

# **Tibet Protests in 2008-2009:**

## *Profiles of known Tibetans who Died in the Protests*

*Special Report 2010*



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# Introduction

This report attempts to reconstruct the events that unfolded over the past couple of years in Tibet which led to the death of Tibetans under the Chinese regime following massive protests that swept across the Tibetan plateau with pertinent emphasis being put to identify the details of people who have died and were killed in the events,<sup>1</sup> although it would be monumental task to find every plausible cause for a cross-section of Tibetans to rise up and criticize Chinese policies despite inevitable risks involved and imminent retribution for such activities that Beijing does not tolerate. The ingredients of the unrest that swept the Tibetan plateau were clear to all but an oblivious and unprepared Beijing government. The report attempts to focus more on the profile of the people who lost their lives in the protest demonstrations, died while in detention, under torture or for lack of timely medical attention.

The desperation of Tibetans living under the Chinese communist rule in Tibet has been documented for many years by Tibet Watchers, civil societies, scholars and journalists as well as repeated appeals by the Tibetan diaspora and their leader, the Dalai Lama. Some of the major grievances held by Tibetans are elaborate restrictions on religion and denunciation of their religious leader, an undisguised encouragement of Chinese migration to Tibetan urban areas, ban on criticism of most Communist Party policies in Tibet, economic marginalization of native Tibetans, appointment of ethnic Chinese to run the region,<sup>2</sup> forced resettlement of thousands of nomads without any prospect of sustainable future livelihood, obligatory moving of thousands of farmers from their native villages to new so called 'socialist villages' often at their own expense. Underpinning all of this is the deep sense of Tibetan-ness and their collective sense of themselves as a separate nation that was forcibly occupied.

China through new campaigns<sup>3</sup> and flawed government policies might have succeeded in subduing the people for the time being but at the same time it has given rise to a high level of resentment against these repressive policies which served as a latent potential for resurgent protests in the past years. Beijing has had 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 miserably failed. China has instituted increasingly hardline policies that undermine Tibetan culture and religion; the Tibetan people have been denied freedom of expression, opinion, assembly; 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. All this

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resulted in the Tibetan people reaching a breaking point. In risking their lives to make their feelings clear, from March 10, 2008 onwards, they propelled Tibet to the top of the international news agenda and forced the international community to view Tibet as not just a mere “Shangrila” but a more serious issue, that can be settled only through political means.

Unlike the previous revolt of 1959 in Lhasa and 1969 in Nyemo and armed guerilla attacks by exiles from their base in Nepal from 60's until 1974, the post Cultural Revolution protests in Tibet consisted mainly of street protests. The most prominent were six<sup>4</sup> major demonstrations that took place between 27 September 1987<sup>5</sup> and March 1989... a series of smaller demonstrations from 1989 to 1996. However, the Spring protest of March 2008 which lasted for more than two years and sporadic protests as reported over the past months were one of the longest running series of protests across the entire Tibetan plateau. It can be incontrovertibly said that the events of that day and days that followed constituted the largest Tibetan uprising since 1959. The most striking element of the protests across Tibet was their spontaneous nature, and the manner in which they completely defied a repressive regime supported by heavy military forces. Unlike the September 1987 protest in Lhasa, others that followed in subsequent years, year 2008 protests erupted across all traditional Tibetan areas in the neighboring provinces.

The two major series of protests-those of March 1989 and March 2008- led Chinese authorities to responses that were primarily military- culminating in the imposition of martial law for thirteen months in Lhasa from March 1989 under the then Chinese President Hu Jintao, who was the Party Secretary of the “Tibetan Autonomous Region” (“TAR”) and other Tibetan areas. From March 2008 and there is no sign of letup or military being taken off till today. The protests from 1987-1989 took place following a period of relative political liberalization after the Cultural Revolution, compared to 2008 protests, which happened in an atmosphere of already intense political repression.

While demonstrators in the late 1980s were primarily monks and some nuns, although many protests were joined by laypeople too, unrest since the spring 2008 had involved farmers, monks and nuns, nomads, university students, school children and laborers as well as intellectuals, expressing unified nationalistic sentiments, and similar slogans. The one prominent call was their wish for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

In the previous protest in Tibet way back in late 80's and early 90's, there had been little sign of involvement of the elite- officials, lamas, leading businessmen or intellectuals- in the protests. It was clear that members of these groups took active part in the 2008 protests, but initial reports of protest incidents were staged by monks of three

prominent monasteries and students, including at four of the five Nationality Universities (the special institutions designated by China for training the future elite from non-Chinese nationalities) which have Tibetan departments. It is clear that a very wide range of social groups and classes were represented in substantial ways in the unrest, and that there was a significant spread across Tibet, across space and class of support for the Dalai Lama and of belief in Tibet as a separate nation in the past. The use of mobile phones for text messaging and the internet has undoubtedly contributed to the spread of dissent across the entire plateau and to the momentum of the protests after the March 2008.

The year 2008 unrest in Tibet had a significant political impact. It paved an international perception of China as authoritarian at a moment when it seemed about to step beyond that at the Beijing Olympics in August 2008; it pushed the Tibet issue to near the top of the agenda in Sino-US and Sino-European relations, and it led to China dealing with Europe primarily through an interdiction on its handling of Tibetan issue. The unrest led to a major deployment of military or paramilitary presence on the ground in all Tibetan areas, a display of power that must have had a negative impact on local perceptions of the Chinese state.

### **A Brief event that led to the 2008 protest:**

Beginning on 10 March 2008, the 49th anniversary of 1959 Tibetan uprising against Chinese rule, a wave of protests by Tibetans swept across the Tibetan plateau. The cascade of Tibetan protest began in Lhasa, the capital city lead by the monks of Drepung Monastery on 10 March 2008, and then by the end of the March, had swept across much of the ethnic Tibetan areas outside “TAR” in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan which are home to millions of ethnic Tibetans.

On 10 March 2008, several hundred monks of Drepung Monastery in the outskirts of Lhasa, began a planned, peaceful march from their monastery into central Lhasa in an effort to draw attention to restrictions on their freedom of religion and with specific demands regarding the lifting of government controls over religious practices. They were reported to have been demanding the easing of the government imposed ‘Patriotic re-education’ campaign which subjects monks, among other things, to political classes, forces them to write denunciations of the Dalai Lama, and intensifies the presence of police monitors within monasteries. Halfway to Lhasa, the monks were stopped from proceeding further by Chinese armed police at a road checkpoint. A few monks from the group suspected to be the ringleaders were also arrested by Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials.<sup>6</sup>

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In a separate incident the same day, around more than a dozen visiting monks from eastern Tibet temporarily studying at Sera Monastery and lay persons, led a peaceful march from Tsuklhakhang Temple to Barkhor Street in Lhasa shouting pro-independence slogans, distributing pamphlets and raising the banned Tibetan national flags at Barkhor Street in Lhasa. All were arrested immediately by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials following a brief protest march on Barkhor Street - one of the busiest market areas around the city.<sup>7</sup> The arrested Tibetans were reportedly beaten severely and manhandled by the PSB officials. Shops and vendors in the area were ordered to shut down and police continued to patrol the streets.

Referring to the event of 10 March 2008, the then “TAR” Chairman, Jampa Phuntsog, declared on 11 March that the monks had been “persuaded” to return to Drepung Monastery, but rumours swiftly spread that at least some of them had suffered beatings and arrests and that Drepung was sealed off following the incident. Pictures of Drepung monks marching peacefully towards Lhasa city were widely reported in the international press and internet and referred to as the spark that triggered a chain reaction all across Tibet.

In addition to the protest at the Tsuklakhang by monks, another six or seven monks from Sera Monastery, who were demonstrating outside the Jokhang Temple in central Lhasa, were reported to have been surrounded by police. An eyewitness recounts how hundreds of lay Tibetans spontaneously formed a silent, peaceful, circle around the police. When more policemen started arriving and secret agents began filming, the crowd was dispersed. The monks who led the protest were rounded up and taken away. They were beaten, arrested 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 their monastery, which was also sealed-off. Sera Monastery remained closed. Journalists from the international media who visited Lhasa for the Olympics torch relay on 21 June reported meeting only a handful of monks at Sera, which was virtually empty, during a strictly controlled visit organized 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.<sup>8</sup> 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 Gaden Monks also staged a protest, resulting in a confrontation with security forces and blockading of the monastery. These blockades were so effective that accurate reports of events during March in all three of Lhasa’s major monasteries in Drepung, Gaden and Sera are unavailable. Hundreds of monks appear to have been arrested, although some have since been released, and those from areas of

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eastern Tibet outside the “TAR” are believed to have been sent back to their native places. 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, searching for unregistered monks and nuns and checking on residents with previous political records, as well as searching for images of the Dalai Lama. 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.

Similar protests were reported from Mangra (*Ch: Guinan*) County, Tsolho (*Ch: Hainan*) “TAP” Qinghai Province where about 137 monks of Lhutsang Monastery and over 200 laypersons marched towards the County seat.<sup>9</sup> On 12 March 2008, the Chinese authorities stopped issuing permits to journalists to enter Tibet and tourists in the city and surrounding areas began to be evacuated. In addition, numerous websites were blocked, television broadcasts censored, and mobile phone and internet access reportedly restricted and in some cases blocked.

Since then protests had spiraled out in other parts of Tibet. The turning point of the protest was on 14 March in Lhasa, when a scuffle ensued between the monks of Ramoche Monastery who were blocked by the security forces from proceeding with their protest that morning. The scuffle escalated into a major confrontation when local Tibetans joined in by pelting stones, setting fire to police vehicles and shops. The police cordoned off all roads leading out of and into Lhasa with armed paramilitary forces patrolling the streets.<sup>10</sup> There were reports of gunshots being fired to disperse the protesting crowd<sup>11</sup>. Around 25 deaths of Tibetans were reported from protests at Ramoche Temple, Jokhang Temple and Tromsigkhang Market with reports of hundreds of Tibetans injured.<sup>12</sup> However, Chairman of the “TAR” regional government, Jampa Phuntsok, told that no gunshots were fired.<sup>13</sup> During the 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.

The following morning, curfew was imposed in the entire Lhasa city and entry into city completely cut-off by positioning many new check posts at all entry points into the City. All roads and shops remained closed in the city with heavy presence of armored military vehicles and additional contingent of People’s Armed Police (PAP)-paramilitary troops sent into the city to prevent people from demonstrating again. The Chinese government quickly sealed off Tibet and Tibetan areas in the neighbor-

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ing provinces with thousands of PAP and PSB forces resulting in surrender, arrest and detention of more than 2300 Tibetans in the first month following the unrest.<sup>14</sup> Although the Martial law was not officially declared the situation had the presence of all its elements and it had been effectively imposed in all but name. However, the chairman of the “TAR” government said it was not under the martial law.<sup>15</sup>

Within days of the initial unrest in Lhasa, protests involving thousands of Tibetans spread quickly beyond the “TAR.” Protests were reported in over 42 counties throughout Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai provinces in which there are high concentrations of Tibetans. Many of these protests have involved thousands of individuals while others have been relatively small, consisting of several dozen protesters. Many of the protests appear to have begun as small, peaceful demonstrations by monks, who were in some cases then joined by other monks and larger number of laypersons. A protest by Tibetans in Amdo Labrang in Sangchu County, Qinghai Province on 15 March 2008, was started as a peaceful march of around 50 monks of Labrang Tashikyil monastery who were then joined by more than 500 other monks and hundreds of laypersons. There were reports of violence by protesters targeting government properties. In Ngora Township, Machu County, around 200 monks and civilians raised banned Tibetan national flag outside the government offices and burned the Chinese flag.<sup>16</sup>

The defining image of the protests came from Ngaba Kirti on 16 March 2008 when monks of Amdo Ngaba Kirti Monastery in Ngaba County (*Ch: Aba*) Ngaba “TAP”, Sichuan Province staged a peaceful protest carrying the banned Tibetan national flag, later joined by other laypersons shouting slogans. Within moments, the Chinese security forces burst into the monastery campus and used tear gas on the Tibetan protesters, while also blocking them from marching out of the monastery premises. Hundreds of people were injured in the incident following security forces crackdown on the protesters.<sup>17</sup> Fifteen dead bodies were brought into Ngaba Kirti Monastery. The bodies were brought in from protest scene. The images of dead bodies soaked in blood, riddled with bullets and in some with internal organs protruding out were splashed across in media as evidence of use of lethal force on the protesters. Initial reports in Chinese state media stated that the police had shot dead four ‘rioters’ when they opened fire ‘in self defence’, but later reports stated the four had just been wounded and ‘ran away with other mobsters amid the chaos’.<sup>18</sup> According to sources, at least “30 Tibetans fell” after armed troops shot indiscriminately into the peaceful Tibetan protesters. At least 23 people were confirmed dead following the Chinese Armed Police forces shooting.<sup>19</sup> In another incident at least three Tibetans were shot dead and another 15 injured on 18 March during a peaceful protest in Kardze (*Ch: Ganzhi*) county, Sichuan Province, when armed forces started firing live ammunition into the protestors. In a similar protest on 24 March in the same county, at least one person was shot dead and another left in critical condition when PAP forces fired into protesters. The state media reports stated that the police had been forced to fire ‘warning shots’ at protesters

who attacked with stones and knives. It mentioned that one police officer had been killed, but did not mention deaths of any protesters.<sup>20</sup>

In Lhasa, the Chinese authorities issued an ultimatum to Tibetans involved in the protests to voluntarily turn themselves in before midnight 17 March. However, even before the ultimatum was issued, the authorities had already begun mass arrests of Tibetans suspected of involvement in the protests, conducting house to house search and raiding many places. The state run official mouthpiece, Xinhua, stated that, over 170 Tibetans “surrendered”<sup>21</sup> in Lhasa city by 20 March, another 94 Tibetans “surrendered” in Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR,” according to Xinhua report dated 19 March 2008.

Many former political prisoners were reported to have been detained in the sweep including Ngawang Namgyal,<sup>22</sup> a former political prisoner and former monk of Drepung Monastery. He was taken from his residence by Lhasa PSB officers during midnight raid and detained on alleged charges of ‘inciting and supporting the Lhasa protest’.

On 20 March, the Lhasa City PSB has issued a “wanted” list of 21 people as the main instigators or offenders of the recent string of protests in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. Photo identities of 14 people including monks were issued. There has been no information whether they have been arrested or are still at large.

The official mouthpiece, Xinhua, also claimed that over 381 Tibetans have so far “surrendered” in Ngaba County (*Ch: Aba Xian*), “TAP”, Sichuan Province, after the issuance of “surrender notice” on 20 March 2008 which was jointly issued by the law enforcement authorities of Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) “TAP” Intermediate People’s Court, Procuratorate, and Public Security Bureau. According to sources within Tibet, many protestors especially the monks, who were involved in the peaceful protest in Ngaba County have fled their monasteries and home to avoid arrest by the security forces which have been hunting down the protesters and ransacking their homes at will. Many of people from the area were known to have disappeared since the protest broke out on 14 March.

**Areas:** Geographically speaking, the protest in Lhasa since 10 March gradually escalated into major unrest in Lhasa on 14 March. As a result of modern telecommunications, focused in several regions: in Kanlho, the sole Tibetan Autonomous prefecture in Gansu Province; in Rebkhong, in the Malho Autonomous Prefecture; similar reactive protest occurred also in the nomadic region of Golog, Tsolho, Tsochang and Jyekundo Tibetan autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai; in many parts of Kardze prefecture, Sichuan, particularly in Kardze itself; Lithang, Sertha, Nyarong, Drango and very strongly in Ngaba, Tibetan autonomous prefecture. In Central and western Ti-

bet, protest was concentrated in the Lhasa region with a few cases in Shigatse region, albeit on a very small scale. The most long-term restive part of Tibet was the Kardze region, which continued a long trend of protest all year long. The street protests were gradually swept with civil disobedience movements since March 2009 from Kardze. Tibetan farmers in Kardze region led a civil disobedience movement of “farming boycott”<sup>23</sup> thereby refraining from tilling their land and planting crops at the usual cropping time in defiance of the prevalent repressive policies being initiated and implemented by the Chinese authorities against the Tibetans and as a solemn gesture of mourning for Tibetans who were tortured, detained and imprisoned by the Chinese authorities. The farming boycott gained momentum in Kardze prefecture<sup>24</sup> as a form of civil disobedience and non-cooperation movement with Tibetans as they adopted the same passive strategy for the Losar boycott movement attempting to address the grievances that the “No Losar” did: the death and imprisonment of Tibetan protesters and crackdown since the protests in 2008.

This non-violent movement of boycotting farming was active especially in Kardze region of the Sichuan Province. Officials in Kardze, Drango, and Nyarong Counties in Kardze “TAP” issued notices warning farmers to resume normal farming activities<sup>25</sup> or face serious consequences like the confiscation of lands of those who refused to till their farms,<sup>26</sup> in some areas the Chinese authorities issued an ultimatum to the farmers to till their farmlands.<sup>27</sup>

The region of Kardze has been the most vocal in its resentment of and resistance to Chinese rule since 1950’s.

Peaceful Tibetan protesters shouted slogans calling for Tibet’s independence<sup>28</sup> and the swift return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet,<sup>29</sup> the release of Panchen Lama,<sup>30</sup> and freedom of religion<sup>31</sup> and human rights.<sup>32</sup> Due to the incendiary and anarchic character of the protest and subsequent blackout of information, the exact cause and course of events has yet to be established. According to official Chinese media reports, a total of 12 county level areas with rioting were registered. This Centre however, registered over 300 separate events of protests of different magnitudes covering 90 Counties during the year in the “TAR” and in the Tibetan areas outside the “TAR”<sup>33</sup> as well as in Chengdu (the provincial capital of Sichuan Province), Lanzhou (the capital of Gansu), and Beijing, where Tibetan students held a silent vigil for those killed in the crackdown. The Chinese state run media generally reported only the protests during which some Tibetans turned violent in order to give legitimacy to the subsequent crackdown that ensued, and characterized all of the protesters linked to such events as “rioters.” According to the official state media, Xinhua, 18 civilians and one police officer died as a result of the March rioting,<sup>34</sup> but Chinese officials have not yet provided information on deaths from indiscriminate firing from security officers, suppression and repression of civil liberties, including people’s right to freedom of expression, opinion,

assembly and movement besides other fundamental human rights.

It was impossible to cover each and every event and subsequent violations of human rights in this book due to the magnitude and scale of protests amid severe restrictions on the flow of information. However, the TCHRD has published a booklet highlighting the events that had unfolded in Tibet in chronological order for further reference.

## **Post Protest Period:**

Tibet has gone through one of the most difficult periods in recent times with massive deployment of armed security personnel and police forces thereby curtailing individual's fundamental human rights. Particularly, the major cities and towns in the "TAR" as well as the eastern part of Tibet which was one of the most restive areas in venting their emotions through series of protests. These Tibetan regions in Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai witnessed intimidating presence of convoys of military trucks with PAP, People's Liberation Army (PLA) and PSB personnel. Temporary new military camps and camouflaged bunkers were built around most restive places with frequent roadblocks to prevent the movement of people especially monks and nuns.

In the aftermath of the protest on the 14 March, Chinese authorities in the name of restoring order, resorted to such measures of brutal crackdowns as are reminiscent of the Martial Law period which was imposed in Lhasa on 8 March 1989 for 13 months<sup>35</sup> under the then "TAR" Party Secretary Hu Jintao, now the President of the PRC. These included arbitrary arrest and detention of thousands of Tibetans, unnecessary and excessive use of force, including lethal force, intimidation, shooting dead unarmed Tibetan protesters,<sup>36</sup> while many died as a result of beatings in custody, several monks and nuns committed suicide,<sup>37</sup> some were found in psychologically unstable conditions upon release.<sup>38</sup> The locking of monks and nuns inside their monasteries and nunneries,<sup>39</sup> imposing a strict and heavy police presence on all cities and most major towns of any significant size,<sup>40</sup> severely restricting travel within Tibet, and re-launching of "patriotic re-education" campaigns not only in monastic institutions but among the party members and general populace<sup>41</sup> were resorted to. Such actions by the Chinese security agencies not only contravene the International conventions that China has signed and ratified but also go beyond the general conscience of a civilized nation. In order to hide its violent crackdown in Tibet, particularly as it sought to project an image of stability and unity in the build-up to the Olympics, China sealed off virtually the entire Tibetan plateau-despite promising increasing openness prior to the Games in August. All journalists and foreign tourists were expelled from Tibet shortly after the protest cycle started<sup>42</sup> and a complete information blackout to control the flow of information into and out of the region without any outside observers was imposed. Although the "TAR" opened up to foreign tour groups on 25 June 2008,

according to an announcement in the official media, tourism is not in any way back to normal, despite official reports. The report of high restrictions on and closure of monasteries were reported after months of protest.<sup>43</sup>

The Chinese government instead of investigating into the root cause of protests of such magnitude responded with brutal repression and witch hunt and blamed the Dalai Lama and what it called the 'Dalai clique' for the protests and subsequent events that unfolded in Tibet like she did over the past without any credible evidence to support the claim. In the same vein, Chinese authorities chose not to acknowledge Tibetan dissatisfaction with its flawed government policies and malicious campaigns that have not delivered the rights and freedoms nominally protected under China's own Constitution and legal system.

The first high-level delegation of senior Party and government officials to Lhasa since the outbreak of the protest 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.

Even as protests continued to pop-up, the Party-state apparatus moved to restore "stability" by reasserting and strengthening the very policies that stoked Tibetan frustration in the first place. Chinese authorities had somehow managed to establish stability by means of an effective lockdown in Tibet with intense security presence. Stability was restored through the imposition of severe security measures on population subjected to severe restrictions on movement and communication.

## **The pattern of protest: plausible causes**

The unrest of 2008 differed from any previous phases of protest in Tibet if we follow the information that had reached the outside world. The scale of the protest that took place in Tibet in Spring 2008 was certainly unprecedented. Seen in the context of other sporadic movements in recent years, it appears to be part of a new, bolder phase in the expression of Tibetan discontent, characterized by a high level of coordination, awareness and communication skills enabling Tibetans to express their demands and project these internationally. This protest can be distinguished by involvement of a wide variety of people from different backgrounds. If we recap the incident in the past couple of years, the protest of such spontaneity, technology-led, grassroots movement happened in early 2006 when, responding to an appeal of the Dalai Lama for Tibetans to refrain from and shun the use of endangered wildlife skins, mass public fur burning ceremonies were held in most Tibetan regions.<sup>44</sup> These ceremonies were spontaneous

in the sense that they were not centrally coordinated or planned. They were nevertheless successful in their articulation of Tibetan political demands as protests met widespread Tibetan aspirations to express themselves, particularly following state-sponsored vilification of the Dalai Lama. The fur burning incident demonstrates Tibetans' steadfast and resolute loyalty to the Dalai Lama and the will of a broad section of the population not to leave the authorities solely in control of the representation of their opinions and concerns.

Further two examples of mass rallies took place during 2007 which responded to a similar pattern. In January 2007, a wave of mass prayers for the long life of the Dalai Lama swept across the Tibetan areas, following a resurgence of authorities' verbal attacks on the Dalai Lama. Though their nature were less visible than the fur burning incident, a symbolic gesture about environmental and wildlife issues in 2006 when Tibetans carried their renewed actions throughout Tibet and abroad not to use animal fur any longer in their traditional attires and costumes with setting bonfire to the previously owned fur which is considered as 'status symbol'. Another incident was when the Dalai Lama was awarded the US Congressional Gold Medal in October 2007, Tibetans expressed their pleasure at the news and their allegiance to their leader by staging spontaneous celebrations with prayer sessions, whitewashing the former residence of the Dalai Lama in Drepung Monastery and firework displays.

The "anti-Dalai Lama" and "patriotic re-education" campaigns antagonize Tibetans in general, but they are especially harmful to Tibetans who regard the Dalai Lama, in his capacity as the spiritual leader of the Gelug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, as their guide on the Buddhist path toward enlightenment. In the most ferocious attack on the Dalai Lama since China's era of economic reform began in 1978, the "TAR" Party Secretary Zhang Qingli, a Hu Jintao protégé who like his mentor served the Communist Youth League and gained field experience in Gansu province, described the Dalai Lama as "an evil spirit with a human face and the heart of a beast." The installation of Zhang Qingli as Executive Party Secretary of the "TAR" in November 2005, and then fully-fledged Party Secretary in October in 2006 appears to have been such a move, considering the reputation for heavy-handedness that he gained during his former posts, notably in East Turkistan or Xinjiang. Right at the beginning of his tenure, he led the "anti- Dalai Lama" campaign.

To further infuriate the deeply religious Tibetan people, new legal measures closely regulating monastic life in the "TAR" took effect in January 2007. Nationwide measures establishing state supervision of the centuries-old Tibetan tradition of identifying, seating, and educating boys whom Tibetans believe are reincarnations of Buddhist teachers took effect in September 2007. The government can use such legal measures to remold Tibetan Buddhism to suit the state.

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Part of the measures designed to secure Tibet are related to the aggressive launch across all sections of Tibetan communities of the “patriotic education” campaign for Party-led indoctrination. A renewed “patriotic education” campaign<sup>45</sup> was formally launched in Lhasa in April 2008, that was to last for 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. The campaign requires Tibetans 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]”<sup>46</sup> The report in the 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 10 March 2008, there has been intensified distrust of Tibetan Party members and cadres.

The “work team” of the campaign confronted monks, nuns, students, farmers and nomads with demands to sign or thumbprint statements denouncing the Dalai Lama, accept as legitimate the Panchen Lama installed by the Chinese government in 1995 and agree that Tibet has been for centuries a part of China. Monasteries believed to be the most loyal to the Dalai Lama were targeted with pre-emptive political ‘re-education’ sessions. Private homes deemed potentially ‘unpatriotic’ by local authorities were also subjected to sporadic raids in search of Dalai Lama photographs and recorded media, particular relating to the US Congressional Gold Medal awarded to the Dalai Lama in October 2007. There were reports of school students being made to write anti-Dalai Lama essays, and rewards were given for the most vilifying accounts. Such measures in fact backlashed in the form of stronger resentment towards the authorities, resulting in an accumulation of anger, which manifested itself across many aspects of daily life.

The events of 2006 and 2007 paved way for a new era in Tibetan dissent; a movement defined not by protest actions alone but by the efforts to communicate these actions to both local and international audiences. Political activists’ aims became both more realistic and more ambitious than in the past and strategies were far more sophisticated. During the peak of the unrest in Tibet, when foreign journalists were forbidden entry into the region, Tibetans inside Tibet disseminated news of events locally and abroad through mobile telephones in particular and also through internet. Ironically, Tibetans adopted the same technology, whose recent introduction into even the most remote villages was praised by the State as a step out of ‘backwardness’, for their agenda, challenging the Chinese authorities that had introduced them.

Many Tibetans inside Tibetan areas as well as in the mainland China posted first-hand information, photographs and video recordings; as a result the 2008 unrest were best documented in the recent history. The flight of the Dalai Lama into exile and thou-

sands of Tibetans who followed the footsteps of their leader sought refuge primarily in India, Nepal, Bhutan and later in the west thereby creating a network that connects them with their relatives or friends in their hometowns in Tibet. With the advent of cellphone and internet technology in Tibet, it allowed information to travel rapidly to these Tibetans or directly to human rights watchdogs and media. After constant media reports splashing stories from Tibet, there were reports of mobile telephones, laptops having been confiscated particularly during raids on the monasteries and threats of severe punishment for those who communicated information were only partly successful in containing the flow of information. The realization that in the age of modern communication a total news blackout is no longer possible led the Chinese authorities to reconsider their information policy and, in a calculated gamble, to proactively disseminate images of the protest, albeit selected negative ones. Although there were reports of Tibetans engaging in violent activities but that in no way represent the entirety of the demonstration, or the whole of what happened. But the Chinese state media, used a small fraction of video footage, only a few minutes of it, and replayed it over and again in an unprecedented manner. After the incident of violence, the Chinese state media painted the entire Tibetan ethnicity, in a manner that made it seem like the entire Tibetan ethnic group was beating up the Chinese people thereby increasing the level of Chinese (Han) nationalistic sentiment so much.

In China, an official reporting network was set up in Beijing by the dissident Tibetan poet and blogger Woeser and her husband, the Chinese writer Wang Lixiong, and scores of Tibetan intellectuals forwarded news from their areas that were checked and published on her site, [woeser.middle-way.net](http://woeser.middle-way.net). On the other hand the official media almost always responded usually within 12 hours, to any report in the foreign press of a Tibetan incident, usually confirming the outlines of the report but characterizing it differently. In one or two cases the official media pre-empted western publications. In two cases in Sichuan the reports stated that security forces had opened fire, but, except in one account that was withdrawn the next day,<sup>47</sup> they did not admit to any killings of protesters. Footage of protest in Lhasa and southern Gansu on 14 -16 March was broadcast on television in China, though only where it showed violence by protesters.<sup>48</sup> And for the first time there are a significant number of official reports of Tibetan unrest, including rural incidents. However, protesters were characterized in negative terms, but in doing so confirmed initial reports collected by human rights watchdogs and particularly by Woeser in her blog.

**Exile, Olympics and Dalai Lama:** China asserts that Tibetans in exile set out to encourage protest activity by Tibetans in Tibet in the run-up to the Olympics but have provided no evidence that links the Dalai Lama directly to such activities. Nonetheless, the Chinese government holds the Dalai Lama personally responsible for statements and actions of Tibetan groups that he does not seek to control and that do not seek to be controlled by him, that do not support the Dalai Lama's policies of seeking

genuine autonomy through middle way approach, and that do not have any previously-demonstrated capacity to exert significant influence on events in the Tibetan areas outside the so called “TAR”. In an official report given in Xinhua dated 2 April 2008, China’s Ministry of Public Security report “evidence” that “Dalai clique” had “masterminded” the March 14 riots in Lhasa, a charge that the government later expanded to include Tibetan rioting in other provinces on other dates. None of the alleged events that the Ministry of Public Security characterized as evidence showed a direct link to the Dalai Lama. As China’s Premier put it on 18 March, “this incident was organized, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai clique”<sup>49</sup> However, the Chinese government has not provided a convincing argument that the Dalai Lama or the “Dalai clique” manipulated Tibetans into protesting and rioting- Instead, credible analysis supports the observation that China’s policies toward Tibetans resulted in such actions. Stoking up of Tibetan resentment against Chinese policies that impact diverse areas of Tibetan life- religious and economic, urban and pastoral- shed light on why monks and nuns, townsfolk, and nomads risked participating in protests across a wide swath of the Tibetan plateau.

**Controlled Policy making :** Another aspect of plausible reason for Tibetans to rise up is Communist Party control over China’s legislative, governmental, and policymaking process, as well as contradictory provisions in Chinese laws and regulations, which support the government’s unrestricted ability to implement unpopular programs among Tibetans. A core failure of the legal framework is the weak implementation of China’s Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law, the state’s principal legal instrument for managing the affairs of ethnic minorities. It declares in its Preamble that the practice of autonomy conveys the state’s “full respect for and guarantee of ethnic minorities’ right to administer their internal affairs.” In practice, the rights of Tibetans to protect their culture, language, and religion, and to manage policy implementation on issues such as economic development and the environment, is extremely circumscribed, if not negligible. Instead, the government prioritizes economic development programs that drive economic growth at a brisk rate, such as Great Western Development, but the Han population benefits disproportionately because much of the funding is channeled into infrastructure construction and urban development.

On the other hand, the Chinese leadership’s refusal to recognize the role of Chinese policy in driving Tibetan into discontent, and their insistence on blaming the Dalai Lama, places the leadership in an increasingly risky position.

Despite the guarantee in the Chinese Constitution to uphold rights to freedom of expression and religion, the Chinese government tightly controls all religious activities in China as well as in Tibet and severely represses those perceived as politically dangerous. Often, this kind of repression is aimed specifically at the monastic communities, who are seen by the Chinese government as the primary cause of civil unrest in Tibet.

Majority of the political prisoners serving their prison sentences comprise of monks and nuns. Many of the spiritual leaders were forced to flee under threat of enforced or arbitrary detentions. The “Patriotic re-education” campaign’s official objective is to educate monks in patriotism but the real aim is to eradicate support for the independence movement mainly by forcing the Tibetans to denounce the Dalai Lama, their exiled spiritual leader and to deny the whole Tibetan tradition that goes with it. These patriotic re-education campaigns initially intended for the monastic communities and started in 1996 were heavily reinvigorated in the aftermath of major protests across Tibet since the beginning of 1 April 2008 for a definite period of 2 months and imposed on all sections of Tibetan society.

**Marginalization:** In addition to restrictions on their freedom of religion and culture, the Tibetans have suffered an evidently increasing marginalization in access to health care, to work and to education. The number of unemployed people in Tibet has increased considerably and been further exacerbated by a massive influx of Chinese migrants facilitated by the launch of Qinghai-Tibet railway in July 2007. This situation is further aggravated by the Chinese policy of forcing Tibetan nomads to abandon their traditional way of life for more sedentary lifestyles that they have never known and for whose inherent difficulties they find themselves seldom prepared.

This situation could only lead to the events of 10 March, with the Olympics Games creating an unexpected occasion to draw the international community’s attention to the ongoing crackdown in Tibet. Still, nobody could have predicted what followed the commemoration of the 49<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising in Lhasa on 10 March 2008. The surprise grew evermore pronounced when demonstrations quickly overwhelmed the traditional area of Lhasa and rose to a scale unprecedented in the history of Tibetan protests.

In most cases, the starting point of the demonstrations was a prayer session or a peaceful demonstration, primarily lead by monks or nuns and generally joined by civilians. Progressively, the movement incorporated all strata of Tibetan society, including students from middle school to universities students, religious institutions and civilians from small villages to big cities. The messages are similar in most of the cases: “long live the Dalai Lama; independence and freedom for Tibet; let the Dalai Lama return to Tibet; democracy and human lives are precious; Tibetans should be granted freedom and independence through peaceful dialogue; may the exiles and Tibetans inside Tibet be reunited...etc.”

The initial reaction of the Chinese authorities was surprisingly measured, but it rapidly became bloody and exaggerated. In the days following the protest, Tibet remained completely cut off from the rest of the world. Foreigners were expelled from the early days. Despite all the international calls, China systematically denied access to the

media and international observers in Tibet. Authorities took measures to prevent Tibetans from sharing information about the protests and their consequences including confiscating cell phones and computers in lockdown locations, interfering with internet access. However, China allowed three “guided tours” for a few selected international medias under strictly monitored and controlled conditions on 27 March in Lhasa, on 9 April in Labrang and on 3 June 2008 in Lhasa

**Death:** The Chinese state run media reported only the protests in which some Tibetans turned violent in order to give legitimacy to the subsequent crackdown that ensued, and characterized all of the protesters linked to such events as “rioters.” According to the official state media, Xinhua, 18 civilians and one police officer died as a result of the March rioting,<sup>50</sup> but Chinese officials have not yet provided information on the death from indiscriminate firing by security officers, suppression and repression of civil liberties, including people’s right to freedom of expression, opinion, assembly and movement besides other fundamental human rights.

**Disappearances and detentions amid climate of fear in Tibet:** The Centre documented numerous cases of enforced disappearance of Tibetans whose current whereabouts and wellbeing remains completely unknown to their family members, friends, close associates or their affiliated monastery since the protest broke out during the 49<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Lhasa uprising. In many cases, people were picked up from their residences in the middle of the night to avoid public glare; in other cases people were detained from their site of the demonstration and never has anything been heard about their whereabouts and conditions by their immediate family members or close associates. Monasteries have been encircled by armed soldiers, while thousands of Tibetans- farmers, nomads, monks, nuns, students, shopkeepers- have ‘disappeared’. Many Tibetans are being taken to prisons far from their homes and the families have no idea whether they are alive or dead.

According to the UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance,<sup>51</sup> an enforced disappearance occurs when “persons are arrested, detained or abducted against their will or otherwise deprived of their liberty by officials of different branches or levels of Government, or by organized groups, or private individuals acting on behalf of, or with the support, direct or indirect, consent or acquiescence of the Government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the persons concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of their liberty, which places such persons outside the protection of the law.”<sup>52</sup>

This heinous act<sup>53</sup> of enforced disappearance of persons infringes upon an entire range of human rights embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and set out in both International Covenants on Human Rights as well as in other major international human rights instruments. This can involve serious violations of the Standard

## *Official reports on arrest, detention, sentence and release during 2008 protest*

Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, approved by the United Nations Economics and Social Council in 1957, as well as the Code of Conduct for Law for the Protection of All Persons under Any Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 and 1988 respectively. Disappearance violates the right to a family life as well as various socio-economic and cultural rights.

Enforced disappearance is in contradiction to the essential value of one's existence, which is to live freely without discrimination, prejudices and harm. In Tibet there are people who are made to disappear for exercising their rights and for protesting against human rights violations. This act of enforced disappearance was done mostly in the context of a widespread and systematic way under a climate of impunity. Enforced disappearance does not only violate these basic human rights by physically removing a person from the protection of the law but it also denies the families of the disappeared persons the right to know the truth and to seek justice. This is a cruel practice which brings untold suffering to the victims as well as to the family members. In many cases the family members and close associates were only informed of their loved one during the final court sentencing which occurred months after their disappearance.

In majority of enforced disappearance cases that have taken place over the decades in Tibet, investigations have not been conducted. When the state fails to investigate this atrocious practice, it paves the way for an increase of serious human rights violations. The assurance of full reparation for the family members of the victims of enforced disappearance has never been done and it is out of the question for the Tibetans in the region.

### **Official reports on arrest, detention, sentence and release during 2008 protest:**

Chinese state media reports between March and April confirm the detention of 4434 people described as "rioters" who participated in protests in March. They had either been or had surrendered by 9 April in Lhasa, Gannan, Phenpo Lhundup County and Ngaba "TAP," but this figure does not include all Tibetan areas where protests took place.

To dissect the Chinese State media reports of total number of the Tibetans reported detained or surrendered: Firstly in Lhasa, a total of 1315 Tibetan people were detained or surrendered. Of these 953<sup>54</sup> were officially arrested and a total of 362 surrendered themselves.<sup>55</sup> According to the latest official revelation, from the total 69 were sentenced to imprisonment for committing crimes of arson, looting, obstructing government functions etc, while seven had been sentenced for committing crimes of treason

## *Tibet Protests in 2008-2009*

or illegally offering information to people outside China and eight were still under judicial investigation. The remaining 1231 suspects had redeemed themselves and had been released after receiving education and administrative punishment.<sup>56</sup>

In Kanlho (*Gannan*) “TAP”, a total of 2644 were arrested between 14 March and 9 April, of which according to official media reports a total of 2204<sup>57</sup> including 519 monks had surrendered and the police formally arrested 8 people and detained another 432. According to the official report dated 9 April, a total of 1870 of those detained or arrested were released including 413 monks.<sup>58</sup> In Ngaba County (*Ch: Aba*) Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, the official report cited the surrender of 381 Tibetans to the police,<sup>59</sup> while in Phenpo Lhundup (*Ch: Linzhou*) County, “TAR” 94 Tibetans surrendered.<sup>60</sup> The reports did not provide any detailed information about any of the detainees. Based on the 9 April<sup>61</sup> report and revelation by the Chinese at the UN,<sup>62</sup> the status of more than 1,269 of the persons who had surrendered or been detained remained unknown after official announcement of only 69 Tibetans having been sentenced so far.<sup>63</sup>

The admission of such a high number of Tibetan protesters being detained by the authorities is in itself revealing and we believe that the number could be much higher. The only official acknowledgement of arrests resulting from peaceful protests appeared in the official *Tibet Daily*, which reported 13 arrests stemming from a crowd shouting “reactionary slogans and [holding] a self-made banner of snow mountain lions to gather a crowd and stir up trouble”<sup>64</sup> - a reference to the detention of Sera monks outside the Jokhang Temple on 10 March.

According to official reports, 76 people have been sentenced in connection with the unrest in Spring 2008. Those convicted have received sentences ranging from three years fixed term imprisonment to life imprisonment and death penalty. Most of them have been sentenced for crimes described as “arson, looting, picking quarrels and provoking troubles, assembling a crowd to storm state organs, disrupting public service, and theft”.<sup>65</sup> Several International human rights watchdogs such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch had documented a pattern of unfair trials, including a failure on the part of the Chinese authorities to distinguish between individuals engaged in peaceful protests and those perpetrating criminal acts. At least seven people have been sentenced for “espionage” or “unlawfully providing ‘intelligence’ to an organization or individual outside of China” in Lhasa (Chinese: Lasa), capital of the TAR. One of them is Wangdu, a 41 year old former political prisoner and an HIV/AIDS activist. According to the Lhasa Evening News, he received a life sentence for “espionage”. Before he was sentenced on 7 November 2008, he was last heard of on 14 March 2008. At the time, Wangdu worked for an Australian medical research and public health organization.<sup>66</sup>

A group of lawyers from across China, who signed an open letter volunteering to defend Tibetans detained in connection with the unrest in Spring 2008, were warned by the authorities not to take up such cases. One of them, Teng Biao, had his lawyers' license revoked in May 2008 (in China, lawyers' licenses are subject to standard annual renewal<sup>67</sup>). According to official Chinese media, at least the first 30 Tibetans who were sentenced in connection with the unrest were represented by government appointed lawyers.<sup>68</sup> Some of the signatories to the open letter have questioned if the defendants received adequate legal assistance before and during their trial.

**Fatalities and official denial:** In the recent crackdown on Tibetan protesters, one of the key components has been minimal tolerance and deadly strikes in order to quell the mass protests. On several occasions the security officials have indiscriminately opened fire into peaceful Tibetan protesters which have resulted in the deaths of many innocent Tibetans. The 14 March Lhasa unrest resulted in the largest number of Tibetan fatalities reported for a single day.<sup>69</sup> The Chairman of the "TAR" government, Jampa Phuntsog, denied that security forces carried or used 'any destructive weapons' as they suppressed the unrest in Lhasa.<sup>70</sup> Chinese officials have not acknowledged the deaths of Tibetan protesters as the result of lethal force used by Chinese security forces.<sup>71</sup> Contrary to evidence from numerous and corroborated sources that the Chinese armed police had killed scores of protesters by opening fire. China claimed that any deaths that had occurred were due to "law-breakers" rather than police using disproportionate force against unarmed civilians. The state-run media has emphasized the consequences of Tibetan violence, especially the deaths of 18 civilians and 1 policeman in the March 14 Lhasa riot.<sup>72</sup> International media and non-governmental organizations also reported Tibetan violence, sometimes against ethnic Han and Hui individuals resulting in deaths in Lhasa.<sup>73</sup> On one occasion, "TAR" PAP Head, Huo Ya, during a meeting in Lhasa told that "March 14 riot" is an opportunity for its personnel for improving training and to show their dedication.<sup>74</sup> The PAP and PSB were in the forefront in carrying out violent crackdown on Tibetans.

**UN Observation:** The failure to launch official investigation into the death of Tibetans resulting from indiscriminate firing by the security forces into a crowd of largely peaceful demonstrators in Kardze, Ngaba and Lhasa has been highlighted by the UN Committee Against Torture in its observations.<sup>75</sup> In its conclusions the Committee demanded that China "*should conduct a thorough and independent inquiry into the reported use of excessive force, including against peaceful demonstrators and notably monks, in Kandze county, Ngaba county and Lhasa.*"<sup>76</sup> Incidents of Chinese security forces firing lethal weapons against Tibetan protesters took place on at least eight occasions outside the "TAR" area: On 11 March 2008 in Daocheng (Dabpa) county, Kardze "TAP", Sichuan province;<sup>77</sup> on 16 March 2008 in Ngaba (*Ch: Aba*) County, Ngaba Prefecture, Sichuan Province;<sup>78</sup> on 16 March 2008 in Machu (*Ch: Maqu*), Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province;<sup>79</sup> on 18 March 2008 in Kardze County, Kardze "TAP";<sup>80</sup> on

24 March 2008 in Drango County( *Ch: Luhuo*), Kardze “TAP”;<sup>81</sup> on 29 May 2008 in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”;<sup>82</sup> on 3 April 2008 in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”;<sup>83</sup> on 5 April 2008 in Tawu (*Ch: Dawu*) county, Kardze “TAP.”<sup>84</sup>

## **Patterns of rights violations**

The pattern of human rights violations share common characteristics with broader patterns of human rights violations in China. In Tibet, it is commonplace for Tibetans to be detained, arrested, imprisoned and tortured for exercising their rights to freedom of expression and opinion, and other rights intrinsic to the freedom of thought and religion. Security forces routinely resort to arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and torture in response to non-violent protests “including displaying the Tibetan flag or any other innocuous symbols of cultural identity.” Of all the human rights violations of Tibetans, the dramatic rise of religious repression has been the most concerning at the moment. As in the past years, the officials overriding suspicion of inter-linkage between Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan nationalism has led to harsher and stricter policies on religion by limiting and curtailing religious freedom in Tibet. Tibet’s irrevocable faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibet’s spiritual and political leader, is seen in Beijing as a rival center of power and thus, a direct threat to their authority in Tibet. Believing that religion is the operating principle of the Tibetan society and therefore, “a vehicle of Tibetan nationalism,” Beijing has systematically attempted to substitute Tibetan Buddhism with a state-controlled surrogate religious practice referred to as ‘normal’ or ‘patriotic’ religious practice. One of the most striking infringements on religious freedom in the recent years in Tibet was China’s State Administration on Religious Affairs (SARA), official issuance of the new 14-article religious regulatory measures on the selection of reincarnates which came into force from 1 September 2007.

The charges of “endangering state security”, “disrupting social order” and the term “terrorist organization” in China’s Criminal Law is not defined, thereby allowing a broad and ambiguous range of interpretation, including criminalisation of non-violent political protests in the politically restive regions like Tibet. China justified its repression of free speech under a broad interpretation of “national security”.

Despite the introduction of new temporary regulations for foreign journalists in 2007 aimed at increasing their freedom to cover news stories in China in the run-up to the Olympics,<sup>85</sup> many new measures were undertaken by the Chinese authorities in Tibet such as sealing off the entire Tibetan plateau from foreign journalists and visitors and obstructing and harassing foreign journalists who tried to cover stories deemed politically sensitive in China.

### *Anniversaries, Clampdown and civil disobedience movement in Tibet*

The Chinese government on the other hand transmitted the incomplete picture of the protests to the Chinese public thereby focusing largely on violence perpetrated by Tibetans. This is indication of both official government control over the domestic media and its intermittent censorship of broadcasts by the international media. Such control and censorship violates fundamental human rights to freedom of expression and the right to seek, receive and impart information.

The Centre has long documented reports of torture and other ill-treatment of Tibetans in detention, especially those detained for alleged 'separatist' offences, including Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns. Some of the recent cases include the following: Tibetans attempting to flee Tibet via Nangpa la pass were shot with automatic rifles leading to the death of 17 years old Kalsang Namtso and injuring 20 years old Kusang Namgyal in 2006; children detained in September 2007 for writing pro-Dalai Lama graffiti on a wall were beaten, with one 14 year old having to go to hospital for treatment for severe wounds received in detention;<sup>86</sup> Tibetan asylum seekers forcibly returned to China from Nepal in 2003,<sup>87</sup> they had been subjected to torture and other ill-treatment in detention, including being kicked, beaten, prodded with electroshock batons. In view of such cases there are serious concerns that anyone detained by the Chinese authorities in connection with the protests, whether peaceful or violent, may be subjected to beatings and other forms of ill-treatment. Such concerns are reinforced by many testimonies of police beating protestors while apprehending them

The Chinese political inference at all levels of the criminal justice system in China makes it most unlikely that those detained in connection with the current protests will receive a fair trial in line with international standards. Detainees are also denied essential elements of the right to fair trial due to ongoing deficiencies in the Chinese Criminal Procedure Law, such as a failure to give detainees prompt access to lawyers. Deficiencies faced by the Tibetan detainees in terms of resources within the criminal justice system, especially in relatively poor provinces of Tibet, Sichuan, Qinghai and Gansu, would also compromise any attempt to secure a fair trial for suspects.

### **Anniversaries, Clampdown and civil disobedience movement in Tibet:**

Judging from massive protests across the Tibetan plateau in 2008, the Chinese authorities were quick to step up more security measures during periods that bracketed a series of sensitive anniversaries and observances in February, March and October 2009. The Chinese government and security officials sought either to pressure Tibetans to participate in a publicly visible event such as the Tibetan New Year when Tibetans preferred not to celebrate or to prevent Tibetans from participating in a publicly visible event such as a political protest coinciding with anniversary when some Tibetans may have wished to rise up.

### *Tibet Protests in 2008-2009*

The Chinese state mouthpiece “Xinhua” on 4 February 2009 released a report concerning the stepping up of security restrictions in “TAR” and non -”TAR” regions of Tibet.<sup>88</sup> According to Xinhua report, the Security Department of the Central Government of China released an official paper titled “The Key Task To Improve the Overall Security Situation in 2009.”<sup>89</sup> The paper spelled out 33 Points to combat security threats. Out of the 33 Points, 15 points dealt with security concerns in the “TAR” and “Non-TAR” regions. Under such measures the state security forces transgress on many of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people.

The paper listed “Three Categories of People” as the most potent threat to overall social stability and security inside Tibet. They are as under:

- 1) Those individuals who took part in the last year’s protests and who were later released
- 2) Those individuals who illegally left and re-entered Tibet
- 3) Those monks and nuns who were expelled from monasteries and nunneries

According to Xinhua report, close surveillance, restriction and inspection were to be maintained on those Tibetans who fell under the “Three Categories of People” in all parts of Tibet. The paper endorsed the continuation of “Strike Hard” (*Ch: Yanda*) campaign in Lhasa city for an indefinite period of time. On the most significant note, “TAR” and non -”TAR” regions of Tibet were singled out as the principle target of the “Key Task” in the drive to maintain a high level of security presence and social stability in China.

Similarly on 4 February 2009, the Security Department of the Central government in Beijing issued terse orders to the regional government of “TAR” to step up unprecedented security restrictions and clampdown on any kind of untoward protest or demonstration should they take place. The order issued by the Central government was significant as the first anniversary of the last year’s pan Tibet protests and demonstrations drew near. Numerous check posts were installed on major roads, highways, streets and alleyways. There was intense restriction on the movement of Tibetan people. According to many sources, temporary police and military bases mushroomed up at important and strategic locations inside Tibet where protests and demonstrations previously took place.

### **Tibetan New Year**

The year 2009 coincides with numerous anniversaries and observances beginning with Tibetan New Year (Losar) which was on 25 February (Tibetans follow the lunar calendar) and 10 March 2009, which marks the 50th anniversary of the National Uprising

and the first anniversary of an unprecedented wave of overwhelmingly peaceful protests that swept across the Tibetan plateau. These were to be met by a brutal crackdown. In the weeks prior to the anniversary and the Tibetan New Year, the Chinese government stepped up levels of intimidation and adopted an increasingly harsh and systematic approach in silencing Tibetans and suppressing dissent, with the authorities calling upon officials, security forces and the general public to ‘crush’ any signs of support for the Dalai Lama.

The movement of monks and laypeople who were not residents in their regions of origin was severely restricted after the major protests and the same thing happened almost one year after the protests in 2008. The Chinese authorities began their preparations for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1959 uprising by “cleaning up” Lhasa of non-registered migrants.

Prior to the Tibetan New Year which was on 25 February in 2009, when some Tibetans chose to forego traditional celebration of the Tibetan New Year<sup>90</sup> to express their grief and dissatisfaction with the Chinese handling of the peaceful protests since March 2008, especially the death and imprisonment of Tibetan protesters and to show solidarity with the Tibetans who are suffering inside Tibet,<sup>91</sup> the Chinese government officials pressed Tibetans to celebrate the New Year in the usual manner.<sup>92</sup> As Losar approached the movement to boycott the celebration of Losar gained momentum and reached various parts of Tibetan areas and was matched by significant increase in the number of security forces sent to the Tibetan areas.<sup>93</sup> For instance, on 2 March 2009, the central government in Beijing issued 63 combat vehicles to Lhasa Public Security Bureau (PSB) Department with a directive that the 63 combat vehicles were to be distributed amongst the most sensitive and protests prone areas inside “TAR”.<sup>94</sup> Earlier the Chinese government issued special combat equipments to Lhasa Security personnel such as special gloves with sharp nails, tear gas, batons and laser torch to deal with protesters and demonstrators on the streets. In addition, a stipulated 42-day “winter Strike Hard” campaign was declared from 18 January 2009 in Lhasa city.<sup>95</sup>

Similarly, the non-”TAR” regions of ethnographic Tibetan areas such as Gansu, Sichuan, Yunnan and Qinghai reeled under an intense clout of security restrictions and repression. Unprecedented number of security and military check posts had been set up on major cross roads, highways and important streets.<sup>96</sup> The call for a boycott of Losar Celebration began several months before the New Year and gained footing among the younger Tibetans, intellectuals and dissidents as well as Tibetans living overseas.

In order to match the grassroots movement gripping the Tibetan areas, the Chinese government officials pressured Tibetans to celebrate the Losar in the usual manner. Nyima Tsering, Vice Chairman of the “TAR” People’s Standing Committee, at a February 10 press conference in Lhasa responded to “an underground campaign by some

secessionists to boycott the festival to ‘mourn the dead of 2008’ by advising that Tibetans proceed with Losar celebrations.<sup>97</sup> He further said that, “Tibetans are enjoying a good life now, there is no reason for them to forgo celebrating their traditional holiday this year.”<sup>98</sup> The authorities’ linkage of Losar boycott movement to a “campaign by some secessionists” put Tibetans in a difficult situation whereby they had to choose between celebrating Losar or face the possibility of punishment for what officials characterized as “splittism”, a serious crime under the Chinese Criminal Law.

### **March 10th Uprising Anniversary & heightened Security Measures:**

The 10<sup>th</sup> March anniversary in 2009 was of a key event as the day marked the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the popular Tibetan people’s uprising of 1959<sup>99</sup> and signaled the potential for renewed Tibetan protests - a possibility the Chinese security officials were determined to prevent.<sup>100</sup> The day also marks the first anniversary of the start of Tibetan protests the year before. Official acknowledgment of possible Tibetan protests was evident but officials sought to portray the situation as “stable” in most Tibetan areas.<sup>101</sup> The Chairman of the ‘TAR’ government, Jampa Phuntsog (Ch: Qiangba Puncog), referred on March 6 to ‘special days’<sup>102</sup> referring to the month of March and acknowledged that some individuals might make “reckless moves.”<sup>103</sup> He further said, “No extraordinary measures like the martial law will be enforced in Lhasa but the city will take usual, necessary security measures during the anniversaries of the riots in 2008 and the democratic reform that emancipated millions of serfs and slaves 50 years ago.”<sup>104</sup> The government officials blamed security risks and the possibility of disturbance from the Dalai Lama’s group and western groups of “Tibet Independence.”<sup>105</sup> Days prior to the 10 March anniversary, Chinese government officials publicly called for putting security measures in place to maintain stability in the “TAR”. Chinese President Hu Jintao while joining a panel discussion with the “TAR” deputies to the National People’s Congress called for the building of a ‘Great Wall of stability’ in Tibet prior to the 50th anniversary. He said that Central and local government must “reinforce the solid Great Wall for combating separatism and safeguarding national unity.”<sup>106</sup> This call for “a Great Wall of Stability” came days prior to ‘several sensitive dates in Tibet.’<sup>107</sup> Leqog, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the “TAR” People’s Congress confirmed the increase in the strength of the People’s Armed Police (PAP) in some parts of Tibet because of the ‘intensified secessionist activities by the ‘Dalai clique.’<sup>108</sup> The “TAR” PAP political commissar, Major General Kang Jinzhong said on 9 March that his troops were ‘ready to handle any infiltration and sabotage activities by the Dalai Lama clique and other hostile forces.’<sup>109</sup>

**Ahead of the anniversary the Chinese security forces across Tibet conducted extensive searches for “suspicious characters”.**<sup>110</sup> Mobile phone networks and internet servers were shut down so that activists could not organize any protest. According to the

South China Morning Post, police have not spared “a single hotel, guesthouse or local home” in the city.<sup>111</sup> Westerners, residents from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan had been banned, and even Tibetans from other parts of the region outside Lhasa. It was reported that anyone whose identification had not been issued by the local government was interrogated and even detained, according to local hotel and restaurant owners.<sup>112</sup> Major monasteries had been sealed and armed police were on patrol night and day. Roadblocks and checkpoints had also been set up across the city. Locals reportedly told that a protest involving dozens of monks broke out on 09 March 2009 around the Sera monastery. At least half the monastery was cordoned off and two military vehicles with up to 100 armed police deployed outside.<sup>113</sup> Fearful of a spasm of new unrest, the Chinese government shut off many ethnic Tibetan areas to foreign journalists and made scattered arrests of organizers of resistance campaigns.

For instance, Ragya Monastery, the most important Gelugpa monastery in the Golog region in Qinghai Province had been locked down and sealed by security forces from 10 March, after political leaflets were circulated and a huge Tibetan national flag was hoisted atop the main prayer hall of the monastery.<sup>114</sup> Several monks of the monastery were detained and the monastery had since been completely locked down. On 21 March security forces claimed to have found a Tibetan national flag and political leaflets in the room of a 28 year old monk, Tashi Sangpo,<sup>115</sup> who was among the monks who had earlier raised the banned Tibetan flag. The young monk escaped arrest by throwing himself into the Machu River, one of Tibet’s largest rivers which flow past the monastery, in an apparent suicide.<sup>116</sup> Security forces arrested 95 people, nearly all of them monks including the monastery prefect (*Tib: Gekoe*), Palden Gyatso. It was reported that seven military troop trucks arrived in Ragya, with more having been called in from Xining.<sup>117</sup>

On 27 January, Chinese police reportedly opened fire on a group of protesting monks at Derge Gonchen Monastery (western Kardze Prefecture) after Chinese government staff partied on the monastery campus (with women dancing around in monks’ robes) over the Chinese New Year. The incident occurred at a facility normally used for performance of the ritual “Cham” dances, which are a usual part of Monlam Chenmo.<sup>118</sup>

Similarly in 2009 the regional authorities named 28 March ‘Serf Emancipation Day’ to mark 50 years since the establishment of “TAR” under Chinese Communist Party rule and to “strengthen Tibetans patriotism and expose the Dalai Lama clique”.<sup>119</sup> March 28 was officially announced as a public holiday in “TAR”<sup>120</sup> which the exile Tibetan government termed as ‘offensive’ and ‘provocative.’<sup>121</sup> China’s state media heralded “Serf emancipation day” as the commemoration of one of the 20<sup>th</sup> century’s greatest human rights and anti-slavery milestones. The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the ‘TAR’ People’s Congress, Legqog described the setting of ‘Serfs Emancipation Day’ as “an important move to wage a ‘tit-for-tat’ struggle against the

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Dalai clique.”<sup>122</sup> Many Tibetans sought to avoid participating in an official holiday that celebrated China’s dissolution by proclamation of the former Tibetan government in Lhasa in 1959, but the Chinese officials staged closely-managed ceremonies anyway. The regional authorities, interviewed by Radio Free Asia, have acknowledged that Tibetans are reluctant to mark the day – yet the authorities are trying to force festive celebrations.<sup>123</sup>

The Chinese government and Party officials without judging the sentiment of Tibetans acted in a provocative manner at the time when Tibetans were yet to recover from the wound of last year’s crackdown by pressuring Tibetans to celebrate ‘Serfs Emancipation Day’ and the end of the Dalai Lama’s government whereas most of the slogans used by Tibetan protesters were a call for the return of the Dalai Lama to his rightful place. Contrary to the wishes of many Tibetans inside Tibet, Legqog said that Serfs Emancipation Day would “strengthen Tibetans’ patriotism.”<sup>124</sup> The “TAR” government announced “grand celebrations” of the day in Lhasa and Beijing.<sup>125</sup>

According to a media report, heads of all counties met prior to the formal announcement of the holiday and were forced to observe the day and to “ensure that all people mark the occasion with festivities,”<sup>126</sup> but Tibetans were unwilling to celebrate the anniversary.<sup>127</sup> There were a few reports on Tibetans protesting against the celebration of “Serfs Emancipation day.”

Around 300 Tibetans, including monks of Den Choekorling Monastery in Jomda (*Ch: Jiangda*) County, Chamdo Prefecture, “TAR,” led a protest demonstration at the government administrative office on 10 January in Jomda County, in an attempt to stop the local authorities from taking a Tibetan dance troupe to Lhasa to participate in the celebration of the “Serf Emancipation Day” on 28 March 2009. It was reported that two explosions had occurred near the government administrative building in Choekhor Township on 05 January 2009 causing damage to property but no casualties were reported. The authorities investigating were not able to arrest anyone in connection with the explosions. However, on 24 January Chinese authorities forcibly arrested and detained at least 7 monks<sup>128</sup> from Den Choekhor Monastery on suspicion of their involvement in the explosion and held them at Jomda county detention centre.<sup>129</sup> The abbot of the monastery, Tenzin Gyaltzen, also went missing and his whereabouts still remain unknown.<sup>130</sup>

It was described by the source of the report that government pressure to celebrate the day was “a deliberate attempt to humiliate the Tibetans who are not completely recovered from last year’s military crackdown.”<sup>131</sup> Later six out of the seven monks arrested were sentenced to varying prison terms by Jomda County Intermediate People’s court on 22 May 2009.<sup>132</sup>

## **Death Sentences and execution of Tibetans:**

The first public sentencing of convicted rioters in Lhasa took place on 29 April 2008 including participants in the Phenpo Lhundup and Toelung Dechen incidents. The Lhasa fast-track court, in a record one and half month's time, sentenced thirty Tibetans,<sup>133</sup> of which three Tibetans (Pasang, Sonam Tsering and Tsering), were handed down life imprisonment terms, between 15-20 years prison term to seven others, and the rest for terms ranging from three to 20 years<sup>134</sup> in connection with the riots in Lhasa and neighboring counties on 14 March in what is characterized the proceedings as an "open court session".<sup>135</sup> The actual trial proceedings had been conducted covertly on 21 to 25 April 2008. Clearly, the harshness of the sentences indicate that it is not a case of petty criminal activity only, but involves the larger issue of political dissidence, which the state media deliberately fails to mention. Hundreds detained after the protest were released without charge through late April 2008.

The Xinhua report stated, "Two men, including a Buddhist monk identified as Basang (Passang), who is from Toelung Dechen County (*Ch: Doilong Deqing*) received life sentences. Basang was accused of leading 10 people, including five other monks, to destroy local government offices, burn down shops and attack policemen... Of the five monks, two were sentenced to 20 years, and the other three to 15 years in jail."

"The other man who received a life sentence was identified as Soi'nam Norbu (Sonam Norbu), a driver for a Lhasa real estate company."<sup>136</sup> No details were given on the 10 other people sentenced. Similarly, on 19 and 20 June 2008, four local courts in Lhasa and the Lhokha (*Ch: Shannan*) Prefecture announced prison terms for another 12 Tibetans.<sup>137</sup> The identities of those 12 Tibetans were not disclosed in the report. None of the sentences involved accusations of manslaughter, indicating that the most severe sentences, possibly the death sentence, may still be forthcoming as evident by a state media report on 11 July, in which Executive Vice Chairman of the "TAR" Pema Trinley had stated that "another 116 suspects were on trial, it would be decided under Chinese laws whether some would be sentenced to death."<sup>138</sup> It is not known whether this comment of 'no death sentences have been carried out to date' 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. Earlier the provincial people's court (here "TAR" Higher People's Court) would have the authorities to sentence the defendant to death but after amendment to the Chinese Organic Law of the People's Court that came into effect on 1 January 2007, all death sentences should be reviewed and approved by the Supreme People's Court.<sup>139</sup>

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Judging from the State media reports over the series of protests in Tibet that portrayed the entire events in a bad light and the death sentences passed on Tibetans in April<sup>140</sup> 2009 and their execution in October 2009<sup>141</sup> it was shocking to hear the statement made by the court officials that the call for the execution of two Tibetans for committing “extremely serious crime and has to be executed to assuage the people’s anger.”<sup>142</sup> Despite repeated calls by the international human rights groups<sup>143</sup> and exiled government and parliament<sup>144</sup> to commute these death sentences, China went ahead with the execution of Tibetans on 20 October 2009.<sup>145</sup>

The victims were: Lobsang Gyaltzen, 27, from Lhasa, Loyak, 25, of Tashi Khang, Shol Township, Lhasa, Penkyi and an unidentified Tibetan who were executed in Lhasa on Oct 20. The Chinese state media confirmed the execution of only two Tibetans<sup>146</sup> whereas the Centre had earlier received information on the execution of four Tibetans.

A report indicates that Lobsang Gyaltzen was allowed a visit by his mother before he was executed. “I have nothing to say, except please take good care of my child and send him to school,” he was quoted as telling his mother.<sup>147</sup>

According to sources, the dead body of Lobsang Gyaltzen, from Lubug on the outskirts of Lhasa city, was handed over to his family and it was later known to have been immersed in Kyichu River.<sup>148</sup>

In mid April of the year, the National Human Rights Action Plan (2009-2010) of China released by the Information office of China’s State Council stated that death penalty shall be strictly controlled and prudently applied.<sup>149</sup> In December last year, China’s Supreme People’s Court issued a new regulation with 7 articles clarifying the conditions and procedure used to halt execution of death penalty.<sup>150</sup> However, the death sentences passed on Tibetan convicted in last year’s protest were denied even the basic due process although the Plan boasts of following stringent judicial procedures for death sentences and review procedure.

According to the Chinese official mouthpiece dated 8 April 2009, Lhasa Municipal Intermediate People’s Court sentenced two people to death (Lobsang Gyaltzen and Loyak), two to suspended death penalties (Tenzin Phuntsok and Kangtsuk) and another (Dawa Sangpo) to life imprisonment on charges of arson causing death.<sup>151</sup> The five were convicted of torching five shops in Lhasa, killing seven people, during the March 14 riot.

On 21 April 2009 the same court, according to the State media, sentenced three Tibetans (Penkyi of Nyemo County and Penkyi of Sakya County and Chime of Namling County) to suspended death, life and 10 years’ imprisonment respectively for setting

fires that allegedly killed six people in Lhasa last year.<sup>152</sup> The Centre is highly concerned about the fate of Tibetans who were on suspended death sentences.

The latest court sentence where Tibetan were given death sentence was on 25 May 2010 when Lhasa Intermediate People's Court sentenced Sonam Tsering<sup>153</sup> to death with two years reprieve under article 289 and 263 and the other five Tibetans (Tashi Choedon, Kelyon, Yeshi Tsomo, Tayang, Tsewang Gyurmey) to imprisonment terms between 3 to 7 years under Article 310 of the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China according to Lhasa Evening News.<sup>154</sup> The official media reported that Sonam was charged of rioting and inciting the public to riot on 14 March 2008. Sonam was arrested in mid October 2009, 17 months after the Uprising in Lhasa. He undertook leadership role in inciting hundreds of people in rioting by setting cars and shops on fire and overturning police vehicles. The other five Tibetans were charged of secretly hiding him by providing a hiding place to a wanted criminal and providing him help in escaping overseas. With the passing of death sentence on Sonam Tsering, a total of seven Tibetans have been given capital punishment and two actually executed.

There is no official information on whether they were adequately represented by a defense of their choice, whether they had an opportunity to challenge the evidence produced against them, or whether the defense could produce their own witnesses during the procedures. The Centre is aware that death sentences passed on Tibetans have been carried out without adequate legal oversight that the convicts were denied access to family and legal counsel and held incommunicado for a long period of time violating many basic human rights. Such violations of basic due process rights are chronic in Tibet. There is no information on whether the defendants appealed against their sentences to the Supreme People's Court after Lhasa Municipal Intermediate People's Court sentenced Lobsang Gyaltzen and Loyak to death on 8 April 2009.<sup>155</sup>

The secretive nature of the trial is particularly hard to justify for a number of reasons, not least that under Chinese law all trials are supposed to be open. One would have expected the presence of domestic and international observers, not to mention relatives. Yet, absolutely no information has been made public on the proceedings, leaving many fundamental questions about these important cases unanswered.

### **Political Interference in judicial system:**

*"China seeks to guarantee judicial independence and fair administration of justice through continued reform and improvement of its judicial system."<sup>156</sup>*

*—Ambassador Li Baodong, Palais Des Nations, Geneva, 9 February 2009*

*In the prevailing atmosphere where the State muffle the freedom of expression, opinion and*

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*restrict peaceful assembly, the temples of justice are virtually handicapped in delivering justice- with a series of political instructions given to the courts that practically nullify the possibility of a court adjudicating fairly and impartially in cases of Tibetans involved in protests. Zhang Qingli, the “TAR” Party Secretary on 17 March 2008, urged that there be “quick arrests, quick hearing and quick sentencing”<sup>57</sup> of the people involved in last year’s protests that shook the entire Tibetan plateau. Under such circumstances where political directives to the court take precedence they become an inherent circumvention of guarantees for a fair and impartial trial.*

The criminal justice system remained highly vulnerable to political interference. The courts, (procuratorate) the prosecuting organ, and the police remained under the supervision of the Chinese Communist Party. The authorities continued to use broad and vaguely defined provisions of criminal law relating to state security and “state secrets” to silence dissent and punish human rights defenders. The government of the PRC should reform its procedures as recommended by the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) Working Group in February this year that calls for numerous reforms including reform in the state secret law and definitions of crimes such as “incitement to subversion of state power” or “leaking state secret.”<sup>158</sup> Under the prevalence of such broadly ambiguous law provisions, the state law enforcement agencies abuse the law by harassing, detaining and arresting of human rights defenders who exercise their fundamental rights in a peaceful manner. Many Tibetans charged under “subversion to state power or espionage,” leaking “state secrets” etc. received unfair trial and were not given the protections afforded to other criminal suspects as stipulated in criminal procedure law provisions such as access to legal counsel, family and open trials.

The government failure to distinguish between peaceful protesters and those committing acts of violence is highly regrettable. Article 103 of the Criminal Law sets forth the crime of “inciting separatism and harming national unity,” which is overtly interpreted by the authorities as precluding any written or oral advocacy of self-determination, including, in the case of Tibet, calls for the return of the Dalai Lama, and display of the Tibetan flag.

The centre has recorded cases which indicate that the authorities have clubbed non-violent expression of political opinion and violent protests under the label of criminal separatist activities. Such failure to differentiate between the two raises serious doubts about the validity of the characterization of “criminals” of an unknown proportion of protestors detained, sentenced and suggests clear-cut human rights violations in a number of cases.

In the past there was sufficient evidence that proved that the right of the defendants to be represented by the lawyers of their choice was ignored by the judicial authorities. For instance, a group of prominent Chinese civil rights lawyers issued an open letter

offering to provide legal assistance to the Tibetan detainees.<sup>159</sup> “As professional lawyers, we hope that the relevant authorities will handle Tibetan detainees strictly in accordance with the constitution, the laws and due process for criminal defendants,” the letter said. “We hope that they will prevent coerced confessions, respect judicial independence and show respect for the law.” It was shocking what happened after the lawyers volunteered to provide legal assistance. The judicial authorities in Beijing threatened to discipline these lawyers and suspend their professional licenses unless they withdrew their offers of assistance. The Chinese authorities claimed that the Tibetan protesters were “not ordinary cases, but sensitive cases” and asked law firms to dissociate themselves from the individual signatories or to terminate their employment. With such high politicized background, Tibetan defendants accused of having participated in the protests stand little chance of benefiting from meaningful legal representation and the due process of law to which they are entitled under Chinese Criminal Law.

Similarly a Chinese organization consisting of lawyers and academics called “*Gongmeng*” referred to in English as the “Open Constitution Initiative” that advocates the rule of law and greater constitutional protections published a report in 2009. The report criticised the Chinese government’s policy towards Tibet, alleging that propaganda is being used to mask failings in its Tibet policy, such as ethnic inequality and creating “an aristocracy of corrupt and abusive government officials”<sup>160</sup> It has been regarded as a more balanced view of the situation in Tibet and has had approval circulating through discussion websites in China, though the Chinese government has yet to comment.<sup>161</sup>

On 14 July 2009, the organization was fined at a stunning 1.46 million RMB. On 17 July 2009, officials from Beijing’s Civil Affairs Bureau declared the organization “illegal” and shut it down.<sup>162</sup> The week before, the Beijing Justice Bureau had posted on its website a notice revoking the licenses of 53 lawyers associated with the group. On 29 July 2009 Xu Zhiyong was arrested on charges of ‘tax evasion’<sup>163</sup> and subsequently released on bail on 23 August 2009.<sup>164</sup> His administrative assistant, Zhuang Lu is reported to have disappeared, possibly held in a detention house in Beijing.<sup>165</sup>

Regarding China’s claim of guaranteeing legal rights and representations for Tibetan detainees, China fails to provide full information, including of those Tibetans outside the “TAR” who have been sentenced. The direct threats imposed on Chinese lawyers who volunteered to defend Tibetan detainees show the very discriminatory nature of the legal system of Communist China. It should be understood that this legal system is politically motivated against Tibetans who engage in political activities, because the system is maintained to safeguard the interests of the Communist Party of China.

In fact in all cases, there was absence of due process as required under international laws in a state with a rule of law such as filing of documents, engaging independent lawyers, case verification, consultation from both parties, non-extraction of confes-

sion through torture, etc. The purpose and nature of courts in Tibet obviously is only to provide a legal rubber stamp on pre-concluded convictions without the basic concept of ‘innocent until proven guilty.’

For example, in July 2009, in two independent cases the Chinese authorities blocked Beijing based lawyers from representing a Tibetan filmmaker<sup>166</sup> and two Tibetan monks.<sup>167</sup> In Qinghai province, court officials told lawyer Li Donyong that he would not be allowed to defend Tibetan documentary producer Dhondup Wangchen who was sentenced to six years imprisonment for the crime of “subverting state power” after a secret trial by the provincial court in Xining, Qinghai Province on 28 December 2009.<sup>168</sup> Wangchen had interviewed Tibetans on their political views for the film “*Leaving Fear Behind*” and was arrested in March 2008. In a separate case, lawyer Li Fangping was prevented from representing two Tibetan monks from Labrang Monastery in Gansu province who were arrested after taking part in a political protest. Tsultrim Gyatso<sup>169</sup> and Thabkey Gyatso,<sup>170</sup> were recently sentenced to prison terms of life and 15 years respectively for “splitting the country.” The lawyer Li said that, “*The authorities not only refused my request to meet those two men, they also refused my involvement in the case by saying they already had lawyers. They effectively denied the families’ rights to independently hire attorneys.*”<sup>171</sup>

## **Torture and death of Tibetans**

*“They would hang me up for several hours with my hands tied to a rope. . . . hanging from the ceiling and my feet above the ground. Then they would beat me on my face, chest, and back, with the full force of their fists. Finally, on one occasion, I had lost consciousness and was taken to a hospital. After I regained consciousness at the hospital, I was once again taken back to prison where they continued the practice of hanging me from the ceiling and beating me”<sup>172</sup>*

It was not the first time that the use of torture for and inhuman treatment of the Tibetan protesters came to be known; rather subsequent years since March unrest in Tibet have witnessed, one of the most ruthless suppressions of the Tibetan people by the Chinese security agencies. Except for a couple of isolated cases, the protests were by and large very peaceful conforming to non-violent standards. However, the authorities’ brutality and use of force were far disproportionate to the threat posed by peaceful protesters. The Centre registered at least 135 known deaths of Tibetans as a direct result of armed retaliations by the law enforcement agencies during and after the protests. In few cases the number of death were reported without being able to identify the death person.

The People’s Republic of China (PRC) signed and ratified the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment CAT on 12 December 1986 and 4 October 1988 respectively. Yet, torture and ill-treatment

continue to be endemic and a regular feature in the Chinese administered network of prisons and detention centres across the Tibetan plateau. The Centre is particularly concerned about the treatment of hundreds of Tibetans detained as a response to the protests in Tibet. Torture and ill-treatment tend to flourish in an environment characterized by secrecy, lack of transparency, failure to respect fair trial rights and lack of accountability; such conditions were fertile for the high prevalence of torture ever more in Tibet after the unrest. In order to hide its repression in Tibet, Beijing sealed off virtually the entire plateau to foreign journalists and observers and imposed information blackout despite promising increasing openness in the buildup to and after the Olympic games.

Recently China issued new rules that make it clear that evidence with unclear origins, confession obtained through torture, and testimony acquired through torture and threats are invalid in criminal prosecutions and such evidence would be thrown out in death penalty cases that are under appeal.<sup>173</sup> This is the first time that Beijing has explicitly stated that evidence obtained under torture or duress is illegal and inadmissible in court. The government issued two new sets of procedures- the first covers evidence in cases subject to the death penalty and the second governs evidence obtained under duress in all criminal cases. However, recent cases illustrate that convictions in the Chinese court system are strongly dependent on confessions, motivating police forces to use torture. For instance, Karma Samdrup, a Tibetan environmentalist once praised and named philanthropist of the year in 2006 by state broadcaster CCTV, was sentenced to 15 years in prison, deprivation of political rights for five years and fined 10,000 yuan on flimsy charges of grave robbing and dealing in looted antiquities.<sup>174</sup> In his statement to the court, he said that during months of interrogation, officers beat him, deprived him of sleep for days on end, and drugged him with a substance that made his eyes and ears to bleed, all part of an effort to force him to sign a confession. His wife Dolkar Tso estimates he lost at least 40 pounds in police custody. This latest case highlights official rampant use of torture to extract confession despite the official pronouncement of a new regulation to invalidate such evidence. Such continued used of torture and ill-treatment in the conviction of suspects calls into question the efficacy of the new regulation.

Torture, inhuman and ill-treatment of prisoners are common and widespread in Tibet and China. The use of electric prod, pricking cigarettes on the body, beating, hand or thumb cuffs, feet manacles, aerial suspension of prisoners by wrists, ankles, thumbs for hours, exposure to extreme temperature, long period of solitary confinement, sleep deprivation, violent beating, forced labour and forced exercise drills are a few of the commonly used techniques employed by the Chinese authorities from the time of arrest to the detention centre and to imprisonment. Such abuses are most prevalent at the initial stage of detention when the intention is to extract confessions from detainees or suspects.<sup>175</sup> Those held in detention are particularly vulnerable as they are ques-

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tioned without the presence of lawyers, are denied the right of an accused to remain silent during the investigation phase and at trial and suspects are frequently held incommunicado for long periods of time.

The existence of this cruel practice is in many ways the result of a tyrannical system that persecutes those who exercise their fundamental human rights in a peaceful manner. Although the PRC has signed and ratified the Convention Against Torture, yet the Chinese government has made use of the provision under article 28 of the Convention to declare that they *'do not recognize the competence of the Committee Against Torture to investigate allegations of widespread torture within their boundaries.'* And the PRC government does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of article 30 of the Convention. Also in the article 43 of the revised Criminal Procedure Law states that, "the use of torture to coerce statements and the gathering of evidence by threats, enticement, deceit or other unlawful methods are strictly prohibited." Yet the recent testimonies<sup>176</sup> have exposed a stark contrast to the prevailing laws. Torture is still used for the purpose of extracting confessions, defeating Tibetan prisoners' nationalist spirit, intimidating prisoners and causing humiliation and mental trauma to affect the prisoners for the rest of their lives.

China's legal definition of Torture is much narrower than that of the CAT and does not include all elements of the definition as articulated in the Article 1 of the CAT, which states that, "For the purposes of this Convention, torture means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions. (Emphasis added.)"

Specifically, Chinese law fails to define torture as clearly including severe mental pain and suffering; the Chinese definition only recognizes torture when it is practiced by specific officials (members of the judiciary and guards at detention facilities), at particular locations (official detention facilities) for particular purposes (extracting confession or witness testimonies). Excluded from the definition is the use of torture outside of official detention facilities, for purposes other than those stated in the Regulations, and by other public officials such as members of Public Security Bureau (PSB) and People's Armed Police (PAP). Neither is torture by individuals acting at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of public officials and hired thugs, is considered torture in Chinese law.

The specific provisions of the State party's *Penal Code* cited in its Fourth Periodic Report (paras 134 and 135) do not set forth a definition of torture that fully complies with the definition detailed in the CAT.

Article 247 of the Chinese Criminal Law (CL) prohibits several offences related to the prohibition of torture, including extortion of a confession from suspects or defendants under torture by a judicial officer, as well as extraction of testimony by violence from witnesses through the use of force by the judicial officers,<sup>177</sup> however, it provides only for prosecution of 'judicial officials' for these offences, and not other, broader categories of personnel such as PSB and PAP, whereas Article 248 of the Criminal Law prohibits physical abuse of detainees and prison inmates and the instigation of detainee-on-detainee violence by an officer of an institution of confinement, such as a prison, detention centre or custody house. These two articles prohibit only the use of force or physical abuse and do not prohibit infliction of mental torture. These two articles provide a category of personnel thus potentially excluding from prosecution of individuals who might be in a position to inflict torture or other ill treatment.

There are many legal and procedural loopholes for the rampant use of torture in China and Tibet. At the root of the high prevalence of torture is a lack of effective restraints on the coercive powers of law enforcement agencies. This has several causes, including the priority given to political considerations over the individual rights and the lack of genuine independent oversight or check on the agencies. The Criminal Justice system remains highly vulnerable to political interference. The police, procuratorate and courts are not independent and remain under the supervision of the Chinese Communist Part (CCP). Political consideration can often affect the outcome of the individual cases, including whether or not to investigate and punish alleged acts of torture or other ill-treatment. This is apparent in the politically-sensitive cases, including those which challenge vested interests at either the local or national level. This lack of independence also compromises the effectiveness of channels of complaint with regard to allegations of torture or other ill-treatment. In the cases which are deemed politically sensitive, the authorities continue to use broad and ambiguously defined provisions of the Criminal Law relating to 'social stability' or 'state security' as a political tool to silence dissent. Articles 102, 103, and 105 under the section Crimes of "Endangering National Security" of the revised Criminal Law, refers to broad and ambiguously defined crimes of 'splitting the State', "undermining the unity of the country", "subverting State power", or "overthrowing the socialist system". This year alone many Tibetans who were sentenced under such provisions were in fact peaceful protesters detained in violation of their rights to freedom of expression but many Tibetans were in fact convicted under the charges of "endangering state security, "espionage", "inciting splittism" etc.<sup>178</sup> They are at high risk of torture or other ill-treatment during detention and imprisonment. The Criminal Procedure Law (CPL) gives police broad discretion to detain suspects for long periods in pre-trial detention.

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Detainees' access to their families and legal representatives is limited, discretionary and conditional. Under the CPL the police should inform the family of a detainee about their detention, arrest and place of detention within 24 hours, except where it "would hinder the investigation."<sup>179</sup> However, in practice, communication with the family is frequently denied until the detainee is brought to trial or sentenced. In the case of Tibetan detainees since the protest, many of them were detained incommunicado for a long period of time. In some cases the whereabouts of detainees came to light only when brought to trial in the court for sentence. For example, Norbu Tsering, arrested on 18 March 2008 for his participation in the protest in Kardze "TAP" Sichuan Province, was held incommunicado and there was no information on his whereabouts until his court trial on 30 October 2008 at Dartsedo. He was sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment by Kardze Intermediate People's Court in Dartsedo (*Ch: Kangding*) Sichuan Province.<sup>180</sup>

The CAT requires states to make torture illegal and provide appropriate punishment for those who commit torture. However, in Tibet and in the mainland China torture takes place unabated amidst a political culture of impunity. As terrible as the physical wounds are, the psychological and emotional scars are usually the most devastating and the most difficult to repair. A subtle form of mental torture is being used on prisoners in Tibet. Some debilitating symptoms of psychological torture include: sleeplessness, headache, fatigue, chronic musculoskeletal pains, gastrointestinal problems, neurological disorders and sexual dysfunction. The long term psychological effects of torture may be manifested by symptoms such as post traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, alcoholism and substance abuses. Disturbing cases of suicides due to excessive mental humiliation and psychological trauma continue to surface.

Over the past years, since the protest broke out on 10 March 2008, the Chinese government has engaged in a comprehensive cover-up of all information on the torture, disappearances and killings that have taken place across Tibet, to the outside world. On the international stage, China has subverted and politicized international forums where its human rights record has been challenged and refused to answer legitimate questions from governments and civil societies about the use of lethal force against unarmed protestors, or about the welfare of individual detainees.

There is also rampant misuse of administrative detention, lack of fair trials, torture and mistreatment of prisoners, and coerced confessions. Of the numerous reports of torture of Tibetans, a few prominent cases of death as a result of being subjected to excessive brutality in custody have reached the outside world. These are not isolated incidents; many other deaths following torture have occurred, but full details are often not known.

One of the most vivid testimonies of torture was given by Jigme a.k.a Jigme Guri of Labrang Monastery who was nearly tortured to death by the Chinese security forces after his detention. According to Jigme, “After keeping us at the detention center for a few days, they took us to the jail. At the prison, the soldiers commanding us in Chinese ‘one, two, three’, as some of us could not understand Chinese, they scolded us - they would call us “animals”, “fools”, and beat us with batons. When we asked why they were beating us, they replied, “you people cannot understand Chinese language and mock us.” My question is: In the Charter and Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, it is enshrined that, in the regional areas of different nationalities, the language of that particular nationality is to be used and that the regional nationality must be given the right to govern. Then why is it that, in the Tibetan areas, instead of using Tibetan language, Tibetans are not only verbally abused as “animals” and “fools” but are physically beaten just because they do not understand the Chinese language?”<sup>181</sup>

He went on to elaborate on the inhumane treatment and torture he had undergone, “There is no differentiation on the basis of one’s actions or age. For instance, monks as young as fourteen and fifteen and as old as sixty and seventy were arrested. No difference is made whether they are involved in protests or not. We had no clothes on our back nor shoes on our feet. Two monks would be tied together and put in the vehicle to be driven away. They are thrown in the vehicle like you would throw logs of wood. Even if some of them had their heads injured, and for some, their hands broken, they were all taken to the prison. Relatives or friends were not allowed to bring food, clothing or beddings. We had to huddle together to bear the cold. The reason why we were so severely beaten is solely because we are Tibetans. For that we feel extremely sad.”<sup>182</sup>

It is extremely rare to get video footage on Chinese brutality caught on tape from Tibet. However, the recent videotapes smuggled out of Tibet show violent scenes from the March 2008 unrest in Lhasa, Tibet. These footages are the clearest evidence of how Tibetans were subjected to police brutality. In the seven-minute video it shows extremely rare and shocking footages that confirm the worst fear about the horrific pain and suffering of Tibetans inside Tibet. Chinese police kick, drag and throw the defenseless Tibetan protesters and monks with hands tied behind their backs and they can only curl in an attempt to resist beatings and growl in pain as police beat them.

The treatment of the captives violates international norms and amounts to torture. Such visible evidence amply proves the use of brutal and excessive force against Tibetan protesters and it flies in the face of the Chinese government statement that disproportionate force was not used on unarmed protesters.<sup>183</sup> China has repeatedly denied any brutality in Tibet or that any disproportionate force was used on unarmed protesters and it angrily rejected a call from the United Nations last November<sup>184</sup> to clarify the measures it took in the wake of the riots in March. It accused the UN of “prejudice against China”<sup>185</sup> and of fabricating evidence to “deliberately politicize the issue”.<sup>186</sup>

### *Tibet Protests in 2008-2009*

Another segment of the video shows gruesome images of a young Tibetan by the name of Tendar, a staff of China Mobile Company who was brutally beaten and later suffered inhuman treatment at the hands of Chinese authorities on 14 March 2008. . He was reportedly fired at, beaten with an electric baton, burned with cigarettes, and his right foot was pierced by a nail. The wounds and the bruise marks visible on his body are a testimony of the brutality he was subjected to by the Chinese authorities.

He died due to injuries sustained from torture on 19 June 2008. The video shows him after being brought to the “TAR” People’s Hospital. His body is covered with rotting wounds from lack of proper treatment. The hospital removed 2.5 kg of decaying flesh. When his corpse was offered to the vultures (sky burial) according to tradition, a nail was found in his right foot.

The video footages were uploaded on popular video-sharing website “YouTube”. Three days after the official release of the video footage,<sup>187</sup> YouTube was blocked in China, apparently to block the footages appearing on the site showing brutal beating of Tibetan protesters by Chinese police officers in Tibet. Google confirmed that its YouTube video-sharing website had been blocked in China.<sup>188</sup> This blockage was not for the first time. China routinely filters Internet content and blocks material that is critical of its policies.

Two nuns from Lamdrag Nunnery who staged a peaceful protest on 24 March 2009 at the Kardze County main market by distributing handwritten pamphlets were beaten indiscriminately with rods and electric batons before being thrown into and driven away in a security vehicle.<sup>189</sup> One of the nuns, Yangkyi Dolma later died under mysterious circumstances on 6 December 2009 at Chengdu hospital months after their detention.<sup>190</sup>

A monk of Drepung Monastery, Kalden (32), who participated in 10 March 2008 protest led by monks of the monastery died in mid August 2009 allegedly from torture.<sup>191</sup> His whereabouts remained unknown to his family members as well as to close associates for more than a year until his death in August. He died in a detention centre in mid-August 2009, due to a prolonged period of confinement, torture and maltreatment. His corpse was handed over to his distant relatives in Lhasa City in mid-Aug 2009.

**Tabey**, a monk from Kirti Jopa Monastery in Ngaba County, Sichuan Province attempted self immolation. He was seen by eyewitnesses falling down “after hearing three gun shots”. He sustained severe gun injuries on both of his legs, apart from severe burnt injuries. While nursing his injuries, the Chinese officials explained to his mother about the need to amputate his legs, which was strenuously resisted by Tabey himself. This move was considered as authorities’ attempt to hide and cover up the

irreversible injuries inflicted on his legs by bullets. The official Chinese news agency, Xinhua, confirmed that a protest took place<sup>192</sup> and that a monk was taken to a hospital to be treated for burn injuries. The Chinese authorities later denied the shooting.<sup>193</sup> There has been no further information available on the condition of Tabey and his whereabouts.<sup>194</sup>

**Jigme Gyatso a.k.a Golog Jigme**, a 39-year old, who assisted Dhondup Wangchen for filming amazing documentary showing the true life of Tibetans in Tibet in “*Leaving Fear Behind*”, was arrested on 23 March and his friend on 26 March respectively. Jigme was severely tortured after his arrest. He was temporarily released from Kachu (*Ch: Linxia*) prison on 15 October 2008 and is back in his monastery in Labrang Tashikyil in Gansu Province. Jigme, after his release, was told by the authorities that he will be under observance and his probation will last one year. During his detention the interrogators beat him continuously and hanged him by his feet from the ceiling for hours and kept him tied for days on the interrogation chair. During the interrogations he fainted several times due to the beatings.<sup>195</sup> The severe beating stopped after the May 12 Sichuan earthquake and there was noticeable improvement in his treatment after 11 August. Their crime was to film Tibetans’ peaceful expression of their views on the Beijing Olympic Games.

**Lobsang Thabkhey:**

On 1 April 2008, seven monks<sup>196</sup> were arrested from Labrang Monastery in Sangchu (*Ch: Xiahe*) County, Kanlho, “TAP” Gansu. After several days’ detention, 30 year-old Thabkhey was released in a mentally unstable condition due to indiscriminate torture inflicted on him by security forces while in custody. Use of torture was evident from bruise marks from beatings all over his body. It also implied that other monks were also brutally tortured in police custody.<sup>197</sup>

**Tsering Tsomo**, 27 year old nun of Samtenling a.k.a Watak Nunnery in Drango County, Kardze ‘TAP’ Sichuan Province was savagely beaten by the Chinese security forces who surrounded her and pounded her with iron rods, kicked and punched her indiscriminately for staging a peaceful solo protest in Drango County on 8 June 2008.<sup>198</sup> The news of her arrest led to further protests by fellow nuns who took out a peaceful march to show their solidarity and support; however, they too were not spared with security forces using brute force. Electric prod and iron rods were used on the peaceful protesters, severely injuring scores of them. Ten protesters were seriously injured and were taken to a nearby hospital for treatment. Scores of protesters were detained by the security forces and taken away in waiting military trucks to the County Detention Centre. In addition, the family members and relatives of those injured and hospitalized were not allowed to meet their loved ones.

### *Tibet Protests in 2008-2009*

The treatment of the captives violates international norms and amounts to torture. Such visible evidence amply proves the use of brutal and excessive force against Tibetan protesters and it flies in the face of the Chinese government statement that disproportionate force was not used on unarmed protesters.<sup>199</sup> China has repeatedly denied any brutality in Tibet or that any disproportionate force was used on unarmed protesters and it has angrily rejected a call from the United Nations last November<sup>200</sup> to clarify the measures it took in the wake of the riots in March. It accused the UN of “prejudice against China”<sup>201</sup> and of fabricating evidence to “deliberately politicize the issue”.<sup>202</sup>

Officials from the Chinese Communist Party have repeatedly denied that torture was used in Tibet. In November 2008 when the U.N. panel released a report on the use of torture on Tibetans by Chinese police, the Chinese Foreign Ministry called the reports “untrue and slanderous” and accused the committee members of being “prejudiced” against China.

The UN Committee Against Torture (UNCAT) in its concluding observations (CAT/C/CHN/CO/4) on the fourth periodic report of the PRC on the implementation of the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment released on 21 November 2008, delivered a damning assessment of China’s record on torture. The Committee recommended to the PRC to probe the deaths of Tibetans killed in the spring 2008 protests in Tibet and to adopt measures to prohibit and prevent enforced disappearances and to provide information on the fate of missing persons including the XIth Panchen Lama- Gedhun Choekyi Nyima.<sup>203</sup> The Committee also asked China to ensure that all persons detained or arrested in the aftermath of the Spring 2008 events have “prompt access to an independent lawyer, independent medical care and the right to lodge complaints free from official reprisal or harassment.”<sup>204</sup>

The report “identified three over-arching problems, which, collectively, stood in the way of ensuring the legal safeguards that the Committee generally recommended to all States parties to the Convention as necessary for the prevention of torture: there are the 1988 Law on the Preservation of State Secrets of the PRC; the reported harassment of lawyers and human rights defenders; and the abuses carried out by unaccountable “thugs” who used physical violence against specific defenders but enjoy de facto immunity.”<sup>205</sup>

Notwithstanding the entry into force of China’s revised Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Law<sup>206</sup>, police, prison guards, and other security officials routinely torture Tibetan detainees, particularly, those held for political crimes.<sup>207</sup> China delegation chief at UN, Li Baodong, defended himself against allegations of torture submitted by various human rights defenders before the UN Committee Against Torture, by saying

China had “zero tolerance”<sup>208</sup> for torture and about the reported brutal physical and mental treatment of the detainees.<sup>209</sup> The Chinese Representative to the UN even stressed that that China had been conducting various awareness-raising and training sessions for law enforcement and judicial officials and the perpetrators were punished.<sup>210</sup> In fact most of these perpetrators enjoy impunity for their acts. The widespread use of torture and ill treatment of detainees in Tibet is corroborated by numerous reports and pictures produced in the interviews with Tibetan refugees who suffered torture.

Government personnel as well as by persons affiliated with or working on behalf of the state routinely employ all these torture methods to such a wide extent that their practice must be considered systematic. Despite recommendations made by the UN Convention Against Torture in May 2000, which were reiterated by the Special Rapporteur on Torture following his mission to China in November- December 2005,<sup>211</sup> many aspects of current Chinese law still provide fertile grounds for torture.

A monk of Drepung Monastery, Kalden (32), who participated in 10 March 2008 protest led by monks of the monastery died in mid August 2009 allegedly from torture.<sup>212</sup> His whereabouts remained unknown to his family members as well as to close associates for more than a year until his death in August. He died in a detention centre in mid-August 2009, due to a prolonged period of confinement, torture and maltreatment. His corpse was handed over to his distant relatives in Lhasa City in mid-Aug 2009.

A 33-year-old Choephel from Meruma Township in Ngaba County was detained by the Chinese security forces during a raid on his home following a massive protest in the county on 17 March 2008. He was beaten black and blue with rifle butts resulting in serious injuries to his left eye and head. He was sentenced to 4 years in jail for his participation in the protest last year. His family members during a meeting in January this year came to know that his left eye had gone blind from the injuries he sustained during the police beating.<sup>213</sup>

Around fifteen Tibetans protesters<sup>214</sup> “were brutally beaten, manhandled and forcibly loaded into military trucks by the Chinese PSB and PAP forces. Many were badly bruised and injured with blood dripping from their nose, head and arms.” All were detained by Lithang County security forces after they staged a peaceful protest in Lithang County on 16 February 2009.

## **Lack of timely medical care for injured had led to the death of Tibetan after the protest**

This phenomenon has been there in Tibet over the years. Many of the detainees have faced torture and ill-treatment including beatings, refusal of medical treatment, inadequate food and overcrowded conditions in prisons. There has been a call by the international communities during the peak of unrest in Tibet when hundreds of Tibetans were injured during the protests by security forces gunshots, beatings and from torture and ill-treatment during detention and interrogation. There were reports of Tibetans having succumbed to their injuries due to lack of immediate medical attention. Following are a few examples:

Pema Tsepak died on 23 January from injuries he suffered at the police detention centre when he was arrested on 20 January 2009.<sup>215</sup> He was detained with two other men. He was so severely beaten that his kidneys and intestines were badly damaged. He was initially taken to Dzogang County hospital, but they could not treat him, and they took him to Chamdo hospital instead where he succumbed to his injuries sustained from beatings by Chinese authorities.

The following account has been given to the Tibetan language program of Radio Free Asia on 14 April 2008 by an unnamed Tibetan caller. ([www.rfa.org](http://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 protesters 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.

“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.”

*Lack of timely medical care for injured had led to the death of Tibetan after the protest*

Palkho, female from Ngaba County who took part in a peaceful protest on 16 March 2008 along with monks of Ngaba Kirti Monastery was shot leaving seven people dead and hundreds of protesters injured after PAP crackdown. Palkho sustained bullets injuries from police firing and died on 22 March 2008 due to lack of medical care. Those who accompanied her to the hospital were arrested.<sup>216</sup>

## **Death due to Torture during the Unrest:**

Tibet has witnessed one of the highest number of deaths from torture in the bracketed years since March 2008 to 2009. In some cases Tibetans have died as a direct result of torture whilst in custody of the law enforcement agencies and while others were released in their near death condition from torture in order to shun responsibility. TCHRD has documented numerous cases of death of Tibetans from torture. Following are a few examples.

**Nechung:** 38-year-old Nechung, a mother of four children died days after being subjected to brutal torture in the Chinese prison. She hailed from Charu Hu Village in Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province. After participating in peaceful protests on 16 and 17 March 2008 in Ngaba County, she was arrested on 18 March for allegedly being the first person to pull down the doorplate of the Township office.<sup>217</sup> On 26 March 2008, she was released from the prison in a critical condition after spending nine days in prison undergoing brutal torture at the hands of prison guards. There were bruise marks on her body, she was unable to speak or eat properly, constantly vomiting and had difficulties while breathing. After the release, her relatives immediately took her to the County government hospital for treatment. However, the County government hospital refused to admit her to the hospital for timely medical treatment, apparently under influence and intimidation of the local authorities. After remaining in critical condition for 22 days without medical treatment she died on 17 April 2008 in an abject state of neglect and apathy of local authorities. Even after her death, the authorities issued a terse warning to Tibetan monks for offering prayers and ritual rites for the deceased soul.

**Dawa:** a 31 year old farmer died on 1 April 2008 after being subjected to brutal torture by Chinese prison guards. A resident of Dadrong Village, Jankha Township, Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa City, “TAR,” Dawa was arrested while participating in a peaceful protest in Phenpo County on 15 March 2008. During two weeks of detention in prison, he was subjected to torture by the prison guards. When it became evident that his health was failing, the prison authorities quickly released him on 27 March 2008 under the pretext of medical treatment in order to shun responsibility for his death. At the time of release, his health was already in a very critical condition. After spending four days in hospital, he died on 1 April 2008.<sup>218</sup> Adding insult to

injury, the authorities charged the deceased's family with a fine of 1000 yuan (US \$125) for causing destruction to public property and bringing damages to economy.<sup>219</sup>

**Paltsal Kyab**, (age around 45) a Tibetan from Sichuan province, died on 26 May 2008, five weeks after he was detained by police in connection with protests which had taken place in and around Tibet since mid-March 2008. According to eyewitnesses, severe injuries to his body suggested that he had died as a result of brutal torture in police custody.<sup>220</sup>

His family had no news of his situation until 26 May when two Charo Township authorities informed the family of Paltsal Kyab's death. According to witnesses who saw his body: the front of his body was bruised and covered with blisters from burns; his back was also bruised without a single area of natural skin tone; bruising was also evident on his wrists, elbow joints, just below his shoulders, his biceps and forearms.

Five Tibetans were confirmed to have died as a result of beatings and torture either during or in the aftermath of China's brutal crackdown on Tibetan protesters. They were denied medical attention. The five victims were identified as Sonam Phuntsok and his wife (unnamed), Jampa Lhamo, 45, from Chamdo, Tenzin Norbu from Lhasa, Ngawang Tsering from Markham. Of these, Sonam Phuntsok died as a result of head injury sustained during the torture by prison officials and his wife who was blind also died of head injury. Both spent their last twenty years begging near the entrance of Ramoche Temple, in Lhasa, which was one of the hotspots for political demonstrations on 14 March this year. Jampa Lhamo from Chamdo "TAR" was reportedly tortured since her detention on 29 March and released in critical condition due to torture. She succumbed to injuries on 28 November at her home. Tenzin Norbu from Meldrogungkar County, Lhasa, was arrested in March and underwent inhuman torture during detention. His body was later handed over to his family. Ngawang Tsering from Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture, "TAR" died as he was denied urgent medical attention under pressure from authorities while in hospital.<sup>221</sup>

### **Suicide from Psychological trauma due to torture:**

The definition of torture under the Chinese Criminal Law is bereft of and does not recognize psychological torture such as sleep deprivation, lengthy interrogation sessions, threatening individuals and safety of individual's families, solitary confinement as torture. These methods of torture are widely used for they leave no apparent physical trace, thus rendering it more difficult for the victim to collect evidence to seek legal redress. Suicides resulting from unbearable mental torture have been recorded in the past. As a direct consequence of relentless oppression by the Chinese security forces, many anguished Tibetans attempted to<sup>222</sup> and others took the drastic step of commit-

ting suicide to rid themselves of persistent physical and mental torture.<sup>223</sup> Suicide is one of the gravest forms of sins violating the cardinal precepts of the Buddhist doctrine.

In the last couple of years the Centre recorded a disturbing trend of suicide even by monks who were known for their patience and resilience in the face of adversity. Such cases are a clear indication of Tibetan monks being pushed to the extreme limits of endurance and helplessness in the face of oppression and repression by the Chinese authorities in Tibet. One such instance was on 19 March 2008, when a visiting scholar from Dorjee Drak Monastery to the Samye Monastery called Namdrol Khakyab from Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality, ‘TAR,’ committed suicide leaving a note that spoke of unbearable suppression by the Chinese regime.<sup>224</sup>

Fearing arrest by the Chinese security forces, a Tibetan monk identified as Shedup, committed suicide at a monastery in Rebkong (*Ch: Tongren*) in Malho ‘TAP’ around 2 April 2008.<sup>225</sup> He was known to have been arrested earlier for his alleged role in a protest in Rebkong in March 2008 and he was released after undergoing torture in custody. His name appeared on the wanted list to be arrested sometime before the Tibetan uprising anniversary in March. It was reported that he killed himself to escape arrest and torture by Chinese security forces.

Two monks in Ngaba County committed suicides in late March 2008 as a direct result of the authorities’ constant harassment in the aftermath of massive protests in the area which saw tens of thousands participating in the protest eventually leading to the death of at least 23 known Tibetans after the authorities resorted to indiscriminate firing into the protesting crowd.<sup>226</sup>

**Lobsang Jinpa:** a 32-year-old monk of Ngaba Kirti Monastery, in his signed suicide note on 27 March 2008, clearly states, ‘I do not want to live under the Chinese oppression even for a minute, leave aside living for a day.’ Lobsang committed suicide being unable to bear the brutality and humiliation that was being inflicted upon the monks, including himself, of the Kirti Monastery by the authorities in their crackdown on the monastery to arrest participants and leaders of the protest in the area.<sup>227</sup>

**Tashi Sangpo,** 28, hailed from Gyulgho Township, Machen County, Golog ‘TAP’, Qinghai province committed suicide on 21 March 2009 by plunging into Machu River and drowned himself out of sheer desperation and frustration.<sup>228</sup> He had been severely subjected to harsh beatings, inhuman torture and long interrogation in a local detention centre since his arrest on 10 March 2009. Prolonged torture and interrogation finally took its toll on Tashi Sangpo’s mental state, which eventually forced him to take his own life by drowning in the Machu River. Following his death, Some 95 Tibetan monks were arrested or surrendered after hundreds of Tibetan protesters at-

tacked the local police station in Gyala Township, Golog “TAP.”<sup>229</sup> Angry Tibetan protesters clashed with the police after Tashi Sangpo tried to escape police custody by jumping into the Machu (Yellow) river and was drowned.<sup>230</sup> Contingents of PSB and PAP security forces completely sealed off and encircled the monastery with telephone, mobile and postal services cut off. Tashi Sangpo’s family was offered monetary compensation of 200,000 Yuan.<sup>231</sup> Following the incident, a disciplinarian of Ragya Monastery, Palden Gyatso and four other monks were arrested by the Chinese authorities.<sup>232</sup>

**Legtsok:** 75-year old Legtsok of Ngaba Gomang Monastery committed suicide on 30 March 2008. Days before committing suicide, Legtsok accompanied by two other monks while on their way to perform prayer rituals at the house of a Tibetan family encountered a large contingent of Chinese security forces heading towards Ngaba Gomang Monastery to quell the protesting peaceful monks at the monastery. The Chinese forces brutally beat Legtsok and detained him for a few days. Later he was released and sent back to the monastery. He repeatedly told his two disciples “he can’t bear the oppression anymore”.<sup>233</sup>

**Thokmey** a.k.a Tsangpa Thokmey (prefix name used of his origin) a monk of Ramoche Temple committed suicide on 22 March 2008 following massive crackdown by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) and People’s Armed Police (PAP) forces in Ramoche Temple.<sup>234</sup>

**Lhundrub**, a 17-year-old boy, described as one of the best students at the Chentsa (Ch: Jianza) County Middle school in Malho Prefecture of Qinghai Province committed suicide by jumping from the roof of the his three-storey school building at around 4 pm on 18 October 2008.<sup>235</sup> The report said Lhundrub had left a note for his parents, teachers and fellow-students, saying he was committing suicide not for any personal reason but to make the point that there was no freedom and basic human rights for Tibetans under Chinese rule.

The Centre is particularly concerned about the treatment of hundreds of persons detained in response to the unrest and its aftermath. The Centre has previously documented a pattern of torture and other ill-treatment of detainees in Tibet by China’s security forces, especially against those accused by the Chinese authorities of ‘separatist’ activities. For these reasons the Centre fears for the safety and well-being of those now in detention. The Centre believes there are many similar cases which have failed to reach the outside world as the crackdown was brutal and ruthless in nature with severe restrictions on the flow of information to and from Tibet after the unrest.

One poignant aspect here is that there were many cases of Tibetan families not being allowed to take custody of the dead bodies to offer traditional funeral services but

instead were given the ashes of the deceased.<sup>236</sup> There were even multiple witness accounts from Lhasa stating that bodies of the dead were loaded into military trucks and disposed of in a most unceremonious manner.

### **Death due to indiscriminate firing:**

In the recent crackdown on Tibetan protesters, one of the key components has been minimal tolerance and deadly strikes in order to quell mass protests. On several occasions the security officials have indiscriminately opened fire on peaceful Tibetan protesters, resulting in the death of many innocent Tibetans. The 14 March Lhasa unrest resulted in the largest number of Tibetan fatalities reported for a single day.<sup>237</sup> The Chairman of the “TAR” government, Jampa Phuntsog, denied that security forces carried or used ‘any destructive weapons’ as they suppressed the unrest in Lhasa.<sup>238</sup> Chinese officials have not acknowledged the deaths of Tibetan protesters as a result of lethal force used by Chinese security forces.<sup>239</sup> Contrary to evidence from numerous and corroborated sources that the Chinese armed police had killed scores of protesters by opening fire, China claimed that any deaths that had occurred were due to “law-breakers” rather than police using disproportionate force against unarmed civilians. The state-run media has emphasized the consequences of Tibetan violence, especially the deaths of 18 civilians and 1 policeman in the March 14 Lhasa riot.<sup>240</sup> International media and non-governmental organizations also reported Tibetan violence, sometimes against ethnic Han and Hui individuals resulting in deaths in Lhasa.<sup>241</sup> On one occasion, “TAR” PAP Head, Huo Ya, during a meeting in Lhasa told that “March 14 riot” is an opportunity for its personnel for improving training and to show their dedication.<sup>242</sup> The PAP and PSB were in the forefront in carrying out violent crackdown on Tibetans.

The failure to launch official investigation into the death of Tibetans resulting from indiscriminate firing by the security forces into a crowd of largely peaceful demonstrators in Kardze, Ngaba and Lhasa has been highlighted by the UN Committee Against Torture in its observations.<sup>243</sup> In its conclusions the Committee demanded that China “*should conduct a thorough and independent inquiry into the reported use of excessive force, including against peaceful demonstrators and notably monks, in Kandze county, Ngaba county and Lhasa.*”<sup>244</sup> Incidents of Chinese security forces firing lethal weapons against Tibetan protesters took place on at least eight occasions outside the “TAR” area: On 11 March in Daocheng (Dabpa) county, Kardze “TAP”, Sichuan province;<sup>245</sup> on 16 March in Ngaba (*Ch: Aba*) County, Ngaba Prefecture, Sichuan Province;<sup>246</sup> on 16 March in Machu (*Ch: Maqu*), Kanlho “TAP” Gansu Province;<sup>247</sup> on 18 March in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”;<sup>248</sup> on 24 March in Drango County( *Ch: Luhuo*), Kardze “TAP”;<sup>249</sup> on 29 May in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP;”<sup>250</sup> on 3 April in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”;<sup>251</sup> on 5 April in Tawu (*Ch: Dawu*) county, Kardze “TAP”.<sup>252</sup>

The following are a few known cases of indiscriminate firing by the Chinese security forces which led to the death of many Tibetans across Tibet since March protests. There are many reports that stated incidents of police firings and death of Tibetans without names of those killed and we have not listed those people in this report.

- a) A Tibetan who was in Lhasa at the time of the protest gave Radio Free Asia the following eyewitness account during a roundtable discussion on 5 April 2008. “[...]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 Lupuk. 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. The 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 [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 8:00pm, 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 them myself. I heard gun shots 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 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.”

- b) Another eyewitness account given by a Tibetan caller to Radio Free Asia on shooting in Lhasa on 15 March, “I am in the Lhasa area. There was shoot-

ing 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 Kusang area, they are firing right now. Every Tibetan is stopped and their IDs 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.”

- c) On 3 April 2008, at least 14 Tibetans<sup>253</sup> were shot dead when armed security forces fired live ammunition indiscriminately into a protesting crowd near Tongkor Monastery in Kardze County.<sup>254</sup> The protesting monks of Tongkor Monastery (*Ch: Donggu*) in Zithang Township, Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”, Sichuan Province were calling for the release of two monks arrested for objecting to the Chinese ‘Patriotic education’ campaign in the monastery. The official state media Xinhua, admitted the incident did take place but described it as ‘riot’ mentioning only the injury to one government official<sup>255</sup> and made no mention about the deaths, arrests and injuries among the Tibetan protesters. 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.

The bodies of the dead were not handed over to their family members. The Tibetans who died have been named as follows: Tsewang Rinzin, age 38, disciplinary master, and Thupten Sangden, age 27, former chant master, from Tongkor monastery in Kardze; Lobsang Rinchen, age 25, Kunchok Sherab, age 30, Khechok Pawo, age 20, Lhakgo, age 35, Tseyang Kyi (family: TsarNgo), age 23, Tsering Dhondup, (younger). Kalsang Choedon, age 35, Sonam Tsultrim, age 32, Drukmo Tso, age 34, Tenlam, age 32, Bubu Gelek, age 30, and Tsering Dhondup (older), age 43. Three Tibetans who were fatally injured by gunshot were identified as Nyima, Kalpo a.k.a Kabhuk and Thupten Gelek, all from Sheru Village and monks of Tongkor monastery.<sup>256</sup>

- d) In a separate incident, on 18 March 2008, when around 300 Tibetans from all walks of life staged a peaceful protest demonstration in the main market square of Kardze County and the bystanders joined the protest. According to the eyewitnesses’ account from the scene of demonstration, the Chinese

paramilitary troops started firing live ammunition indiscriminately into the demonstrators from the rooftop of a building. The protesters started dispersing in all directions for cover. After a short while, three dead bodies were found lying on the road. Two of them were identified as Gonpo Nadul, Nyiga and the name of the third victim is still unidentified. At least 15 protesters were also injured during the indiscriminate firing by the Chinese security forces. Out of the 15 injured Tibetans, identities of the five, two females and three males were known. They are Pema Dechen, Chemi Gonpo, Lobsang, Tseten Phuntsok and Shao Mimi.<sup>257</sup>

- e) On 16 March 2008, thousands of Tibetans monks of Kirti Monastery in Ngaba County (Ch: Aba), Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, gathered for a prayer session. Shortly after the end of the morning prayer session, thousand of monks erupted into spontaneous a protest which was later joined by lay people and monks of the neighboring area. The Chinese security forces made a bloody armed retaliation which resulted in the death of at least 23 Tibetans<sup>258</sup> who died after sustaining bullet injuries. One of the victims has been identified as Lobsang Tashi, a former monks in his mid 20’s.<sup>259</sup> The actual number of deaths can be much higher as people have seen at least “30 Tibetans felled” by the armed troops. The dead bodies were later brought into Kirti Monastery from the protest scene for prayers. The youngest among the dead was a middle school student, 16-year-old girl Lhundup Tso.<sup>260</sup> The names of those identified are, Tashi Wangchuk, Ghegyam, Norbu, Lotse, Ghepan, Thalo, Ngudrup Tso, Atisha, Sangye, Tsezin with identities of others not able to ascertained.<sup>261</sup>
- f) **Kunga**, an 18-year-old monk of Chokri Monastery, Drango County (*Ch: Luhuo xian*), Kardze, “TAP” was shot dead by PSB and PAP when around 200 monks and nuns of Chokri Monastery and Ngyoe-go Nunnery of Drawo Township in Drango County staged a protest on 24 March 2008 at the County government headquarters. Tsewang Dhondup, a 30-year-old monk of the aforementioned monastery was critically injured from gun shot fired by the Chinese security forces during the same protest<sup>262</sup>.
- g) **Choetop**, a 22-year-old nomad from Ponkor Toema Township, Darlag County, Golog, “TAP” Qinghai Province was shot dead on 28 April 2008 following protests by monks of Ponkor Monastery and nomads of Dralag County, after the arrest of a number of Tibetans by the Chinese security forces. The security forces took away the body of the deceased and till date the dead body has not been returned to Choetop’s family for funeral rites.<sup>263</sup>
- h) A 23-year-old Tibetan farmer, **Jinpa**, from Jangkha Township, Phenpo

Lhundup County, Lhasa city, “TAR” was killed after police opened fire on demonstrators in Phenpo County, on 15 March 2008.<sup>264</sup> Demonstrations in Phenpo on 15 March involved monks from Gadhen Choekor Monastery joined by laypeople, calling for the release of those detained earlier.

- i) An eyewitness account recounts that a 21-year old student, **Rigden Lhamo** of Thingkha Township, Kardze County, was shot by gunfire and injured by the Chinese security forces during her solo protest in Kardze County.<sup>265</sup>
- j) Over the weekend of March 15-16 in Phenpo Lhundup (Ch: 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 Gaden Choekor Monastery and hundreds of local residents were arrested at the time and in subsequent search operations in the county town and surrounding villages.
- k) This case of Phuntsok, a 27-year old monk of Drango Monastery was a clear incident where Chinese security forces carried out an extrajudicial killing. He hailed from Zongpa Village, Drango County, Kardze “TAP” was beaten to death by the Chinese PSB personnel in a ghastly manner for pasting leaflets on the office of Drango PSB headquarters and other places in Drango County.<sup>266</sup> Phuntsok’s defiant protest was not a coincidence but deliberately timed to remember, mourn, and express solidarity with those Drango monks who were tortured, ill-treated and imprisoned during last year protest. While pasting leaflets on the walls of an automobile service center in Drango County, he was detected by Drango PSB personnel who came straight to arrest him. He fled on a motorbike and PSB forces pursued him until his bike couldn’t climb any further. He was arrested and severely beaten on the spot with batons. He died shortly after receiving inhuman beatings at the hand of PSB personnel. In an attempt to conceal the circumstance of his death, the PSB personnel dropped his corpse at the base of a hill to conjure up a suicide scene. The Chinese authorities maintained that Phuntsok died after committing suicide while the local Tibetans were not convinced.

## **Deaths in Lhasa: eyewitness account**

The following eyewitness testimony was published as part of a moving and vivid account by a well known Tibetan writer and blogger in July 2008.<sup>267</sup>

The account was given by a Tibetan who was in Lhasa in 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. 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 watch 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.”

“[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 street side watching Tibetans protesting. We can say that, for a few hours, Tibet seemed to be independent. Not long after, I saw quite a few armored 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 other holding guns in their hands. I wanted to go back, but the soldiers called out loud to me ‘come over!’ I had to forced 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 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 a 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? It was 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 was happening in front of my eyes.

“On the day of 14th I remember very clearly that I left at 11:20am... (I omitted this part). Before that time, I had already heard shouting...”

I interrupted him and said, “ I heard about this on TV. Only Tibetans, and only Tibetans from the countryside and grassland could make that kind of sound. Tibetans in the cities could not make any such sound as their throats have already degenerated.” Furthermore, I also wanted to say it is a pure Tibetan-style whistle, but it was portrayed as “howling of wolves.”

WD nodded his head, and said: “Yes, it is exactly that kind of sound. 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 the *zhim jang* (*zhim chang*) 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”. A Tibetan peddler wanted to join the others, but his wife exerted all her strength to drag his arms while crying, and pleaded 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 (ngo tsha, 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.”

“Wait,” I again interrupted him, “do you think this is an organized and pre-meditated event?”

“*Kun chok sum* (*sku mchog gsum*, *Vow to the Three Jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha*), it is not so.” WD sadly waved his head. He continued to say:

”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 khatas, and it is possible they seized them from the nearby shops, anyway, there were many khatas 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.”

I asked, “don’t they know there are video cameras all over the Barkhor area?”

”They know. Many people know that there are video cameras, but they weren’t afraid,” WD paused for a little while and he appeared to be hesitant, finally he said, ”They did it for the sake of our nationality. They are really tough.” This is what WD said, and I had a rather deep impression of his words.

”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 owned 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. I called JM in Beijing and he was very excited when he heard the news. It was because in March 1988, similar things happened. At that time JM was a teenager, he burned the gate of a shop and he was imprisoned for four years. Probably when it was nearly 3:00pm or it just after 3:00pm, people in black clothes came, their faces covered and only showing two eyes. They were holding guns and they fired at people.

”Who are these people?” I asked surprised.

”Special police! Like the “Flying Tigers” Flying tigers? I did not know who they were; they probably have something to do with some films or TV programmes but I know who the special police are; thus, I did not interrupt him again.

”There were about thirty or forty 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 Tsulhakhang

Square, and they threw teargas 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 Barkhor Street. It was right there when a teenaged 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 ten or twenty meters away from her and I saw it very clearly. Many people saw that. It was really horrible... I think she was only seventeen or eighteen years old.”

I realized that WD was shivering, and it seems that he still had a lingering fear. This made me feel anxious, and the pain I was feeling was just like I was on that scene.

After quite a while WD began to recall again, “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.

I had never heard this before. This was apparently a police car, not a street cleaning car! But WD insisted on this and said, “Yes. It is not a street cleaning car but it is just like a street cleaning car which completely cleans the blood on the ground.” Can that be a new-style police car? Does that even have the function to clean the slaughter scene? Later I searched for the police car for special police on the internet, and I found a police car which can spray water. Except special police cars which can spray water up and down as well as left and right, there are also those equipped with supervision video cameras which can revolve 360 degrees. There were also those equipped with revolving platforms from which to shoot tear-gas canons. But I still do not know whether there are any police cars equipped with cleaning functions to clean blood stains and others. Are they any such kinds of police cars?

WD said, “Except 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

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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 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.”

“They did not do anything? Why?” I asked.

“Who knows? Right, I saw a few policemen taking pictures. Ah, there were also policemen videotaping.” WD was recalling. “Now I remember that it is indeed very strange. 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 that drove over from Jiangsu Road, and arrived at Lingkhor East Road. All the soldiers in the tanks were holding guns.

”Tanks?” I asked in disbelief, “were they tanks or armoured cars? Those government officials said that no tanks entered Lhasa.”

“Of course, they were tanks, only later were there armoured cars.” WD said absolutely, “Do you mean to say that I can not even tell apart tanks from armored cars? They are tanks with tracks. When the tanks drove over, the ground was vibrating. As soon as people saw tanks coming, all the onlookers dispersed. I ran away too, but I dared not to go back to the nearby house I rented, so I had to go straight to the left side. I have a friend living there.”

“What were the tanks doing?” I again interrupted his recalling. What appeared in my mind were the scenes of the PLA tanks rolling over the civilians and students on Beijing streets on June 4th, 1989.”

I don’t know what the tanks were doing because I simply fled,” WD said. “I ran away to my friend’s house. He had also just come back home from somewhere. Both of us were still badly startled, so we drank some alcohol to help us to get over the shock. I never drink any white liquor, and if I want to drink, I only drink beer, but my friend only had barley beer from Huzhu (Gonlung) County in Qinghai, a few bottles. Later two more friends came to my friend’s house, thus, we started to drink one bottle after another. We 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 crossroads of Jiangsu East Road, we were stunned, and almost sobered up. Because forty or fifty 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 shot off his mouth, "We have our papers, on what grounds do you scold 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 and scolded us, until we fell down... (this part was omitted)... 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 police said in Tibetan "Don't say too much." He sounded very vicious, so the Chinese policeman must have thought that he was scolding 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 the three drunkards, eventually they released us. Luckily the house I rented is not very far from the police station. Because I heard gun shots all the way home, so I do not know, I really do not know how many people like that girl were killed."

"My two friends live in the area over the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, but they dared not go further so they stayed at my house. But we did not expect that they had to stay there for four days. On the morning of 15th, I wanted to buy some food, drinks and cigarettes, but I began to regret it as soon as I went out of my house. Soldiers were everywhere on the streets. Some were holding guns and pickaxes without the tips. I was about to turn back, but a little boy ten metres away, who was only seven or eight years old, actually threw a stone at the soldiers, immediately, the soldiers started to shoot tear-gas. Suddenly, people were running everywhere. I dared not to go out any more. Luckily the house I rented was used by a work unit to store odds and ends, thus, no soldiers broke into to check the house. But there were soldiers on the roof of the building, and there were also soldiers in the courtyard. In addition, there were many military trucks and cars. For the entire four days, we closed the curtains, sat in the room to watch TV, or to sleep. At the beginning we still chatted with each other, but later we seldom talked any more, and each was thinking about the weight on his mind. During the daytime, sometimes we couldn't help but open the curtain a little to look out, but no matter when we looked out, all we saw were soldiers. When it was dark, we dared not turn on the lights, nor did we dare to watch TV. While sitting in the dark, we dared not make any noise, and we were very hungry..."

"Then what did you eat?" I can not help asking him."

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Ah, ah, we were lucky that I had bought a box of milk earlier, and I also had bread I had brought back from home when I went back to celebrate New Year. At the time, I did not want to eat these, because there were so many restaurants in Lhasa, so who wanted to eat bread at home? As a result, there was green mildew on the bread. But at that time we had to eat the bread with the milk. After we got rid of the green mildew on the bread, we would swallow it together with the milk. There was a disgusting taste, but we could not afford to care about that. As I said before, fortunately the house I rented belongs to a work unit, 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, ah, ah, he has a gold tooth inlaid in his mouth.”

“Gold tooth?” I was so astonished that I promptly asked him why.

“Oh, As you know, many Khampas and Amdo people love to inlay gold in their teeth, and there were many Khampas and Amdo 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. I heard he was arrested because of this reason. But I do not know what happened to them now. The person who is in charge of houses in the work unit from which I rented my house was very nervous. He is from Lhasa, and he is very timid. Every night he would come to my house quietly to remind me not to turn on any lights, but later he simply drove me out. I told him that I rented the house for three months, and it was not three months yet, then he gave back part of the rent to me, and wrote a testimonial for me. He insisted that no matter what I should move out. On the 19th, I was forced out of the house. Since then I bid goodbye to my two friends, and went out on our own separate ways.

“I stayed at a friend’s house for three days, then 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 does 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 can not 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 was wearing 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. After I entered the train, before I had time to feel that I was lucky, over a dozen policemen came. So many people came over and surrounded me, they actually only checked me. When I saw they only checked me, not the Chinese who filled the railway carriage, and also witnessed that they leafed thought my bag and messed it up, I was so angry that I began to quiver, and I almost burst out."

"It is fortunate that you did not burst out." I gazed at the young Amdo man with bushy eyebrows and big eyes, thinking to myself that after all he endured and survived all this.

"I understand what you mean," he said, "you feel that I am like a refugee, and there is only the last moment. I should absolutely not resist, is that so?"

"Certainly." I said.

## **Conclusion:**

The profiles of Tibetans who have died since March protest of 2008 are given below for the posterity. Although the Chinese state media reported the death of only 18 individuals and one police officers as a result of the March rioting,<sup>268</sup> yet it has failed to provide any information on the death from indiscriminate firing by security officers, torture, suppression and repression of civil liberties, including people's right to freedom of expression, opinion, assembly and movement besides other fundamental human rights.

The Centre, however, has over the past couple of years has recorded the death of at least 135 known people. There are still many Tibetans whose whereabouts and present status remain unknown to their family members and close associates since the protest broke out.

China should account for all those detained, including their names, whereabouts and any charges against them. China should ensure that all killings, violent assaults and other attacks on persons and property are investigated promptly, independently and effectively, regardless of the identity of the perpetrators and the victims, and that suspected perpetrators are prosecuted in proceedings which meet international standards

of fairness without imposition of the death penalty. China should provide details about each person detained or charged with a crime, including each person's name, the charges(if any) against each person, the name and the location of the prosecuting office ("procuratorate") and court handling each case, and name of each facility where a person is detained or imprisoned.

Judging from the scale of the protests beyond the so called "TAR" in other Tibetan areas, China should take urgent measures to address the underlying causes of the protests, including Tibetans' long-term grievances over violations of their fundamental human rights, including restriction on their religious practice. It should stop persecution of Tibetans for exercising their freedom of expression, association and assembly.

### **(End notes)**

- <sup>1</sup> For further details of most of events from 10 March 2008 were documented in TCHRD Topical Report " Uprising in Tibet 2008: Documentation of Protests in Tibet
- <sup>2</sup> The PRC claim that there is an increase in ethnic minority officials; 2.994 million ethnic minority officials countrywide by 2006 end which is 3.8 times that of 1978.<sup>5</sup> It is true that all the governors of China's five provincial-level ethnic minority autonomous regions have ethnic minority backgrounds. In actuality, members of ethnic minorities rarely occupied decision-making posts. An estimated 50% government cadres are Tibetans, yet their representation and authority in decision-making bodies is only nominal. The most important and powerful post in the provincial minority autonomous region is that of the Party Secretary. Currently, none of the five autonomous provinces has an ethnic minority leader on this post; Cheng Li, "Ethnic Minority Elites in China's Party-State Leadership: An Empirical Assessment", China Leadership Monitor, No.25, Summer 2008, available at [http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2008/summer\\_china\\_li.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2008/summer_china_li.aspx)[3 November 2009] Since the establishment of "Tibet Autonomous Region" ("TAR") in 1965, no Tibetan has ever held this post.
- <sup>3</sup> "Patriotic reeducation" campaign and "Strike Hard" Campaign and Anti Dalai Lama campaign etc carried out by the Chinese authorities in Tibet
- <sup>4</sup> For details of each demonstration on 27 September 1987, 1 October 1987, 3 March 1988, 5 March 1988, 10 December 1988, 5,6,7 March 1989, See TCHRD Special Report, 2006. "Prisoners of Tibet," Pg 14.
- <sup>5</sup> The 27<sup>th</sup>September 1987 demonstration was started by a group of young Drepung Monastery in Lhasa
- <sup>6</sup> "Scores of Tibetans arrested for peaceful protest in Lhasa" TCHRD Press Release dated 11 March 2008. Available at <http://www.tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080311.html>
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<sup>33</sup> TCHRD Press Statement on the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, TCHRD, 10 December 2008

<sup>34</sup> “Questions, answers about casualties, damages of recent riots”, Xinhua News dated 26 March 2008. Available at [http://eng.tibet.cn/news/today/200803/t20080326\\_371196.htm](http://eng.tibet.cn/news/today/200803/t20080326_371196.htm)

<sup>35</sup> MARTIAL LAW ENDS IN TIBET’S CAPITAL; New York Times; Nicholas Kristof; 1 May 1990; Retrieved at <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C0CE3DE1430F932A35756C0A966958260>

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<sup>44</sup> “Burning the animal skin revolution sparked in Tibet,” Phayul.com report dated 18 February 2006 available at <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=11881&t=1>

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<sup>101</sup> “Tibet remains stable despite repeated secessionist attempts,” Xinhua (Online) dated 8 March 2009. Available at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/08/content\\_10967427.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/08/content_10967427.htm); Legqog, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Regional People’s Congress stated that “Most parts of Tibet are stable. People live a life as normal as usual. Religious activities, including major rituals, are also going on as usual.”

<sup>102</sup> “No Martial Law in Lhasa on ‘Special’ days,” Xinhua News Report (online) dated 6 March 2009 available at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/06/content\\_10958195.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-03/06/content_10958195.htm)

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gn/news/2008/04-29/1235410.shtml](http://www.chinanews.com.cn/gn/news/2008/04-29/1235410.shtml)) “Following trial according to law at Lhasa  
City Intermediate People’s Court, verdicts have been issued on trials of the first  
instance finding Basang [Pasang] and a total of 30 defendants guilty of the  
crime of arson, looting, the crime of stirring up criminality, the crime of gathering  
others to attack organs of the state, the crime of obstructing public duties and  
the crime of theft. The defendants Basang [Pasang], Suolang Ciren [Sonam  
Tsering], and Ciren [Tsering] were sentenced to life imprisonment according to  
law; the defendants Jinmei [Jigme], Gesang Bazhu [Kalsang Bagdro], Gema  
Dawa [Karma Dawa], Duoju [Dorje], Mima [Migmar], Awang Quyang  
[Ngawang Choeyang] and Bazhu [Bagdro] were sentenced to fixed terms of 15  
years and above; the defendants Yajie [Yargyal], Qupei Zhazi [Choephel Tashi],  
Duoji Dajie [Dorje Dargye], Awang [Ngawang], Gesang Ciren [Kalsang Tsering],  
Mima [Migmar], Suolang Ciren [Sonam Tsering], Luoang Sangdan [Lobsang  
Samten], Cidan [Tseten], Peisang Zhaxi [Palsang Tashi], Laba Ciren (Sr.) [Lhakpa  
Tsering Chewa (Sr.)], Luosang Zhaxi [Lobsang Tashi], Laba Ciren [Lhakpa  
Tsering], Taqing [Tharchin], Tudan Jiacao [Thubten Gyatso], Zhaxi Jiacao [Tashi  
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- name), age 35, Kunchok Sherab, age 30, Tseyang Kyi, age 23, Lobsang Rinchen, age 25, Sonam Tsultrim, age 22, Thupten Sangden, age 27, former chant master from Thongkor Monastery in Kardze, Tsewang Rigzin, age 38, disciplinary master, Tsering Dhondup (elder) age 43, Tenlo, age 32 and Kelsang Choedon, age 35. "Pictures of Tibetans shot dead b Chinese armed police on 3 April 2008" TCHRD Press Release dated 17 April 2008
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## Profiles of known Tibetans Who Died in the Protests 2008-2009

(1) **Lobsang Tashi** in mid 20's and a monk of Ngaba Kirti Monastery in Ngaba County, Ngaba "TAP" Sichuan Province was shot dead on 16 March 2008 along with seven other people by People's Armed Police (PAP) during a peaceful demonstration.

On March 16, monks of Ngaba Kirti Monastery gathered for morning prayer session. Shortly after the prayer session thousands of monks spontaneously erupted in protest with the slogan "Independence for Tibet," "Return of Dalai Lama to Tibet", "Freedom for Tibet." The monks were then joined by local Tibetans and marched towards the County Headquarters. They were shot indiscriminately by "PAP" on their way to County Headquarter resulting in the death of eight people including Lobsang Tashi.<sup>1</sup>

(2) **Bhenthe Tsering**: 45 year old from Lucho County, Kanlho "TAP" Gansu Province was arbitrarily arrested on 26 March 2008 around 2 A. M (China Standard Time) by the People's Armed Police (PAP) and he was beaten to death by Armed Police.<sup>2</sup>

(3) **Choetop**: a 22- year-old monk of Pangkhor Monastery in Darlag County, Golog "TAP" Qinghai Province was among the ring leaders



who were responsible for removing the Chinese Flag and putting up the Tibetan National Flag in Punkar Town, Darlag County on 23 March 2008 (some sources claim that it was on 28). On 28 April 2008, after days of protests by Tibetans in Darlag County since 21 March 2008, events took a dramatic turn when the armed Chinese security forces surrounded a nomadic hamlet in Ponkor Toema Township. At the break of dawn, the security forces fired live ammunition on the nomads. Moments later 22-year-old nomad Choetop was killed in the gun fire.<sup>3</sup> The Chinese security forces took the dead body with them and didn't hand over it to his family for funeral rites.

Choetop died of eight bullets that were shot into him and his mother (Wangdon) was also critically injured by two bullet shots.

After that, four members of his family were arrested (Sang Sang Lily Tsang, the name

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of the family) along with three other people. The family property was confiscated by the PSB and his family members were detained at Darlag PSB Detention Centre.

(4) **Gesang**: 32, succumbed to injuries as he was beaten severely in front of the protesting public by Chinese officials on 3 April 2008. He was affiliated to Namtso Monastery, in Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province.<sup>4</sup>

(5) **Jigme Phuntsok** : 22, a visiting student at Sera Monastery in Lhasa and originally a monk of Rongbo Monastery, in Gyalpo Lucho, Rebkong County, Malho “TAP” Qinghai Province.

He took part in March Uprising in Lhasa and thereafter he participated in a demonstration at Gormo Municipality (Tsonub Mongolian and Tibetan Prefecture) Qinghai Province. He was beaten and was subjected to harsh treatment by the security officials. The officials of Gormo Municipality ordered the presence of any member of his family from their native place of Lucho. Despite insistence on financial difficulties by family, the officials demanded their presence and were told to bear the expenses. On reaching Gormo, the officials handed over to them the ashes of Jigme Phuntsok.<sup>5</sup>

(6) **Zati** was beaten to death by People’s Armed Police (PAP) forces. Electric cremation was used in order to hide his death by PAP. This incident occurred on and around 20 March 2008.<sup>6</sup>

(7) **Ngodup**, 32, was killed during one of the protests that took place at Sertha County, Kardze “TAP” on 19 and 20 March 2008 when the general public participated in a peaceful protest. On 20 March, hundreds of PAP and PSB forces marched towards the Khekor Township, Sertha County and fired indiscriminately into the protesting crowd injuring nearly 40 people and Ngodup, also known as Kyara was killed by a gunshot during that protest.<sup>7</sup>

(8) **Patsal Kyab**: On 26 May 2008, two local township leaders in Charo townships, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province came to tell the family of 48-year old nomad Patsal Kyab, also known as Jakpalo, that he was dead. Although officials said that he had died “of natural causes” while being held in custody following a protest in the area on 17 March 2008 when the body was released to the family there were clear signs of torture and brutal beatings.

Patsal Kyab’s younger brother, Kalsang, who now lives in exile, told one of the Human Rights watchdogs that according to witnesses who saw his body, “The whole front of his body was completely bruised blue and covered with blisters from burns. His whole back was also covered in bruises, and there was not even a tiny spot of natural skin tone on his back and front torso. His arms were also severely bruised with clumps of hardened blood.”

Paltsal Kyab, married, with five children, was taken into custody following a peaceful demonstration that occurred in Charo on 17 March 2008. According to anecdotal accounts from the area given to Paltsal Kyab's brother, around 100 young Tibetans held a protest on the main street "because they believed that the United Nations and foreign media chose not to listen to and see the truth in Tibet." After the incident, according to his friends, Paltsal talked about going to the police station to tell officers that he had not committed any violation such as destroying buildings or cars, or harming anyone. But he heard from his friends that his name was already on the wanted list, and that individuals who were detained were being badly beaten. Paltsal went to see a relative who was ill out of town.

On 9 April 2008, at around midnight, 11 police raided Paltsal's home, while a truckload of armed soldiers waited outside. According to reports from the family, one police officer pointed a gun at the head of Paltsal's 14 year old son and asked him where his father was. His son replied that his father had gone to see his relative who was ill. Paltsal's wife was then dragged out of her room and asked the same question. She gave the same answer as her son, but gave a different name of the relative. Because they had given different names, the police claimed that they were lying, and Paltsal's son was taken into custody. On arrival at the police station the teenager was slapped, kicked and punched for hours during interrogation. He was released the next day.

When Paltsal was told about his son, he came home immediately. Kalsang said: "Our family had heard that the Chinese government says that people involved in protest must surrender voluntarily and that people who did so would be treated leniently, as opposed to people who are seized by police. Paltsal's relatives told him that he was a father of five children so that it wouldn't be possible for him to hide from police throughout his life. Paltsal also knew that his son had been beaten and interrogated. So he decided to surrender voluntarily."

On 17 or 18 April 2008, Paltsal went to the local police station and gave himself up. He was held there for two weeks and then transferred to a detention center in Ngaba on 27 April 2008. The family heard nothing about his condition or whereabouts until 26 May 2008, when two local township leaders came to Paltsal's home to inform his wife and children of his death.

Paltsal's family members were allowed to collect his body from the detention center. Kalsang says: "Upon arrival, the relatives were told by the Ngaba police that the cause of his death was sickness, not torture. They also allegedly claimed that they had taken him to a hospital twice because of his kidney and stomach problems. But his relatives said that when Paltsal went to the police station to surrender he was a normal healthy man with no history of any major health problems. The police officers never acknowledged the cause of death as torture but they immediately started to offer money to the

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family. The family was not allowed to take photos of his body or tell anyone anything about what had happened.”

Kalsang said that he was later informed by various sources that his elder brother had been very badly tortured in custody. Family members asked for permission to take his body to Kirti Monastery in Ngaba. It is important in Tibetan culture for prayers to be said for a person immediately after his death in order to help ensure a peaceful transition. But the army refused permission. Kalsang said: “They even could not take Paltsal’s body to Kirti monastery to pray for Paltsal’s soul.”

Paltsal was given a traditional sky burial, with police officers present, including two senior Tibetan police officers. Kalsang said: “It was obvious from the condition of Paltsal’s body that he had suffered an agonizing and painful death due to severe torture, not of natural causes.” Those preparing his body for burial, which involves dismemberment, told the family that there was severe damage to his internal organs, including his small intestines, gall-bladder and kidneys.<sup>8</sup>

(9)**Tri Lhamo** committed suicide at her home, which is in close proximity to Onpo Monastery, Sershul County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. She hung herself soon after a house to house raid was conducted by PAP on 28 April 2008. During the raid, Chinese forces tore down and trampled upon the portrait of the Dalai Lama, witnessing such atrocious behavior she broke down.<sup>9</sup>

(10)**Akar Tashi** was originally hailed from Lhathok Yuchu Township, Chamdo County, Chamdo Prefecture, “TAR” and he was killed by Chinese Armed Forces at his residence in Lhasa on 4 May 2008. For long, he was under constant surveillance of authorities for his alleged political activities particularly suspected of having participated in March 2008 uprising in Lhasa. On 4 May 2008 around 9 pm (Beijing Standard Time) nearly seven PAP suddenly broke into his house and tried to arrest him, he demanded explanation for his arrest and refused to go along with them meanwhile scuffle broke out between them, one of the soldier was stabbed by him whereas he was shot dead<sup>10</sup>.

(11)**Trangma**: A monk of Drapa Yangden Monastery, Minyag Township, Nyagchuka County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province committed suicide on 18 June 2008. He was unable to bear the pressure of denouncing the Dalai Lama. Before his death, he opined that it would be spiritually improper and defilement of his spiritual vows to denounce his religious guru and had declared instead to cut short his life.<sup>11</sup>

(12)**Kelsang Lhamo** was subjected to intense questioning by the PSB officers after the

arrest of her daughter Tsewang Khando, who was in Dragkar Nunnery and was arrested along with two other nuns on 28 May 2008 for staging a peaceful protest. The mounting pressure and stringent restriction resulted in deterioration of her health which ultimately resulted in her death on 27 June 2008. Kelsang Lhamo was from Dura village, Kardze County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.<sup>12</sup>

(13)**Thoesam**, 29, of Ngaba Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province committed suicide on 16 April 2008 for being unable to bear the pressure and repression that was being imposed by the Chinese govt.<sup>13</sup>

(14)**Palkho**: On 16 March 2008 she took part in a peaceful demonstration along with the monk of Ngaba Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province. The People’s Armed Police (PAP) shot dead at least seven people and injured hundreds of them after PAP crackdown on the protestors. She sustained bullets injuries during the crackdown and died on 22 March 2008 due to lack of medical care. Those who accompanied her to hospital were arrested by the (PAP).<sup>14</sup>

(15)**Lobsang Thokmey**, 32 years old monk of Ramoche Temple in Lhasa originally hailed from Gyaltza County, Lhoka Prefecture “TAR”. He reportedly died of starvation following Chinese authorities’ completely stopped food and water supply to Ramoche Temple after monks of the temple took active part in the March 14 protest in Lhasa city.<sup>15</sup>

Tongkhor Monastery: On 4 April 2008, the Chinese armed forces shot live ammunition indiscriminately into the protesting crowd near Tongkhor Monastery in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP”, in Sichuan Province. The protest broke out when monks of Tongkhor Monastery in Zithang Township, Kardze County, called for the release of two monks, namely Geshe Tsultrim Tenzin, 74 years old and Tsultrim Phuntsok arrested for objecting to “Patriotic Education” campaign in the Monastery. At least 14 people are known to have been shot on that day and the dead bodies were loaded in a truck instead of returning them to victim’s family. The list of the victims’ families<sup>16</sup> is given below:

(16)**Tsewang Rigzin**, 38 Years old and Disciplinarian (*Tib: Gaykoe*) of Tongkhor Monastery (Juruda Village)



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(17) **Thupten Sangden**, 27 years old and former chant master of Tongkhor Monastery (Juruda Village).



(18) **Tseyang Kyi** (F), 23 years old from Tsar Ngoe Village.



(19) **Tsering Dhondup** (younger) (M), from Druyak Village.



(20) **Druklo Tso** (F), 34 years old from Gugra Village



(21) **Bhu Bhu Delek** (M): 30 years old from Sothok Da Village



(22) **Khechok Pawo**: A monk of Tongkor Monastery, 20 years old from Tharthok Village



(23) **Lobsang Rinchen**: A monk of Tongkor Monastery, 25 years old from Nyatri Village



(24) **Kunchok Sherap**: A monk of Tongkor Monastery, 30 years old from Khasung Village.



(25) **Lhego**: A monk of Tongkor Monastery, 35 years old from Walanda Village.



(26) **Sonam Tsultrim** (M): 22 years old from Nyatri Village.



27) **Kelsang Choedon** (F): 35 years old from Mokrin Village.

(28) **Tenlo**, 32 years old female from Gugra Village.

(29) **Tsering Dhondup** (elder)(M) : 43 years old from Khasung Village.

(30) **Tsering Kalden**: age 27 years old from Tongkor Monastery, Kardze County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. Shot dead on 3 April 2008.

(31) **Zangden**: A monk of Tongkor Monastery, 27 years old from Tsangyoe Village

(32) **Kunga**: Aged 18, from Chokri Monastery, Drawo Township, Drango County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province was shot dead on 24 March 2008. A peaceful protest was initiated by monks of Chokri Monastery and Nuns of Ngyoe-go Nunnery which was later joined by common people of Drawo Township. They headed towards township headquarters. A large number of People’s Armed Police (PAP) and Public Security Bureau (PSB) officers came to the scene to quell the agitated protesters and a clash broke out between the two sides, in the process Chinese security forces fired live ammunitions indiscriminately on the protesting crowd which resulted in the death of Kunga and severe injuries to other people.<sup>17</sup>

Ngaba County Shooting: On 16 March 2008 around a few thousands Tibetans erupted into a spontaneous protest led by monks of Amdo Ngaba Kirti Monastery, Ngaba (*Ch: Aba xian*) County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province. At least 23 people were shot dead by the Chinese Armed forces. Of those the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy was able to identify the following:<sup>18</sup>

(33) **Atisha** (M): Aged 20

(34) **Gheyam** (M): Aged 40

(35) **Ghepan Thalo** (M)

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(36) **Lotse (M)**: Aged 25

(37) **Norbu (M)**

(38) **Sangay (M)**

(39) **Tashi Wangchuk (M)**

(40) **Tsezin (M)**

(41) **Lhundup Tso**, 16, was a student of Ngaba County Tibetan School, was born to Mr. Jigshe and Mrs. Sherab Tsomo, also known as Shitse. She was good in her studies, while returning from her school she met the protesting crowd and thereby took part in the protest.<sup>19</sup>



(42) **Tashi (M)** was shot dead by the Chinese security forces during a protest at Ngaba Kirti Monastery on 16 March 2008. Around 15 dead bodies were brought into the monastery



after one of the deadliest attacks on protesters by the Chinese security forces.<sup>20</sup>

(43) **Lobsang Jinpa**: a monk of Ngaba Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, committed suicide on 27 March 2008. He hailed from Ngasib Village in Amdo Ngaba. In his signed suicide note left behind, Lobsang states, “the Chinese government has leveled false allegations against the monks of Kirti Monastery for leaking State Secrets to the outside world, leading and organizing the protests and for keeping the dead bodies of Tibetan protesters shot dead by the Chinese security forces. However, all the charges leveled by the Chinese government were not committed by anyone in Kirti Monastery, but carried out solely by me”. The note further states “I led the peaceful protest, and I am solely responsible for the protest”. The suicide note carried a poignant end line, it reads, “I do not want to live under the Chinese oppression even for a minute, leave aside living for a day.”<sup>21</sup>



(44) **Legtsok**: A monk of Ngaba Gomang Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, committed suicide on 30 March 2008. The deceased was 75 years old and hailed from a small hamlet in upper flank of Ngaba Prefecture.

Days before committing suicide, Legtsok accompanied by two other monks while on their way to perform prayer rituals at a house of a Tibetan family encountered a large contingent of Chinese security forces heading towards Ngaba Gomang Monastery to quell the protesting peaceful monks at the monastery. The forces brutally beat Legtsok and detained him for a few days. Later he was released and sent back to the monastery.

Just moments before his suicide, he sent two of his disciples to return the money owned by his other disciples and relatives that was kept with him for safe keeping. Minutes after his disciples’ departure, he committed suicide.<sup>22</sup>

(45) **Dawa**: a 31 year-old farmer from Dedrong Village, Jangkha Township, Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa City, “TAR” was arrested while participating in a peaceful protest in Phenpo County on 15 March 2008. He was subjected to torture by the Chinese prison guards during his two weeks’ detention in prison and when it became evident that his health was failing, the prison authorities quickly released him on 27 March 2008 under the pretext of medical treatment in order to shun responsibility for his death. At the time of his release, his health was already in a very critical condition. After spending four days in hospital, he died on 1 April 2008.<sup>23</sup>

(46) **Jinpa**, a 23 year old Tibetan farmer, hailed from Jangkha Township, Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa City, “TAR”. He participated in a peaceful protest on 15 March 2008 in Phenpo County, Many Tibetans were killed during the crackdown by the Chinese Security Bureau. Jinpa succumbed to bullet wounds on 15 March 2008 in Phenpo County during the protest.<sup>24</sup>

(47) **Nechung** a 38 year-old mother of four children died days after being subjected to brutal torture in the Chinese prison. She hailed from Charu Hu Village in Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP”, Sichuan Province.

She was involved in peaceful protests on 16 and 17 March 2008 in Ngaba County. Later on 18 March, she was arrested by the Chinese security forces for allegedly being the first person to pull down the door plate of the Township office.

On 26 March 2008, she was released from prison. She spent nine days in prison undergoing brutal torture at the hands of Chinese prison guards. At the time of her release from the prison, her health was in extremely critical condition. There were many bruise marks on her body; she was unable to speak and eat food, constantly vomiting and could hardly breathe properly.

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After the release, her relatives immediately took her to the County government hospital for treatment. However, the County government hospital refused to admit her to receive timely medical treatment, apparently under the influence and intimidation of the local Chinese authorities. She was completely denied from accessing timely medical treatment in the hospital.

After remaining in critical condition for 22 days without medical treatment she died on 17 April 2008 in abject state of neglect and apathy of local Chinese authorities. Even after her death, the Chinese authorities issued terse warning to Tibetan monks for offering prayers and ritual rites for the deceased soul.

She is survived by her four children, all minors. Her husband has been on the run since her arrest, apparently to avoid being arrested by the Chinese security forces.<sup>25</sup>

(48) **Gyalpo**, a 30 year old monk of Gaden Chokhor Monastery, Phenpo, north east of Lhasa was tortured to death by the prison authority after taking part in protest in Phenpo on 26 March 2008.<sup>26</sup>

(49) **Guru Kyab**, a 25-year-old nun of Watak Nunnery, Drango County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province, took part in a peaceful protest in Drango County in June 2008 along with other nuns of Watak Nunnery. The whereabouts of Guru Kyab came to be known on 12 September 2008, 3 months after the protest when two of her companions from Watak Nunnery were detained at Drango County Detention Centre. She was subjected to torture and harsh treatment by the Chinese prison guards and succumbed to injuries.<sup>27</sup>

(50) **Sherap Yangtso** was a 40-year-old mother of a child. Her husband Guru Dorjee took part in peaceful protest on 18 March 2008 in Kardze County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. On 28 March 2008 Guru Dorjee was arrested from his house by the Chinese security forces. This incident had a profound effect on Sherap Yangtso resulting in comatose. She was unable to put up with her husband’s arrest and finally passed away on 19 April 2008 under unimaginable mental depression. Although Guru Dorjee was sentenced to three years but his poor health and surety letter signed by his neighbors on his future behavior gave him a new lease of life and he was released later.

(51) **Lobsang Tsomo**, a 31-year-old nun from Chokhor Nunnery, Meldrogungkar County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR” committed suicide on 12 April 2008.<sup>28</sup>

(52) **Anu**, a 47 year-old male died from bullet injuries in June 2008. Lhasa “TAR”

(53) **Delog**, in his 40’s from Derge Monastery, Derge County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province was killed on 12 July 2008 by Chinese security forces.

(54) **Gonpo Lhagon**: Approximately 30 years of age and a lady from Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province was shot dead on 16 March 2008 by Chinese security forces during a protest in Ngaba.

(55) **Gyaltzen**: around 20 years of age from Derge Monastery, Derge County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province, was killed on 12 July 2008 by Chinese security forces during a protest.

(56) **Gyaltzen Yaphel** also known as Lobsang Tsering, 43 years old from Gaden Monastery, Meldro Gungkar County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR” died in November 2008 after arrest on 19 March 2008.

(57) **Jampa Lhamo**, a 45 year-old lady died on November 2008 after months of detention after her arrest on 19 March 2008. She was from Tengchen County, Chamdo Prefecture “TAR”

(58) **Jamphel Gyatso**, 20, from Ngaba Kirti Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, died on 6 July 2008.

(59) **Kunga**, 60, died after his release from prison in April 2008. He was detained for his participation in March 2008 protest in Lhasa. He was originally from Meldro Gungkar County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR”

(60) **Kyara Palden Nyendak**, around 60 years of age died on 3 July 2008. He was from Drango County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(61) **Lobsang Tsultrim**, 16, from Dhongri Monastery, Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province committed suicide on 3 July 2008.<sup>29</sup>

(62) **Namdrol Kakhyab** committed suicide on 19 March 2008 following intense interrogation carried out by the Chinese authorities to track down suspects who participated in 15 March protest in Samye, Dranang County, Lhokha Prefecture, “TAR”. He hailed from Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR” and was a visiting scholar from Dorjee Drak Monastery to the Samye Monastery. He left behind a written suicide note that pointed to the unbearable suppression by the Chinese regime and cited innocence of other monks of the monastery and took full responsibility for the protest demonstration.<sup>30</sup>

(63) **Namlang** took participation in protest in Phenpo and during the protest he sustained injuries and later died in County hospital in May 2008. He died at the age of 42 and was from Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa “TAR”

(64) **Ngawang Palsang** died from the wound sustained from torture he had suffered

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in the detention centre. He died immediately after his release from the detention centre in May 2008. He was detained for taking part in the protest. Ngawang Palsang was also a former political prisoner who was arrested for his political activities in the past. Ngawang hailed from Taktse County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR”.

(65) **Pema Tsepak**: one of the three Tibetan youths who protested in Dzogang county of the Chamdo Prefecture “TAR” died on January 23 after succumbing to his injuries sustained from beatings by Chinese authorities.



On 20 January, three Tibetans identified as Thinley Ngodrub, 24, his brother Thargyal, 23, and Pema Tsepak, 24, all from Punda township in Tsawa Dzogang, had carried a white banner reading ‘Independence for Tibet,’ threw paper fliers in the air, and shouted slogans, before getting arrested by the Chinese security forces. A Tibetan girl named Dechen Dolma, who was found in possession of Pema Tsepak’s mobile phone, was also detained but freed later on January 24.

According to sources, Pema was taken for treatment at Dzogang county hospital but he was so serious that he had to be taken to a prefecture hospital in Chamdo where he succumbed to his injuries. Pema had sustained serious injuries in his intestines and kidney.<sup>31</sup>

(67) **Tenzin Norbu** was tortured harshly in prison by the prison authority and died in March 2008. He hailed from Meldrogungkar County, Lhasa Municipality.<sup>32</sup>

(68) **Trulku Kunsang Shenphen**, a 60-year-old monk from Sey Monastery in Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province died on 17 June 2008.<sup>33</sup>

(69) **Tsedup**, a monk of Ngaba Kirti Monastery in Ngaba County, Ngaba “TAP” Sichuan Province, was shot dead on 16 March 2008.<sup>34</sup>

(70) **Tsering Dolker**, 25, took part in a demonstration in Meldrogungkar in March 2008 and was killed by the Chinese security forces at the site of the demonstration. She was a nun of Chokhor Nunnery, Meldrogungkar County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR”.<sup>35</sup>

Lhasa Uprising: On 49<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Tibetan People’s Uprising against Chinese occupation, monks of Drepung and Sera Monastery attempted to stage a peaceful protest on 10 March 2008 around Barkhor street in Lhasa, on their way they were blocked by the Chinese force; the ringleaders of the group were arrested by the offi-

cials of Chinese Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials. On the same day, a group of around 16 people including both monks and lay people led a peaceful march from Tsuklakhang Temple by raising pro-independence slogans, distributing pamphlets and raising banned Tibetan national flags at the Barkhor Street in Lhasa. They were arrested immediately by the stationed PSB officials following a brief protest march on Barkhor Street. The protest spread throughout Tibet including the province of Qinghai, Sichuan and Gansu and continued for days. On 14 March 2008 the Chinese security forces fired indiscriminately into the protesting crowd in Lhasa, the exact number of victims was not known but the following people were identified as dead after Chinese security forces shot indiscriminately into the protesting crowd. ([www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net), 20 March 2009)

(71) **Azin**, Approximately 30 years of age and originally hailed from Palyul County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(72) **Dawa Tsering** from Phenpo Lhundrup County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”

(73) **Dechen Dolma**, 57, a lady from Lhasa “TAR.”

(74) **Dechung** also known as Dachung, 24, from Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”

(75) **Dhondup Dolma**, 19 years old female student from Lhasa “TAR.”

(76) **Dolma**, a lady from Phenpo County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR.”

(77) **Kelsang Yeshe**, a male from Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture “TAR.”

(78) **Kunchok Samphel**, 21 years old bachelor from Damshung County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR.”

(79) **Lhakpa Tsering**: 21 year old driver by profession from Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality was shot dead on 14 March 2008 at Lupuk area of Lhasa. He is survived by his daughter.



(80) **Lobsang Dolma**, a lady from Garu Nunnery, Lhasa “TAR.”

(81) **Lobsang Jinpa** a.k.a. **Ngawang Tsondue**, 38, a monk of Drepung Monastery, originally from Dartsedo County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(82) **Lobsang Tenzin**, a 24-year-old male from Gongkar County, Lhoka Prefecture, “TAR.”

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(83) **Lobsang Tsephel**, 31, monk of Sera Monastery, Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR..”

(84) **Ngawang Sherab Migmar**, 31, monk of Gaden Monastery. He was originally from MeldroGungkar County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR” but was studying at Gaden Monastery when he died.

(85) **Ngawang Thekchen**, 20, from Taklung Drak Monastery, Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”

(86) **Ngawang Tsering**, died on 14 March 2008 at Lhasa People’s hospital. He was from Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture “TAR.”

(87) **Pema**, a 25-year-old driver by profession from Phenpo Lhundup County in the northeast of Lhasa.

(88) **Penpa**, 25, a monk of Drepung Monastery.

(89) **Penpa (Drukda Lama)**, a 29-year-old monk of Nenang Monastery was shot dead on 14 March 2008 in Lhasa. He was from Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR”



(90) **Phurbu**, a 37-year-old lay man from Lhasa.

(91) **Phurbu Tsamchoe**, a 20-year-old of lady of Lhasa.

(92) **Rigzin Choekyi**, a 26-year-old nun of Shugseb Nunnery.

(93) **Sonam Lhamo**, a 21-year-old female from Palyul County, Kardze County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(94) **Sonam Norbu** was from Derge County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. He was 27 years old at the time of his death.

(95) **Sonam Phuntsok** died in prison in Lhasa on 18 March 2008. He was originally from Markham County, Chamdo Prefecture “TAR” and earned his living by begging along with his wife near the entrance of the Ramoche Temple. When the police and the paramilitary forces beat him during the arrest, his blind wife asked for mercy, only to have her beaten to death. The couple is survived by two sons, who were 9 and 7 years old.

(96) **Tashi Dorjee**, 22- year-old male student from Nagchu County, Nagchu Prefecture “TAR”.

(97) **Tashi Tsering** hailed from Bathang County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(98) **Tendar**: a 28 year old Tibetan died following inhuman torture he had undergone after his arrest when he tried to help an elderly monk.



Tendar worked in the customer services department of a Chinese telecommunications company and lived in Lhasa. On March 14, when Tibetan protests turned violent on the streets of Lhasa, Tendar witnessed an elderly monk being beaten by Chinese security personnel. Although details of what happened are sketchy, according to reports by Tibetans who know Tendar, and others in Lhasa on that day, it seems that Tendar tried to help the monk, by telling the police to have mercy on him. He did so at a time when armed police were opening fire on the rioters. Tendar was shot and fell to the ground. Still conscious, he was taken away by police. A Tibetan source who was in Lhasa after the incident and spoke to Tibetans who knew Tendar said: “The injury didn’t appear to be life-threatening. I was told that he was taken to the Lhasa General Hospital that is run by the People’s Liberation Army. While he was at the hospital, a team of four to five Chinese security personnel visited him every four to six hours. During those times they took turns in beating him while interrogating him about his involvement [in the March 14 protests]. They were using iron rods and cigarette butts to burn his skin. He was tortured repeatedly and his condition deteriorated rapidly.”

At this time, none of Tendar’s family or friends knew where he was, a pattern consistent with the wave of disappearances that took place after 14 March. Through connections, Tendar’s family managed to locate him. When they were allowed to visit, he was “in shock, and in excruciating pain. Every movement of his body would cause him to scream with pain”, said the same Tibetan source. He was unable to walk and his body appeared to be paralysed from the waist down. Tendar said that he had witnessed a Tibetan monk at the hospital being beaten to death with iron bars by security personnel. He begged to be taken home.

A Tibetan blogger writing in Chinese described the images as follows: “One of his legs was cut with many bloody knife wounds and a nail had been driven in to a toenail on his right foot. A great deal of flesh had been cut away from his bottom, where the wound was rotting and infested with insects. Where his waist had been beaten with electric batons, the flesh had started to decay. There were many wounds on his back

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and on his face. One of the wounds was covered with transparent tape. Because he had not received any medical care, he was already on the verge of death.”

The same Tibetan source said: “While at hospital, Tendar had tried to kill himself twice by jumping off the window from his room. He had managed to drag his body to the window but was unable to get out as he could not move the lower part of his body.”

The Tibetan source believes that Tendar was only released to his family as the authorities knew there was no hope of his recovery. This is consistent with other cases where Tibetans have died after torture; the authorities seek to avoid being responsible for a person’s death while they are under their charge. His relatives attempted to get medical care for him but hospitals were reluctant to take him into their care due to the political sensitivity of a patient who had been involved on March 14. Tendar was finally admitted to the Peoples’ Hospital near the Potala Palace, where he was immediately taken into intensive care.

Tendar spent 20 days in hospital and his condition continued to deteriorate. He became unconscious, and the medical staff told his family that there was nothing more they could do for him. Tendar’s family had to pay a medical bill of 90,000 yuan (\$13,000) before they could take him home.

Tendar died at home 13 days later, on June 19, 2008. Video footage obtained by the Tibetan government in exile depicts vultures at his sky burial site at Toelung, west of Lhasa. The same Tibetan source, who is no longer in Tibet but who spoke to eyewitnesses, said: “One could see on his body the marks of iron rods. His body was nothing but bone and skin. When his body was being prepared for the vultures [a ritual called *Jhador* in Tibetan], a slender metal bar or long nail about one-third of a meter in length was found inserted through the bottom of his leg. This appeared to be one of the torture instruments used during interrogation.”

The story of Tendar’s death is well-known in Lhasa and has even been written about by Tibetan bloggers in Chinese. Many people who did not know Tendar but who had heard about him came to mark his death at important dates afterwards. “Those who were fearful of attending these occasions due to being seen by security personnel sent money and *khatags* [white Tibetan blessing scarves],” said the same source.

A Tibetan writer said: “Several hundred Tibetans came to his funeral services. Many came out of deep sympathy for a stranger who suffered a terrible tragedy. At the funeral service, the mother of this youth said sadly, ‘I cry not only for my son who died a tragic death, I cry even more for those sons who are being tortured. As a mother, I can’t imagine the torments and suffering my son endured in prison.’”

(99) **Tenzin Dolkar**, from Toelung Dechen County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR” was shot dead on 14 March at Lhasa Tsuklakhang at the age of 21.



(100) **Tenzin Samdup**, a 39-year-old man from Lhasa.

(101) **Tenzin Sangpo**: a 23-year-old student from Lhasa, was shot dead on 14 March 2008 near Tsamkhung Nunnery.

(102) **Thupten Tsering**: a 24-year-old male from Lhasa.

(103) **Tsomo**, 27, a lady from Shigatse County, Shigatse Prefecture “TAR.”

(104) **Wangdue Dhargyal**, a male from Damshung County, Lhasa Municipality, “TAR.”

(105) **Yangzom** was shot dead on 14 March 2008 in Lhasa.

(106) **Yardo Mardo** (Nickname), a driver by profession in Phenpo in east of Lhasa.

(107) **Yeshi**: A businessman from Bathang County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province.

(108) **Gyaltsen**: a 28-year-old male from Yakde village, Nyemo Township, Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”<sup>36</sup>

(109) **Phuntsok Tsering**, 20, from Yakde village, Nyemo Township, Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”<sup>37</sup>

(110) **Mingyur**, 20 years old, from Yakdie village, Nyemo Township, Nyemo County, Lhasa Municipality “TAR.”<sup>38</sup>

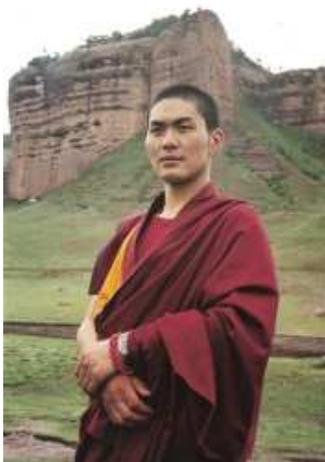
(111) **Shayshay**: a 46-year-old hailed from Bathang County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. He is survived by his wife and four children.



Shayshay, who came to Lhasa with his mother and wife for pilgrimage, joined the peaceful demonstration on 14 March. Gunshots from a Chinese armoured vehicle killed him as he was marching along with other Tibetan protesters from Ramoche towards the general post office. His body was not returned to the family members.<sup>39</sup>

(112) **Tashi Sangpo**, 28, plunged into Machu River and drowned himself out of sheer desperation and frustration on 21 March 2009. He hailed from Gyulgho Township, (*Ch: Lajong*), Machen County, Golog “TAP” Qinghai Province. Tashi Sangpo was

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detained in a local police station since 10 March 2009. Somewhere around 3.30 PM (Beijing Time) on 21 March, he was permitted to visit a toilet, and it was at that time he drowned himself into Machu River as an act of extreme sign of defiance and desperation.

Following the incident, Ragya Monastery was sealed off when Tashi Sangpo made his fatal leap into Machu River, one of the largest rivers of Tibet. The Chinese security forces maintained a close vigil and patrol after political pamphlets and literature were seized and a banned Tibetan National Flag was hoisted on the Ragya Monastery. Moments after Tashi Sangpo's death, several thousand monks and local Tibetans in and around Ragya Monastery gathered to register their

strong protest at a local police station and the County government headquarter, chanting a slogan "Bod-gyalo" (victory for Tibet) while crying bitterly. Some sources told TCHRD that the protesters shouted slogans such as "Independence for Tibet" and "Long Live the Dalai Lama".<sup>40</sup>

(113) **Phuntsok**, 27, a monk of Drango Monastery who hailed from Zongpa Village, Drango County, Kardze "TAP" was beaten to death by the Chinese PSB personnel in a ghastly manner. On 25 March 2009, Phuntsok pasted leaflets (seven pages) on the walls of a branch office of Drango PSB headquarter, on Shara Thang-do Bridge and on eucalyptus trees of roads and highways in Drango County.



Phuntsok's leaflets campaign was connected with the 25 March 2008 protest in Drango County when hundreds of Drango monks who took part in a peaceful demonstration against the Chinese government. The protest was subsequently quelled down with force, resulted in arrests, torture and detention of hundreds of monks by the Chinese authorities. Phuntsok's defiant protest was not a coincidence but deliberately timed to remember, mourn, and express solidarity with those Drango monks tortured, ill-treated and imprisoned during the peaceful demonstration.

In commemorating the arrests, torture and detentions of Drango monks, Phuntsok called on the local Tibetans in Drango County to forego crop cultivation and harvest as a solemn gesture of mourning for monks who were tortured, detained and imprisoned by the Chinese authorities. As a form of civil disobedience and non-cooperation movement, the message of his leaflets read:

“Let it be, if we die of hunger and starvation, but for those of our brothers and sisters who were tortured, injured, detained and killed in the last year’s peaceful demonstration, we must forego planting crops in fields as a gesture of respect, mourning and to express our solidarity with them. Those who had already planted crops in the fields must not tend and reap the harvest. This is a request for all of you. If anyone who still goes on to plant crops in fields and harvest them, I will come with a black scarf to greet them.”

However while pasting leaflets on the walls of an automobile service centre in Drango County, he was identified by Drango PSB personnel who came straight to arrest him. Sensing that PSB personnel were coming to arrest him, he fled on a motorbike behind Baatak Nunnery, situated at a base of a hill. Immediately Drango PSB forces pursued him for a while till the mid of a hill, where his motorbike couldn’t climb any further. He was arrested and severely beaten on the spot with batons. He died shortly after receiving inhuman beatings.

In an attempt to conceal the circumstance of his death, the PSB personnel dropped his corpse at the base of hill to conjure up a suicide scene. A day later local Tibetans learnt about his death and of the body lying at the bottom of a hill. The local Tibetans then cremated the body after three days. Right to the end, the Chinese authorities adamantly maintained that Phuntsok died after committing suicide while the local Tibetans were not convinced. Sources told that there were bruises and cuts on his body which clearly indicated that he was beaten to death by the Chinese security police on 25 March 2009.<sup>41</sup>

(114) **Shedup** was arrested earlier for his alleged role in a protest in Rebkhong in March 2008 and he was severely beaten and tortured in custody by the Chinese officials. He was then released but his name appeared on the list of wanted people who were on the look out by the Chinese officials days before 10 March 2009 for their alleged role 2008 protest. Fearing he might suffer torture and mistreatment by the Chinese officials in custody like he underwent earlier, he committed suicide around 2 April 2009.

Shedup, a 40- year-old monk hailed from Rebkhong County, Malho “TAP” Qinghai Province. He visited India to pursue post-retirement spiritual quest at Gaden Jangtse Monastery (Lubum Khangtsen) in South India and in 2006 he returned to Tibet.<sup>42</sup>

(115) Lobsang Nyindak, a monk of Sera Monastery was from Sertha County, Kardze “TAP” Sichuan Province. He died because of excessive torture that had been inflicted on him by the prison authority and after his release from the prison he was unable to treat the injuries due to lack of timely and proper medical care.<sup>43</sup>

116) **Kalden**, a monk from Drepung Monastery died from torture in a PSB detention

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center, Lhasa. He is alleged to have died in August 2009. A 32-year-old monk was from village No.8, Tso-doe Township, Phenpo Lhundup County, Lhasa Municipality City “TAR”. On 10 March 2008 he along with 300 monks from Drepung Monastery, participated in a march where they intended to protest in the Lhasa’s city centre against the Chinese government, when they were stopped and arrested by Chinese security forces. He was one of many monks arrested on that day. He died in Lhasa PSB Detention Centre in mid-August 2009, due to prolonged period of confinement, torture and maltreatment. His corpse was handed over to his distant relative in Lhasa City in mid-Aug 2009.<sup>44</sup>

(117) The disciplinary master of Kardze Monastery, **Wangchen**, in his forties, was reportedly one of those who died in Kardze on 18 March.<sup>45</sup>

(118) **Ngodup Phuntsog**, was also killed in Kardze during 18 March 2008 Protest at Kardze.<sup>46</sup>

(119) **Ngoga**, a 40-year old from Sichu Village of Kardze County was killed during 18 March 2008 protest in Kardze by Chinese security forces.<sup>47</sup>

(120) **Pema Dechen**, from Sichu Village of Kardze County was killed during 18 March Protest when Chinese security forces fired live ammunitions into protesters.<sup>48</sup>

(121) **Legtsok**: 75-year old Legtsok of Ngaba Gomang Monastery committed suicide on 30 March 2008. Days before committing suicide, Legtsok accompanied by two other monks while on their way to perform prayer rituals at the house of a Tibetan family encountered a large contingent of Chinese security forces heading towards Ngaba Gomang Monastery to quell the protesting peaceful monks at the monastery. The Chinese forces brutally beat Legtsok and detained him for a few days. Later he was released and sent back to the monastery. He repeatedly told his two disciples “he can’t bear the oppression anymore”.<sup>49</sup>

(122) **Thokmey a.k.a Tsangpa Thokmey** (prefix name used of his origin) a monk of Ramoche Temple committed suicide on 22 March 2008 following massive crackdown by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) and People’s Armed Police (PAP) forces in Ramoche Temple.<sup>50</sup>

(123) **Lhundrub**, a 17-year-old boy, described as one of the best students at the Chentsa (Ch: Jianza) County Middle school in Malho Prefecture of Qinghai Province committed suicide by jumping from the roof of the his three-storey school building at around 4 pm on 18 October 2008.<sup>51</sup> The report said Lhundrub had left a note for his parents, teachers and fellow-students, saying he was committing suicide not for any personal reason but to make the point that there was no freedom and basic human rights for Tibetans under Chinese rule.

(124) On 18 March 2008, when around 300 Tibetans from all walks of life staged a peaceful protest demonstration in the main market square of Kardze County and the bystanders joined the protest. According to the eyewitnesses' account from the scene of demonstration, the Chinese paramilitary troops started firing live ammunition indiscriminately into the demonstrators from the rooftop of a building. The protesters started dispersing in all directions for cover. After a short while, three dead bodies were found lying on the road. Two of them were identified as Gonpo Nadul, Nyiga and the name of the third victim is still unidentified. At least 15 protesters were also injured during the indiscriminate firing by the Chinese security forces. Out of the 15 injured Tibetans, identities of the five, two females and three males were known. They are Pema Dechen, Chemi Gonpo, Lobsang, Tseten Phuntsok and Shao Mimi.<sup>52</sup>

### (End notes)

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- 2 The Great Uprising of Earth-Rat year: Published by Dhomay Alliance for Freedom and Justice; 2008; Page no 157
- 3 A Tibetan nomad shot dead in Amdo Golog, hundreds arrested," TCHRD Press Release dated 29 April 2008. <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080429.html>
- 4 The Great Uprising of Earth-Rat year: Published by Dhomay Alliance for Freedom and Justice; 2008; Page no 310
- 5 The Great Uprising of Earth-Rat year: Published by Dhomay Alliance for Freedom and Justice; 2008; Page no 72
- 6 The Great Uprising of Earth-Rat year: Published by Dhomay Alliance for Freedom and Justice; 2008; Page no 162
- 7 The Great Uprising of Earth-Rat year: Published by Dhomay Alliance for Freedom and Justice; 2008; Page no 227
- 8 International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) report dated 21 May 2009 [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org)
- 9 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 2 May 2008 [www.stoptibetcrisis.net](http://www.stoptibetcrisis.net)
- 10 Tibetan Solidarity Committee Press Statement dated 6 May 2008
- 11 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 17 July 2008
- 12 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 23 July 2008
- 13 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 22 April 2008
- 14 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 24 March 2008
- 15 Tibetan Solidarity Committee press statement dated 24 March 2008
- 16 "At least eight shot dead in Tongkor Moanstery in Kardze," Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) Press Statement dated 5 April 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080405a.html> and TCHRD Press Release dated 17 April 2008.
- 17 "One Shot dead and another in critical condition in Drango Protest," TCHRD Press Release dated 24 March 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080324a.html>
- 18 "Middle school student shot dead in Ngaba County," TCHRD Press Release dated 20

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March 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080320a.html>

19 “Middle School Student Shot Dead in Ngaba County,” TCHRD Press Release dated 19 March 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080320a.html>

20 “Fresh Pictures of Tibetan protesters’ dead bodies and crackdown by the Chinese security forces.” TCHRD Press Release dated 17 March 2008. <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080317c.html>

21 “Two monks commit suicide in Amdo Ngaba,” TCHRD Press Release dated 4 April 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080404a.html>

22 Ibid<sup>23</sup> “A Tibetan died of torture in Phenpo County,” TCHRD Press Release dated 2 May 2008; available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080502.html>

24 Ibid

25 “A Tibetan woman succumbs to torture,” TCHRD Press Release dated 5 May 2008 available at <http://tchrd.org/press/2008/pr20080505.html>

26 Central Tibetan Administration press release dated 20 March 2009 available at [www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net)

27 “Tibet Times ‘Bod-kyi-dus-bab’” A Tibetan weekly dated 30 September 2008.

28 “Monks suicide on the rise in Buddhist Tibet,” A report submitted to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Freedom of Religion or Belief on the factors and circumstances leading to the occurrences and increase of suicides by Tibetan monks and nuns in Chinese occupied Tibet since 10 March 2008, TCHRD dated 7 June 2009; Central Tibetan Administration, Identified list of Tibetans killed under China’s crackdown since 10 March 2008, [http://www.tibet.net/en/pdf/tibetans\\_killed\\_2008.pdf](http://www.tibet.net/en/pdf/tibetans_killed_2008.pdf)

29 Ibid

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## GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

“TAP”	“Tibet Autonomous Prefecture” (Tib. <i>Bod rang skyong khul</i> ); There are 10 of these administrative areas (below the level of a province or region) created outside “TAR” by the Chinese authorities, located in northern and eastern Tibet (in the Tibetan provinces of Kham and Amdo)
“TAR”	“Tibet Autonomous Region” (Tib. <i>Bod rang kyong lljongs</i> , Ch. <i>xizang Zizique</i> ); Formally created by China in 1965, this area of central and western Tibet, covering the area of west of the Yangtse River and south of the Kunlun Mountains, is the only area recognized by China as being “Tibet”
Barkhor (Tib)	The old Tibetan quarter and market area around the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa. In Tibetan it literally means the “middle circuit” or central circumambulation
Cadre	(Tib. <i>le che pa</i> , Ch. <i>gan bu</i> ) Technically applies to staff of the Chinese Government administration; also referred to those working on official projects or in state enterprises
CAT	United Nations Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
CCP	(Ch. <i>Zhon Guo Gong Chan Dang</i> ) Chinese Communist Party; founded in July 1921
CEDAW	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
Circumambulation	A religious ritual circling clockwise around a holy place in order to accumulate merit
County	(Tib. <i>dzong</i> , Ch. <i>xian</i> ) The Middle level administrative unit equivalent to district
CPL	Criminal Procedure Law; the revised CPL came into effect on 1 January 1997
CPPCC	Chinese People’s Political Consultative Congress
Cultural Revolution	(Tib. <i>rigs-nas-gsar-brje</i> ); The campaign initiated in 1966 by Mao Zedong in order to regain control of the Communist Party by ordering the youth to “bombard the headquarters” (purge opponents within the Party) and to eradicate the “four olds” (old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits). The Chinese authorities no describe it as “Ten Bad Years”, referring to the entire period of 1966 to 1979.
Detention Centre	(Tib. <i>lta srung khang</i> , Ch. <i>kanshoushuo</i> ) Place where prisoners are held without charge prior to sentencing
DMC	(Tib. <i>u-yon lhan khang</i> , Ch. <i>we yuan hi</i> ) Democratic Management Committee; Administrative organs established in 1962 in religious institutions in Tibet and reconstructed under the 1996 “patriotic re-education” campaign

<b>Drapchi prison</b>	Officially known as “Tibet Autonomous Region” Prison
<b>Endangering State Security</b>	Charge introduced in the revised CPL to replace “counter-revolutionary”
<b>Floating population</b>	(Ch. <i>liudong renkou</i> ) Term used to refer to Chinese migrants who are unregistered permanent and temporary residents in Tibet
<b>Geshe (Tib)</b>	Spiritual title and doctorate; monk or lama who has completed the highest course in metaphysics and other academic monastic studies in the Gelugpa school
<b>Guanxi (Ch)</b>	Literally, “connection”; colloquially a connection to officialdom to acquire preferential treatment
<b>Gyama (Tib)</b>	Unit of measurement equivalent to 500 grams
<b>Gyama (Tib)</b>	Unit of measurement equivalent to 500 grams
<b>Hukou (Ch)</b>	Household Registration card
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
<b>ICESCR</b>	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
<b>Khenpo (Tib)</b>	Literally abbot. In Nyingma and Kagyu tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, Khenpo is analogous to the Geshe degree
<b>Lama (Tib)</b>	The Tibetan term for a respected religious teacher, equivalent to the Sanskrit term guru. A lama is not necessarily a monk, although monasticism is preferred for all lamas in the Gelugpa School. Chinese politicians use the term incorrectly to refer to any monk
<b>Mu (Tib)</b>	A measure of land equal to 67 square meters
<b>NPC</b>	National People’s Congress
<b>PAP</b>	People’s Armed Police
<b>Patriotic re-education</b>	Initiated in 1996 in Tibet’s monasteries and nunneries, “patriotic re-education” campaign was designed to purge the influence of the Dalai Lama, to indoctrinate the monks and nuns with political ideology and to crackdown on dissent activities.
<b>Potala Palace</b>	Official winter residence of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa
<b>PRC</b>	People’s Republic of China
<b>Prefecture</b>	(Tib. <i>sa khul</i> , Ch. <i>diqu</i> ) The administrative area below the level of province or region and above the level of a county
<b>Procuracy</b>	(Tib. <i>zhib chu</i> , Ch. <i>jian chayan</i> ) A Chinese judicial agency responsible for investigating and prosecuting criminal cases. It also handles complaints against police, prison officials and other branches of the administration
<b>Prostrate</b>	Buddhist practice of lying face down before any sacred body
<b>PSB</b>	(Tib. <i>schi de chus</i> , Ch. <i>Gong An Ju</i> ) Public Security Bureau, local level police force responsible for detaining and arresting suspects and for pre-trial custody

Profiles of known Tibetans who died in protests

<b>Re-education</b>	Indoctrination of Chinese Communist ideology and national unity; carried out extensively in religious institutions and labour camps in Tibet
<b>Rukhag (Tib)</b>	One small unit within a prison, village, school, or military etc
<b>Saga Dawa (Tib)</b>	The month of Buddha's birth, Enlightenment and Death
<b>Splittism</b>	(Tib. <i>Khadral ringlugs</i> ) Party term for the movement for Tibetan independence or any nationalist sentiments
<b>Strike Hard</b>	(Tib. <i>dungdek tsanen</i> , Ch. <i>yanda</i> ) A PRC campaign targeted at crushing corruption and crime. Within Tibet, Chinese authorities are aiming the campaign at "splittists"
<b>Tsampa (Tib)</b>	Roasted barley flour
<b>Tsongkhul (Tib)</b>	Detention Area
<b>Tsuglhakhang (Tib)</b>	Central Cathedral in Lhasa
<b>UNWGAD</b>	United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention
<b>Work Team</b>	(Tib. <i>las don ru khag</i> , Ch. <i>gongzuo dui</i> ) Specially formed units of government personnel sent to conduct "patriotic re-education" in an institution or locality
<b>Yartsa Gunbu (Tib)</b>	A Tibetan medicinal plant (Botanical name <i>cordyceps sinensis</i> )
<b>Yuan (Ch)</b>	Chinese currency (8 Yuan is equivalent to 1 dollar.)

