicising the monastery
 Financial management of the monastery Political affairs

20. How would you rate the performance of the monastic Democratic Management Committee?²⁶

- Good Poor Needs improvement Difficult to say

21. What is religion's influence on economy and social development?

- More harm than good More good than harm Equal
 Difficult to say

The message of the Labrang monks

A translation of the statements of the monks who protested to a group of foreign media on April 10 during a visit to Labrang monastery in Gansu province reveals concerns about religious freedom, views about the Olympics, and anger that the Chinese authorities have accused monks of possessing weapons.

The 15 monks burst into the courtyard at Labrang on April 10 where about 20 Chinese and foreign journalists on a state-organised media tour were assembled. They spoke for several minutes to the journalists, first attempting to communicate in Tibetan, but then switching to Chinese. The whereabouts of the monks now is unknown although several sources report that they were taken into custody after the press had left Labrang. This report has not been possible to confirm due to the crackdown at Labrang and the harsh penalties for communicating information to the outside world.

Several of the Labrang monks were weeping as they spoke to the journalists, and some carried the Tibetan snow lion flag made out of paper. The monks offer a *khatag* (a Tibetan white blessing scarf) to a journalist and one of them says: "We sincerely thank you for coming here."

Reporters on the trip told ICT that Chinese security photographed the entire protest

in addition to the press cameras. Labrang monastery was already full of security police and the monks were experiencing severe repression following protests on March 14 and 15 that were dispersed by armed police with tear gas. The monks spoke quickly, often at the same time, in their rush to communicate their concerns face to face with an outside delegation.

According to a translation of their comments from footage of the protests broadcast internationally, one of the monks said that they were not against the Chinese hosting the Olympic Games. A young monk holding the large Tibetan flag says “We support the Olympic Games and you must understand this.” Another monk interjects by saying, “Yes, you must understand this.” The young monk continues, saying “The Olympic Games will start in August and we’re not protesting against them.” Referring to plain-clothes police or soldiers, another monk says “In recent days we haven’t had many tourists like this but they are Chinese soldiers in ordinary clothes just for show.”

One monk told the journalists “We want human rights”, and speaking to the other monks said “Do we want human rights?” The response was in the affirmative in Tibetan, and one monk repeated this in Chinese. One of the young monks holding the large Tibetan flag shouts “We want human rights, we want freedom for Tibetans [Free Tibet]. We can no longer bear to live under this repressive Chinese rule. They exercise repression in every part of Tibet and because of that we can no longer develop the Buddha dharma and without that the idea of world peace (cannot flourish).”

Another monk addressed the current situation in Labrang during the crackdown, saying “A lot of people have been arrested, and a lot of army are in the streets. No human rights. No freedom. We have to denounce the Dalai Lama. We want the Dalai Lama to come back soon. A few days before we protested and then they put the poison [tear gas] on us. A lot of people arrested. A lot of soldiers here. No human rights. No freedom.”

During the protest, monks shouted repeatedly “We want human rights, we want human rights!” Off the camera a journalist asks, “What’s your message?” A monk responds holding a small white banner with another monk “We don’t have human rights. We want the Dalai Lama to return. We want the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet soon.” The banner reads “Human Rights!”

One of the monks tells the journalists “Tibetans, especially the elderly, are like the setting sun over the peak of a mountain.” According to the translator, this means that Tibetans are leading a precarious existence on the brink of extinction.

The monk who spoke about the Olympics also said that they were angry that ‘they’ (the Chinese authorities) had reported that the monks had knives and guns, saying “We don’t have anything like that.”

The Chinese state media has repeatedly alleged that caches of weapons have been hidden in various monasteries, in a clear attempt to portray the Tibetans as plotting to engage in violent protest. On April 15, Xinhua reported that police seized explosives, a gun and banned Tibetan flags during searches of six monasteries in Tibetan areas. The Chinese media has reported seizing weapons from monasteries on several occasions but does not offer evidence besides photographs of displays of guns and swords that were allegedly confiscated.

Several Tibetan reports claim that the only firearms turned up by monastery searches were antique muskets kept in the chapels of the protectors. In traditional Tibet, hunters and other gun owners sometimes handed in their weapons to the monastery as an act of renunciation, a pledge not to use them any more.

¹ For further information on the issue of settlement of nomadic herders, see ICT’s report, ‘Tracking the Steel Dragon’, downloadable from: www.savetibet.org.

² In a clip entitled ‘Freedom Riders of Amdo, Tibet’ this extraordinary footage can be viewed at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zAb-8SAW8VM>.

³ ‘Update on Tibet Demonstrations, 16 July 2008,’ Central Tibetan Administration, July 16, 2008, www.tibet.net.

⁴ This is likely to be a reference to the Tibetan language services of Radio Free Asia, Voice of America and Voice of Tibet, which the authorities attempt to block.

⁵ This is likely to be an attempt to ascertain whether the monks have travelled to India and come under the ‘splittist’ influence of the Dalai Lama.

⁶ Democratic Management Committees are composed of monks and nuns who have ostensibly been elected by other members of the monastic community, although their appointment needs to be approved by local government officials. DMCs are expected to serve the interests of the government and not those of the monastery or nunnery’s population; the system undermines and supplants the traditional hierarchical layers of authority in Tibetan religious institutions.



Chinese troops in the Tibetan Barkhor area of Lhasa on March 10, the 49th anniversary of the Lhasa Uprising. The authorities had carried out a number of pre-emptive detentions prior to this sensitive political anniversary, but were clearly unprepared for the protests and riot that followed.

'SMASHING THE SPLITIST CLIQUE': AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP INVOLVED IN THE CRACKDOWN

THE PROTESTS AGAINST CHINESE RULE that broke out in Tibet in March 2008 put the Chinese government and its administration of Tibet under some of the most intense scrutiny it has had to face in decades. However, little is reliably known about which individuals and institutions in the People's Republic of China (PRC) are ultimately responsible for formulating and implementing government policy in Tibet. Instead, China's complex and factionalized power structures are almost entirely opaque on the question of Tibet, and the relevant government and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) officials remain entirely unaccountable to the Tibetan people themselves. This is partly because of the strong hold of the military over Tibet, and the latent power struggle between military and civilian elites, which is a perennial feature of PRC politics.

Beijing's official explanation for the protests in March 2008 and beyond is that they were planned by the "Dalai clique" and "hostile anti-China forces" abroad, and carried out with the intention of "splitting China" by people in Tibet who had been "fooled" by the Dalai Lama, in particular a "tiny minority" of monks who are described as "the scum of Buddhism" and the "loyal running dogs of the Dalai clique".

The Chinese leadership's refusal to publicly consider the possibility that the unrest in Tibet could be due to broad dissatisfaction among Tibetans—or even to concede that the unrest has its roots in Tibet itself—has not enhanced its credibility with Western and some other Asian governments. Indeed, the calls from foreign governments urging China's leadership to enter into substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama on Tibet's future is at least a partial acknowledgment by Western leaders of the shortcomings and failings of China's policies in Tibet, as well as an implicit acknowledgment of the Dalai Lama as the pre-eminent representative of the Tibetan people.

Within China, the concept that the Tibet issue is merely an 'internal affair' has been profoundly challenged, both among Chinese intellectuals and governments worldwide—particularly given Hu Jintao's public emphasis on projecting the image of China's 'peaceful rise' and its 'harmonious society'.

While there is clearly serious debate behind closed doors, and some speculation that

even within the leadership, policies on Tibet may be being challenged or at least reconsidered, public statements emanating from Beijing on Tibet and the Dalai Lama continue to be hostile, dogmatic and reminiscent of Cultural Revolution language.

Tibet continues to be controlled — both regionally as well as in relevant Party and government offices in Beijing — by a hard line conservative faction, made up of people whom several observers have noted over the years have based their careers almost entirely on being “anti-Dalai” and “anti-splitist”, and who therefore have a vested interest in averting any kind of conciliation between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama. While such “anti-Dalai” postures may have been key to advancing their own careers, the often stinging personal condemnations of the Dalai Lama have profoundly alienated the vast majority of Tibetans from the Chinese establishment in Tibet — long before any considerations of Tibetans’ growing social and economic marginalization are taken into account. They have increasingly even alienated the comfortable elite minority in Tibet.

However, there are occasional suggestions that leaders are emerging in Beijing and Tibet who appear to have a more nuanced and thoughtful understanding of Tibet’s history and current situation. Although other potential reformers on Tibet have emerged over the years, they soon lost sway in China’s far more volatile political climate of previous decades. Yet even in China’s relatively stable current political climate, these new and rising leaders are unlikely to be able to assert themselves until at least 2012 when the 18th Party Congress will usher in the “fifth generation” of leadership, and many of the current stalwarts of Tibetan policy finally retire.

This section of the report seeks to identify and analyze the key individuals and institutions within the PRC that have direct input or influence upon policy formulation and implementation in Tibet.

The central state leadership

HU JINTAO

Ultimate responsibility for China’s policies in Tibet lies with China’s President Hu Jintao, the most senior Party and government figure in the PRC. Hu has a particularly strong personal connection to Tibet, as the former Party chief of the TAR from 1988 to 1992, when he presided over the imposition of martial law. He was also instrumental in drafting the policies of suppressing dissent and fast-track economic reform that are in place in Tibet today.

The 1989 crackdown in Tibet, overseen by Hu, and which led to the imprisonment and torture of thousands of Tibetans following pro-independence protests, brought an abrupt end to a period of relative political liberalization. It also set the tone for the ensuing years of political tension, as well as bringing Hu himself to prominence within the Party and government.

Hu Jintao was among a core of senior Chinese leaders who met in Beijing in July 1994 at the “Third Work Forum” on Tibet to devise policies aimed at rapid economic development in Tibet while attempting to undermine loyalty to the Dalai Lama; and as Vice President in July 2001, he participated in the “Fourth Work Forum”, where similar policies were consolidated under the imperative to “vigorously lead Tibetan Buddhism to adapt to socialism”.

Under Hu, there emerged a set of policies in Tibet which developed into a political order, which then became institutionalized by the Third Work Forum. Hu’s most striking impact upon Tibet was to provide the policy means which grant the Chinese authorities in Tibet the ‘right’ to intrude into every single aspect of people’s lives; whereas previously, the state acted upon the perceived threat of Tibetan nationalism in Tibet’s monasteries and nunneries, Hu’s legacy has been to open the Tibetan people’s schools, work-places, religious institutions, and even their homes to the same kind and degree of political scrutiny.

An even more aggressive campaign of denunciation of the Dalai Lama was also initiated at the Third Work Forum. The apparent formalization of the campaign to denounce the Dalai Lama was yet more indication that under the influence of Hu Jintao, the Chinese authorities were rapidly backing away from the relatively liberal policies on Tibet which had first emerged under Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang: the meeting to draft documents emerging from the Third Work Forum was chaired by Hu Jintao.¹

Since becoming president in 2003, President Hu has personally appointed many of the senior regional leaders in the various provincial-level administrations into which Tibet is now incorporated, including many from his own personal power base in the CCP, the Communist Youth League of China (CYLC).

Among these people appointed by Hu are the Party Secretary of the TAR, Zhang Qingli



President Hu Jintao

(see below), who worked under Hu at the CYLC headquarters in Beijing; the Party Secretary of Sichuan province, Liu Qibao, who used to head the Anhui provincial CYLC; as well as the Party Secretary of Qinghai province, Qiang Wei, and Qin Guangrong, the Governor of Yunnan province, both of whom have also headed provincial CYLC offices, and who largely owe their careers to President Hu's patronage.

Historian Tsering Shakya indicated recently that within the Party, the successes of some of these key figures are under question due to the unrest in Tibetan areas since March: “Within the Party discussions are taking place as to whether Hu will save himself by dismissing some of those he promoted, or whether his entire entourage will come under attack. [...] But everything now hinges on the Olympics. Until then the government is paralysed — if they take any action before the Games it will bring doubts and uncertainty, and I think they will wait until they are over before making any major changes.”²

The imposition of martial law in Lhasa on March 9, 1989 presaged martial law in Beijing three months later, and the killings in and around Tiananmen Square after the student and workers' protests. Although known to be closely associated with the relatively moderate Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, whose death in April 1989 was the catalyst for the student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, Hu Jintao was quick to consolidate his conservative credentials. When Deng delivered a televised speech soon after the Tiananmen Massacre praising the army for “putting down the counter-revolutionary rebellion”, Hu Jintao convened the TAR Party Committee to study the speech, making him one of the first provincial leaders in the PRC to display allegiance to Deng. Despite still being TAR Party Secretary, Hu spent most of the years 1990 to 1992 in Beijing, building networks and alliances which frequently brought him into contact with Deng, who publicly praised Hu on several occasions.³

This open expression of support for Deng was critical to Hu's rapid ascent — it was Deng who picked Hu as a potential successor to Jiang Zemin in 1992. And it was Hu's tough handling of the Tibetan protests in the late 1980s that brought him to Deng's attention. Tensions had been simmering in Tibet since the mid-1980s, with unrest and some demonstrations against Chinese rule from 1987. In language that is almost identical to the statements of the Party now about the Tibet protests (although arguably less specific about the Dalai Lama's supposed involvement), in 1989 Hu was quoted as saying that the unrest was a result of conspiracies “by separatists both within and outside the country, who have been aided by hostile forces abroad” (*'Hu Jintao on the situation in Tibet'*, Xinhua, December 23, 1989.)

China analyst Willy Wo Lap Lam says that Hu's handling of the 1989 protests revealed "a level of cunning and political maturity rare for a 47-year old cadre". According to Lap Lam's account, by early evening on March 5, there were signs that the police in Lhasa were no longer able to maintain control of the unrest. Hu gave orders not to act, but to await his instructions. Protestors started to throw stones at the police headquarters, and the police chief even called to say that they were trying to burn the police station down. Hu's reply was the same, and according to sources in Beijing, he unplugged the phone so the police chief could not get through. The police chief had no alternative but to order his men to use force to chase away the rioters. Hu then reported to his superiors in Beijing that the situation had come under control after 'valiant action' by the People's Armed Police. If the rioting had worsened the next day, Hu could safely have blamed the police chief on the grounds that he had never given approval for the use of force. A rare picture of Hu in military helmet and anti-riot gear was published in the *Tibet Daily* on March 8 "the scholarly, kind-hearted Confucianist cadre suddenly assumed the air of a tough, belligerent, hatchet-man. In the course of the 'crush-the-rebellion' crusade that week, more than 60 pro-independence 'splitists' were killed mainly by police and PAP officers."⁴

Tibetans have not forgotten Hu's role in Tibet in 1989; thousands suffered brutal treatment in prisons and detention centers. Hu was also instrumental in the tough 'anti-Dalai Lama' campaign and the hardline policies against Tibetan culture and religion that followed in the mid-1990s.

There are few personal glimpses of Hu, who has been a Party apparatchik for most of his adult life — hence the ubiquitous headlines, 'Who's Hu?' One of the only Westerners to have gained any sort of personal insight is the journalist and respected China correspondent Dr Jonathan Mirsky, who was once placed next to Hu at a dinner in Lhasa. Without enquiring who he was, Hu commenced to tell Mirsky that he disliked Tibet with its "lack of culture" and its "dangerous people", and admitted that if there were an uprising, no Tibetan would protect him.⁵

Despite his close association with Tibet, Hu Jintao made no public statement on Tibet during the first five years of his presidency. It is significant, therefore, that his first comment was made on May 4, 2008, when representatives of the Dalai Lama were meeting with Chinese officials in the southern Chinese city of Shenzhen, in the first face to face contact between the two sides since the uprising began on March 10. "I hope that the contacts with the Dalai Lama's side from today will yield a positive outcome," he told journalists in the strongest statement from the most senior Chinese leader on the dialogue so far. It should also be noted that Hu made the comment to

members of the Japanese press ahead of his “fence-mending” visit to Tokyo, and that the comment could therefore be viewed as part of a strategy of appearing conciliatory to Japanese observers, who have been deeply concerned about the crackdown given a shared Buddhist heritage with the Tibetan people.

PRIME MINISTER WEN JIABAO

Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao has had little visible involvement on Tibet over the years, although in Tibet now featuring more prominently in China’s international relations than it has for decades, he is without doubt closely briefed on developments in Tibet and on international responses to those developments.

Almost all of his rare statements on Tibet tend to repeat the formulaic Party line with no embellishment or further explanations offered. On March 19, 2008, during the only press conference the Chinese Prime Minister gives each year at the close of the National People’s Congress, Wen set the tone of practically all future official comments on the protests in Tibet — and effectively blocked all public discussion and analysis of the protests — when he declared “There is ample fact and we also have plenty of evidence proving this incident was organized, premeditated and incited by the Dalai clique. [...] Hypocritical lies cannot cover ironclad facts.”

On the same day as the press conference, the Dalai Lama had sent a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao, offering to dispatch emissaries to Tibet to calm the situation. No response has been received.

Two weeks later, Wen Jiabao appeared to be setting a new precedent and offering some hope for progress in the dialogue process with the Tibetan side. He was the only senior leader to say publicly that the Dalai Lama should “use his influence” to bring an end to the protests in Tibet, thus departing from the hostile rhetoric against the Tibetan religious leader and appearing to acknowledge his legitimacy as the pre-eminent representative of the Tibetan people. However, the statement needs to be set in context: it was made during a regional trade conference in Laos, and it was reported in the Hong Kong media — and not carried by the state media, which indicates that it was perhaps not intended to be given too much political weight.⁶ No other comments have been made by the Chinese leadership referring to the Dalai Lama’s possible role in calming the situation in Tibet.



Prime Minister Wen Jiabao

Administering control: the hands on the reins

Three individuals can be identified as being key actors in formulating and implementing government policy in the PRC's ethnic regions, including Tibet, since March 10. They are Zhang Qingli, the Party Secretary of the TAR; Wang Lequan, the Party Secretary of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR); and Li Dezhu, the Director of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC), who retired in late 2007.⁷

As with Hu Jintao's key appointments in the region and provinces into which Tibet is now incorporated, all three of these individuals have a background in the Communist Youth League of China (CYLC), and are therefore considered to be Hu's close political allies. Zhang Qingli worked at the CYLC's central Beijing offices in the early 1980s while Wang and Li were Deputy Secretaries of provincial CYLC offices in Shandong and Jilin provinces respectively in the late 1970s to the mid-1980s.⁸

TAR PARTY SECRETARY, ZHANG QINGLI

Zhang Qingli has been in the position of TAR Party Secretary since November 2005, and is also First Secretary of the TAR Military Sub-Region. He sits on the main Party body overseeing policy implementation in Tibet, the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group.

Upon his arrival in the TAR, Zhang began to implement the Party's hardline policies on the practice and institutions of Tibetan Buddhism with a particular zeal that distinguished his approach from his predecessors, Yang Chuantang and before him, Guo Jinlong. It is certain that Zhang's approach contributed significantly to the anger and despair that fuelled the protests and riots on the streets of Lhasa in March. The hard-line policies such as an intensified 'patriotic education' campaign that Zhang was in charge of implementing in the TAR, clearly failed to achieve the 'genuine stability' sought by the Party and exposed the estrangement of the government from the Tibetan people. Zhang Qingli is now presiding over the implementation of even harsher and frequently violent measures in an attempt to reassert control.

In wider society in the TAR, he has reinstated mechanisms of social and political control that owe their roots — both historically and ideologically — to the political extremism of the Mao era.

Zhang's frequent and hostile rhetoric against the Dalai Lama, whom he has described as "the biggest obstacle hindering Tibetan Buddhism from establishing normal order", and "a wolf in monk's clothes, a devil with a human face", are deeply offensive to the



TAR Party Secretary,
Zhang Qingli

majority of Tibetans, as are his claims that “The Central Party Committee is the real Buddha for Tibetans.”

Zhang’s political career started when he joined the Party in the early 1970s in his native Shandong province. During the latter stages of the Cultural Revolution, a period when a degree of aggressive political fanaticism was essential to protect and advance one’s career in the Party, he quickly rose from being a general worker at a large fertilizer plant to become Deputy Party Secretary of the plant’s Party Committee.

In 1979 he was seconded to the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China (CYLC) in Beijing. He remained at the CYLC in various capacities until 1986, during which time he became an associate of Hu Jintao, who headed the CYLC from 1984–1985.

Following postings to a sequence of increasingly senior Party positions mainly in propaganda departments, Zhang was transferred to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in October 1999 where he served on the regional Standing Committee — a core group within the regional Party Committee — as well as serving concurrently as Deputy Secretary and Commander of a large quasi-military industrial and agricultural concern in Xinjiang, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), commonly known by its abbreviated name in Chinese, the *bingtuan*. The *bingtuan* has *de facto* jurisdiction over several large towns in the XUAR, as well as over vast swaths of farmland, operating its own courts, prisons and other services such as schools and medical provision. Founded in 1954, the *bingtuan* has enabled the settlement of millions of Chinese farmers and workers in the XUAR, and has done so with a strong political message of promoting stability in the XUAR, as well as settling and consolidating the XUAR’s international borders.

It was while he was in the XUAR that Zhang Qingli worked under the long-serving Party Secretary of the XUAR, Wang Lequan (see below), and where Zhang developed a reputation for his ideological fervor.

As with Tibet, there is a long history of opposition and resistance to China’s rule in Xinjiang, fuelled in large part by a conviction among many of the 8 million or so Uyghur people that Xinjiang — which Uyghurs frequently refer to by its historical name of East Turkistan — was an independent nation for much of its history, aside from occasional periods when imperial powers, including China, Russia and Britain, held military or political sway over the local political elites.

Like Tibetans, the Uyghur people have in recent decades faced prolonged and relentless pressure on their cultural identity, in large part due to the influx of settlers from the Chinese mainland, but also due to government policies intended to severely curtail and control cultural and religious activities (most Uyghurs are Muslim). As with Buddhism in Tibet, the moderate and permissive forms of Islam that prevail in Xinjiang are seen as integral to Uyghur nationalism, and Uyghur nationalism is readily depicted by the Chinese authorities as being dangerously close to global *jihad* movements. Profound cultural differences between the Han and Uyghur peoples, ranging from language through to diet and dress, are perhaps best exemplified by the fact that while Chinese settlers set their watches to standard Beijing time, Uyghurs tend to set theirs to local time, some two hours later.

With over six years of experience in the XUAR, Zhang Qingli was installed as acting Party Secretary of the TAR in November 2005 after his predecessor, Yang Chuantang left the post prematurely due to illness. Zhang was confirmed as Party Secretary in the TAR in May 2006. While it would be misleading to place too much emphasis on Zhang Qingli's personal impact on Tibet policy, as Tibet policy is set in Beijing, it can be observed that during his tenure he has attempted to characterise Tibetan nationalism in the same 'terrorist' light as Beijing depicts the Uyghur resistance against Chinese rule. This seems to have informed some of the more extreme statements about organized Tibetan opposition: for instance, the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), an organization based in India which the Chinese authorities claim was behind the protests in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet, is described in China's official media as an organization "worse than Bin Laden's".⁹ The TYC denies that it has a "terrorist" agenda, stressing that it supports non-violence, and the Chinese authorities have not provided any evidence to suggest otherwise.

Zhang Qingli's ideological position is in the tradition of previous Party hardliners in Tibet — such as Chen Kuiyuan, who served as TAR Party Secretary from 1992 to 2000 — in that the Party is engaged in a "life and death struggle" with the Dalai Lama and his supporters.¹⁰ This is provided as justification for the implementation of a more intense patriotic education campaign in monasteries, nunneries and in the wider Tibetan society. In the early days of the protests from March 10, 2008, one of the grievances of monks in Lhasa who took to the streets was the impact of this ideological campaign and its stifling of religious practice.

This demand for intensified patriotic education set the tone for Zhang's continued tenure in the TAR. While statements and edicts banning, for example, government workers — serving and retired — as well as students and all Party members from ob-

serving Buddhist festivals and celebrating the Dalai Lama have been standard since the mid-1990s, Zhang set a new precedent by advertising some of these edicts publicly on websites or in the press.

In December 2006, the Lhasa government published an edict in one of the city's newspapers forbidding Party members, government workers and students from marking a Buddhist festival, saying it had become necessary for the government to "strengthen and tighten up the education, guidance and management of the broad masses of cadres and staff."¹¹ Also in the late 1990s, the government demanded that any government employee with children studying in schools run by the "Dalai clique" in India should recall their children or face expulsion from the Party and dismissal from their jobs. This call was renewed in July 2008, and for the first time published online in the state media.¹²

For some time, Zhang's approach has alienated the Tibetan elites in the TAR, serving and retired Party and government officials who the Chinese authorities have tended to rely upon to lend a degree of legitimacy to the power structures in Tibet. The edict ordering Tibetan officials to recall their children from schools in India appeared at the same time as other news that 13 Tibetan officials within the Lhasa government had been dismissed for apparently falling short on requirements under the "patriotic education" campaign.¹³

Zhang's style of leadership is more high-profile than the more reticent Wang Lequan under whom it is widely assumed Zhang was groomed for his role in the TAR. Zhang is regularly depicted in the state media promoting government policy on Tibet, from visiting nomads who have been moved into permanent housing or meeting with members of the People's Armed Police stationed in Lhasa and who saw active duty during the protests.

Zhang even used the Olympic stage as a platform for his rhetoric at the height of the crackdown when the Olympic flame was brought to Lhasa in June 2008 amid an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, and was rebuked by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) for doing so. He said that the Chinese authorities could "bring more glory to the Olympic spirit" by "firmly smashing" the Dalai Lama's plans to "ruin" the Games. Zhang was accused by the IOC of "politicising" the Games in a letter to the Beijing Olympic Games Organizing Committee (BOCOG).¹⁴

BOCOG, whose executive president Guo Jinlong himself served as TAR Party Secretary from 2000 to 2004, did not respond directly to the accusation that Zhang's comments

“politicized” the Olympics, but a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied the charge, saying instead that Zhang was “striving to further stabilize the Tibet region and create a harmonious and stable environment for the Olympic Games.”

Zhang Qingli has shown particular zeal in upholding and embellishing the repressive policies against Tibetan religious and cultural identity that were set in the mid-1990s with the personal input of Hu Jintao. He is now presiding over the imposition of the most severe crackdown in the region for more than 40 years, while stressing the need to intensify those self-same policies that have so evidently failed in creating genuine stability for Tibet within China.

XUAR PARTY SECRETARY, WANG LEQUAN

Wang Lequan has been Party Secretary of the XUAR since 1994, having inexplicably served well over the preferred 10-year tenure for Party Secretaries stipulated by the Party. During his long tenure, Wang is regarded as having established the *modus operandi* for administering the PRC’s ethnic regions, and as having passed on his methods to TAR Party Secretary Zhang Qingli (see above), who held senior government and Party positions under Wang in the XUAR prior to his posting to the TAR. As one of 23 Central Committee Politburo members, Wang wields significant political influence in the PRC, as well as being a close associate of President Hu Jintao.



**XUAR Party Secretary,
Wang Lequan**

Wang Lequan has overseen an era of political repression against the Uyghur people that has arguably been more severe than anything seen in Tibet. Nowhere else in the PRC are people known to be executed for non-violent political crimes: since September 11, 2001, the Chinese authorities in East Turkistan have deliberately sought to blur the distinctions between peaceful political protest and terrorism. The organization Human Rights Watch states, “In effect, China is claiming that terrorists have now become secret peaceful activists, presumably waiting for the right moment to revert to their former methods. This is a very dangerous set of assumptions that can be acted upon by the Chinese or Xinjiang security services at any time to justify arrests, heavy sentences, and the death penalty.” A measure of how seriously the authorities treat any form of dissension to the Party line in East Turkistan is seen in the fact that political dissent expressed in underground writings has been described by government officials as “ethnic separatist crime in the area of the ideological front.”¹⁵

As with Buddhism in Tibet, the practice of Islam is strictly curtailed in East Turkistan, in part because the institutions of Islam represent an alternative pole of authority to the Chinese government for the Uyghur people, for whom Turkic and Islamic Central Asia has far more cultural resonance than China. Restrictions on the practice of Islam include the following: no government workers and no one under the age of 18 may enter a Mosque; teaching the Qur'an to children even in the privacy of ones own home is forbidden; imams can train at only one government-controlled school and there are tight restrictions on which versions of Islamic texts can be studied.

And as with Tibetans in Tibet, Uyghurs in East Turkistan are being marginalized in the face of large-scale migration from mainland China: in 1949 less than 6% of the population of the region was Chinese; whereas now the figure is rapidly approaching 50%, greatly enabled by construction of a railway to the regional capital Urumchi (Chinese: Wulumuqi) and beyond.¹⁶

An event occurred in February 1997 which has some resonance with recent events across the Tibetan plateau, when several hundred Uyghurs staged a demonstration in a small city named Gulja (Chinese: Yining) in East Turkistan, protesting against numerous human rights abuses which culminated when even the Uyghur people's traditional social gatherings were banned by local authorities. In what is referred to by Uyghurs in exile as the "Gulja Massacre," police opened fire on the protestors killing around a dozen on the spot, while in the ensuing weeks and months dozens more died in detention from the results of torture and abuse. Possibly thousands more Uyghurs were detained in labor camps or imprisoned.¹⁷

In an incident linked to the Gulja Massacre, three bombs exploded in Urumchi later in February 1997, killing nine people and injuring more than 70. Even prior to this incident, the regional authorities led by Wang Lequan were already describing participants in the Gulja protests — which had started peacefully — as "terrorists".

According to Amnesty International's records, the last known public executions carried out in the PRC — by firing squad in an open, public place — were Uyghurs convicted in the wake of the Gulja protests. However, recent reports suggest the practice of public executions in East Turkistan has resumed, with three people reportedly executed by firing squad in front of a crowd of several hundred students and government workers who had been bussed in from areas around the town where the executions took place, southwest of the city of Kashgar in the far west of East Turkistan.¹⁸

FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE STATE ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION, LI DEZHU

Li Dezhu led the State Ethnic Affairs Commission (SEAC) from 1998 to 2007, and had served as Deputy Director since the early 1990s as well as being a Deputy Director of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) (see below). Ethnically Korean, Li provided much of the background theory and advice on the PRC's minority peoples including Tibetans and Uyghurs in order to guide implementation of the Western Development Strategy (WDS), a massive centrally planned economic strategy with political objectives critical to the leadership's plan for China's rise.¹⁹

The purported aim of the WDS, initiated in 2000, is to accelerate economic development in the PRC's impoverished western regions — where most of the country's non-Chinese peoples live — to levels comparable with China's wealthier eastern seaboard. However, so far at least, projects being carried out under the rubric of the WDS appear to be aimed at drawing on the western region's natural resources for the benefit of distant markets in eastern China, as well as consolidating political control over the PRC's vast western regions, which include all of Tibet. China's continued economic growth is highly dependent upon fully utilizing the mineral deposits in China's western regions, everything from the vast reserves of oil, gas, gold and copper through to the increasingly precious water resources found primarily on the Tibetan plateau.

The WDS has also been one of the primary motivating factors for increased migration into Tibet and elsewhere in the western regions of the PRC by many of China's hundreds of millions of migrant workers. Li Dezhu was one of the main champions of migration to Tibet, what he described in 2000 as a "two-way population flow"; and predicted a large flow of "talent" to head west in search of opportunities arising from the enormous investments there. In 2001, China's national legislature even amended the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL) — a major piece of legislation which defines the legal terms and conditions of "autonomy" in Tibet — to encourage local authorities to offer "preferential treatment and encouragement" to "specialized personnel joining in the various kinds of construction" in Tibet and elsewhere.²⁰

However, Li Dezhu also warned of the potential for "conflicts and clashes" between local ethnic peoples and Chinese migrants as a result of the WDS, according to an



Former Director of the SEAC, Li Dezhu

article he wrote in an influential Party journal in 2000. A leading Chinese academic at the prestigious Beijing University, Ma Rong, similarly warned of a “fatal threat to the success of the Western Development Strategy” if indigenous peoples’ concerns, including those of Tibetans, were not properly respected when more and more people from the Chinese mainland went in search of opportunity.²¹ In the event, Chinese migration into Tibetan areas was without doubt one of the major grievances of the protestors in Lhasa and elsewhere across the plateau in March 2008, who targeted Chinese-owned property as well as symbols of the Chinese state.

Li stood down as Director of the SEAC in 2007 having completed 10 years of service in the position; he was also approaching the preferred retirement age of 65. It was widely thought that Li was going to be replaced by Yang Chuantang, who since recovering from the illness that forced him to resign as TAR Party Secretary in 2005, had been Deputy Director of the SEAC. However, according to one observer, China’s top leadership decided it would be inappropriate to appoint a Han to the position of Director of the SEAC, and so the position went instead to Yang Jing, an ethnic Mongolian and former Chairman of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) government.²² Yang is also a protégé of President Hu Jintao’s, having served as CYLC Secretary in the IMAR.

The elite behind the ‘struggle against the Dalai Clique’

The CCP’s main body for coordinating policies on Tibet is known variously as the “Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group” or the “Central Coordination Group on the Struggle Against the Dalai Clique”. Very little about the group or its workings is publicly known, and its existence is only occasionally and obliquely referred to in China’s official press. The first public mention of this group was made in April 2007 in a Hong Kong-based pro-Beijing newspaper, the *Singtao Daily*.²³

The purpose of the working group according to the same article, quoting from an unidentified source, is “strengthening macro-guidance and comprehensive coordination in Tibet’s development issue and paying more attention and giving more support to other Tibetan-inhabited areas.” The unattributed article continues by saying that the working group, which is “in overall charge of Tibetan affairs”, is intended to “ensure that Tibet attains economic and social development by leaps and bounds and that the Tibetan people’s living standards continually improve so as to compete with the Dalai clique [...] in winning popular support.”

The seniority of the group's members, and the broad spectrum of interests represented by their respective offices, suggests that the group acts more as a conduit through which existing policies are reviewed and refined prior to their implementation in Tibet, rather than as a body for actually initiating and formulating policies. The working group met just five times between 2003 and 2006 according to research published by the CECC.

Notably, none of the known members of the working group are themselves Tibetan. From the limited sources available, it appears that membership is a secondary role within other senior government and Party positions. So for example, the positions of Minister of Finance, Minister of Public Security and the Director of the Reform and Development Commission — among other positions — appear to include membership of the working group within their remit (see table below). This might explain why, for example, the former Minister of Public Security, Luo Gan, was present at the enthronement ceremony of the Chinese government's selection of the 11th Panchen Lama in Lhasa in 1995.

It is also notable that membership of the working group is not listed on any of the members' official biographies; however, this omission is possibly more likely to be a result of the Chinese government's tendency towards non-disclosure on Tibetan issues than any downgrading of the significance of the working group.

As the table below indicates, recent changes in top Party and government positions — outcomes of the 17th Party Congress in October 2007 and the 11th National People's Congress (NPC) in March 2008 — are mirrored almost exactly in reported changes of personnel in the working group. It is likely, although as yet unconfirmed, that the posts of deputy chairmen of the working group are also tied to the positions of Director of the UFWD, Minister of Public Security, and Secretary General of the State Council.

It is not yet clear what impact the protests in Tibet since March 2008 have had on the working group and its mandate, or on its standing within the Party and government as supposedly one of the spearhead organizations tasked with bringing stability to Tibet. As far as ICT's monitoring has been able to determine, the working group has not been mentioned in the online editions of China's official press since well before the protests started in mid-March 2008. However, a human rights monitoring organization in Hong Kong — the Information Center for Human Rights and Democratic Movements in China — reported membership changes in late May 2008, which are indicated in the table below.

CENTRAL TIBET WORK COORDINATION WORKING GROUP

Position	Incumbent [†]	Predecessor*
Chairman of the CPPCC (Chairman of working group*)	Jia Qinglin	Jia Qinglin
Secretary General of the State Council (Deputy chair*)	Ma Kai	Hua Jianmin
Minister of Public Security (Deputy chair*)	Meng Jianzhu	Zhou Yongkang
Director of the UFWD (Deputy chair*)	Du Qinglin	Liu Yandong
Party Secretary of the TAR	Zhang Qingli	Zhang Qingli
Director of the State Administration of Religious Affairs	Ye Xiaowen	Ye Xiaowen
Minister of Finance	Xie Xuren	Jin Renqing
Director of the Development and Reform Commission	Zhang Ping	Ma Kai
Commander of the PAP	Wu Shuangzhan	n/a
Party Secretary of Anhui; former TAR Party Secretary	?	Guo Jinlong

*Source: 'Two CPC Decision-making Groups Involving Tibet, Xinjiang Made Public,' *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, April 18, 2007.

[†]Source: Information Center for Human Rights and Democratic Movements in China, May 27, 2008.

While known members of the working group all appear to be included based on their current positions, there is a possible exception to that rule with the presence of Guo Jinlong, as reported in the *Tsinghua* article in April 2007. If the report is accurate, Guo would have served on the working group when he was Party Secretary of Anhui province, although he had served as Party Secretary of the TAR from 2000 to 2004. However, Guo was made Mayor of Beijing in 2007, as well as Executive President of the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG), and it is not known whether he therefore still serves on the working group.

Other members of this critical group not profiled elsewhere in this report are briefly profiled below.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE, JIA QINGLIN

Jia Qinglin reportedly chairs the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group. As well as being on the Standing Committee of the Politburo — making him one of the

nine most senior politicians in the PRC — his main Party position is Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), an advisory body to China's national legislature, and a position which has earned him the informal title “China’s top political advisor” in China’s English-language press.

Jia appears to have had a limited public role on Tibet during and after the protests, restricting his comments to very broad generalizations about Tibet’s status within the PRC and about the need for CPPCC members to “give full expression to their superiority” in their work on Tibet.²⁴



**Chairman of the
CPPCC, Jia Qinglin**

Jia Qinglin led a delegation of central government figures to Lhasa in 2005 to participate in official celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of the TAR, but otherwise there is little apparent evidence that he has spent much time in Tibet, despite being chairman of working group.

Jia has publicly commented on the need to protect Tibetan culture, and on the positive role that religions in the PRC have to play in society as a whole. However, according to Jia, religion’s acceptable role is to “promote social harmony”, in other words, to conform to the Party’s dictats. The implicit understanding is for religion to support and play a secondary role to Party and government attempts to create a “harmonious society.”²⁵ Similarly, while Jia has spoken of the “long-term historic task” to protect Tibetan culture, that task is primarily assigned to the Party and government, rather than to the people of Tibet themselves.²⁶

COMMANDER OF THE PEOPLE’S ARMED POLICE, WU SHUANGZHAN

Perhaps the most notable change to the personnel of the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group has been the reported addition of the Commander of the People’s Armed Police (PAP), Wu Shuangzhan. His addition, apparently the first time the PAP has been represented on the working group, strongly suggests that hardened, militarized security considerations beyond those already taken by ordinary police in Tibet are to be an even more prominent feature of future policy work on Tibet — most likely a direct response to this most recent wave of protests.

Prior to his inclusion in the working group and indeed, prior to the protests in March



**Commander of the
PAP, Wu Shuangzhan**

[...] I can also very clearly assure you that not a single person has exceeded their mandate.”²⁷

As Commander of the PAP, Wu oversaw the creation in August 2007 of a detachment of officers designated to protect the Olympic torch during its relay around the world, and whose *modus operandi* were severely criticized around the world. The PAP officers behaved aggressively when confronted with protestors in Paris and London in particular, and there were strong objections in several of the countries hosting the relay that their actions constituted unwarranted interference in the jurisdictions of the domestic police forces.

Lord Coe, Chairman of the London Organizing Committee of the Olympic Games, who was barged aside by the PAP officers when protestors surrounded the torch during the relay in London on April 6, was overheard angrily describing the officers as “horrible thugs”, and saying that organizers of the torch relay in other countries should “get rid of those guys”.²⁸

DIRECTOR OF THE STATE ADMINISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, YE XIAOWEN

As Director of the State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) since 1998, Ye Xiaowen has probably served on the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group for almost 10 years. Having served in his current position at SARA since 1998, Ye is due to stand down in accordance with Party preferences for officials to serve a maximum term of 10 years in senior positions. At the relatively young age of 58 though, he is probably far from retiring permanently.

2008, Wu Shuangzhan does not appear to have had much direct involvement in Tibet. Security policies in Tibet appear instead to have been the purview of the Ministry of Public Security under Zhou Yongkang (see below) and now Meng Jiangzhu (see below), at least as far as the working group’s policy coordination role is concerned.

As commander of the PAP, when answering questions about the PAP’s response to protests in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet, Wu told journalists on the sidelines of the NPC in Beijing in March 2008, “I can honestly tell you that none of the means we have adopted [in Tibet] have exceeded the constitutional rights of the armed forces or international law.

Ye Xiaowen has had a long professional involvement in Tibet which includes his involvement in a “lot-drawing” ceremony in 1995 to determine the Chinese government’s choice of Panchen Lama, a role he performed when he was a Deputy Director of the United Front Work Department. His main role as Director of SARA with regard to Tibet has been to provide the legislation that the government and Party have used in an attempt to legitimize their control and manipulation of the practice and institutions of Tibetan Buddhism.

Ye Xiaowen’s office is responsible for the controversial “Management Measures for the Reincarnation of ‘Living Buddhas’ in Tibetan Buddhism”, which gives the atheist Chinese government the sole authority to recognize and install reincarnate lamas. When the measures were introduced, Lodi Gyatson Gyari, Special Envoy of the Dalai Lama, said that the measures “strike at the heart of Tibetan religious identity,” and added “they will only create further resentment among the Tibetan people and cannot override the Party’s lack of legitimacy in the sphere of religion.”²⁹ A national seminar on implementing the measures, co-chaired by Ye, reportedly stressed the dictum “our own comes first”, and warned against “interference” in the recognition process by “the Dalai Lama clique in exile.”³⁰

Ye Xiaowen’s public response to the protests in Tibet appears to be limited to a series of commentary articles in the English language version of the *People’s Daily*. Chinese observers have frequently remarked that Ye prides himself on a mastery of literary Mandarin; in his English language commentaries, in which he levels the standard accusations against the “Dalai clique”, he uses a highly ambitious and occasionally unintelligible literary style, which is possibly an attempt to translate directly from the Chinese. For instance, when attempting to reprimand the Dalai Lama for his alleged involvement in the March 2008 protests, he writes: “Buddhism has all along emphasizes the ‘awakening to truth’ and the ability for ponderation. Think thrice when the dust is settled and forever keep in mind the admonishment of Zongkapa, the tour of the first Dalai Lama not out for killing (lives) and evaluate and treasure all living creatures.”³¹

MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY, MENG JIANZHU

Meng Jianzhu was installed as Minister for Public Security in 2007, replacing Zhou Yongkang and inheriting too Zhou’s position on the Central Tibet Work Coordina-



Director of the SARA,
Ye Xiaowen

tion Working Group. Prior to being installed as Minister for Public Security, Meng was serving as Party Secretary of Jiangxi province, and is not known to have had any notable involvement in Tibetan issues at any previous stage of his career, which until he was posted to Jiangxi province had been spent entirely in Shanghai.

Meng has not yet been in his post long enough for observers to discern what impact he personally is likely to have upon Tibet. However, so far at least — and perhaps unsurprisingly in the run-up to the Olympics when the Chinese government is working hard to maintain an air of normality around Tibet — Meng appears unlikely to represent any hope for reform.



Minister for Public Security, Meng Jianzhu

Meng led a high-level delegation to Lhasa on March 23–24, the first such visit since the unrest of March 14. The delegation included Ye Xiaowen (see above), and was hosted in Lhasa by TAR Party Secretary Zhang Qingli and TAR Government Chairman Jampa Phuntsog. The delegation visited Sera and Drepung monasteries, as well as the Jokhang Temple in the center of Lhasa, where Meng was quoted as saying that the authorities had to “continue to deepen patriotic education in the monasteries” as a result of the protests, and asserting that the violence “violated the fundamental teachings of Tibetan Buddhism”.³²

The other remaining members of the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group are Ma Kai, Zhang Ping and Xie Xuren (Du Qinglin, who also sits on the working group, is profiled under the description of the United Front Work Department, below).

Ma Kai currently serves as the Secretary General of the State Council, the PRC’s cabinet. His role on the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group is therefore likely to one of liaising with ministers and ministries who are not also represented on the working group. Prior to being made Secretary General of the State Council, Ma — who has spent his entire career in Beijing — served as the Director of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), a post which is also represented on the working group, and which is now held by Zhang Ping.

The National Development and Reform Commission has broad administrative and planning control over economic development in the PRC. Zhang Ping and Xie Xuren,

the Minister of Finance, are therefore two of the most senior economic planning officials in the PRC, whose presence on the working group is almost certainly to ensure Tibet's integration and inclusion in overall economic planning, as well as to legitimize the enormous fiscal subsidies sent to Tibet by the central government in Beijing.³³

The United Front Work Department

The United Front Work Department (UFWD) is an organization within the Central Committee of the CCP that acts as a gate-keeper for “non-Party” groups and individuals, both foreign and domestic, engaging with the Party on a select range of issues. The Chinese officials who meet with the Dalai Lama’s special envoys are from the UFWD. As a gateway for contact with the Party and government, the UFWD has little actual executive authority to affect policy change in China and Tibet. The UFWD also plays an advisory role for China’s national legislature, the National People’s Congress, and is extremely influential in instilling the Party line throughout government and Party offices, particularly those in contact with individuals and organizations from abroad.

Du Qinglin has headed the UFWD since late 2007, and as with many senior Party appointees he rose to prominence in President Hu Jintao’s power base, the Communist Youth League of China. Du has only very limited personal experience of Tibet having briefly served as Party Secretary of Sichuan province from 2006 to 2007, during which time he toured parts of Kardze, an area of Tibet which saw a large number of protests in this latest wave of unrest. He is nevertheless a senior and experienced politician having served as the Minister for Agriculture from 2001 to 2007.

Although Du Qinglin is Director of the UFWD, the main interlocutor during negotiations with representatives of the Dalai Lama has in recent years most often been Zhu Weiqun, a deputy director of the UFWD with special responsibility for Tibet, along with Sithar, an ethnic Tibetan and also a Deputy Director of the UFWD.

The UFWD itself has little if any genuine executive authority in China’s political establishment, and the view has been expressed by Tibetan exiles that dialogue should instead be the purview of a top government ministry, if not the office of the Chinese president.

Du Qinglin led the UFWD’s delegation when meeting with representatives of the Dalai Lama in Beijing in early July 2008 for the seventh round of dialog since 2002,

taking over from Zhu Weiqun, and Ms Liu Yandong, the former head of the UFWD.

Zhu Weiqun has been a Deputy Director of the UFWD since 1998; however, he has a long involvement in Tibet dating back to 1991 when as a journalist on the *People's Daily* he spent 40 days in the TAR covering official celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet. Between 1994 and 1996, Zhu "participated in the work relating to the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama", according to biographical material on him reported in the pro-Beijing Hong Kong media.³⁴ The article did not offer any details on what his involvement in the process may have been.

FORMER MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY, ZHOU YONGKANG

Although now apparently retired from any position with a direct mandate on Tibet, Zhou Yongkang's impact in Tibet is likely to resonate for many years to come. Zhou served on the Central Tibet Work Coordination Working Group between 2002 and 2007 while he was Minister for Public Security, and was Party Secretary of Sichuan province, which includes large parts of the eastern Tibetan region of Kham, at the time of the sentencing to death of an influential Tibetan monk, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche. As Sichuan Party Secretary, he also oversaw the drastic reduction in size of two important monastic encampments, including the expulsion of monks, nuns and Chinese Buddhists, that had played a pioneering role in the revival of Tibetan Buddhism following the Cultural Revolution.

During his tenure as Party Secretary of Sichuan province from 1999 to 2002, Zhou Yongkang was unequivocal in his disregard for minority cultures, even going so far as to dismiss their religious beliefs, practices, and their languages almost entirely. Soon after assuming the post of Party Secretary in Sichuan, he was quoted as saying that Tibetans were "wasting" their money by giving donations to monasteries, that "promoting religious freedom has caused people so much hardship", and that teaching the Tibetan language to Tibetan children "is such a heavy burden" on government finances — "why bother."³⁵

Zhou's stance marked an unmistakeable reversal of the more conciliatory approach to Tibet and Tibetan culture which had been adopted by former Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang in the early 1980s, and set the Party on an aggressive and confrontational path with Tibetan culture in Kham — the Tibetan province largely incorporated into Sichuan. This approach is in contrast to the provisions of the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law, which ostensibly allows Tibetans to use and develop their language, including in the affairs of local government, not to mention recognizing religious

freedoms and the broader freedoms to dispose of their own income in legal ways they choose.

Zhou Yongkang acquired a significant degree of political power in a remarkably short period of time: less than 10 years ago, aside from being on the periphery of the CCP Central Committee, his entire career had been spent in politically appointed positions within China's state-owned oil industry. His meteoric rise has since taken him through two ministerial-level positions, and Party Secretary of Sichuan province. His most recent promotion in October 2007 made him elevated to become one of only nine members of the Politburo's Standing Committee, the highest and most powerful body in the CCP's hierarchy.

When he was promoted to the Politburo's Central Committee, Zhou was also promoted from being Deputy Secretary to full Secretary of the Political and Legislative Affairs Committee within the CCP's Central Committee, granting him political authority over China's entire police, judicial and state security structures.

A prominent feature of Zhou Yongkang's three-year tenure as Party Secretary of Sichuan province was a severe crackdown on the practice and teaching of Tibetan Buddhism in the province. Two large and thriving monastic teaching institutions — Larung Gar and Yachen Gar — which were spearheading the revival of Tibetan Buddhism in the area, were both drastically reduced in size when many hundreds of monks and nuns, including many Chinese devotees, were expelled and their dwellings demolished, ostensibly because the institutes did not have official permission to expand as much as they had. It is thought that the campaigns against the institutions were led by Yin Fatang, who served as Party Secretary of the TAR from 1980 to 1985, but Yin without doubt had the backing and encouragement of Zhou Yongkang.

It was also during Zhou Yongkang's tenure as Party Secretary of Sichuan province that the influential and highly popular religious leader in Kham, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, was detained on what are regarded widely as trumped up bombing charges. Tenzin Delek Rinpoche had studied in India in the 1980s where he was recognized by the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of a senior lama. Upon his return to Tibet he frequently crossed paths with the local authorities in his efforts to prevent or limit deforestation in his local area, to open schools and old people's homes, and to re-establish monasteries which had been shut down or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.



**Former Minister for
Public Security, Zhou
Yongkang**

Tenzin Deleg Rinpoche was highly trusted and respected by the community where he lived, and was regularly approached by Tibetans and Chinese alike to help with dispute resolution and perform numerous other traditional roles undertaken by senior lamas in Tibetan society. His co-defendant at his trial — which fell far short of minimum fair trial standards under international law — was executed immediately; and there are deep suspicions among Tibetans in Tibet and abroad that Tenzin Deleg Rinpoche was convicted on the basis of evidence extorted through torture.³⁶

¹ See: 'Hu Jintao: Reformer or Conformist?' Free Tibet Campaign, November 15, 2002, www.freetibet.org; see also 'Cutting off the Serpent's Head,' Tibet Information Network & Human Rights Watch, March, 1996.

² 'Tibetan Questions,' Tsering Shakya, *New Left Review* 51, May–June 2008, www.newleftreview.org.

³ 'Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary,' Richard Daniel Ewing, *China Quarterly* (2003), 173: 17–34 Cambridge University Press.

⁴ 'Chinese politics in the Hu Jintao era: New leaders, new challenges', Willy Wo Lap Lam, M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

⁵ 'China's Gaping Wound,' *The New Statesman*, June 4, 2007.

⁶ 'China asks Dalai Lama to "use his influence" to stop Tibet violence,' PTI, March 31, 2008.

⁷ See also: 'Ethnic repression in Tibet masterminded by faceless trio,' *The Times*, March 23, 2008, www.timesonline.co.uk.

⁸ See also: 'Hope for a Better Tibet Policy,' Willy Lam, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 2008, www.feer.com.

⁹ 'TYC, a terror group worse than Bin Laden's,' Xinhua, April 11, 2008.

¹⁰ 'Zhang Qingli: Ensure Tibet's leap over-style development and long term order and security,' Xinhua [in Chinese], May 18, 2008.

¹¹ 'Tibetans banned from marking traditional Buddhist anniversary,' ICT, January 9, 2007.

¹² 'Regional Department of Discipline Inspection issues "Discipline and punishment measures for Communist Party members and state employees who have sent sons and daughters to schools run by the Dalai clique outside the border — (experimental)," July 15, 2008, www.chinatibetnews.com.

¹³ 'Two months' ultimatum issued to the Tibetan Communist Party members and government employees to recall their children studying in exile schools; 13 ethnic Tibetan Party members expelled in Lhasa,' TCHRD, July 15, 2008, www.tchrd.org.

¹⁴ 'International Olympic Committee sets precedent with reprimand for Tibet Party boss,' ICT, June 28, 2008.

¹⁵ ‘Devastating Blows: Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang,’ Human Rights Watch, April 2005, www.hrw.org.

¹⁶ ‘Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han nationalist imperatives and Uyghur discontent,’ Gardner Bovingdon, Policy Studies No. 11, East-West Center, Washington DC, 2004.

¹⁷ See ‘People’s Republic of China: No justice for the victims of the 1997 crackdown in Gulja,’ February 4, 2003, www.amnesty.org.

¹⁸ ‘Across China, Security Instead Of Celebration,’ *Washington Post*, July 19, 2008, www.washingtonpost.com.

¹⁹ For an overview of the Western Development Strategy and its significance, see ICT’s report, ‘Tracking the Steel Dragon’, www.savetibet.org.

²⁰ See endnote 19.

²¹ See endnote 19, p. 40.

²² ‘Ethnic Minority Elites in China’s Party-State Leadership,’ Cheng Li, China Leadership Monitor, No. 25, Summer 2008.

²³ See ‘Party Congress Promotes Officials Linked to Harsh Policies Toward Tibetans,’ CECC, January 23, 2008, www.cecc.gov; citing: ‘Two CPC Decision-making Groups Involving Tibet, Xinjiang Made Public,’ *Singtao Daily*, April 18, 2007.

²⁴ ‘Jia Qinglin, Standing Committee Member of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), Chairs the First Study Session of the 11th CPPCC Standing Committee,’ Xinhua, July 5, 2008.

²⁵ ‘Religion has a role to play: Jia,’ *China Daily*, March 5, 2007, www.chinadaily.com.cn.

²⁶ ‘Senior Chinese leader Jia Qinglin stresses protection of Tibetan culture,’ Xinhua, October 10, 2008.

²⁷ ‘China military forces defend Tibet crackdown,’ Reuters, March 16, 2008.

²⁸ Channel 4 News, UK, and ‘Lord Coe condemns Chinese flame protectors as “horrible thugs,”’ *The Times*, April 8, 2008, www.timesonline.co.uk.

²⁹ ‘New measures on reincarnation reveal Party’s objectives of political control,’ ICT, August 15, 2007, www.savetibet.org.

³⁰ ‘National Seminar Held on Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Areas,’ *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, September 13, 2007.

³¹ ‘Think thrice when the dust is settled,’ *People’s Daily*, April 16, 2008.

³² ‘Tibet deaths and protests shadow Olympics,’ Reuters, March 25, 2008.

³³ For a detailed discussion and analysis of the central government’s fiscal policies in the TAR, see: ‘Perversities of Extreme Dependence and Unequal Growth in the TAR,’ Andrew Fischer, Tibet Watch Special Report, August 2007, www.tibetwatch.org.

³⁴ ‘Central Government Envoys Have Considerable Experience in Tibet,’ *Ta Kong Pao*, July 1, 2008.

³⁵ See: ‘Party Congress Promotes Officials Linked to Harsh Policies Toward Tibetans,’ CECC, January 23, 2008, www.cecc.gov, citing ‘Tibetans “wasting money” on donations to monasteries,’ *South China Morning Post*, March 14, 2000.

³⁶ See: ‘The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,’ CECC, February 10, 2003, www.cecc.gov; see also: ‘Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,’ HRW, February 2004, www.hrw.org.



Name: Yeshi Lhadon
Age: 24 year old



Faces of three young nuns arrested by the Chinese authorities:
Yeshi Lhadon, 24; Tsering Tso, 27; and Ta Ga Bumo.

DETENTIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES IN TIBET SINCE MARCH 2008: A LIST OF TIBETANS IMPRISONED AFTER THE PROTESTS

ICT has been able to identify over 900 people who have been detained since protests began on March 10. This information has been obtained from first hand accounts provided by ICT sources, family members, monks, nuns and laypeople now in exile, and reports by the Congressional-Executive Commission on China,¹ the Tibetan Government in Exile, the Tibetan exile media, official sources, Radio Free Asia, Voice of Tibet, Voice of America, Tibetan non-governmental organizations including Gu Chu Sum and the Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy.

Since March, China has resorted to ever harsher measures to subdue and silence the Tibetan people, which are having a dramatic impact in terms of information reaching the outside world. On an official website, the Lhasa authorities have warned that there would be repercussions for Tibetans who “spread rumors, create disturbances and deceive the public,” as part of the political campaign against “separatists.”

Similar threats and warnings have been made elsewhere in Tibet as authorities sought to achieve an information blackout. In Jyekundo (Chinese: Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai, armed police raided households and took away components of satellite televisions, according to the Tibetan government in exile. The same report referred to an official circular stating that Tibetans are not allowed to watch news channels and can only watch state-run television channels (April 22, Tibetan government in exile).

As a result of the measures to prevent information leaving Tibet, and the climate of fear on the plateau, this political prisoner list cannot be comprehensive and the full number of Tibetans in detention since March 10 is not known. Tibetan sources take great risk in communicating such information to the outside world, and it is a testimony to the courage of Tibetans in Tibet that ICT has been able to make this information public.

Reports in the state media in March and April confirm the detention of 4434 people described as “rioters” who participated in protests in March and had been detained or surrendered by April 9.² This figure apparently covered Lhasa in the TAR and Gan-nan (Chinese: Kanlho) TAP in Gansu province (Xinhua, April 9), as well as in Ngaba prefecture in Sichuan province (*People's Daily*, March 25), but does not include every Tibetan area of the PRC. According to an analysis of state media by the CECC, including a June 21 *China Daily* article reporting on the release of 1157 people who

expressed regret for conducting minor crimes” related to the Lhasa protests, “Chinese authorities released by June 21 a total of 3072 of the 4434 persons whom officials characterized as ‘rioters’ and who had surrendered or been detained by April 9.”³ The only official acknowledgement of arrests resulting from peaceful protests appeared in the official *Tibet Daily*, which reported 13 arrests stemming from a crowd yelling “reactionary slogans and [holding] a self-made banner of snow-mountain lions to gather a crowd and stir up trouble”—a reference to the detention of Sera monks outside the Jokhang on March 10.

The admission of such a high number of detentions by the authorities is in itself revealing. According to CECC analysis of official information given so far, the current status of more than 1200 alleged rioters remains unknown.

The TAR High People’s Court, the regional People’s Procuratorate and the regional Public Security Bureau said in a notice that the rioters had set fire to schools, hospitals, children’s entertainment centers, shops and civilian houses, and that they had confronted government departments and assaulted law enforcement officers. They had also smashed and burnt vehicles, looted properties and killed innocent people, adding that all these had violated China’s criminal law. The notice demanded that lawbreakers hand themselves in by midnight Monday, March 17, and promised leniency for those who surrendered. Those who surrendered and provided information on other law-breakers would be exempt from punishment, the notice said, while those who covered up or sheltered the lawbreakers would be punished in accordance with the law.

On April 29, the Chinese authorities announced the first sentences of Tibetans, ranging from three years to life, since the protests and unrest began on the Tibetan plateau on March 10. Thirty sentences were handed down in connection with the riots in Lhasa and neighboring counties on March 14, according to a Xinhua report, citing Lhasa Municipality Intermediate People’s Court. One monk was sentenced to life, and two others to 20 years.⁴

One of the Tibetans sentenced to life was a monk, Pasang, and the other was Sonam Tsering, a driver with a Lhasa real estate company, according to Xinhua. According to the same report, Pasang, who is from Toelung Dechen (Chinese: Doilong Deqing) county in Lhasa municipality, led 10 people — including five monks — to destroy the local government office, smash or burn down 11 shops and rob their valuables, and attack policemen on duty. Two of the monks were sentenced to 20 years and the other three to 15 years.

Tibetan rioting that resulted in the detention and criminal prosecution of Tibetans had also taken place in two counties in Lhasa municipality — Toelung Dechen and Tagtse (Chinese: Dazi) counties — on March 14 and 15 respectively, based on additional official reports (Xinhua, 29 April).

None of the sentences involved accusations of manslaughter, indicating that the most severe sentences, possibly the death penalty, may still be forthcoming. In a state media report on July 11, Executive Vice Chairman of the TAR Pema Trinley drew attention to this. It is not known whether his comment that no death sentences have been carried out to date following the protests was made in order to appease the international community prior to the Olympics, or whether it was meant to highlight that these sentences could be forthcoming after further evidence was collected.⁵ Following an amendment of China's Organic Law of the People's Courts that took effect on January 1, 2007, if a court sentences a defendant to death, the Supreme People's Court must review and approve the sentence before an execution can be carried out. Prior to the amendment, the same court that would hear an appeal against the verdict (the TAR High People's Court, in this case) also had the authority to issue final approval of the sentence.⁶

A report by Human Rights Watch challenged the legitimacy of the sentencing procedures carried out so far in Lhasa, stating that actual trial proceedings, in which evidence from the prosecution was introduced, had been conducted covertly on undisclosed dates earlier in April, and that the Tibetans were denied access to a meaningful defense with lawyers they had chosen.⁷ In an image released by the state media of the trial, one of the prisoners is sitting on a chair, which some observers have noted could mean they were unable to stand following torture.

Amnesty International stated in a recent report that “many hundreds, possibly thousands, of Tibetans languish in prisons or detention centers without the government publicly acknowledging their whereabouts or formally charging them with a criminal offence.”⁸

News has recently emerged of a life sentence and two other long sentences being imposed on three Tibetan men in their twenties from Lotah township in Ngaba TAP in Sichuan for charges of “beating, smashing and looting.” Twenty three-year old Kalbeh, was sentenced to life on around July 10, according to Tibetan exile sources from the area, while 27-year old Tsekho was sentenced to 13 years and Tirzoe, 25, sentenced to 15 years, all at the Ngaba TAP Intermediate People's Court. The same Tibetan source told ICT that the three were denied adequate legal representation. The source said that around 17 other Tibetans from the area were in custody awaiting trial.

A significant feature in the crackdown that has followed the March protests has been the large number of disappearances — when Tibetans are taken from their families, most commonly in the middle of the night. This has happened on a mass scale across the plateau since March 14, according to numerous sources. It is continuing today despite notification procedures required under China's Criminal Procedure Law.

A Tibetan source from Lhasa who is now in exile told ICT “Tibetans, particularly from Lhasa, are being displaced to prisons far from home — in many cases, their families have had no idea where they are, nor whether they are still alive. For many of us, it is a chilling pattern. It reminds us of being in the 1950s or the Cultural Revolution, when Tibetans were transported to the gulags of Qinghai.”¹⁸

Many Tibetans in Lhasa rounded up in raids on homes or monasteries have been taken to detention facilities outside the city. A source reported seeing hundred of Tibetans, including many monks, being herded onto a train by armed police at Lhasa’s new railway station, bound for Qinghai. In an apparent further instance of detained Tibetans being removed from Lhasa, around 300 prisoners arrived at the train station in Xining, Qinghai, in early April, according to Tibetan sources, who told ICT “Every prisoner seemed to be hurt badly and some had blood on their faces. There was an old lady in the group with heavy shackles on her feet, and no shoes. She was being beaten by the police.”

ICT has received several reliable reports of Tibetans being taken from Lhasa to detention facilities in Sichuan and Qinghai, either by train or by road. A young monk who was detained in Lhasa for having no identity card was taken to a local detention center and beaten severely every day over a period of several days, according to one report. “Four men beat him at the same time, each time,” ICT’s source reported. “During the torture, he had no comprehension of night and day. With one arm up over behind the neck and the other under and behind the back, they tied his wrists together behind his back. The food at the prison consisted of one small bread roll per person and about 20 ounces of water that was shared between four to five people. People were sleeping in the area where they went to the toilet and they were not allowed to wear shoes.” The source said that he was later taken to Mianyang Prison in Sichuan, and was released later due to fears that he might die if he remained without medical attention. He can now hardly walk or talk and his breathing is labored. The same source said that there were many Tibetans from Lhasa in the same prison.

The pattern following protests has been the major deployment of troops, a security sweep in the area, mass detentions, and the torture of prisoners. A number of the detainees are then released after days or weeks, with a core of prisoners remaining, probably to face charges.

A prisoner list

ICT has gathered more than 900 names of Tibetans detained for protests or rioting across the Tibetan plateau since March 10. We believe that many Tibetans on this list have since been released, usually after undergoing extremely brutal treatment while in detention. The list below names 263 individuals ICT believes are still in custody, and are either sentenced, or may face charges. This list represents a minimal number of Tibetans believed to be in custody; we believe there are many more whose names we have not been able to confirm, and it also seems that more than a thousand Tibetans mentioned in official statistics as being detained in recent months remain unaccounted for.

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Achoe, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Nyagay nunnery	May 20
Adrel, M	Sershul County,	Trulku	March 16
	Kardze, Sichuan		
Alo Chime, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Asang, 22, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Bagdro	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Bendetsang Yangchen, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Bumo Lhaga, 32, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Dragkar nunnery	April 23
Butrug, 13, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Chime Drolma, 32, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Chime Gonpo	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Chime Lhamo, 19, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Choeden, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Choegyal, 23, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Choelha, 40, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Choepa Sonam, 28, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Choephel Tashi	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Choephel, 19, F	Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 18
Choeyang, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Choeying Tashi, 33, M	Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Choezin, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Chone Khedup, 40s, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk, Labrang	June 30

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Darchen	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Dargye Garwatsang, 19, M	Markham, TAR	Lay person	May 14
Dargye, 27, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 18
Dondrub, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Dorje	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Dorje Dargye	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Dorje Khadro, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Dorje, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 21
Dradul, 42, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 18
Drolkar Kyab, 24, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Singer/Performer	March 21
Drolkar Kyab, 32, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Drolkar, 21, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Drolkhoma, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Drolma Yangtso, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Drolmakyi, 31, F	Tawu, Golog TAP, Qinghai	Singer/Performer	Detained on March 30. Believed to have been released on condition she not appear in public or discuss her arrest.
Drolyang, 42, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Gedun Gyatso, 30, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk	April 1
Geleg Gyurme, 30, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk, Sera monastery	April 1
Geleg, 32, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk	March 10
Geleg, 35, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Gonpo	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Gyayul Seyang, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Gyayul Shachotso Bodze, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Gyayul Trinley, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Gyurme, 40, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk, Labrang monastery	April 1
Jamdrol, 31, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Jamdrub, 21, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Jamkar Drolma, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Gesay nunnery	May 22
Jamiha Yang, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Jampa Dorje, 18, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 9
Jampa Lhamo, 20s, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Dhargay Hardu nunnery	May 23
Jampa Phuntsog, 18, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 9
Jamyang Lodroe, 15, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Jamyang Zoepa, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Jigme	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Jigme Gyatso, 28, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Kalbeh, 23, M	Lhotah township, Ngaba, Sichuan		Sentenced to life
Kalsang Bagdro and above on April 29	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years
Kalsang Dondrub	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Kalsang Dorje, 39, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Lay person	March 24
Kalsang Nyima	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Kalsang Tashi, 17, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Kalsang Tsering	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Kardru, 40, M	Chentsa, Malho TAP, Qinghai	Farmer	March 23
Kargar, 32, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 14
Karma Dawa	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Kelsang Samten	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Khadro Lhamo, 32, F	Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Khadro, 15, F	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 18
Khagongtsang Choedron, 43, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Khechok, 30s, M	Machu County, Kanliho TAP, Gansu		Sentenced to 13 years
Khyenrab Nyima, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Khyenrab Tashi, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Khyenrab Tharchin, 32, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Kopa Tseten, 20, M	Chentsa, Malho TAP, Qinghai	Farmer	March 23
Kunchok Tenzin, 21, M	Markham, TAR	Lay person	May 14
Kunchok, 16, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		Detained April 11. Believed sentenced to 12 years, but not confirmed
Kunchok, 28, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Kunchok, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 20
Kyabkho, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Lama Kyap, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk	
Lhagpa Tsering	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Lhagpa Tsering Chewa (Sr.)	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Lhakar, 33, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Lhawang Choekyi, 41, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Lobsang Choeden, 19, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	May 13
Lobsang Choephel, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Lobsang Dondrub, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March 31
Lobsang Gyatso, 19, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Lobsang Gyatso, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Lobsang Jigme, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Lobsang Jinpa, 36, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Lobsang Lhamo, 28, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Lobsang Namgyal, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 20
Lobsang Ngodrub, 29, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Lobsang Rinchen, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	March 19	
Lobsang Sherab, 20, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Lobsang Tashi	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Lobsang Tenpa, 20, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	May 13
Lobsang Thugje, 19, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk	March 10
Lobsang Woeser, 21, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Lobsang Yangphel, 31, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March
Lobsang Yangtso, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Lobsang Zoepa, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Lobsang, 15, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Lodroe, 15, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Lodroe, 30, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Loyang	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Loyang, M		Monk	May 20
Migmar	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Migmar	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Namgyal Tseten, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 20
Namgyal, 18, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Namkha Choetso, 27, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Namlo, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 21
Ngawang	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Ngawang Choeyang	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to 15 years and above on April 29
Ngawang Namgyal, 51, M	Lhasa, TAR		March 16
Ngawang Tenzin, 40, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Norbu Drolma, 42, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Nyima Dorje, 23, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 18
Nyima Drakpa	Tawu, Golgo TAP, Qinghai	Lay person	April 19
Nyima Lhamo, 31, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Palden Lhatso, 25, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Palden Tsondru, 19, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	May 13
Paldor, 31, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March
Palkyi, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Palsang Tashi	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Pasang Tashi, 30, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Pasang, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Dingka monastery	Sentenced to life on April 29
Pechung, 31, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Pema Dechen	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Pema Karwang, 30, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Pema Yangtso, 33, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Pema, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Gesay nunnery	May 22
Phungar, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Phuntsog, 33, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Phurbu Rinpoche, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Trulku	May 18
Phurdan, 22, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Rigar, 20, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Rigyang, 21, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Rigzen Wangdon, 20s, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Dhargay Hardu nunnery	May 23
Rigzin Choetso, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Rinchen (or Ridden) Lhamo, 21, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Student	May 28
Rinchen Jamatsang, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Gesay nunnery	May 22
Rintang, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 21
Rinyang, 21, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Samten, 17, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Samten, 32, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk	April 1
Samten, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Sanggye Drolma, 25, F	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Singer/Performer	March 19
Sanggye, 30, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk, Labrang monastery	April 1
Sangpo	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Sangwang, 39, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sangye Lhamo, 26, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 28
Sangzin Kyi, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Singer/Performer	March 20
Se Lhamo, 36, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Serga, 37, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 22
Seshugtin Dekyi, 29, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Seshugtin Tamdrin Tsekyi, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Shao Mimi, 40, F	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Sherab Gyatso, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Sherab, 40, M	Chentsa, Malho TAP, Qinghai	Farmer	March 23
Shilog, 63, M	Lhasa, TAR	PAP, retired	May 3
Sokar, 23, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 14
Soku, 25, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Solu, 18, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 9
Sonam Choedron, 22, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sonam Choedron, 28, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Sonam Choekyi, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Nyagay nunner	May 20
Sonam Dekyi, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Dragkar nunnery	April 23
Sonam Dekyi, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sonam Lhamo, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Dragkar nunnery	May 11
Sonam Lhatso, 35, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sonam Nyima, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March 31
Sonam Paldron, 34, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sonam Tséring	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Sonam Tséring, M	Lhasa, TAR	Driver	Sentenced to life on April 29
Sonam Yangtso, 26, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Sonam, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Sopal, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March 31
Sungrab, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk	March 19
Ta Ga Bumo, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun	May 20
Tagpa Rigsang, 26, M	Lhasa, TAR	Trulku	March 10
Tamdin Tsekyi, 36, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Tashi Drolma, 30, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tashi Ga, 36, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Tashi Gyatso	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Tashi Gyatso, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Tashi Lhawang, 37, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tashi Pelden	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Tashi Yangtso, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Nyagay nunner	May 20
Tenkar, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun, Gesay nunnery	May 22
Tenpa Gyaltsen, 26, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Tenpa, 17, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	March 20	
Tenpa, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Tenphel, 19, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Tenzin Gyaltsen	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Tenzin Gyatso, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Tenzin Gyephel, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Tenzin Ngodup, M	Monk		May 20
Tenzin Tsering, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Tenzin, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 21
Thubdron, 24, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Thubten Drolma, 40, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Thubten Gyatso	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Thubten Tsering, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 20
Thubten Tsering, 31, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March
Thubten, 25, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Farmer	March 19
Thubwang, 30, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Tirzoe, 25, M	Lhotah township, Ngaba, Sichuan		Sentenced to 15 years
Tobgyal, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Trinley Namgyal, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March 18
Trinley, M	Machu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu		March 21
Tsangpa, 17, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 13
Tsekho, 27, M	Lhotah township, Ngaba, Sichuan		Sentenced to 13 years
Tselu, 34, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tsephag Namgyal, 15, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Tsering	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to life on April 29
Tsering Dorje	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Tsering Gyatso, 22, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk	March 10
Tsering Phuntsog, 24, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 22
Tsering Tso, 27, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan		June 9
Tseten	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Tseten Phuntsok	Kardze Town, Kardze TAP, Sichuan		
Tsewang Kando, 38, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 28
Tsewang Tenzin, M	Dingri, TAR	Monk	May 19
Tsewang Tso, 38, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tsomo, 33, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tsuldrol, 25, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Tsultrim Drolma, 36, F	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 20
Tsultrim Gyatso, 37, M	Sangchu, Kanliho TAP, Gansu	Monk, Labrang	June 30
Tsultrim Jungne, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Tsultrim Palden, 20, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10
Tsultrim Tenzin, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk, Thongkor monastery	April 3
Wangchen Gardo, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 14
Wangchen Lhamo, 20, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Wangchug, 22, M	Markham, TAR	Monk	May 12
Wangmo, 29, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Wotso, 26, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Wudor, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Monk	March 31
Yangchen Khadro, 38, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Yangchen, 40, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Yangkyi, 28, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	May 11
Yangzom, 60, F	Lhasa, TAR	Doctor, retired	May 6
Yargyal	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Yarphel, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan		March 21
Yeshe	Lhasa, TAR		Sentenced to between 3 and 14 years on April 29
Yeshe Dargyal, 27, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 22
Yeshe Dorje, 32, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk	June 9
Yeshe Nyima, M	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Monk, Thongkor monastery	April 3

NAME, AGE, SEX	PLACE OF ORIGIN	OCCUPATION	DATE OF DETENTION
Yeshe Tso, 20, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Yeshi Lhadon, 24, F	Trehor, Kardze County, Kardze, Sichuan	Nun Dragkar nunnery	May 28
Yibu, 22, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun	March 24
Yiga, M	Sershul County, Kardze, Sichuan	Herder	March 31
Yonten Gyatso, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Yonten Shitrug, M	Dzoge County, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan	Monk	March 21
Yonten, 34, M	Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu	Monk	April 1
Yudron Lhamo, 18, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Yudron, 27, F	Kardze TAP, Sichuan	Nun, Pangri nunnery	May 14
Zoepa, 30, M	Lhasa, TAR	Monk, Sera monastery	March 10

An account by a Tibetan of torture during detention following March 14 in Lhasa

A young Tibetan man sent some details to a friend in exile of his brief period in detention after a house-to-house search on March 18.¹⁹ The Tibetan, whose name is not known to ICT, said that on March 18, armed soldiers broke down the doors to his family's home, ransacked the property, and beat members of his family, who appear to have been suspected of involvement in the protests. The Tibetan's account is consistent with other accounts of detention following the protest obtained by ICT. He said: "I was arrested and they took me with them, tied my thumbs behind my back, very tightly, so that this whole area has been numb for the last two or three months [all of his left thumb]. At first I thought that they were going to kill me, they hit my head a lot, and heads are easy to break, it's not like the rest of the body. They took me to prison, for four days they didn't ask me anything, they just threw us here. They gave us half a steamed bun a day, that's very small. They didn't provide any water. Everyone was very thirsty and a lot of people drank their urine. We had no clothes, no blankets, nothing to lie down on, nothing — just cement floors — and it was very cold. For four days nobody spoke to us, they just left us there.

"We heard a lot of things. Many people had arms or legs broken or gunshot wounds but they weren't taken to hospital. They were there with us. It was really terrible. I can't believe that we are in the 21st century. For instance, one boy who was shot three

times, one from here to there [the bullet entered from the left side of his back and exited from the left side of his chest, near his heart], one from here to here [from inner left elbow to inner left wrist], and one here [a horizontal wound on his upper right arm]. Some people had their ribs broken. One man was punched in his [right] eye, and it was all swollen and black and blue, very bad. People had their teeth broken, these are just examples. A lot of terrible things were done.

"One of the problems is that people have no food, they are very hungry, they are just falling over [collapsing]. One boy fell into the toilet, all in the same room, and he was cut right across his face [under his chin along the jaw]. A lot of people have psychological problems, and they're the first to collapse. A boy from [a town in Tibet], he has a problem of the "heart", a psychological problem, and he was very thin. At first he fell two or three times every day but they didn't care. [...] Some monks had sacks put over their heads and they were taken away and didn't come back, so maybe they were killed.

"I met an old man, 65 years old, who had ribs broken and he was all bent over and he couldn't stand up straight, he was dying, so the police took him to People's Hospital, where one or two people die every day. The people who are taken to hospital are usually people who have been shot or beaten, and they usually die there.

"Many questions were asked of people who are not guilty of anything, they are just Tibetans. There are many counties in Tibet, they call the police from each county, and the people from the counties aren't in Lhasa so they show them that the prisons are empty, but they were taken to all kinds of places, because in Lhasa there are so many people watching so they keep everyone away. Now the monks from [a monastery in Tibet], friends and relatives, we don't know where they are. I want to write but there are guards everywhere. [...] You know that they say that there are no soldiers in Lhasa, but they're in civilian dress and they check identity papers.

"There are a lot of high school students from [a town in Tibet]. A 17-year-old who had not participated in the events of the 14th [of March], all his clothes were taken away, they tied his hands and they pushed a wagon at him until he fell, there are all kinds of torture methods. This kid was very young and he didn't even do anything. Afterwards he said that he'd done all kinds of things, that happens to a lot of people, they pressure people to admit things they never did. I met a monk from [a monastery in Tibet] before I was released [in April]. I am very worried about the monks. The soldiers regard the monks as something very different, because a monk from [a county in Tibet], his finger was bent over [shows a completely bent finger] and he'd been

blinded in one eye, he couldn't see out of it at all, he was beaten more than us but luckily. [...] Really I can't understand why they do terrible things to monks, very, very painful."

[The Tibetan's account confirms other information received by ICT that torture of monks is particularly severe. The Tibetan, who has now been released, continued]:

"I want to study more at home every day but I can't. When I watch TV, everything is lies, so it pains my heart and it's very bad. So I walk in the streets and I see the soldiers asking me for my identity papers, they look at my card and ask me, 'When were you born?' and if there's the smallest mistake you're finished. They check the picture and your face, but a Chinese person can pass right by [without identity papers], that's okay.

"When I was in prison, a Tibetan policeman told me 'Kneel down here!' I had my thumbs tied behind my back. He sat down [on a chair in front of me], put his foot on my head and kicked my forehead with his foot, pushed my head back and slapped my face over and over again, and I saw this man and I was very sad. He's Tibetan and now I see him every day, I've seen him many times since then, he's there at the station. A lot of Chinese and Tibetans jumped on my back and kicked me and beat me over the head, they twisted my head back so I couldn't see their faces, but to show me your face and to do those bad things — that's the worst thing.

"This is just an experience, I could learn a lot from it. In prison sometimes I dreamed about food and I remembered the food we cook at home, my mother and my sister's cooking and I could smell it, and then I really appreciated how tasty the food is at home. I usually eat everything and then I say 'That wasn't so good,' and now I've learnt that it's very, very good. These are the worst things that I've ever seen in my life, but you learn how to be a good person. Sometimes, when my sister's children are here, and they don't do their schoolwork, I yell at them and hit them. But now if I yell at them it pains me sometimes. I've learned a lot.

"I'm worried about the small Tibetan population. Many people are dying today or being crippled with broken arms and legs, and that's very bad. And people are in prison, like me, and I think about the people in prison all the time. I think about the terrible state they are in. Young people, 16 or 17 years old, crying all the time — it makes me really sad. I saw people with broken limbs and people who'd been shot — seeing their pale faces is very, very sad."

¹ The CECC political prisoner database, the most reliable source of data on detainees in Tibet, is available at www.cecc.gov

² 'Officials Report Release of More Than 3,000 of the More Than 4,400 Detained Tibetan "Rioters", CECC, July 9, 2008, www.cecc.org.

³ See endnote 2.

⁴ 'First sentences since Tibet protests began: monks to serve life, 20 years,' ICT, April 30, 2008, www.savetibet.org.

⁵ 'No death penalty handed down so far over Lhasa violence,' Xinhua, July 11, 2008, www.xinhuanet.com.

⁶ See endnote 2.

⁷ 'China: Tibetan Protesters Denied Fair Trial,' HRW, April 30, 2008, www.hrw.org.

⁸ 'People's Republic of China: Tibet Autonomous Region: Access Denied,' Amnesty International, June 18, 2008, www.amnesty.org.

⁹ Qinghai used to be known as 'China's Siberia', due to the large number of labor camps in the province

¹⁰This account was published in an earlier report by ICT: 'Climate of fear as Olympic torch arrives in Lhasa: Tibet government emphasizes political education to ensure 'stability' for 'sacred flame'; New images of Tibet crackdown,' ICT, June 20, 2008, [savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org).



Tibetan landscape in the Kham area of eastern Tibet, depicting a monastery and prayer flags in the foreground.

NEW KARDZE MEASURES: RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICE REMINISCENT OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

A translation of the new official ruling, introduced on p. 8, follows below.¹

Measures for dealing strictly with rebellious monasteries and individual monks and nuns

Order from the People's Government of Ganzi TAP, No.2

These measures were decided by the third work meeting of the standing committee of the prefecture People's Government and are effective from the day of their promulgation.

Head of prefecture: Li Zhangping, June 28, 2008.

In order to defend social stability, socialist law and the basic interests of the people, the measures listed below have been resolutely drafted for dealing clearly with participants in illegal activities aimed at inciting the division of nationalities, such as shouting reactionary slogans, distributing reactionary writings, flying and popularizing the “snow lion flag” and holding illegal demonstrations are listed below.

One: dealing strictly with monk and nun troublemakers.

1. In cases where those who have committed minor offences, show a good attitude in admitting their mistakes and submit a written statement of guilt, their head of household should be guarantor (that they commit no further offence), should keep them inside and ensure that they strictly follow re-education.
2. Those whose offences are greater but who are ready to admit them should, after undergoing re-education, make a sincere confession of guilt, give a voluntary account of the main points in their case and submit a written statement of guilt. Until they have done so, they will be held in custody doing re-education.
3. Those guilty of serious offences who show a stubborn attitude will be counseled strictly, given a warning, stripped of their rights as religious practitioners and expelled from their monasteries, and held in custody doing re-education.
4. Those involved in instigating splittism and disturbances, hatching conspiracies, forming organizations and taking a leading role will not only be strictly punished

according to law, but will have their rights as religious practitioners annulled, be expelled from their monasteries, and henceforth not be able to serve as religious practitioners, no monastery will be allowed to take them in, and should they do so, the heads of that monastery's management committee² will be held responsible for supporting and harboring splittists and dealt with severely.

Two: dealing strictly with troublemaking monasteries.

5. Those monasteries with 10%–30% of monks or nuns³ participating in disturbances will be sealed off, searched, suspect persons detained according to law and any banned items they have hidden shall be confiscated. All religious activities will be suspended, inmates will be prohibited from leaving the premises, and they will be cleaned up and rectified in the proper manner.
6. Monastery management committees with officials participating in disturbances will be rectified in a timely manner, and in cases where an overt incident has occurred, or where there are no suitable personnel available, the local government will depute officials to assume control of management. During the period of cleansing and rectification, the monastery's financial control and all other management functions will be suspended.
7. During the period of rectification, those monks or nuns who do not assist the work of the committee, who do not agree to be registered and photographed, who leave the monastery premises as they please and refuse to correct themselves despite repeated reeducation, will be completely expelled from the monastery, will have their rights as religious practitioners annulled, will be sent back to their native places, and their residential cells will be demolished. Monks and nuns returning to the monastery who cannot give a clear reason for having gone outside, who cannot make a clear stand with respect to the unification of the Motherland and rejection of the separation of nationalities will be expelled, and their cells demolished.
8. Monks and nuns at monasteries involved in disturbances must re-register, and their cells in the monastery must be collectively numbered. The limit on the number of monks or nuns allowed to join the monastery must be reduced in accordance with the number who participated in the disturbances and the number expelled. Monks and nuns who continue to profess splittism, who covertly assist or participate in disturbances, or refuse to comply with reeducation will be expelled.
9. The management committees of monasteries that do not improve following rectification, where monks and nuns go out again and make trouble, will be investigated, and in due course, according to law, they will be removed from the list of registered religious institutions and closed down.

Three: strict checking that the management committees fulfil their responsibilities.

10. Monks, Tulkus, Khenpos,⁴ Geshes⁵ and so on in the management committees of monasteries that, although not directly involved in disturbances, do not take a clear stand on the issue, do not fulfill their management responsibilities, are lax or implicated in instances of poor management, or fail to investigate and discipline monks and nuns who go outside and participate in disturbances must be subjected to careful scrutiny of their mistakes while undergoing criticism and re-education.
11. Management committee officials, Tulkus, Khenpos and Geshes who fail to make their attitude clear or take a two-faced stance will not only be strictly warned, but will be submitted to a detailed examination of their behavior in front of a general assembly of the monastic community, and obliged to give a written guarantee, and the giving of this examination and written guarantee will be shown repeatedly in newspapers and on television.
12. Management committee officials, Tulkus, Khenpos and Geshes who send secret reports or collude with foreign separatists, assist in disturbances, tolerate them, or incite others will be severely punished by law. In accordance with legal provisions, their political right of participation in government bodies, People's Congresses, People's Political Consultative Conferences and Buddhist Associations will be annulled, and all salaries paid for the performance of such various functions terminated. They will not be allowed to participate in religious activities with the rights of religious practitioners, and in the case of Tulkus, they will be stripped of the right to hold the incarnation lineage, and simultaneously the finances and financial management of monasteries under their control will be frozen and inspected, all instances of misappropriation of monastery funds or financial management contravening the regulations will be examined and dealt with according to law, as well as broadcast in prefectoral newspapers and on television.

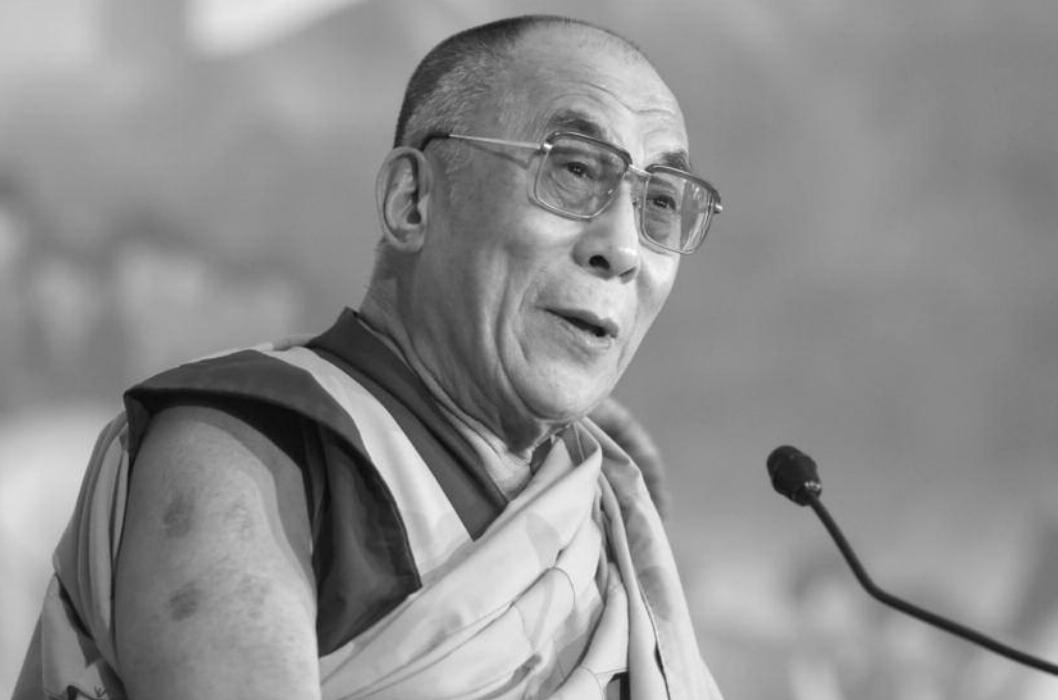
¹ The full text in Tibetan can be seen at: http://zw.tibet.cn/news/xz_news/ttxw/200807/t20080718_413324.htm

² This is a reference to Democratic Management Committees that run monasteries, which are composed of monks and nuns who have ostensibly been elected by other members of the monastic community, although their appointment needs to be approved by local government officials. DMCs are expected to serve the interests of the government and not those of the monastery or nunnery's population; the system is intended to supplant the traditional hierarchical layers of authority in Tibetan religious institutions.

³ The wording of this figure is unclear in the original Tibetan, and could possibly be referring to 10–30 monks, as opposed to 10%–30% of monks.

⁴ The title of a religious teacher.

⁵ Also the title of a religious teacher; a Geshe degree is the most advanced level of scholarship possible in the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism, typically requiring 20 years of intense study.



Nobel Peace Prize laureate the Dalai Lama. Tibetans have risked their lives in recent months to demonstrate that the exiled leader represents their interests, and not the Chinese state.

ICT RECOMMENDATIONS ON TIBET

THE UPRISING DURING THE SPRING OF 2008 and the continuing tensions in Tibet result from the failure of the government of the People's Republic of China to implement a system of genuine autonomy for Tibetans concurrent with its campaign to dilute the Tibetan identity and, in particular, to constrain the practice of Tibetan Buddhism, of which devotion to the Dalai Lama is an integral element.

A political solution is possible. Envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Chinese officials have been engaged in a dialogue since September 2002. Unfortunately, six years of sporadic dialogue have not progressed to substantive negotiations and have not met the expectations of the international community, including several heads of state, for meaningful progress towards a mutually-agreeable solution for Tibet.

The Tibetan position in the dialogue is that Tibetans be able to maintain their distinctive Tibetan identity into the future. Central to this position is the political right of autonomy provided to all Tibetans living in contiguous Tibetan areas, an area roughly defined by the geography of the Tibetan plateau, governed by a single administrative unit under a single unified policy. According to the Chinese government's own analysis of its law on regional ethnic autonomy, the Tibetan people are entitled to the full political right of autonomy:

- full decision-making power in economic and social development undertakings;
- freedom to inherit and develop traditional culture and to practice religious belief;
- freedom to administer, protect and be the first to utilize natural resources; and
- freedom to independently develop educational and cultural undertakings.

Given the disappointing results of the dialogue, the instability in Tibet and the unjustifiably and disproportionately harsh consequences for Tibetans involved in the spring 2008 demonstrations, and the intensification of Chinese government campaigns against the influence of the Dalai Lama, ICT offers the following recommendations:

For the government of the People's Republic of China:

1. Provide unimpeded access to Tibet for UN human rights experts and other independent observers to investigate the human rights situation in Tibet;
2. Release immediately and unconditionally all those detained solely for engaging in peaceful protest;
3. Provide an accounting of all who have been killed or gone missing and all those detained, including names, whereabouts and charges against them;
4. Ensure that all detainees have prompt access to family members and any medical treatment they may require, lawyers of their choice, legal documents in the Tibetan language, and that they are treated in full accordance with the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment, to which the People's Republic of China is a party;
5. Provide unrestricted foreign media access to all areas of China, including Tibet, in keeping with the "Free and Open Olympics" promised in the Beijing Olympic Action Plan; and
6. Allow an independent investigation of Chinese government claims that the Dalai Lama orchestrated the March 14 demonstration in Lhasa and seeks to disrupt the Beijing Olympics. The Dalai Lama has consistently stated that he supports the Beijing Olympics.

For other governments and heads of state:

7. Heads of state should not attend the 2008 Olympics Opening Ceremony, unless there is meaningful progress in the dialogue and efforts to address the crisis situation in Tibet. Those who have confirmed attendance should press Chinese President Hu Jintao for a commitment to meet face-to-face with the Dalai Lama;
8. Continue to work multilaterally for meaningful progress in the Tibetan-Chinese dialogue and consider the establishment of a Contact Group for Tibet as well as other means to enhance regular contacts, exchanges of views and coordination on Tibetan issues;

9. In addition to quiet diplomacy, recognize that assertive and visible engagement with the Chinese government can yield positive consequences and provide hope to Tibetans that a peaceful solution is possible;
10. Give political and financial support to programs that address chronic needs, as articulated by the Tibetan people, in such areas as education, work force development, environmental protection, and sustainable development; and
11. Adopt a common position that heads of state meet with the Dalai Lama as the pre-eminent Tibetan leader and also press for his participation in appropriate global forums.

For the international community:

12. Foreign broadcast and other media outlets should actively seek access to Tibet and Tibetans in order to provide the world an accurate portrayal of Chinese rule in Tibet.



Lobsang Tashi, a young monk, killed when Chinese forces fired on unarmed protesters near Kirti Monastery.

DECEMBER

A poem by Woeser

1. 'Hear ye! The big lie shall blot the sky,
 Two sparrows in the woods shall fall.
 "Tibet," he says, "Tibet is fine and flourishing!"

The furious girl will not bite her tongue.
 Everywhere the monastic robe has lost its color.
 They say, *It's to save our skin.*

But that one, oh,
 The steaming blood poured out, the hot blood!
 In the next life, who will grieve for him?

2. Stormclouds! Doom!
 In my mind's eye I see.

I know if I don't speak now
 I'll be silent forever.

Sullen millions,
 Lift up your hearts.

He was sacrificed once,
 That man of deep red hue.

But as the tree of life is evergreen,
 A soul is always a soul.

3. A worse defeat!
 Thousands of trees, blighted as never before,
 The little folk are quiet as a cricket in the cold.

The pair of praying hands
 Was chopped off
 To cram the bellies of kites and curs.

Oh, that rosary unseen,
 Who is worthy with a firm hand
 To pick it up from the slime of this world?

This preceding poem, like the one below, ‘Witness to a Turn of Fate,’ referencing the March 1959 Uprising, is reproduced with the kind permission of A.E. Clark, translator of the first collection of Woeser’s poems to be published in English, *Tibet’s True Heart*. The collection of poetry is published by Ragged Banner Press and available now online at www.RaggedBanner.com. In his notes to ‘December’, A.E. Clark writes that the political sensitivity of the topic of this poem, the controversy over the imposition of a Chinese Panchen Lama by the government and the abduction of the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the true Panchen, compelled the poet to use veiled language.

The translator suggests that “the two sparrows” who fall from their branches in the woods represent the two boys whose lives have been ruined in different ways; the ‘he’ of the third line is the Chinese government; the ‘furious girl’ is Woeser herself. “That one” whose blood pours out is “the man of deep red hue”, Chadrel Rinpoche, leader of the search party to find the Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima. Chadrel Rinpoche is still under virtual house arrest in Tibet. A.E. Clark also writes: “The pair of praying hands chopped off, which apparently dropped an intangible rosary, may also refer to the sufferings of Chadrel Rinpoche. Or it could refer to the interrupted lineage of the Panchen Lama and the challenge of maintaining the living traditions of Tibetan Buddhism when the leaders and institutions that sustain them are destroyed.”

WITNESS TO A TURN OF FATE

A poem by Woeser

Days and years, long time passing.
We seem to have reached the void. It is empty, hollow.

A turn of fate rolls on, it seems,
But there is fear and sorrow
Like a bird startled, or a rat retreating. Black clouds swirl.

Much happened that year. It’s faded from memory,
Gone with the wind, gone with the wind.
Life must go on. How can your land of snow
Survive a frigid winter?

In his notes on ‘Witness to a Turn of Fate,’ Clark writes “The word ‘lunhui,’ literally ‘wheel-turn,’ can refer to reincarnation as the order of the universe [...] or to one lifetime, or even a single moment if it is sufficiently significant. It is possible to interpret this poem as a reflection on the destiny of Tibet.” The line “Much happened that year” is possibly a reference to 1959, the year the Lhasa Uprising was crushed ad the Dalai Lama fled to India. In the line, ‘How can your land of snow/Survive a frigid winter?’, the ‘you’ may be the Dalai Lama. The collection of poetry is published by Ragged Banner Press and available now online at www.RaggedBanner.com.

The following song by the exiled singer Pubu Langjie was popular in Lhasa last year, and has suddenly become very popular again. A video of the song, featuring prominent imagery of the Dalai Lama and the 17th Karmapa can be seen on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kzbiKzTnPLg>.

TIBET, MY HOME

Originally entitled ‘Kowtow Thrice’

Tibet, my home; Tibetans, my people.

Even though I’ve acquired a degree of merit, it seems my fate is never to return.

Even though my body is elsewhere, my heart still reaches for you.

Oh, I take off my fur hat and prostrate thrice to you!

Tibet, my home; Tibetans, my people.

Just before my life completes, I will thrice pray before I leave:

If I return to this world, I hope to be born in my home, Tibet.

Oh, I take off my fur hat and prostrate thrice to you!

Acknowledgments

This report was written in-house by an ICT team in Washington, DC and London, together with colleagues in India and Kathmandu. Due to the political environment in Tibet and the restrictions placed on information-gathering and the expression of views, it is not possible to name many of our sources and advisors, particularly at this time. We are indebted to our Tibetan researchers in the field in India and Nepal for their dedication, determination, and provision of high quality information and analysis during a particularly difficult time. Very many thanks to A.E. Clark for letting ICT reproduce his translations of Woeser's poetry at the end of this report, and for his kind and invaluable help with the editing process, and to our designer, Bill Whitehead, for his expertise and patience.

The International Campaign for Tibet is a non-profit membership organization that monitors and promotes internationally recognized human rights in Tibet. ICT was founded in 1988 and has offices in Washington, DC, Amsterdam, Berlin and Brussels.

TIBET AT A TURNING POINT

The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown
©2008 by the International Campaign for Tibet

www.savetibet.org



1825 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, DC 20036
T +1 202 785 1515
F +1 202 785 4343
E info@savetibet.org

ICT-Europe
Vijzelstraat 77
1017HG Amsterdam
The Netherlands
T +31 (0)20 3308265
F +31 (0)20 3308266
E ict-europe@savetibet.org

ICT-Deutschland e.V.
Schönhauer Allee 163
10435 Berlin
Germany
T +49 (0)30 27879086
F +49 (0)30 27879087
E ict-d@savetibet.org

ICT-Brussels
11, Rue de la Linière
1060 Brussels
Belgium
T +32 (0)2 6094410
F +32 (0)2 6094432
E ict-eu@savetibet.org