

V. Tibet

Status of Negotiations Between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama or His Representatives

Formal dialogue between the Dalai Lama's representatives and Chinese Communist Party and government officials has been stalled since the January 2010 ninth round,¹ the longest interval since such contacts resumed in 2002.² The Commission observed no indication during the 2015 reporting year of official Chinese interest in resuming a dialogue that takes into account the concerns of Tibetans who live in the Tibetan autonomous areas of China.³ An April 2015 State Council white paper reiterated⁴ that Chinese officials would "only talk with private representatives of the Dalai Lama" to discuss "the future of the Dalai Lama and some of his followers."⁵ Talks would also seek "solutions" for how the Dalai Lama would "gain the forgiveness of the central government and the Chinese people," the paper said.⁶

Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights Sarah Sewall, who also serves as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues,⁷ referred in June 2015 to ongoing Tibetan self-immolation and stated:

This tragedy underscores the need for the Chinese government to resume direct dialogue, without preconditions, with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. We are very concerned that it has been more than five years since the last round of dialogue. The situation on the ground . . . continues to deteriorate.⁸

Economic Development, Urbanization, Party Policy

The Commission observed no evidence during its 2002 to 2015 period of reporting that the Party or government solicited systematic or representative input from the Tibetan population on economic development in the Tibetan autonomous areas of China.⁹ Commission annual reports have documented implementation of a development model—"Chinese characteristics with Tibetan traits"¹⁰—that effectively boosts economic growth¹¹ and household income.¹² At the same time, officials deny Tibetans adequate rights to protect their culture,¹³ language,¹⁴ religion,¹⁵ and environment.¹⁶

Party officials continued to blame the Dalai Lama and entities associated with him for Tibetan unwillingness to accept Chinese policies and implementation. In March 2015, for example, a senior Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) official reportedly asserted in a televised speech on "Serfs Emancipation Day"—an observance¹⁷ established after the 2008 Tibetan protests¹⁸—that the Party's "political struggle" with the "Dalai clique" is "related to progress and backwardness."¹⁹

In August 2014, the Communist Party Central Committee journal *Seeking Truth*²⁰ cautioned that "ethnic distribution is undergoing profound changes" and acknowledged that the Party faced "new situations, new problems, and new challenges in an unprecedented manner."²¹ The article advised that the Party must "maintain strategic assertiveness."²² This past year, the Commission ob-

served reports likely to prove of unprecedented consequence to the pace and scale of economic development and urbanization on the Tibetan plateau, and to Tibetans living there, as well as policy developments with potentially significant impact. Such developments include the following:

- **Urbanization.** In November 2014, December 2014, and April 2015, respectively, the State Council approved upgrades of Changdu (Chamdo),²³ Rikaze (Shigatse),²⁴ and Linzhi (Nyingtri)²⁵ cities—the capitals of TAR prefectures with the same names—to the status of municipalities (prefectural-level cities). Previously, Lhasa, the regional capital, was the only TAR municipality.²⁶ All four municipalities are on or near railway lines that either are completed (Lhasa,²⁷ Rikaze²⁸) or are under construction (Changdu,²⁹ Linzhi³⁰).

- **Population.** State-run media reported that the officially acknowledged TAR urban population in 2013 was 740,000 and that a January 2015 “urbanization conference” decided to increase the “permanent urban population” by approximately 280,000 by 2020.³¹ The announcement—which preceded the April 2015 upgrade of Linzhi to become the fourth TAR municipality³²—stated that three TAR “cities or towns” would each have populations of “up to 500,000” by 2020.³³ The report referred to the Lhasa city population as “currently . . . less than 300,000,”³⁴ a likely reference to 2013 data.³⁵ The Commission noted in its 2014 Annual Report that after 2009, TAR yearbooks ceased to report detailed population data, hindering analysis.³⁶ The figure “less than 300,000” is as much as 60 percent greater than the 186,392 population reported for 2008 in the 2009 TAR yearbook.³⁷ The increase is substantial and likely represents five years’ growth.³⁸

- **Railways.** State-run media reported significant progress in railway construction, though completion will be later than predicted.³⁹ Following government approval of a feasibility report in October 2014,⁴⁰ construction began in December 2014 at each end of the Sichuan-Tibet railway: a 402-kilometer (approximately 250 miles) link eastward from Lhasa to Linzhi,⁴¹ and a 42-kilometer (approximately 26 miles) link westward from Chengdu, the Sichuan province capital, to Ya’an city, Sichuan.⁴² The Lhasa-Linzhi railway is scheduled for completion by 2022 and estimated to cost 36.6 billion yuan (US\$5.89 billion)⁴³—more than triple the per kilometer cost of the Golmud-Lhasa railway completed in 2006.⁴⁴ The Lhasa-Linzhi railway will traverse seven TAR counties⁴⁵ south of the Yalunzangbu (Yarlung Tsangpo, or Brahmaputra) river and north of the border with the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, which the Chinese government claims as part of China.⁴⁶ Public reports created in cooperation with U.S. military agencies noted regional security issues potentially associated with construction of the Lhasa-Linzhi railway.⁴⁷

- **UFWD.** On July 30, 2015, the Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau (Politburo) met and decided to establish a new central leading small group (*gongzuo lingdao xiaozu* or *gongzuo xietiao xiaozu*⁴⁸) to guide the United Front Work Department (UFWD) in its work⁴⁹ implementing Party

policies.⁵⁰ On July 10, Party officials representing UFWD offices in the TAR and Sichuan, Gansu, Qinghai, and Yunnan provinces met to discuss coordination on issues including regional and national stability.⁵¹

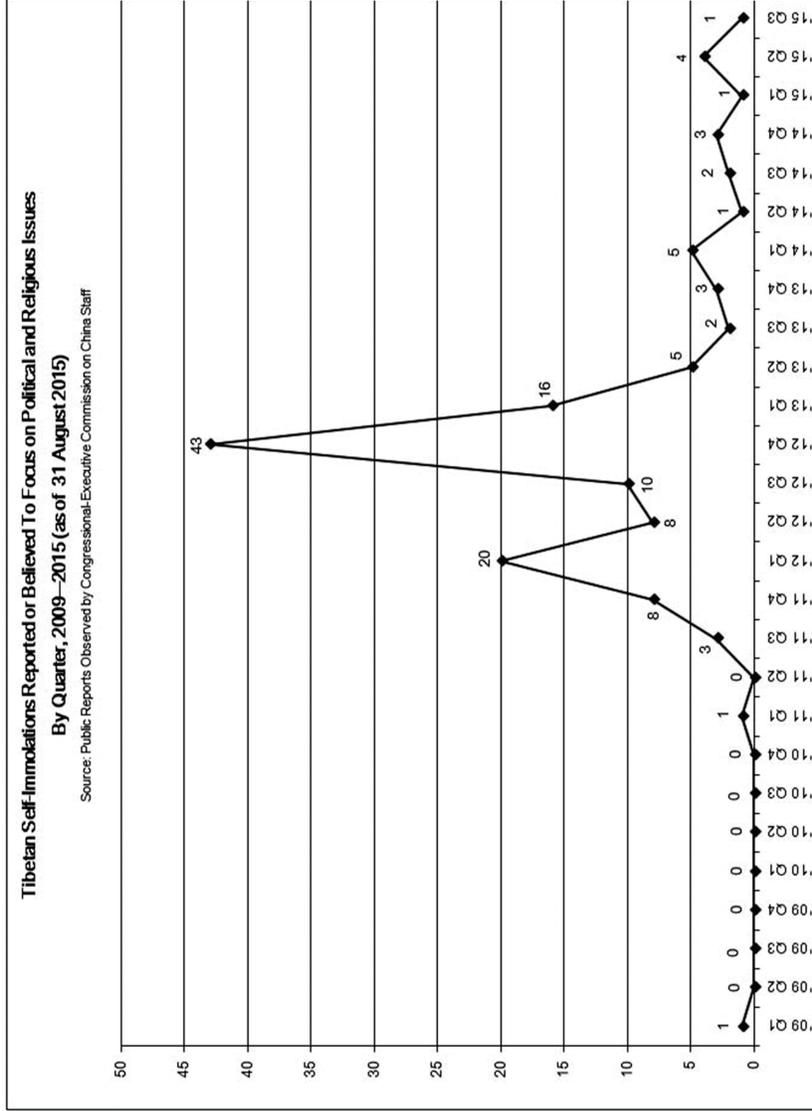
• **Sixth Forum.** On August 24–25, 2015, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, chaired by President of China and Party General Secretary Xi Jinping, met for the Sixth Tibet Work Forum (Sixth Forum).⁵² The Fifth Tibet Work Forum took place in January 2010.⁵³ At the Sixth Forum, Xi reportedly called for the Party to, among other things:

- “[U]nswervingly carry out propaganda and education activities on Marxist motherland view, views on nation, religious view, cultural view,”;⁵⁴
- “[C]ontinuously strengthen the identification of the people of various nationalities with the great motherland, with the Chinese nation, with the Chinese culture, with the Communist Party of China, and with socialism with Chinese characteristics”;⁵⁵ and
- “[M]erge socialist core value concept education into the curriculum of various levels and various kinds of schools, promote the state’s common language, and strive to nurture socialist cause builders”⁵⁶

Tibetan Self-Immolation

The frequency of Tibetan self-immolation reportedly focusing on political and religious issues during the Commission’s 2015 reporting year remained similar to the 2014 reporting year as security and punitive measures targeting self-immolation remained in effect.⁵⁷ During the 12-month period September 2014–August 2015, the Commission recorded 11 self-immolations focused on political and religious issues.⁵⁸ During the preceding 12-month period, September 2013–August 2014, the Commission recorded 10 such self-immolations.⁵⁹ The Commission has not observed any sign that Party and government leaders intend to respond to Tibetan grievances in a constructive manner or accept any accountability for Tibetans’ rejection of Chinese policies.

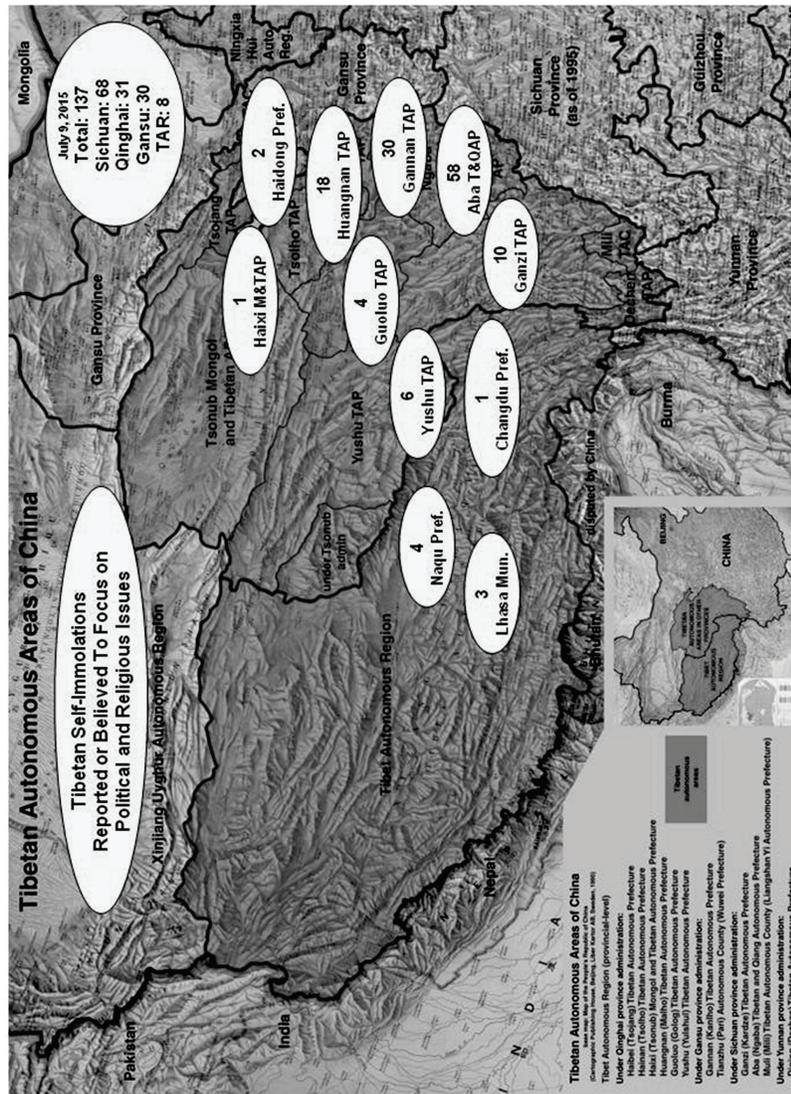
Senior officials continued to blame self-immolation on foreign incitement.⁶⁰ For example, on March 11, 2015, Zhu Weiqun, currently the Chairperson of the Ethnic and Religious Affairs Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC),⁶¹ accused the Dalai Lama and his supporters of “inciting self-immolation among the Tibetan people” and urged the Dalai Lama “to forsake his evil ways.”⁶² He asserted that declining numbers of self-immolations demonstrated that the Dalai Lama “is exerting less influence” among Tibetans.⁶³ Zhu formerly was the Executive Deputy Head of the Communist Party Central Committee’s United Front Work Department;⁶⁴ in that capacity he met with the Dalai Lama’s representatives in sessions of dialogue from 2003 until the most recent round in 2010.⁶⁵



The general character of self-immolations in the past reporting year—acts committed publicly and featuring calls for Tibetan freedom and the Dalai Lama’s return⁶⁶—appeared to remain consistent with previous years, and were concurrent with government use of regulatory measures to control and repress principal elements of Tibetan culture and religion, including Tibetan Buddhist monastic institutions,⁶⁷ and with the apparent collapse of the China-Dalai Lama dialogue.⁶⁸ Fewer details on such protests have emerged, however, possibly as a result of blocked communications⁶⁹ or fear of criminal prosecution and imprisonment for sharing information about a self-immolation with entities outside of China.⁷⁰

Since 2009 and as of August 2015, 137 Tibetans—121 of them reportedly deceased—have self-immolated in 10 of 17 Tibetan autonomous prefectures (TAPs) and 1 ordinary prefecture.⁷¹ From January 2014 to August 2015, Tibetans self-immolated in 6 TAPs located in three provinces.⁷² As of July 9, 2015:⁷³

- 75 of the 137 self-immolators reportedly were laypersons; 62 were current or former monks or nuns;
- 69 of the 137 self-immolations reportedly took place in Qinghai and Gansu provinces and the Tibet Autonomous Region; 68 took place in Sichuan province;
- 116 of the 137 self-immolators were male; 55 were current or former monks; 61 were laypersons; and
- 21 of the 137 self-immolators were female; 7 were current or former nuns; 14 were laypersons.



Congressional-Executive Commission on China

TIBETAN SELF-IMMOLATIONS REPORTED OR BELIEVED TO FOCUS ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES (SEPTEMBER 2014–AUGUST 2015)

See CECC 2012–2014 Annual Reports for Self-Immolations 1–126⁷⁴

No.	Date of Self-Immolation	Name Sex / Approx. Age	Occupation Affiliation	Self-Immolation Location (Prov. / Pref. / County)	Status
	2014				
127	September 16	Konchog M/42	Father	Qinghai / Guoluo / Gande	Hospital- ized ⁷⁵

TIBETAN SELF-IMMOLATIONS REPORTED OR BELIEVED TO FOCUS ON POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES (SEPTEMBER 2014–AUGUST 2015)—CONTINUED

See CECC 2012–2014 Annual Reports for Self-Immolations 1–126⁷⁴

No.	Date of Self-Immolation	Name Sex / Approx. Age	Occupation Affiliation	Self-Immolation Location (Prov. / Pref. / County)	Status
128	September 17	Lhamo Tashi M/22	Student	Gansu / Gannan / Hezuo	Deceased ⁷⁶
129	December 16	Sanggye Khar M/about 34	Father	Gansu / Gannan / Xiahe	Deceased ⁷⁷
130	December 22	Tsepe Kyi F/about 20	Nomad	Sichuan / Aba / Aba	Deceased ⁷⁸
131	December 23	Kalsang Yeshe M/about 38	Monk Niyitso Mon- astery	Sichuan / Ganzi / Ganzi	Deceased ⁷⁹
2015					
132	March 5	Norchug F/47	Wife and mother	Sichuan / Aba / Aba	Deceased ⁸⁰
133	April 8	Yeshe Khadro F/47	Nun Nganggang Nunnery	Sichuan / Ganzi / Ganzi	Deceased ⁸¹
134	April 16	Nekyab M/mid-40s or 50s	Husband and father	Sichuan / Aba / Aba	Deceased ⁸²
135	May 20	Tenzin Gyatso M/35	Husband and father	Sichuan / Ganzi / Daofu	Deceased ⁸³
136	May 27	Sanggye Tso F/36	Wife and mother	Gansu / Gannan / Zhuoni	Deceased ⁸⁴
137	July 9	Sonam Tobgyal M/26	Monk Dzongsar Monastery	Qinghai / Yushu / Yushu	Deceased ⁸⁵

Religious Freedom for Tibetan Buddhists

The Chinese Communist Party and government continued efforts this past year to deepen the transformation of Tibetan Buddhism into a state-managed institution that prioritizes adherence to Party and government policies as a principal feature of the religion.⁸⁶ The range of religious activity in which officials sought to interfere or control, sometimes by imposing coercive regulations, ranged from as slight as whether a pilgrim could carve or place mani (offering) stones,⁸⁷ to as consequential as whether the Dalai Lama would reincarnate.⁸⁸

In March 2015, Zhu Weiqun, Chairperson of the CPPCC Ethnic and Religious Affairs Committee⁸⁹ and former counterpart in dialogue with the Dalai Lama's envoys,⁹⁰ stated in an interview that failure to comply with government-mandated procedures for identifying the Dalai Lama's reincarnation would be "illegal" and that the resultant "so-called Dalai Lama" would be "illegal."⁹¹ During the same month, Pema Choling (*Baima Chilin*), Chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) People's Congress Standing Com-

mittee⁹² and Deputy Secretary of the TAR Party Committee,⁹³ said the Dalai Lama's remarks on reincarnation were "blasphemy against . . . Tibetan Buddhism" and that the Dalai Lama's reincarnation is "not up to the Dalai Lama."⁹⁴ In a 2011 signed declaration, however, the Dalai Lama wrote:⁹⁵

[T]he person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized.

An April 2015 State Council white paper outlined the rationale for claiming authority over Tibetan Buddhist reincarnation, including that of the Dalai Lama, and noted that 2007 government regulations "further institutionalize the reincarnation process."⁹⁶ In his 2011 declaration, the Dalai Lama denounced the referenced regulations—titled Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism⁹⁷—as "brazen meddling" and warned that "it will be impossible" for Tibetan Buddhists "to acknowledge or accept it."⁹⁸

Regulations reportedly issued in September 2014 by the Biru (Driru) County People's Government in Naqu (Nagchu) prefecture, TAR,⁹⁹ asserted greater control over religious activities. Some articles¹⁰⁰ punish an individual by imposing a ban varying from one to three years on harvesting *cordyceps sinensis* ("caterpillar fungus")—a principal source of income for many Tibetan families.¹⁰¹ Some articles also impose loss of welfare benefits for either one or three years.¹⁰² Loss of income and social support could effectively impose collective punishment¹⁰³ by subjecting an entire family to financial hardship for the action of one family member.¹⁰⁴ The Commission's 2014 Annual Report included information on a June 2014 set of "temporary" Biru regulations that in some cases imposed collective punishment.¹⁰⁵ Examples from the September 2014 regulations include the following:

- **Images.** Leaders of township-level Communist Party committees or governments who fail to "discover" and punish the possession or display of images of the Dalai Lama will be warned officially;¹⁰⁶ heads of Monastery Management Committees¹⁰⁷ who fail to prevent possession or display of such images will be warned officially;¹⁰⁸ monks and nuns who possess or display such images face expulsion from their monastic institutions and six months' "education";¹⁰⁹ laypersons who possess or display such images face six months' "education" and loss of "the right" to collect *cordyceps sinensis* for two years.¹¹⁰
- **Stones.** Leaders of township-level Party or government offices who fail to prevent "unauthorized" mani stone¹¹¹ carving and cairn building will be warned officially; if the stones are not removed within a "certain time period," officials will lose their rank.¹¹² Persons involved in mani stone carving or cairn building face six months' "education" and loss of "the right" to collect *cordyceps sinensis* for two years if they fail to "clean up within a certain period."¹¹³
- **Movement.** The "leading checkpoint official and police officers on duty" at checkpoints will receive an "official warning" if checkpoints "fail to properly prevent monastics without full qualifications¹¹⁴ from traveling."¹¹⁵ Similar warnings will

occur if “monastics without proper qualifications” travel elsewhere for religious study or “engage in splittist sabotage after reaching other localities.”¹¹⁶

A document reportedly issued in February 2015 by Party officials in Tongren (Rebgong) county, Huangnan (Malho) TAP, Qinghai province, outlined 20 points forbidding and penalizing activity characterized as related to “Tibet independence.”¹¹⁷ Several points, however, target ordinary Tibetan Buddhist activity.¹¹⁸ The document also appears to call for collective punishment of monastic institutions.¹¹⁹

Representative examples of additional developments adversely affecting Tibetans’ exercise of freedom of religion this past year include the following:

- **Must-Haves.** In April 2015, TAR Party Secretary Chen Quanguo “reemphasized” the role of the “nine must-haves” (*jiu you*)¹²⁰—items promoting Party political objectives—within TAR monasteries and nunneries.¹²¹ The Party reportedly introduced the campaign in December 2011;¹²² Chen described it in September 2012.¹²³ In an April 2015 Seeking Truth article, Chen reportedly called on monks and nuns to “have a personal feeling of the Party and government’s care and warmth” and “follow the Party’s path.”¹²⁴ Monks and nuns reportedly would face increased “assessment activities” to ensure “harmonious monasteries” and “patriotic, law-abiding monks and nuns.”¹²⁵
- **Education.** Chen announced the same month the launch of a “legal education campaign” at TAR monasteries and nunneries.¹²⁶ Such campaigns seek to “educate” monks, nuns, religious teachers, and monastic administrators about their obligations under government regulatory measures and about penalties for failing to fulfill them.¹²⁷ The Party launched a similar campaign in 2012.¹²⁸
- **Intimidation.** Reports of deployment of large, intimidating displays of security personnel and equipment at Tibetan Buddhist monasteries on days regarded as among the holiest of the year interfered with peaceful Tibetan Buddhist observances.¹²⁹
- **Passports.** In December 2014, officials in Seda (Serthar) county, Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, Sichuan province, reportedly began to issue passports to “the general public,” but not to monks or nuns.¹³⁰
- **Tenzin Deleg.** On July 12, 2015, Tenzin Deleg, recognized by the Dalai Lama as a reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist teacher,¹³¹ died in prison in Sichuan.¹³² He was sentenced in December 2002 to death with a two-year reprieve on charges of inciting “splittism” and conspiracy to cause explosions,¹³³ charges that he denied in a smuggled audiotape.¹³⁴ Human Rights Watch and the Commission published reports on the case.¹³⁵ In January 2005, the Sichuan Province High People’s Court commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.¹³⁶ In 2010, prison officials reportedly informed his relatives that he was “suffering from ailments related to bones, heart, and blood pressure.”¹³⁷ Based on government regulations, he became eligible for medical parole in January 2012.¹³⁸ In October 2014, Tibetans in Sichuan province gathered to pray for his re-

lease;¹³⁹ he was reported to be seriously ill as recently as April 2015.¹⁴⁰

Status of Tibetan Culture

The Commission observed no developments this past year indicating that Party and government leaders intend to develop a “harmonious society” that tolerates Tibetan commitment toward their culture, language, and environment. In some areas, greater obstacles emerged for Tibetans seeking to organize efforts to preserve the Tibetan language or protect the environment.¹⁴¹ Promoting the notion that Tibetans should maintain “unity” may have played a role in a fatal police beating,¹⁴² a self-immolation,¹⁴³ and an imprisonment.¹⁴⁴

In an unusual positive development, a “collective” of Tibetan journalists associated with China Tibet Online, a Party-controlled news website,¹⁴⁵ posted a Tibetan-language statement in September 2014.¹⁴⁶ According to a High Peaks Pure Earth translation,¹⁴⁷ the group expressed the intent “to discard and disavow all of our previous activities of propaganda and politico-ideological engagements” and commit “to reporting and writing about real social issues, livelihoods of people, conflicts and controversies in Tibet as they are.”¹⁴⁸ The group asserted they were exercising their “rights of journalism and mass media within the limits of the Central Government’s directives.”¹⁴⁹ As of August 2015, the Commission had not observed additional reports on the matter.

Representative examples of developments capable of hindering Tibetans’ capacity to foster and protect their culture, language, and environment included the following:

- **Ethnicity.** An August 2014 article authored by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group and published in *Seeking Truth* warned of challenges facing “ethnic work.”¹⁵⁰ “The more we find ourselves in times like this, the more we should remain politically sober . . . and steadfastly take the correct path, with Chinese characteristics, of handling the ethnic issue.”¹⁵¹ The article urged:

Promote refining the management of ethnic affairs; improve the formulation of different governing strategies toward different ethnic regions; and improve the use of economic, administrative, legal, cultural, information, media and other means in implementing comprehensive management.¹⁵²

- **Expression.** Officials detained or sentenced Tibetans including Kalsang Yarphel¹⁵³—whose lyrics urged Tibetans to speak Tibetan, unite, and build courage;¹⁵⁴ Pema Rigzin¹⁵⁵—who produced “patriotic” songs including for Kalsang Yarphel; Druglo (pen name “Shokjang”)¹⁵⁶—a writer and intellectual who discussed subjects including China’s system of ethnic autonomy;¹⁵⁷ and blogger Gedun Gyatso (pen name Dademig)¹⁵⁸—who may have written “political” material.¹⁵⁹

- **Association.** A Tongren (Rebgong) county Party document distributed in February 2015¹⁶⁰ forbids and penalizes Tibetan association for various purposes by characterizing it as independence-oriented.¹⁶¹ Penalized association involves Tibetan

communication,¹⁶² language,¹⁶³ education,¹⁶⁴ and the environment,¹⁶⁵ and appears to provide for collective punishment of families and villages.¹⁶⁶

- **Language and education.** The role of Tibetan language in education remained an issue this past year. On November 1, 2014, students at the Tibetan Language Middle School in Ruo'ergai (Dzoegé) county, Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP), Sichuan province, reportedly protested against a possible change from Tibetan to Chinese as the language of instruction.¹⁶⁷ According to a January 2015 report, authorities shut down a “winter workshop” offered by a Yushu (Yulshul) TAP, Qinghai province, monastery to local children for the past 24 years.¹⁶⁸ Among subjects taught were Tibetan grammar and logic.¹⁶⁹

- **Livelihood and environment.** Tibetans continued to protest against the loss of their land or environmental damage to it. Examples include reports from: Mozhugongka (Maldro Gongkar) county, Lhasa municipality, TAR, on mining runoff “destroying fish and crops and causing health problems”;¹⁷⁰ Nanmulin (Namling) county, Rikaze (Shigatse) municipality, TAR, on “security forces” allegedly wounding 13 people after opening fire on Tibetans protesting local mining operations;¹⁷¹ Ruo'ergai county, Aba T&QAP, Sichuan, on land seized for a development project;¹⁷² Rangtang (Dzamthang) county, Aba T&QAP, on police beating members of a family who refused to sell their land for use as a police barracks and other development projects;¹⁷³ Xiahe (Sangchu) county, Gannan (Kanlho) TAP, Gansu province, on road building that prevented access to grazing lands and authorities’ failure to provide fair compensation for the land;¹⁷⁴ Kangtsa (Gangcha) county, Haibei (Tsojang) TAP, Qinghai, on environmental damage in nomadic areas caused by mining and failure to provide payment for land use;¹⁷⁵ and Chenduo (Tridu) county in Yushu TAP, Qinghai, on officials who seized residency permits and driver’s licenses from Tibetan nomads who refused to move from their grazing lands to a newly built town.¹⁷⁶

In a positive development, state-run media announced in January 2015 that officials will establish a national park that includes parts of three counties in Yushu and Guoluo (Golog) TAPs, Qinghai,¹⁷⁷ including an area in Zaduo (Dzatoe) county where Tibetans reportedly had “clashed” with authorities over mining.¹⁷⁸ According to an October 2014 report, officials halted mining in the park area.¹⁷⁹

Summary: Tibetan Political Detention and Imprisonment

As of September 1, 2015, the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database (PPD) contained 1,834 records—a figure certain to be far from complete—of Tibetan political prisoners detained on or after March 10, 2008, the beginning of a period of mostly peaceful political protests that swept across the Tibetan plateau.

Among the 1,834 PPD records of Tibetan political detentions reported since March 2008 are 27 Tibetans ordered to serve reeducation through labor (all believed released) and 429 Tibetans whom

courts sentenced to imprisonment (259 are believed released upon sentence completion).¹⁸⁰ Of the 429 Tibetan political prisoners sentenced to imprisonment since March 2008, sentencing information is available for 409 prisoners, including 5 sentenced to life imprisonment and 404 sentenced to fixed-term sentences averaging approximately 5 years and 3 months, based on PPD data as of September 1, 2015.

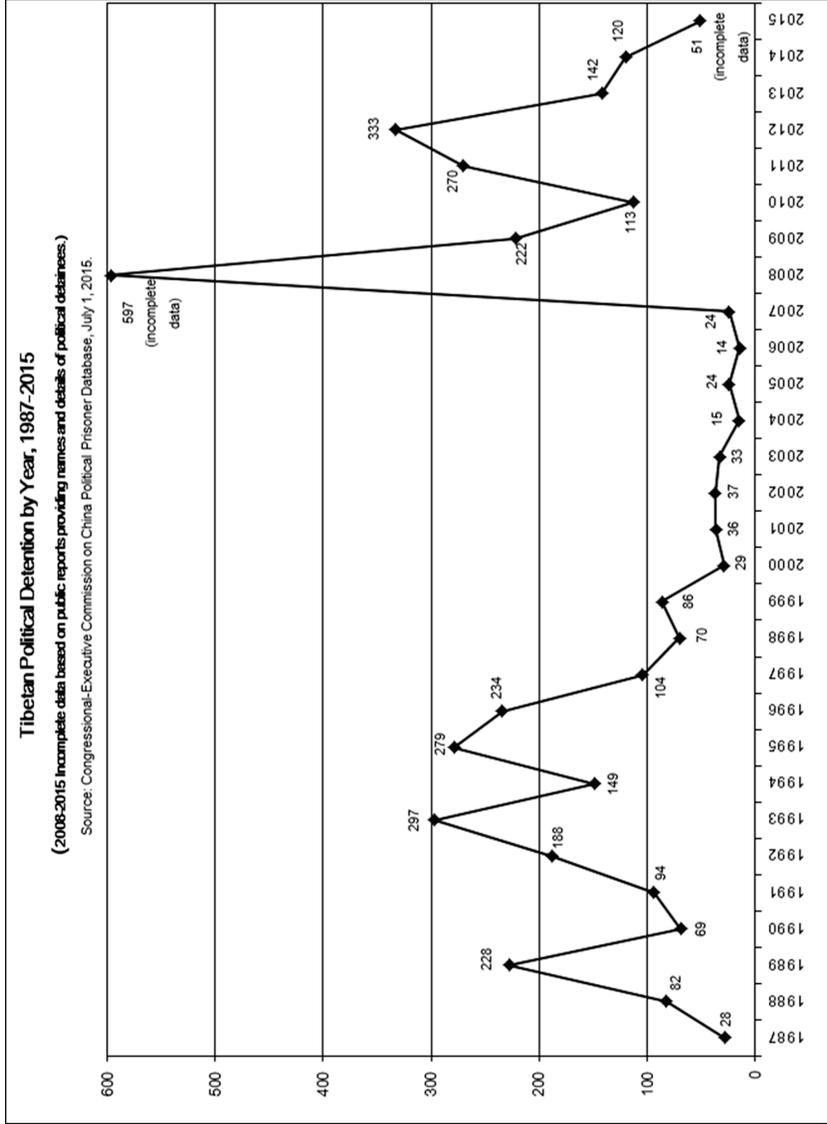
CURRENT TIBETAN POLITICAL DETENTION AND IMPRISONMENT

As of September 1, 2015, the PPD contained records of 646 Tibetan political prisoners believed or presumed currently detained or imprisoned. Of those, 635 are records of Tibetans detained on or after March 10, 2008;¹⁸¹ 11 are records of Tibetans detained prior to March 10, 2008.

Of the 635 Tibetan political prisoners who were detained on or after March 10, 2008, and who were believed or presumed to remain detained or imprisoned as of September 1, 2015, PPD data indicated that:

- 275 (43 percent) are Tibetan Buddhist monks, nuns, teachers, or *trulkus*.¹⁸²
- 557 (88 percent) are male, 49 (8 percent) are female, and 29 are of unknown gender.
- 258 (41 percent) are believed or presumed detained or imprisoned in Sichuan province and 208 (33 percent) in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The rest are believed or presumed detained or imprisoned in Qinghai province (96), Gansu province (71), Beijing municipality (1), and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (1).
- Sentencing information is available for 164 prisoners: 159 reportedly were sentenced to fixed terms ranging from 1 year and 6 months to 20 years,¹⁸³ and 5 were sentenced to life imprisonment.¹⁸⁴ The average fixed-term sentence is approximately 8 years and 6 months. Seventy (43 percent) of the prisoners with known sentences reportedly are Tibetan Buddhist monks, nuns, teachers, or *trulkus*.

Sentencing information for 8 of the 11 Tibetan political prisoners detained prior to March 10, 2008, and believed imprisoned as of September 1, 2015, indicates sentences from 9 years to life imprisonment. The average fixed-term sentence is 11 years and 9 months.



Notes to Section V—Tibet

¹Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Press Statement,” 25 January 10. According to the January 25 press statement, the Dalai Lama’s envoys would arrive in China “tomorrow” (i.e., January 26, 2010). For information in Commission annual reports in years with more recent examples of dialogue between the Dalai Lama’s representatives and the Chinese Communist Party and government officials, see CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219–20; CECC, 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 273–77; CECC, 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 187–88.

²“Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” China Daily, 11 February 10. After the ninth round of dialogue, Zhu Weiqun referred to the gap between the eighth and ninth rounds as “the longest interval after we resumed contact and talks in 2002.”

³For more information on the Tibetan autonomous areas of China, see CECC, “Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009,” 22 October 09, 22–24. In China there are 1 provincial-level area of Tibetan autonomy, 10 prefectural-level areas of Tibetan autonomy, and 2 county-level areas of Tibetan autonomy. The area of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) (approximately 1.2 million square kilometers), the 10 Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (TAPs) (approximately 1.02 million square kilometers), and the 2 Tibetan autonomous counties (TACs) (approximately 0.019 million square kilometers) totals approximately 2.24 million square kilometers. The 10 TAPs make up approximately 46 percent of the TAR/TAP/TAC total area. Steven Marshall and Susette Cooke, *Tibet Outside the TAR: Control, Exploitation and Assimilation: Development With Chinese Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Self-published CD-ROM, 1997), Table 7, citing multiple Chinese sources. Table 7 provides the following information. Tibet Autonomous Region (1.2 million square kilometers, or 463,320 square miles). Qinghai province: Haibei (Tsojang) TAP (52,000 square kilometers, or 20,077 square miles), Hainan (Tsolho) TAP (41,634 square kilometers, or 16,075 square miles), Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan AP (325,787 square kilometers, or 125,786 square miles), Huangnan (Malho) TAP (17,901 square kilometers, or 6,912 square miles), Guoluo (Golog) TAP (78,444 square kilometers, or 30,287 square miles), and Yushu (Yushu) TAP (197,791 square kilometers, or 76,367 square miles). Gansu province: Gannan (Kanlho) TAP (45,000 square kilometers, or 17,374 square miles) and Tianzhu (Pari) TAC (7,150 square kilometers, or 2,761 square miles). Sichuan province: Ganzi (Kardze) TAP (153,870 square kilometers, or 59,409 square miles), Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang AP (86,639 square kilometers, or 33,451 square miles), and Muli (Mili) TAC (11,413 square kilometers, or 4,407 square miles). Yunnan province: Diqing (Dechen) TAP (23,870 square kilometers, or 9,216 square miles). The table provides areas in square kilometers; conversion to square miles uses the formula provided on the website of the U.S. Geological Survey: 1 square kilometer = 0.3861 square mile. For population data, see *Tabulation on Nationalities of 2000 Population Census of China*, Department of Population, Social, Science and Technology Statistics, National Bureau of Statistics of China, and Department of Economic Development, State Ethnic Affairs Commission (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, September 2003), Tables 10–1, 10–4. According to China’s 2000 census data, the Tibetan population of the TAR (approximately 2.43 million persons), the 10 TAPs (approximately 2.47 million persons), and the 2 TACs (approximately 0.11 million persons) totaled approximately 5.01 million Tibetans. The Tibetan population of the 10 TAPs made up approximately 49 percent of the TAR/TAP/TAC total Tibetan population as of 2000. See also *Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of the People’s Republic of China*, National Bureau of Statistics of China, Department of Population and Employment Statistics, Population Census Office Under the State Council, 23 April 13, Table 2–1. The table titled “Population by Age, Sex, and Nationality” listed the national Tibetan population as 6,282,187. As of June 2014, the Commission had not observed detailed data based on the 2010 census for ethnic population in provincial-, prefectural-, and county-level administrative areas.

⁴For previous reports on official Party and government demands of the Dalai Lama during previous sessions of dialogue and limitations on topics Chinese officials would discuss, see, e.g., “Party Official Adds More Preconditions Before Dalai Lama Dialogue Can Resume,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 6, 2009; “China-Dalai Lama Dialogue Round Ends: Party Restates Hard Line, Tibetans Begin Meeting,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, November 2008; “China Demands That the Dalai Lama Fulfill Additional Preconditions to Dialogue,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 30 July 08.

⁵State Council Information Office, (White Paper) “Tibet’s Path of Development Is Driven by an Irresistible Historical Tide,” 15 April 15. For additional information on official Chinese statements limiting the scope of talks, see, e.g., “China Willing To Talk to Dalai Lama About His Future, Not Tibet,” Indo-Asian News Service, 15 July 08, reprinted in Yahoo!; “China Demands That the Dalai Lama Fulfill Additional Preconditions to Dialogue,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 20 July 08. According to the Yahoo! report, Dong Yunhu, Director General of the State Council Information Office, said the Chinese government “will never discuss the future of Tibet” with the Dalai Lama but would discuss the Dalai Lama’s future and that of “some of his supporters.”

⁶State Council Information Office, (White Paper) “Tibet’s Path of Development Is Driven by an Irresistible Historical Tide,” 15 April 15.

⁷U.S. Department of State, “Remarks Delivered at the ‘Lockdown in Tibet’ Event,” 15 June 15.

⁸Ibid.

⁹For information in recent Commission annual reports on the Chinese Communist Party and government approach to economic development in autonomous Tibetan areas of China, see CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 182–83; CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 184; CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 165–66; CECC, 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 214–19; and CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 222–24.

¹⁰See, e.g., “Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Political Bureau Convenes Meeting To Study, Promote Work on Tibet’s Development by Leaps and Bounds and Long-Term Order

and Stability—Chinese Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Hu Jintao Presides Over the Meeting” [Zhonggong zhongyang zhengzhiju zhaokai huiyi—yanjiu tuijin xizang kuayueshi fazhan he changzhi jiu’an gongzuo—zhonggong zhongyang zongshuji hu jintao zhuchi huiyi], Xinhua, 8 January 10 (translated in Open Source Center, 8 January 10); Qin Jiaofeng, Gama Duoji, and Quan Xiaoshu, “Make Every Effort To Promote Leapfrog Development in Tibet Through Adherence to ‘Chinese Characteristics and Tibetan Traits’—Interview With National People’s Congress Deputy and Tibet Autonomous Region Chairman Baima Chilin” [Jianchi “zhongguo tese, xizang tedian” licu xizang kuayueshi fazhan—fang quanguo renda daibiao, xizang zizhi qu zhuxi baima chilin], Xinhua, 10 March 10 (translated in Open Source Center, 10 March 10). For information on developments at the January 2010 Fifth Tibet Work Forum, see “Communist Party Leadership Outlines 2010–2020 ‘Tibet Work’ Priorities at ‘Fifth Forum,’” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 3, 16 March 10.

¹¹“Tibet’s 2014 GDP Growth Up 12 pct,” Xinhua, 31 December 14. According to the report, the Tibet Autonomous Region “economy” grew 12 percent in 2014 and maintained “double-digit growth since 1994.”

¹²Ibid. According to the report, the per capita net income of “farmers and herdsmen” in the Tibet Autonomous Region rose 14 percent in 2014; “disposable income” of urban residents rose 8 percent.

¹³For reports related to Tibetan culture, see, e.g., Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “TCHRD Condemns Chinese Police Shooting of Unarmed Tibetans in Kardze,” 14 August 14 (interference with festival); “China issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15 (“protests or gatherings under the banner of . . . food security or the protection of animals”); “Tibetan Musician Who Produced Songs for Popular Singer Is Jailed,” Radio Free Asia, 1 December 14 (“jailed for more than two years for producing patriotic Tibetan songs”).

¹⁴For reports related to Tibetan language, see, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Demonstrations Over Land, Education Policy,” 4 November 14 (“calling for equality in education . . . after an official meeting was held about bilingual education”); “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15 (“protests or gatherings under the banner of the equality of languages”); “Tibetan Singer Jailed Four Years for Belting Out Patriotic Songs,” Radio Free Asia, 29 November 14 (“songs calling on Tibetans to speak their own language”).

¹⁵For reports related to Tibetan Buddhism, see, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14; “Tibetan Monks, Nuns Are Denied Passports in Serthar,” Radio Free Asia, 16 January 15 (“Chinese authorities . . . are refusing to give passports to monks and nuns for travel outside China”); Ben Blanchard, “China Says Dalai Lama ‘Profanes’ Buddhism by Doubting His Reincarnation,” Reuters, 9 March 15 (Tibet Autonomous Region Communist Party Deputy Secretary and Chairman of the TAR People’s Congress Pema Choling (Baima Chilin): “[the Dalai Lama] is profaning religion and Tibetan Buddhism”). For information on Pema Choling’s TAR positions, see China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 433.

¹⁶For reports related to the environment, see, e.g., “Tibetans Decry Pollution, Damage to Land From Chinese Mining,” Radio Free Asia, 20 January 15 (“mining operations in a Tibetan-populated region of Qinghai province are wrecking the environment”); “Villagers Protest in Tibet’s Maldro Gongkar County Over Mine Pollution,” Radio Free Asia, 29 September 14 (“More than 1,000 Tibetan villagers have protested against Chinese mining . . .”); “Thirteen Wounded as Chinese Police Open Fire on Tibetan Anti-Mine Protesters,” Radio Free Asia, 1 October 14 ([Protesters in Rikaze (Shigatse) prefecture] “suffered gunshot wounds when Chinese security forces fired into a crowd of villagers . . .”).

¹⁷Laba Ciren and Gama Duoji, “Setting of ‘Emancipation Day for Millions of Tibetan Serfs’ Exposes Reactionary Nature and Darkness of Old Tibet’s Feudal System,” Xinhua, 19 January 09 (translated in Open Source Center); Bai Xu, Gama Doje, et al., Xinhua, “The Day That Changed My Life—Tibet Sets ‘Serfs Emancipation Day,’” 19 January 09. See also “TAR Creates March 28 Holiday To Celebrate 1959 Dissolution of Dalai Lama’s Government,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 May 09.

¹⁸For Commission reporting on the March–April 2008 Tibetan protests, see “Protests Fueled by Patriotic Education Continue Amidst Lockdowns,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 April 08. See also, “Statement of Steven Marshall Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—April 23, 2008,” 23 April 08.

¹⁹“Televised Speech to Commemorate the 56th Anniversary of the Liberation of Serfs in Tibet” [Jinian xizang baiwan nongnu jiefang 56 zhounian dianshi jianghua], Tibet Daily, 28 March 15 (translated in Open Source Center, 4 April 15). Open Source Center attributes the speech to “Losang Jamcan” [Lobsang Gyaltsen (Luosang Jianguan)], Chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region People’s Government, but the basis of the attribution is not apparent.

²⁰China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 22. China Directory lists Seeking Truth (*Qishi*) as an organization under the Party Central Committee.

²¹State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group, “Guide to Action for Effectively Conducting Ethnic Work Under the New Situation—Studying General Secretary Xi Jinping’s Important Expositions on Ethnic Work” [Xin xingshi xia zuo hao minzu gongzuo de xingdong zhinan—xuexi xi jinping zongshuji guanyu minzu gongzuo de zhongyao lunshu], Seeking Truth, 31 July 14 (translated in Open Source Center, 17 December 14). China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 13–28. The State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group is not listed as a group directly under the Party’s Central Committee.

²²Ibid.

²³Wang Shoubao and Zhang Jingpin, “Tibet Qamdo Prefecture Revocation and Establishment of Municipality Obtains State Council Approval” [Xizang changdu diqu che di she shi huo guowuyuan pifufu], Xinhua, 3 November 11.

²⁴“New City Inaugurated in China’s Tibet,” Xinhua, 19 December 14 (“Xigaze . . . the third prefecture-level city in the region”).

²⁵“New City To Be Established in China’s Tibet,” Xinhua, 3 April 15 (“Nyingchi . . . the fourth prefecture-level city in the region”).

²⁶“The Tibet Autonomous Region,” National People’s Congress, 19 March 09 (“1 prefecture-level city”).

²⁷“Qinghai-Tibet Railway Ready for Operation on July 1,” Xinhua, 29 June 06.

²⁸“Xinhua Insight: Tibet’s Second Railway Line Opens,” Xinhua, 15 August 14.

²⁹Changdu (Chamdo), the capital of Changdu prefecture, is near the Sichuan-Tibet railway route but not on it. “Construction of Sichuan-Tibet Railway To Start in Sept,” China Daily, 1 September 09. According to a schematic published in the China Daily article, the railway will go through Zuogang (Dzogang) county, Changdu prefecture, south of Changdu city. According to the same schematic, the railway will go through Litang (Lithang) and Kangding (Dartsedo) counties in Ganzi (Kardze) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province. See “Construction of Lhasa-Nyingchi Railway Begins,” Xinhua, 19 December 14 (construction began in December 2014); “Construction Begins on Chengdu-Ya’an Section of Sichuan-Tibet Railway,” Xinhua, 6 December 14.

³⁰“Construction of Lhasa-Nyingchi Railway Begins,” Xinhua, 19 December 14. According to the National Development and Reform Commission approved plan, the section would take “seven years” to complete.

³¹“Tibet’s Urbanization Rate Expected To Exceed 30% by 2020,” Xinhua, 14 January 15.

³²“New City To Be Established in China’s Tibet,” Xinhua, 3 April 15 (“Nyingchi . . . the fourth prefecture-level city in the region”).

³³“Tibet’s Urbanization Rate Expected To Exceed 30% by 2020,” Xinhua, 14 January 15.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Based on Commission staff research experience, the report’s assertion that the Lhasa city population was “currently . . . less than 300,000” likely meant that it was the most current information available as of the Xinhua article’s January 2015 publication date. The most recent publication available in January 2015 would have been published in 2014 and reported data for 2013.

³⁶Commission staff verified that Tibet Statistical Yearbooks did not contain county-level population statistics after the 2009 edition.

³⁷Tibet Statistical Yearbook 2009 (Beijing: China Statistics Press, June 2009), Table 3–7, “Population by Region.”

³⁸Based on Commission staff research experience, the report’s assertion that the Lhasa city population was “currently . . . less than 300,000” likely meant that it was the most current information available. The most recent population data available in January 2015 likely would have been published in 2014 and reported data for 2013.

³⁹Initial articles predicting completion dates were published in 2008. “Qinghai-Tibet Plateau To Embrace 6 More Railway Lines by 2020,” China Tibet Online, reprinted in Xinhua, 3 December 08. The China Tibet Online report states, “By 2020, six main railway lines and some branches connecting Tibet Autonomous Region and Qinghai Province with other parts of China, are expected to be built and put into operation.” Xin Dingding, “Qinghai-Tibet Railway To Get Six New Lines,” China Daily, 17 August 08. The China Daily report states, “The six new tracks include one from Lhasa to Nyingchi [Linzhi] and one from Lhasa to Xigaze [Rikazel], both in the Tibet autonomous region. Three tracks will originate from Golmud in Qinghai province and run to Chengdu in Sichuan province, Dunhuang in Gansu province, and Kuerle [Ku’erle] of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. The sixth will link Xining, capital of Qinghai, with Zhangye in Gansu.” For an official 2008 map of planned railways, see National Development and Reform Commission, “Long-Term Railway Network Plan (2008 Revision)” [Zhong changqi tieluwang guihua tu (2008 nian tiaozheng)], last visited 8 April 15, 7.

⁴⁰“China Approves New Railway in Tibet,” Xinhua, 31 October 14.

⁴¹“Construction of Lhasa-Nyingchi Railway Begins,” Xinhua, 19 December 14.

⁴²“Construction Begins on Chengdu-Ya’an Section of Sichuan-Tibet Railway,” Xinhua, 6 December 14.

⁴³“Construction of Lhasa-Nyingchi Railway Begins,” Xinhua, 19 December 14. According to the Xinhua report, the section would take “seven years” to complete.

⁴⁴Based on information in official reports, the Lhasa-Linzhi railway would cost approximately 91 million yuan per kilometer; the Golmud-Lhasa railway, completed in 2006, cost approximately 25.8 million yuan per kilometer. “Construction of Lhasa-Nyingchi Railway Begins,” Xinhua, 19 December 14. “Government Scrutinizes Spending on Qinghai-Tibet Railway,” Xinhua, reprinted in People’s Daily, 29 June 06 (29.46 billion yuan for the 1,142 kilometer Golmud-Lhasa section).

⁴⁵“Sichuan-Tibet Railroad Project From Lhasa to Nyingchi Is Approved; Overall Investment for the Project Is 36.6 Billion” [Chuan zang tielu lasa zhi linzhi duan xiangmu huo pi xiangmu zong touzi 366 yi], Xinhua, reprinted in People’s Daily, 1 November 14. According to the article, although the western terminus is Lhasa, the most western point will be 32 kilometers west of Lhasa in “Xierong.” Commission map research indicates that Xierong (Sheldrong) is located in Qushui (Chushur) county, Lhasa municipality. The railway will pass through the following seven counties located along the south bank of the Yalungzangbu (Yarlung Tsangpo, or Brahmaputra) river prior to reaching Linzhi (Nyingtri) county, the capital of Linzhi (Kongpo) prefecture: Gongga (Gongkar), Zhanang (Dranang), Naidong (Nedong), Sangri (Zangri), and Jiacha (Gyatsa) located in Shannan (Lhoka) prefecture; and Langxian (Nang Dzong) and Milin (Minling) located in Linzhi prefecture.

⁴⁶“China Calls in Indian Ambassador To Voice Unhappiness on Modi’s Visit to Disputed Territory,” Xinhua, 21 February 15. According to the article, “The so-called ‘Arunachal Pradesh’ was established largely on the three areas of China’s Tibet . . . currently under Indian illegal occupation.”

⁴⁷Harsh V. Pant, Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, “The Growing Complexity of Sino-Indian Ties,” June 2014, 12, 14, 27; Rodney Jones, Defense Threat Reduction Agency Advanced Systems and Concepts Office and Policy Architects International, “Nuclear Escalation Ladders in South Asia,” April 2011, 6, 22.

⁴⁸Chinese Communist Party sources can be inconsistent in referring to such groups. See, e.g., “The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Holds a Meeting To Analyze and Study the Current Economic Situation and the Economic Work and To Study Further Pushing Forward the Work of Economic and Social Development and the Long-Term Peace, Order, and Stability in Tibet; Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Presides Over the Meeting” [Zhonggong zhongyang zhengzhiju zhaokai huiyi—fenxi yanjiu dangqian jingji xingshi he jingji gongzuo—yanjiu jinyibu tuijin xizang jingji shehui fazhan he changzhi jiu an gongzuo—zhonggong zhongyang zongshuji xi jinpingshuzhuchi huiyi], Xinhua, 30 July 15 (translated in Open Source Center, 31 July 15 (uses “central leading group” (*gongzuo lingdao xiaozu*)); Zhong Yongyong, “Chinese Communist Party 18th Central Committee,” Chinese Communist Party 18th Central Committee, reprinted in Sina (blog), 18 April 13 (uses “coordination small group” or “coordination small working group” (*gongzuo xietiao xiaozu*) to refer to such groups). See also Alice Miller, “More Already on the Central Committee’s Leading Small Groups,” China Leadership Monitor, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, No. 44 (Summer 2014), 28 July 14. Miller’s usage includes “leading small group” and “coordination small group.”

⁴⁹For a brief state-run media description of the United Front Work Department’s objective, see “Chinese Officials Stress Role of United Front in Serving Social Management,” Xinhua, 27 June 11. According to the Xinhua report, the United Front Work Department plays an important role in Communist Party “social management” regarding “people of different political parties, ethnic groups, religions and social groups at home and abroad.” See also Chi Hsiao-hua, “Tibetan Promoted as Deputy Head of United Front Work Department,” Sing Tao Daily, 12 September 06 (translated in Open Source Center 15 September 06). The Sing Tao Daily article states, “According to the UFWD’s official website, the department comprises six bureaus, namely Bureau One (works with democrats), Bureau Two (works with ethnic minorities and representatives of religions), Bureau Three (works with compatriots in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and overseas), Bureau Four (selection of non-CPC members to fill government posts), Bureau Five (liaison with private enterprisers), and Bureau Six (works with intellectuals who are not CPC members).”

⁵⁰“The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Holds a Meeting To Analyze and Study the Current Economic Situation and the Economic Work and To Study Further Pushing Forward the Work of Economic and Social Development and the Long-Term Peace, Order, and Stability in Tibet; Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Presides Over the Meeting” [Zhonggong zhongyang zhengzhiju zhaokai huiyi—fenxi yanjiu dangqian jingji xingshi he jingji gongzuo—yanjiu jinyibu tuijin xizang jingji shehui fazhan he changzhi jiu an gongzuo—zhonggong zhongyang zongshuji xi jinpingshuzhuchi huiyi], Xinhua, 30 July 15 (translated in Open Source Center, 31 July 15). For a publicly available version of the same Chinese-language report, see “The Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee Holds a Meeting To Analyze and Study the Current Economic Situation and the Economic Work and To Study Further Pushing Forward the Work of Economic and Social Development and the Long-Term Peace, Order, and Stability in Tibet; Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Presides Over the Meeting” [Zhonggong zhongyang zhengzhiju zhaokai huiyi—fenxi yanjiu dangqian jingji xingshi he jingji gongzuo—yanjiu jinyibu tuijin xizang jingji shehui fazhan he changzhi jiu an gongzuo—zhonggong zhongyang zongshuji xi jinpingshuzhuchi huiyi], Xinhua, 30 July 15.

⁵¹Tang Chaoyang, “Lhasa and Tibetan Areas in Four Provinces Signed a Joint Cooperative Agreement To Ensure Stability” [Lasa ji si sheng zang qu qianshu gong bao wending hezuo xieyi], China News Service, 11 July 15 (summarized in Open Source Center, 14 July 15).

⁵²“Xi Jinping Stresses at the Sixth Tibet Work Forum—Administer Tibet According to Law, Increase Tibetans’ Wealth Over the Long Term—Accelerate the Pace of Comprehensively Building Up a Moderately Well-Off Society—Li Keqiang and Yu Zhengsheng Speak; Zhang Dejiang, Liu Yunshan, Wang Qishan, Zhang Gaoli Attend” [Xi jinpingshuzhuchi zhongyang di liu ci xizang gongzuo zuotanhui shang qiangdiao—yifa zhi zang fumin xing zang changqi jian zang—jia kuai xizang quanmian jiancheng xiaokang shehui bufa—li keqiang yu zhengsheng jiang hua—zhang dejiang liu yunshan wang qishan zhang gaoli chuxi], Xinhua, 25 August 15, reprinted in People’s Daily (translated in Open Source Center, 25 August 15).

⁵³“The CPC Central Committee and the State Council Hold the Fifth Tibet Work Forum” [Zhonggong zhongyang guo wuyuan zhaokai diwu ci xizang gongzuo zuotanhui], Xinhua, 22 January 10 (translated in Open Source Center, 25 January 10). See also CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 215–19; “Communist Party Leadership Outlines 2010–2020 ‘Tibet Work’ Priorities at ‘Fifth Forum,’” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 3, 16 March 10, 2.

⁵⁴“Xi Jinping Stresses at the Sixth Tibet Work Forum—Administer Tibet According to Law, Increase Tibetans’ Wealth Over the Long Term—Accelerate the Pace of Comprehensively Building Up a Moderately Well-Off Society—Li Keqiang and Yu Zhengsheng Speak; Zhang Dejiang, Liu Yunshan, Wang Qishan, Zhang Gaoli Attend” [Xi jinpingshuzhuchi zhongyang di liu ci xizang gongzuo zuotanhui shang qiangdiao—yifa zhi zang fumin xing zang changqi jian zang—jia kuai xizang quanmian jiancheng xiaokang shehui bufa—li keqiang yu zhengsheng jiang hua—zhang dejiang liu yunshan wang qishan zhang gaoli chuxi], Xinhua, 25 August 15, reprinted in People’s Daily (translated in Open Source Center, 25 August 15).

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷For information in recent Commission annual reports on Tibetan self-immolation, see CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 172–78; CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 172–81; and CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 156–60.

⁵⁸The Commission has posted under Resources, Special Topics on its website (www.cecc.gov) a series of lists of Tibetan self-immolations. “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 July 15. The summary contains a list showing that self-immolations numbered 127–137 took place during the period September 2014–August 2015.

⁵⁹Ibid. The summary contains a list showing that self-immolations numbered 117–126 took place from September 2013–August 2014.

⁶⁰For information in recent Commission annual reports with information on officials blaming foreign entities for self-immolation, see CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 174; and CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 157.

⁶¹China Directory 2014, (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 154. See also Han Miao and Li Yunlu, “Zhu Weiqun: Tibet Getting Better Is the Fundamental Reason Why the Dalai Lama Cannot Go Any Further” [Zhu weiqun: xizang yue lai yue hao shi dalai zou buxia xiaqu de genben yuanyin], Xinhua, 11 March 15.

⁶²“Chinese Official Urges Dalai Lama To ‘Forsake Evil Ways,’” Xinhua, 11 March 15; Ben Blanchard, “China Says Dalai Lama Less and Less Influential, But Must Reincarnate,” Reuters, 11 March 15.

⁶³Ben Blanchard, “China Says Dalai Lama Less and Less Influential, But Must Reincarnate,” Reuters, 11 March 15. See also “Chinese Official Urges Dalai Lama To ‘Forsake Evil Ways,’” Xinhua, 11 March 15.

⁶⁴China Directory 2012, (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2011), 17, 27. Zhu Weiqun also held the position of Director of the Party’s General Office of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs. China Directory 2014, (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013). Zhu retired from the Central Committee; China Directory 2014 does not indicate that he held any Central Committee positions.

⁶⁵“United Front Work Department Executive Deputy Head Reveals Inside Story of Communist Party-Dalai Talks” [Tongzhanbu changwu fubuzhang jiemi zhonggong yu dalai tanpan neimu], Phoenix Net, 23 December 08 (translated in Open Source Center, 25 December 08) (“Since 2003, Zhu Weiqun has participated in all the subsequent engage-and-talk interactions with the Dalai side.”); “Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” China Daily, 11 February 10 (demonstrates participation in 2010 round of dialogue). For information in previous Commission annual reports on Zhu Weiqun’s involvement in the dialogue between the Dalai Lama’s representatives and Party and government officials, see, e.g., CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219–20; CECC, 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 274–75; CECC, 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 187.

⁶⁶For reports providing specific detail on self-immolators’ protests during the period beginning on September 16, 2014 (in chronological order), see, e.g., “Tibetan Man Self-Immolates in Front of Police Station in Qinghai,” Radio Free Asia, 4 October 14 (Konchog “burned himself in front of a police station”); “Tibetan Student Perishes in First Self-Immolation in Five Months,” Radio Free Asia, 21 September 14 (Lhamo Tashi self-immolated “shouting slogans in front of the . . . police station”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation in Eastern Tibet and Major Troop Deployments in Lhasa as Tibetans Mark Religious Anniversary,” 16 December 14 (Sanggye Khar “set fire to himself and died . . . outside a police station”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation of Monk Known for Protecting Religion and Culture,” 23 December 14 (Kalsang Yeshe “called for the return of the Dalai Lama . . . and for freedom for Tibetans”); Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Dies of Self-Immolation Calling for Dalai Lama’s Return to Tibet,” 24 December 14 (Kalsang Yeshe “called for ‘the return of Dalai Lama to Tibet’ and ‘freedom for Tibetans’”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Nun Sets Fire to Herself in Kardze,” 10 April 15 (Yeshe Khadro “called for the long life of the Dalai Lama, for the Dalai Lama to be invited to Tibet, and for freedom for Tibet”); “Tibetan Man Burns Himself to Death in Front of Makeshift Altar,” Voice of America, 17 April 15 (Nekyab “set fire to himself after calling out some demands”; “people . . . heard him shout out for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Mother Who Self-Immolated Wrote Note Calling for Long Life of Dalai Lama,” 1 June 15 (Sanggye Tso “left a note calling for the long life of the Dalai Lama”); Free Tibet, “Come Together in the Power of Unity for Tibet,” 20 July 15 (“The central hope of our people is to reinstate His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the Potala palace.”).

⁶⁷For reports on government repression of religious activity during the Commission’s 2015 reporting year, see, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14; “Monks, Nuns Forced To Return to Tibet County in Religious Life Clampdown,” Radio Free Asia, 24 October 14. For Commission analysis of Chinese government regulatory intrusion upon Tibetan Buddhist affairs, see, e.g., “Special Report: Tibetan Monastic Self-Immolations Appear To Correlate With Increasing Repression of Freedom of Religion,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 23 December 11; “Tibetan Buddhist Affairs Regulations Taking Effect in Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 March 11; “New Legal Measures Assert Unprecedented Control Over Tibetan Buddhist Reincarnation,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 August 07. For measures issued by China’s central government, see, e.g., State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures for Evaluating the Credentials of and Appointing Monastic Teachers in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao simiao jingshi zige pingding he pinren banfa], passed 25 November 12, effective 3 December 12; State Administration for Religious Affairs, Management Measures for Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries [Zangchuan fojiao simiao guanli banfa], passed 29 September 10, effective 1 November 10; State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07.

⁶⁸During the 2015 reporting year, the Commission did not observe indications that dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama’s representatives might soon resume.

⁶⁹See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Man Self-Immolates in Golog. Harrowing Image Reaches Tibetans in Exile,” 6 October 14 (regarding Konchog’s self-immolation: “news only reached Tibetans in exile [October 5] due to restrictions on information and tightened security”); “Tibetan Man Dies in Self-Immolation Protest in Front of Police Station,” Radio Free Asia, 16 December 14 (regarding Sanggye Khar’s self-immolation: “clamped down on communications”); “Tibetan Father of Four Self-Immolates in Protest in Sichuan,” Radio Free Asia, 20 May 15 (regarding Tenzin Gyatso’s self-immolation: “restrictions on movement and communications have been imposed”).

⁷⁰See PRC Criminal Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xingfa], issued 1 July 79, amended 14 March 97, effective 1 October 97, amended 25 December 99, 31 August 01, 29 December 01, 28 December 02, 28 February 05, 29 June 06, 28 February 09, 25 February 11, art. 111. The statute stipulates punishment for sharing “state secrets or intelligence” with “an organ, organization or individual outside the territory of China.” For examples of Tibetans sentenced to imprisonment in connection with allegations of sharing self-immolation information, see, e.g., the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2015-00084 on Kalsang Tsering; 2014-00014 on Karma Tsewang; 2014-00046 on Tobden; 2013-00327 on Tenzin Rangdrol; 2012-00275 on Lobsang Jinpa; 2012-00276 on Tsultrim Kalsang; 2012-00278 on Sonam Yignyen; 2012-00279 on Sonam Sherab; 2012-00349 on Lobsang Tsering; 2012-00266 on Lobsang Konchog; 2012-00296 on Lobsang Tashi; and 2012-00297 on Thubdor.

⁷¹The Commission has posted under the Special Topics section of the Resources tab of its website (www.cecc.gov) a series of lists of Tibetan self-immolations. See, e.g., “CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 July 15. As of July 9, 137 Tibetan self-immolations reported or believed to focus on political and religious issues took place in the following 10 prefectural-level areas of Tibetan autonomy (arranged in descending order by number of self-immolations): Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, 58 self-immolations; Gannan (Kanlho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Gansu province, 30 self-immolations; Huangnan (Malho) TAP, Qinghai province, 18 self-immolations; Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, Sichuan, 10 self-immolations; Yushu (Yulshul) TAP, Qinghai, 6 self-immolations; Naqu (Nagchu) prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), 4 self-immolations; Guoluo (Golog) TAP, Qinghai, 4 self-immolations; Lhasa municipality, TAR, 3 self-immolations; Changdu (Chamdo) prefecture, TAR, 1 self-immolation; Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai, 1 self-immolation. In addition, 2 Tibetans self-immolated in Haidong prefecture, Qinghai, which is not an area of Tibetan autonomy. (The preceding information does not include the following six self-immolation protests: Yushu TAP property protests by females Dekyi Choezom and Pasang Lhamo on June 27 and September 13, 2012, respectively; Yushu property protest by female self-immolator Konchog Tsomo in March 2013; Gannan TAP property protest by female Tashi Kyi on August 28, 2015; and the April 6, 2012, deaths of a Tibetan Buddhist abbot, Athub, and a nun, Atse, in a Ganzi TAP house fire initially reported as accidental and later as self-immolation. The Commission continues to monitor reports on their deaths.)

⁷²Ibid. A total of 17 self-immolations numbered 121–137 took place from January 2014 through August 2015: Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province (122–123, 130, 132, 134); Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Sichuan (125–126, 131, 133, 135); Huangnan TAP, Qinghai province (121, 124); Gannan TAP, Gansu province (128–129, 136); Guoluo TAP, Qinghai (127); and Yushu TAP, Qinghai (137).

⁷³“CECC Update: Tibetan Self-Immolations,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 July 15.

⁷⁴CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 175; CECC, 2013 Annual Report, 10 October 13, 174–78; CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 157–60.

⁷⁵See, e.g., “Tibetan Man Self-Immolates in Front of Police Station in Qinghai,” Radio Free Asia, 4 October 14; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Man Self-Immolates in Golog. Harrowing Image Reaches Tibetans in Exile,” 6 October 14; Free Tibet, “Tibetan Man Survives Self-Immolation Protest,” 6 October 14.

⁷⁶See, e.g., “Tibetan Student Perishes in First Self-Immolation in Five Months,” Radio Free Asia, 21 September 14; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Student Sets Fire to Himself Outside Government Office in Northeastern Tibet,” 22 September 14; Free Tibet, “Student Dies After Setting Himself Alight,” 21 September 14; International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation in Eastern Tibet and Major Troop Deployments in Lhasa as Tibetans Mark Religious Anniversary,” 16 December 14.

⁷⁷See, e.g., “Tibetan Man Dies in Self-Immolation Protest in Front of Police Station,” Radio Free Asia, 16 December 14; International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation in Eastern Tibet and Major Troop Deployments in Lhasa as Tibetans Mark Religious Anniversary,” 16 December 14; Free Tibet, “Tibetan Dies in Fatal Protest,” 16 December 14 (“Sangyal Khar”).

⁷⁸See, e.g., Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Woman, 19, Dies of Self-Immolation: Police Detain Family Members,” 23 December 14 (“Tsepey”); “Tibetan Teenage Girl Carries Out Self-Immolation Protest,” Voice of America, 22 December 14 (“Tsepey”); Free Tibet, “Tibetan Woman Dies in Self-Immolation Protest,” 22 December 14 (“Tsepe Kyi”).

⁷⁹See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation of Monk Known for Protecting Religion and Culture,” 23 December 14; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Dies of Self-Immolation Calling for Dalai Lama’s Return to Tibet,” 24 December 14; “Tibetan Monk Self-Immolates in Second Protest This Week,” Radio Free Asia, 23 December 14.

⁸⁰See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation and Protest in Tibet Amid Intensified Security in Buildup to March 10 Anniversary,” 9 March 15; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Mother Dies in Self-Immolation Protest: Body Quickly Cremated for Fear of Seizure by Police,” 9 March 15; “Self-Immolation to Death Protest in Security Heavy Ngaba,” Voice of America, 9 March 15.

⁸¹See, e.g., “Tibetan Nun in Kardze Stages Self-Immolation Protest Over Chinese Policies,” Radio Free Asia, 10 April 15 (“Yeshi Khando,” “Ngagong” nunnery); International Campaign for

Tibet, “Tibetan Nun Sets Fire to Herself in Kardze,” 10 April 15 (“Yeshe Kandro”); “Tibetan Nun Self-Immolates To Protest Chinese Rule in Karze,” Voice of America, 10 April 15 (“Yeshe Khando”).

⁸² See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Man Sets Fire to Himself Beside Shrine With Religious Offerings (Updated),” 16 April 15 (“Neykyab”); “Tibetan Man Burns Himself to Death in Front of Makeshift Altar,” Voice of America, 17 April 15 (“Nikyab”); “Tibetan Man Dies in Second Self-Immolation Protest This Month,” Radio Free Asia, 16 April 15 (“Nei Kyab”).

⁸³ See, e.g., “Tibetan Father of Four Self-Immolates in Protest in Sichuan,” Radio Free Asia, 20 May 15; “Tibetan Mother of Two Burns to Death in Protest,” Radio Free Asia, 27 May 15 (Tenzin Gyatso “set himself on fire and died”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Father of Four Self-Immolates After Oppressive Measures To Prevent Dalai Lama Birthday Celebrations,” 21 May 15; “Father of Four Self-Immolates in Kham Tawu,” Voice of America, 21 May 15.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Mother Who Self-Immolated Wrote Note Calling for Long Life of Dalai Lama,” 1 June 15 (“Sangye Tso”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Mother of Two Sets Fire to Herself Outside Government Building,” 27 May 15; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Tibetan Mother Dies of Self-Immolation Protest in Front of Chinese Government Office,” 28 May 15 (“Sangyal Tso”).

⁸⁵ See, e.g., Free Tibet, “Come Together in the Power of Unity for Tibet,” 20 July 15 (“Sonam Topgyal”); Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Monk Stages Burning Protest in Remote Tibetan Town as China Imposes Internet Blockade,” 10 July 15; International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Monk Self-Immolates as Security Tightened for Dalai Lama’s Birthday,” 10 July 15.

⁸⁶ For Commission analysis of Chinese government regulatory intrusion upon Tibetan Buddhist affairs, see, e.g., “Special Report: Tibetan Monastic Self-Immolations Appear To Correlate With Increasing Repression of Freedom of Religion,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 23 December 11; “Tibetan Buddhist Affairs Regulations Taking Effect in Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 March 11; “New Legal Measures Assert Unprecedented Control Over Tibetan Buddhist Reincarnation,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 August 07. For measures issued by China’s central government, see, e.g., State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures for Evaluating the Credentials of and Appointing Monastic Teachers in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao simiao jingshi zige pingding he pinren banfa], passed 25 November 12, effective 3 December 12; State Administration for Religious Affairs, Management Measures for Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries [Zangchuan fojiao simiao guanli banfa], passed 29 September 10, effective 1 November 10; State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07.

⁸⁷ Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, sec. 17, translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14. Section 17 addresses “rectifying unauthorised carving of Mani [prayer] stones and piling up of Mani walls [traditional walls of mantras carved on stone].” See also “China Imposes Harsh New Restrictions in Restive Tibet County,” Radio Free Asia, 7 October 14.

⁸⁸ Han Miao and Li Yunlu, “Zhu Weiqun: Tibet Getting Better Is the Fundamental Reason Why the Dalai Lama Cannot Go Any Further” [Zhu weiqun: xizang yue lai yue hao shi dalai zou buxia qu de genben yuanyin], Xinhua, 11 March 15. According to Zhu, “The power to decide on the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and the abolition or continuation of the lineage rests with the central government and not on anyone else, not even the Dalai Lama himself.”

⁸⁹ China Directory 2014, (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 154. See also Han Miao and Li Yunlu, “Zhu Weiqun: Tibet Getting Better Is the Fundamental Reason Why the Dalai Lama Cannot Go Any Further” [Zhu weiqun: xizang yue lai yue hao shi dalai zou buxia qu de genben yuanyin], Xinhua, 11 March 15.

⁹⁰ “United Front Work Department Executive Deputy Head Reveals Inside Story of Communist Party-Dalai Talks” [Tongzhanbu changwu fubuzhang jiemi zhonggong yu dalai tanpan neimu], Phoenix Net, 23 December 08 (translated in Open Source Center, 25 December 08) (“Since 2003, Zhu Weiqun has participated in all the subsequent engage-and-talk interactions with the Dalai side.”); “Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” China Daily, 11 February 10 (demonstrates participation in 2010 round of dialogue). For information in previous Commission annual reports on Zhu Weiqun’s involvement in the dialogue between the Dalai Lama’s representatives and Party and government officials, see, e.g., CECC, 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219–20; CECC, 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 274–75; CECC, 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 187.

⁹¹ Han Miao and Li Yunlu, “Zhu Weiqun: Tibet Getting Better Is the Fundamental Reason Why the Dalai Lama Cannot Go Any Further” [Zhu weiqun: xizang yue lai yue hao shi dalai zou bu xiaqu de genben yuanyin], Xinhua, 11 March 15.

⁹² “Tibetan Official Defends Reincarnation System, Slams Dalai Lama,” Xinhua, 9 March 15.

⁹³ China Directory 2014, (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 6, 432. Pema Choling (*Baima Chilin*) is also a member of the Communist Party Central Committee and a Deputy Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region Party Committee.

⁹⁴ “Tibetan Official Defends Reincarnation System, Slams Dalai Lama,” Xinhua, 9 March 15.

⁹⁵ Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Statement of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, on the Issue of His Reincarnation,” 24 September 11. In the statement, after writing, “I make the following declaration,” he listed the subject, “The next incarnation of the Dalai Lama.” See also “Dalai Lama Rejects Communist Party ‘Brazen Meddling’ in Ti-

betan Buddhist Reincarnation,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 1, 24 January 12.

⁹⁶State Council Information Office, (White Paper) “Tibet’s Path of Development Is Driven by an Irresistible Historical Tide,” reprinted in Xinhua, 15 April 15. For contents of the regulations that “further institutionalize the reincarnation process,” see State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07.

⁹⁷State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07.

⁹⁸Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Statement of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, on the Issue of His Reincarnation,” 24 September 11. See also “Dalai Lama Rejects Communist Party ‘Brazen Meddling’ in Tibetan Buddhist Reincarnation,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 1, 24 January 12.

⁹⁹Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., arts. 37(5) (two-year ban), 38(2) (one-year ban), 43(4) (two-year ban), 44(2) (one-year ban), 44(4) (two-year ban), 45(2) (three-year ban), 55(2) (three-year ban), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14. The ICT translation indicates that several pages of the regulations were missing, preventing complete analysis.

¹⁰¹For reports on the value and economic importance of *cordyceps sinensis* to Tibetans in some areas, see, e.g., Huang Jingjing, “Physicians Challenge Craze for Exorbitantly Priced TCM Fungus,” Global Times, 30 July 14; Daniel Winkler, “Yartsa Gunbu (Cordyceps sinensis) and the Fungal Commodification of Tibet’s Rural Economy,” Economic Botany, Vol. 62, No. 3 (2008), 291; Jonathan Watts, “Fungus Gold Rush in Tibetan Plateau Rebuilding Lives After Earthquake,” Guardian, 17 June 10; Human Rights Watch, “They Say We Should Be Grateful—Mass Relocating and Relocation Programs in Tibetan Areas of China,” 27 June 13.

¹⁰²Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Arts. 37(3) (three-year ban), 38(2) (one-year ban), 45(2) (three-year ban), 55(2) (three-year ban), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14. The ICT translation indicates that several pages of the regulations were missing, preventing complete analysis.

¹⁰³For examples of recent precedents in government imposition of collective punishment in Tibetan autonomous areas, see, e.g., CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 176–78; “County Government Threatens Self-Immolation Communities With Collective Punishment,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 14 April 14; Ruo’ergai County People’s Government, Notice of Interim Anti-Self-Immolation Provisions [Guanyu fan zifen gongzuo zanzing guiding de tongzhi], 8 April 13, reprinted and translated in China Digital Times, “Community Punished for Self-Immolations,” 18 February 14; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Holds Tibetan Livelihood to Ransom To Secure Political Stability,” 30 July 14.

¹⁰⁴Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Arts. 37(5), 38(2), 43(4), 44(2, 4), 45(2), 55(2), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹⁰⁵See CECC, 2014 Annual Report, 9 October 14, 177–78. See also Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Holds Tibetan Livelihood to Ransom To Secure Political Stability,” 30 July 14. The TCHRD report provided the following translation for the title on the cover of the document: “Information Handbook for the Enforcement of Two Separate Regulations Issued by Diru County People’s Government” [‘Bri-ru rdzong mi-dmangs srid-gzhung gi—’gtan-bebs khag gnyis’ kyi—dril-bsgrags lag-deb]. The date “June 2014” is on the cover.

¹⁰⁶Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Art. 37(1), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹⁰⁷See, e.g., Zou Le, “Committees To Ensure Stability in Tibet’s Monasteries,” Global Times, 15 February 12 (“A [Monastery Management Committee] has been established in every monastery in the Tibet Autonomous Region”). See also CECC, 2012 Annual Report, 10 October 12, 161–62, for more information on the establishment of Monastery Management Committees in Tibet Autonomous Region monasteries and nunneries.

¹⁰⁸Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Art. 37(2), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., Art. 37(4), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹¹⁰Ibid., Art. 37(5), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹¹¹Based on Commission staff experience in Tibetan autonomous areas of China, Nepal, and India, in this context, a “mani” stone is a stone upon which a Tibetan Buddhist prayer or image has been carved, sometimes painted, and that may be left or positioned as an offering. For more information on mani stones, see, e.g. British Museum, “Mani Stone,” last visited 13 July 15; “Mani Stones in Many Scripts,” BabelStone (blog), 5 November 06.

¹¹²Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Art. 44, translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹¹³Ibid., Art. 44(4), translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14.

¹¹⁴“Full qualifications” may refer to the official registration monks and nuns must obtain before they can live legally as “professional religious personnel” at a monastery or nunnery and to engage legally in religious activity. For information on regulations on monastic matters in the Tibet Autonomous Region including registration and travel, see, e.g., Buddhist Association of China, Measures for Confirming the Credentials of Tibetan Buddhist Professional Religious Personnel [Zangchuan fojiao jiaozhi renyuan zige rending banfa], effective 10 January 10; Tibet Autonomous Region Implementing Measures for the “Regulation on Religious Affairs” (Trial Measures) [Xizang zizhiq shishi “zongjiao shiwu tiaoli” banfa (shixing)], issued 19 September 06, effective 1 January 07, arts. 19, 29, 41–43. See also CECC, 2007 Annual Report, Section IV—Tibet: Special Focus for 2007, 10 October 07, 193–95, on provisions regulating monastic travel.

¹¹⁵Driru County People’s Government, “Announcement of Provisional Implementation of the County Government Decision on Rectification of the Religious Sphere and Allocation of Responsibilities for Subsequent Maintenance of Standards,” 12 September 14, Art. 56, translated from Tibetan in International Campaign for Tibet, “Harsh New ‘Rectification’ Drive in Driru: Nuns Expelled and Warning of Destruction of Monasteries and ‘Mani Walls,’” 20 November 14. Based on the translation, the regulations appear not to specify the authority that will officially warn police officers and “leading checkpoint officials” who fail to prevent a monk or nun from traveling. See also CECC, 2007 Annual Report, Section IV—Tibet: Special Focus for 2007, 10 October 07, 193–95, on provisions regulating monastic travel.

¹¹⁶Ibid. The translation of the article uses the phrase “go outside of their own accord” to refer to traveling elsewhere for religious study. Based on Commission staff analysis, “go outside” likely refers to an area “outside” the local area but not necessarily outside the country. The same article refers separately to “travel illegally cross national borders.” See also CECC, 2007 Annual Report, Section IV—Tibet: Special Focus for 2007, 10 October 07, 193–95, on provisions regulating monastic travel.

¹¹⁷“Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15; Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15. Based on the reports, the date of issue of the document is unknown; ICT states that “a note at the end of the Tibetan version states it was distributed on February 12, 2015 by the Communist Party office of Tongren County.” See also “China Warns Tibetans in Rebong Against ‘Separatist’ Activities,” Radio Free Asia, 23 February 15.

¹¹⁸Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15. Based on Commission analysis, points that targeted ordinary or long-standing Tibetan practices that are not wholly independence activities may include the following: (9) “To legally or illegally travel outside of the state to participate in any religious events”; (10) “To hang images of the 14th Dalai Lama or of people fighting for Tibetan independence in public places”; (12) “To pray using butter lamps and smoke offerings, to chant or to free animals for self-immolators or to express condolences to their families”; (15) “To use the force of religion and its tenets as well as race to destabilise societal order. . . .”; (17) “To incite or plan prayer services for the 14th Dalai Lama at monasteries and public places during festivals and other holidays”; (18) “To incite or plan gatherings for praying for the 14th Dalai Lama under the banner of religion and tradition”; (19) “To intentionally create rumours about Tibetan independence by publicising messages, images, audio or videos of a variety of regular religious and traditional activities. . . .”; and (20) “. . . to participate in festivals when outside forces carry out activities related to Tibetan independence. To destabilise the social order under the banner of forcing others to only speak Tibetan and to kill, sell or free animals.” See also “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15.

¹¹⁹“Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15. Language indicating that persons who did not carry out an “illegal” activity but who were associated with some who allegedly had includes the following: “Leaders, key actors and their families will be disqualified from enjoying the benefits of the public benefit policy. . . . Villages in which incidents of instability have occurred, and monasteries also, will

be subject to intensive comprehensive rectification, responsibility will be allocated to officials stationed in those townships, villages or monasteries, no work projects or expenditure will be sanctioned for the following two years, and those already sanctioned will all be wound down.” See also Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15.

¹²⁰Miles Yu, “‘Nine Must-Haves’ for Tibetans,” Washington Times, 1 February 12. The article listed the “nine must-haves”: (1) “a composite portrait of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, representing four generations of Chinese communist leadership”; (2) “a Chinese national flag known as the Five-Starred flag, with the biggest yellow star at the center symbolizing the core leadership of the Chinese Communist Party”; (3) “a road leading to the facilities so it is easier for forces from outside to visit”; (4) “a supply of water”; (5) “a source of electricity”; (6) “radio and television sets, which will be powered by the mandatory availability of electricity”; (7) “access to movies”; (8) “a library”; (9) and “copies of the Communist Party of China state-controlled newspapers, the People’s Daily and Tibet Daily.” See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14.

¹²¹Cao Siqu, “All Tibet Temples Required To Fly National Flag,” Global Times, 9 April 15. According to the Global Times article, “[Chen Quanguo] . . . re-emphasized that all temples will have the national flag, communication services, newspapers, book stores, water and electrical supply and television broadcasts.” See also Ishaan Tharoor, “Top Chinese Official in Tibet Wants Buddhist Temples To Spread Propaganda,” Washington Post, 3 April 15; “Tibet Chief Demands Monasteries Display Chinese Flags,” Associated Press, reprinted in New York Times, 9 April 15. See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14.

¹²²Miles Yu, “‘Nine Must-Haves’ for Tibetans,” Washington Times, 1 February 12; Allen Ai, “Tibet Daily: Monks Praise Government’s ‘9 Must-Haves’ Policy,” Shanghaiist, 13 February 12.

¹²³Chen Feiyu, “‘Five Continued Focuses,’ Realize Greater Development (Under Guidance of Scientific Development Concept)—Interview With Tibet CPC Secretary Chen Quanguo” [“Wu ge jixu zhuoli” shixian geng da fazhan (zai kexue fazhan guan zhiyin xia)—fang xizang zizhiqu dangwei shuji chen quanguo], People’s Daily, 4 September 12 (translated in Open Source Center, 21 September 12). Chen stated: “We have carried out in a down-to-earth way the project of ensuring that all monasteries and temples have the portraits of four leaders (Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao), have national flag, have water facility, have power supply, have radio and television sets, have movies, have libraries, and have the People’s Daily Newspaper and Tibet Daily newspaper [jiu you gong cheng].”

¹²⁴Ben Blanchard, “Tibet Party Boss Says Temples Must Be Propaganda Centres,” Reuters, 3 April 15. See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14.

¹²⁵“China To Test Tibetan Monks and Nuns for Patriotism,” Agence France-Presse, reprinted in Guardian, 8 April 15; China Digital Times, “Monks’ Loyalty To Be Tested, Divisive Deity Promoted,” 8 April 15. See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14.

¹²⁶Chen Quanguo, “Overall Situation of the Work of Using ‘Four Comprehensives’ To Guide Governance of Borderlands [and] Tibet Stability (Deepening Study and Implementation of the Spirit of Comrade Xi Jinping’s Important Speeches)” [Yong “si ge quanmian” yinling zhi bian wen zang de quanju gongzuo (shenru xuexi guanche xi jinping tongzhi xilie zhongyao jianghua jingshen)], People’s Daily, 8 April 15; Cao Siqu, “All Tibet Temples Required To Fly National Flag,” Global Times, 9 April 15. See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14; “China To Test Tibetan Monks and Nuns for Patriotism,” Agence France-Presse, reprinted in Guardian, 8 April 15.

¹²⁷In the Tibet Autonomous Region, the following are some of the regulatory measures that establish state control over Tibetan Buddhism: State Administration for Religious Affairs, Regulation on Religious Affairs [Zongjiao shiwu tiaoli], issued 30 November 04, effective 1 March 05; State Administration for Religious Affairs, Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07; Buddhist Association of China, Measures for Evaluating the Credentials of and Appointing Monastic Teachers in Tibetan Buddhism [Zangchuan fojiao simiao jing shi zige pingding he pinren banfa], issued and effective 3 December 12. For Commission analysis of Chinese government regulatory intrusion upon Tibetan Buddhist affairs, see, e.g., “Special Report: Tibetan Monastic Self-Immolations Appear To Correlate With Increasing Repression of Freedom of Religion,” CECC China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update, No. 1, 24 January 12; “Tibetan Buddhist Affairs Regulations Taking Effect in Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 March 11; “New Legal Measures Assert Unprecedented Control Over Tibetan Buddhist Reincarnation,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 22 August 07. See also State Council Information Office, “Tibet Strengthening and Innovating in Temple Management Work, Promoting Religious Harmony” [Xizang jiaqiang he chuangxin simiao guanli gongzuo cujin zongjiao hemu], 25 December 14; “China To Test Tibetan Monks and Nuns for Patriotism,” Agence France-Presse, reprinted in Guardian, 8 April 15.

¹²⁸Yu Zhen, “Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in the Entire Region To Deepen the Carrying Out of Rule-of-Law Propaganda-Themed Education Activities” [Quan qu zangchuan fojiao simiao

shenru kaizhan fazhi xuanchuan zhuti jiaoyu huodong qidong], Tibet Daily, 11 May 12, reprinted in China Tibet News, 12 May 12.

¹²⁹International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation and Protest in Tibet Amid Intensified Security in Buildup to March 10 Anniversary,” 9 March 15 (Kumbum Monastery, near Xining city, Qinghai province: “massed ranks of armed troops gathered in a show of force”); “A Show of Force at Tibetan Prayer Festival,” Voice of America, 6 March 15 (Kumbum Monastery); International Campaign for Tibet, “Self-Immolation in Eastern Tibet and Major Troop Deployments in Lhasa as Tibetans Mark Religious Anniversary,” 16 December 14 (central Lhasa: “anniversary of the death of Tsongkhapa, founder of the Gelugpa . . . school of Tibetan Buddhism”); “China Deploys Heavy Security Presence at Tibetan Religious Festival,” Radio Free Asia, 26 August 14 (Drepung Monastery, Lhasa: Shoton festival). The March 9, 2015, International Campaign for Tibet report provides multiple images showing a large deployment of People’s Armed Police personnel and equipment on March 5, 2015, at Kumbum Monastery, located in Huangzhong county, Xining municipality, Qinghai province. In 2015, March 5 was Chotrul Duchen, an observance of the 15th day (full moon) of the first Tibetan month, a time when large numbers of Tibetan Buddhists visit major monasteries. Men-Tsee-Khang Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute, “Calendar: 2015 Wood-Sheep Year,” last visited 14 July 15.

¹³⁰“Tibetan Monks, Nuns Are Denied Passports in Serthar,” Radio Free Asia, 16 January 15.

¹³¹The Dalai Lama recognized Tenzin Deleg as a reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist teacher (*trulku*) during the period 1982–1987, when Tenzin Deleg was in India. See “The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 February 03, 13; Human Rights Watch, “Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,” Vol. 16, No.1(c), February 2004, 12.

¹³²Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “TCHRD Calls for Immediate Investigation Into Death of Prominent Tibetan Reincarnate Monk in Chinese Prison,” 17 July 15; “Tenzin Delek Rinpoche’s Sister, Niece Are Detained in Sichuan,” Radio Free Asia, 17 July 15. According to the RFA report, Tenzin Deleg was held in “Mianyang jail” (i.e., Mianyang Prison).

¹³³See “The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 February 03, 2; Human Rights Watch, “Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,” Vol. 16, No.1(c), February 2004, 5; “Tibetan Monk Death Penalty Commuted to Life in Prison,” Xinhua, 26 January 05; “Two Tibetans Sentenced to Death in SW China,” Xinhua, 26 January 03; “Tibetan Monk Protests Innocence in Smuggled Audiotape,” Radio Free Asia, 21 January 03.

¹³⁴“Tibetan Monk Protests Innocence in Smuggled Audiotape,” Radio Free Asia, 21 January 03. According to the RFA report, Tenzin Deleg reportedly stated on tape: “Whatever [the authorities] do and say, I am completely innocent. . . . I have always urged people to be kind-hearted and caring toward others. Everybody knows what I say and practice.” For detailed information, see, e.g., “The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 February 03; Human Rights Watch, “Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,” Vol. 16, No.1(c), February 2004. See the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2004-01950 on Tenzin Deleg.

¹³⁵“The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 February 03; Human Rights Watch, “Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,” Vol. 16, No.1(c), February 2004. See the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2004-01950 on Tenzin Deleg.

¹³⁶“Tibetan Monk Death Penalty Commuted to Life in Prison,” Xinhua, 26 January 05. See also “The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case Against Tenzin Deleg: The Law, the Courts, and the Debate on Legality,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 10 February 03; Human Rights Watch, “Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek,” Vol. 16, No.1(c), February 2004.

¹³⁷“Sisters Visit Jailed Monk,” Radio Free Asia, 11 June 10.

¹³⁸Based on the following sources, as of January 26, 2012, Tenzin Deleg had served seven years of life imprisonment following the January 26, 2005, commutation of his initial January 26, 2003, sentence to death with a two-year reprieve to life imprisonment. “Xinhua: Tenzin Deleg Death Penalty Commuted to Life Imprisonment,” Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 26 January 05; “Tibetan Monk Death Penalty Commuted to Life in Prison,” Xinhua, 26 January 05; “Two Tibetans Sentenced to Death in SW China,” Xinhua, 26 January 03; PRC Ministry of Justice, Supreme People’s Procuratorate, and Ministry of Public Security, Measure on Implementing Medical Parole for Prisoners, Document No. 247 (1990), Art. 2, translated in Dui Hua Foundation, “Measure on Implementing Medical Parole for Prisoners,” Dialogue, Issue 7, Spring 2002, 3. The following is an excerpt from the Dui Hua translation of Article 2: “For prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment, fixed prison terms or forced labor, if one of the following conditions is fulfilled during their reform period, then medical parole can be permitted: (ii) A prisoner is serving either a life sentence or death sentence with two-year reprieve that has been reduced to life imprisonment, and he has served seven years or more of his life sentence.”

¹³⁹International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetans Gather To Pray for Imprisoned Tibetan Religious Teacher,” 17 October 14. Tibetans gathered in Yajiang (Nyagchukha) county, Kardze (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.

¹⁴⁰Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China: Release Reincarnated Tibetan Buddhist Monk on Medical Parole,” 7 April 15 (“his heart condition has worsened”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetans Gather To Pray for Imprisoned Tibetan Religious Teacher,” 17 October 14 (“believed to be in very poor health in prison, with a liver condition and serious problems with his legs”).

¹⁴¹“China Warns Tibetans in Rebong Against ‘Separatist’ Activities,” Radio Free Asia, 23 February 15. According to the RFA report, Tongren (Rebong) county authorities would treat as “illegal associations” those that are “formed in the name of the Tibetan language, the environment, and education.” “‘Underage’ Tibetan Monks Face New Clampdown on Religious Life,” Radio Free Asia, 24 February 15. According to the RFA report, officials in Delingha (Terlenkha) and Dulan (Tulan) counties in Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province, banned Tibetan language classes for students who had already graduated from school. See also International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Demonstrations Over Land, Education Policy,” 4 November 14.

¹⁴²Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “Extrajudicial Killing, Arbitrary Detention and Religious Repression Continue in Restive Tibetan County,” 15 December 14. According to the TCHRD report, Bachen Gyalwa (“Bachen Gyewa”) was known for promoting “the religious, cultural, educational, social and economic wellbeing and unity of the people of Ushung village.” For more information on Bachen Gyalwa, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00048.

¹⁴³International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Man Sets Fire to Himself Beside Shrine With Religious Offerings (Updated),” 17 April 15. According to the ICT report, using an alias, Nekyab (“Neykyab”) had “frequently spoken in online forums about the importance of unity.”

¹⁴⁴“Tibetan Singer Jailed Four Years for Belting Out Patriotic Songs,” Radio Free Asia, 29 November 14. According to RFA, Kalsang Yarphel performed songs “calling on Tibetans to speak their own language and to forge unity among themselves.” For more information on Kalsang Yarphel, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2013-00274.

¹⁴⁵High Peaks Pure Earth, “‘A Brief Announcement from China Tibet Online’ by Tibetan Journalists,” 18 September 14. According to the article, “websites such as China Tibet Online are under the control of the United Front.” The term, “United Front,” used in the article refers to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee’s United Front Work Department. See, e.g., China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 16.

¹⁴⁶High Peaks Pure Earth, “‘A Brief Announcement from China Tibet Online’ by Tibetan Journalists,” 18 September 14.

¹⁴⁷High Peaks Pure Earth, “About Us,” last visited 12 June 15. According to the “about us” statement, “High Peaks Pure Earth provides insightful commentary on Tibet related news and issues and provides translations from writings in Tibetan and Chinese posted on blogs from Tibet and the People’s Republic of China.”

¹⁴⁸High Peaks Pure Earth, “‘A Brief Announcement from China Tibet Online’ by Tibetan Journalists,” 18 September 14.

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

¹⁵⁰State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group, “Guide to Action for Effectively Conducting Ethnic Work Under the New Situation—Studying General Secretary Xi Jinping’s Important Expositions on Ethnic Work” [Xin xingshi xia zuo hao minzu gongzuo de xingdong zhinan—xuexi xi jingping zongshuji guanyu minzu gongzuo de zhongyao lunshu], Seeking Truth, 31 July 14.

¹⁵¹Ibid.; China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 13–28. The State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group is not listed as a group directly under the Party’s Central Committee.

¹⁵²State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group, “Guide to Action for Effectively Conducting Ethnic Work Under the New Situation—Studying General Secretary Xi Jinping’s Important Expositions on Ethnic Work” [Xin xingshi xia zuo hao minzu gongzuo de xingdong zhinan—xuexi xi jingping zongshuji guanyu minzu gongzuo de zhongyao lunshu], Seeking Truth, 31 July 14 (translated in Open Source Center, 17 December 14). China Directory 2014 (Tokyo: Radiopress, December 2013), 13–28. The State Ethnic Affairs Commission Leading Party Group is not listed as a group directly under the Party’s Central Committee.

¹⁵³“Tibetan Musician Who Produced Songs for Popular Singer Is Jailed,” Radio Free Asia, 1 December 14 (“jailed for four years”); “Tibetan Singer Jailed Four Years for Belting Out Patriotic Songs,” Radio Free Asia, 29 November 14 (“songs calling on Tibetans to speak their own language and to forge unity among themselves”); Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Detains Tibetan Singer for ‘Politically Subversive’ Song,” 9 August 13 (“lyrics were deemed ‘politically subversive’ by the Chinese authorities”). For more information on Kalsang Yarphel, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2013-00274. Security officials detained Kalsang Yarphel on July 14, 2013; the Chengdu Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to four years’ imprisonment on November 27, 2014.

¹⁵⁴Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, “China Detains Tibetan Singer for ‘Politically Subversive’ Song,” 9 August 13. The article provides a translation of a song titled, “Fellow Tibetans.”

¹⁵⁵“Tibetan Musician Who Produced Songs for Popular Singer Is Jailed,” Radio Free Asia, 1 December 14 (“sentenced to two years and six months in jail and fined 50,000 yuan”). For more information on Pema Rigzin, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00078. Security officials detained Pema Rigzin on May 7, 2013; the Chengdu Intermediate People’s Court sentenced him to two years and six months’ imprisonment on November 27, 2014.

¹⁵⁶“Tibetan Writer Believed To Be Jailed in Northwest China Province,” Radio Free Asia, 8 April 15 (Shogiang (“Shokjang”) “secretly detained for a second time on March 19”); “Tibetan Writer Shokjung Arrested in Rebong,” Voice of America, 8 April 15 (“On March 19, 2015, Chinese security police in Rebong . . . arrested . . . writer and blogger Shokjung”). For information on the reaction from other Tibetan writers, see, e.g., High Peaks Pure Earth, “Tashi Rabten Remembers Detained Writer Shokjang,” 9 April 15; High Peaks Pure Earth, “‘My Friend Is Innocent. Return Him!’ More From Netizens on Detained Writer Shokjang,” 9 April 15. For more information on Druglo (Shogiang (“Shokjang”)), see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2010-00153.

¹⁵⁷ Shokjang, “Conflict and Resolution: A Response to Liu Junning,” 7 June 14, translated in High Peaks Pure Earth, 2 September 14.

¹⁵⁸ Yeshe Choesang, “Tibetan Monk Disappeared After Arbitrarily Arrested From Chengdu,” Tibet Post International, 2 February 15. According to the article, the basis for the detention was “unknown” but a source referred to Gedun Gyatso’s “alleged political writings.” For more information on Gedun Gyatso, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database record 2015-00080. Security officials detained Gedun Gyatso on January 10, 2015.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁰ Based on the reports, the date of issue of the document is unknown. The ICT report states that “a note at the end of the Tibetan version states it was distributed on February 12, 2015 by the Communist Party office of Tongren County.” “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15. Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15. The TPI report described the issuing authority as “Chinese authorities in Rebkong County.” See also “China Warns Tibetans in Rebgong Against ‘Separatist’ Activities,” Radio Free Asia, 23 February 15.

¹⁶¹ “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15; Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15. Based on Commission analysis, although the title of the document asserts that the “illegal activities” are all “related to Tibetan independence,” an objective basis to support such a broad characterization is unavailable. See also “China Warns Tibetans in Rebgong Against ‘Separatist’ Activities,” Radio Free Asia, 23 February 15.

¹⁶² Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15. Based on Commission analysis, the points that target ordinary or long-standing Tibetan practices relating to Tibetan language may include the following: (3) “To write, draw, announce, sell or distribute books, art, audio recordings or videos endorsing ethnic separatism or nationalist views that are expressed too forcefully”; (6) “To use social media including QQ and WeChat . . . to spread rumours that undermine national unity or create social unrest and ethnic division”; (14) “To publicise nationalist views that are expressed too forcefully and to discuss Tibetan independence in schools”; and (19) “. . . To send biased publicity of legal activities—including reeducation campaigns, the closing of illegal organisations and the prosecution of criminals—to outside of the state and to publicise facilities to outside forces.” See also “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* Based on Commission analysis, the points that may target ordinary or long-standing Tibetan practices relating to Tibetan language include the following: (3) “To write, draw, announce, sell or distribute books, art, audio recordings or videos endorsing ethnic separatism or nationalist views that are expressed too forcefully”; (4) “To establish illegal organisations or activities under the name of the Tibetan language, the environment or education”; (5) “To incite, plan or lead illegal activities that include protests or gatherings under the banner of the equality of languages, food security or the protection of animals”; and (20) “. . . To destabilise the social order under the banner of forcing others to only speak Tibetan and to kill, sell or free animals.” See also “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Based on Commission analysis, the points that may target ordinary or long-standing Tibetan practices relating to education include the following: (3) “To write, draw, announce, sell or distribute books, art, audio recordings or videos endorsing ethnic separatism or nationalist views that are expressed too forcefully”; (4) “To establish illegal organisations or activities under the name of the Tibetan language, the environment or education”; and (5) “To incite, plan or lead illegal activities that include protests or gatherings under the banner of the equality of languages, food security or the protection of animals.” See also “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Based on Commission analysis, the points that may target ordinary or long-standing Tibetan practices relating to care of the environment include the following: (4) “To establish illegal organisations or activities under the name of the Tibetan language, the environment or education”; (5) “To incite, plan or lead illegal activities that include protests or gatherings under the banner of the equality of languages, food security or the protection of animals”; and (15) “To use the force of religion and its tenets as well as race to destabilise societal order. Also, under the banner of ethnicity, to plan illegal activities toward government officials and the public including to warn them, take revenge on them and to consider them as enemies.” See also “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15.

¹⁶⁶ “Twenty Illegal Activities Related to Tibet Independence,” translated in International Campaign for Tibet, “Praying and Lighting Butter-Lamps for Dalai Lama ‘Illegal’: New Regulations in Rebkong,” 14 April 15. “Leaders, key actors and their families will be disqualified from enjoying the benefits of the public benefit policy. . . . Villages in which incidents of instability have occurred, and monasteries also, will be subject to intensive comprehensive rectification, responsibility will be allocated to officials stationed in those townships, villages or monasteries, no work projects or expenditure will be sanctioned for the following two years, and those already sanc-

tioned will all be wound down.” See also Oliver Arnoldi, “Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,” translated in “China Issues 20 ‘Illegal Activities Related to the Independence of Tibet,’” Tibet Post International, 25 February 15.

¹⁶⁷ International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Demonstrations Over Land, Education Policy,” 4 November 14 (students called for “equality of education”); “Tibetan Students Protest Official’s Call for Instruction in Chinese,” Radio Free Asia, 6 November 14 (students “staged protests against a possible switch to Mandarin as their language of instruction”).

¹⁶⁸ “China Forces Closure of Academic Workshop by a Monastery in Kyegudo,” Phayul, 23 January 15. The Phayul report cited Voice of Tibet. Phayul identified the monastery as Dondrubling, near Yushu (Kyegudo), the capital of Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai province.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
¹⁷⁰ “Villagers Protest in Tibet’s Maldro Gongkar County Over Mine Pollution,” Radio Free Asia, 29 September 14.

¹⁷¹ “Thirteen Wounded as Chinese Police Open Fire on Tibetan Anti-Mine Protesters,” Radio Free Asia, 1 October 14.

¹⁷² “Eleven Tibetans Detained in Sichuan Over Land-Grab Protest,” Radio Free Asia, 30 January 15; Phuntsok Yangchen, “Two Tibetans From Chengdu Protest Rearrested in Zoego,” Phayul, 4 February 15. For more information, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2015-00111 on Jigdral Kyab and 2015-00112 on Tsepag.

¹⁷³ “Four Tibetans ‘Severely Beaten’ for Refusing To Sell Land,” Radio Free Asia, 2 January 15.

¹⁷⁴ “Tibetan Villagers Block Highway Construction in Sit-Down Protest,” Radio Free Asia, 21 April 15 (“proposed extension of a Chinese-built highway into nomadic grazing areas”); International Campaign for Tibet, “Tibetan Demonstrations Over Land, Education Policy,” 4 November 14 (“unfair compensation for land in their home areas”); “2 Tibetans Arrested in Sangchu for Protesting Forced Landgrab,” Phayul, 28 April 15. For information on Tibetans detained in connection to the protest, see the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database records 2015-00160 on Sanggye Khar and 2015-00161 on Sonam Gyatso.

¹⁷⁵ “Tibetans Decry Pollution, Damage to Land From Chinese Mining,” Radio Free Asia, 20 January 15.

¹⁷⁶ “Tibetan Nomads Resist Relocation, Are Stripped of Personal Documents,” Radio Free Asia, 7 November 14.

¹⁷⁷ “China Plans National Park at Major Riverheads,” Xinhua, 27 January 15; “Chinese Mining Is Ordered Stopped in Tibetan Protest-Hit Dzatoe,” Radio Free Asia, 23 October 14.

¹⁷⁸ “China Plans National Park at Major Riverheads,” Xinhua, 27 January 15. According to the report, the three counties that will have areas within the national park protected area are “Madoi” [Madoo (Matoe) county, Guoluo (Golog) TAP], “Zhidoi” [Zhiduo (Dritoe) county, Yushu (Yulshul) TAP], and “Zadoi” [Zaduo (Dzatoe) county, Yushu TAP]. For information on a 2013 “clash,” see “Tibetan Mine Protesters Vow To Appeal to Beijing,” Radio Free Asia, 22 August 13.

¹⁷⁹ “Chinese Mining Is Ordered Stopped in Tibetan Protest-Hit Dzatoe,” Radio Free Asia, 23 October 14.

¹⁸⁰ In addition to the 429 Tibetans detained on or after March 10, 2008, whom courts sentenced to imprisonment are 2 Tibetans believed charged with a crime and tried with an unknown result; 8 Tibetans believed charged (and who may face trial); 1 Tibetan charged and released on bail; 3 Tibetans believed charged and then possibly released; and 1 who may have been charged, tried, and then died.

¹⁸¹ In addition to the 635 Tibetan political prisoners believed or presumed to be currently detained or imprisoned and who were detained on or after March 10, 2008, the Commission’s Political Prisoner Database recorded, as of May 1, 2015, another 1,199 Tibetan political prisoners detained or imprisoned on or after March 10, 2008, who are believed or presumed to have been released, or who reportedly escaped or died.

¹⁸² Tibetan Buddhists believe that a *trulku* is a teacher who is a part of a lineage of teachers that are reincarnations.

¹⁸³ All of the 159 sentences to fixed-term imprisonment were judicial.

¹⁸⁴ PRC Criminal Law [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xingfa], issued 1 July 79, amended 14 March 97, effective 1 October 97, amended 25 December 99, 31 August 01, 29 December 01, 28 December 02, 28 February 05, 29 June 06, 28 February 09, 25 February 11, art. 50. A sentence of death with a two-year reprieve may be commuted to life imprisonment upon expiration of the two-year reprieve if a prisoner “commits no intentional crime” during the reprieve. If a prisoner “has truly performed major meritorious service,” then the sentence may be commuted to a fixed-term sentence of 25 years upon expiration of the two-year reprieve. If the prisoner “has committed an intentional crime” during the period of suspension, the death penalty “shall be executed upon verification and approval of the Supreme People’s Court.”