



Congressional-Executive Commission on China

Special Report: Tibetan Self-Immolation Rising Frequency, Wider Spread, Greater Diversity

August 22, 2012

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The frequency, geographic spread, and diversity of Tibetans who reportedly have committed self-immolation as they called for Tibetan freedom and the Dalai Lama's return has increased since a December 2011 Commission [report](#). The December report covered 13 self-immolations (8 reported fatal) that occurred from February 2009 to December 2011. All 13 of those self-immolations involved current or former monks or nuns; 12 took place in Sichuan province. Since then, as of August 10, 2012, an additional 33 Tibetans reportedly have committed similar self-immolation protests (29 reported fatal). Of these 33 self-immolations, 13 took place outside Sichuan province and 14 were persons who did not have a monastic background (i.e., laypersons).

The wave of self-immolations is concurrent with increasing Chinese Communist Party and government use of legal measures to repress and control core elements of Tibetan culture,¹ and with the failure of the China-Dalai Lama dialogue process to achieve any sign of progress.² The Party and government have also not indicated any willingness to consider Tibetan grievances in a more constructive manner and to hold themselves accountable for Tibetan rejection of Chinese policies. The Party and government have handled the crisis as a threat to state security and social stability instead of a policy failure.³ Note: This report covers the period up to August 10, 2012.

As Self-Immolations Spread and Involve Laypersons, Kirti Monks Less Prevalent

As of August 10, 2012, the total number of reported incidents of Tibetans committing self-immolation since February 2009 in protests focusing on political and religious issues—e.g., Tibetan freedom and the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet—increased to 46 (37 reported fatal) from the 13 incidents (7 reported fatal) listed in a December 2011 Commission [report](#). [See Table and Map below.] This report does not characterize the reported June 27, 2012, Tibetan self-immolation of Dekyi Choezom in Yushu (Yushul) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, as political or religious because she committed self-immolation in protest against government expropriation of her family's property, according to international media and advocacy group reports.⁴

Self-immolation frequency has increased. Of the 13 Tibetan self-immolation protests that took place from February 2009 to December 2011, 12 of them (8 reported fatal) occurred during the 10-month period March to December 2011. In comparison, 33 self-immolations (29 reported fatal) took place in 2012 as of August 10. [See Table and Map below.]

Self-immolations have spread. The first 12 of the 13 self-immolations that took place from February 2009 to December 2011 occurred in Sichuan province; 1 self-immolation, in December 2011, took place in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). In comparison, of the 33 self-immolations that took place in 2012 as of August 10, 20 took place in Sichuan and 13 took place in other provincial-level areas. [See Table and Map below.] The following summary provides provincial-, prefectural-, and county-level location information for the 33 self-immolations that took place in 2012 as of August 10.

- **Sichuan province.** A total of 20 self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture. Thirteen of the 20 self-immolations took place in Aba county; 4 were in Rangtang (Dzamthang) county; and 3 were in Ma'erkang (Barkham) county, the prefectural capital. [See Table and Map below.]
- **Qinghai province.** A total of eight self-immolations took place in a total of four prefectural-level areas. Three self-immolations took place in Huangnan (Malho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP): two took place in Tongren (Rebgong) county, the prefectural capital, and one was in Jianzha (Chentsa) county. Three self-immolations (excluding the property-related protest of self-immolator Dekyi Choezom mentioned above) took place in Yushu (Yulshul) TAP: all three took place in Chenduo (Tridu) county. One self-immolation took place in Dari (Darlag) county, Guoluo (Golog) TAP. One self-immolation reportedly took place in Tianjun (Themchen) county, Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture⁵—a reliable Tibetan-language map, however, indicates that Bongtag Monastery, the reported location of the self-immolation, is in neighboring Wulan county.⁶ [See Table and Map below.]
- **Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).** A total of three self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Lhasa municipality. Two took place in Lhasa city, the TAR capital, and one was in Dangxiong (Damshung county). [See Table and Map below.]

- **Gansu province.** A total of two self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Gannan (Kanlho) TAP. One took place in Hezuo (Tsoe) city, the prefectural capital, and one was in Maqu (Machu) county. [See Table and Map below.]

Kirti prevalence has declined. As the frequency of self-immolations increased and spread geographically, the prevalence of Kirti Monastery monks among self-immolators has decreased. If the total of 46 self-immolations as of August 10, 2012, is divided into halves, then current or former Kirti monks made up 12 of the first 23 self-immolations (February 27, 2009, to February 19, 2012). In comparison, current or former Kirti monks account for 5 of the last 23 self-immolators (March 3 to August 10, 2012). [See Table below.]

Laypersons dominate recent self-immolation. As self-immolation increased and spread geographically, laypersons have taken on a greater role. Once again comparing halves of the 46 total self-immolations as of August 10, 2012, all but 1 of the first 23 self-immolators (February 2009 to February 19, 2012) were current or former monks or nuns—the 23rd self-immolation was the first by a layperson. In comparison, 13 of the last 23 self-immolations (March 3, 2012, to August 10, 2012) were laypersons. Nine of the 13 self-immolations that took place during the period April through August 10, 2012, were laypersons. Self-immolations involving laypersons since April have taken place in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and the TAR. [See Table and Map below.]

Officials Blame Self-Immolations on “the Dalai Clique,” Disparage Self-Immolators

Chinese government and Party officials have not acknowledged the role of Party policy and government legal measures in Tibetan decisions to commit self-immolation. Officials have blamed self-immolations on the Dalai Lama and organizations and individuals the Party associates with him (“the Dalai Clique”).⁷ On January 12, 2012, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman asserted that the self-immolations “were organized, premeditated and instigated by overseas groups and people.”⁸ Speaking to European Union officials on December 29, 2011, Zhu Weiqun, Executive Deputy Head of the Communist Party’s United Front Work Department⁹ (UFWD) and Director of the Party’s General Office of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs¹⁰ blamed the Dalai Lama directly for the self-immolations and told the EU officials to expect no change in Chinese government policies on Tibetan issues:

The Dalai Lama wants to turn Tibetan Buddhism into a religion of suiciders and self-immolators in order to serve his own political

purpose. . . . I want to frankly tell all my friends here that if these incidents continue to occur the Chinese government will not change its policies and principles for the work in Tibet or its attitude toward combating the Dalai clique.¹¹

Chinese officials and media have attempted to discredit some of the self-immolators—and by extension, the basis for their suicides—by describing them or their deaths in pejorative terms including terrorist,¹² criminal,¹³ and copy-cat.¹⁴ A November 2011 Xinhua article described self-immolations as “brutal and terrorist acts in disguise,”¹⁵ and a March 2012 Xinhua report asserted that by “instigating” Tibetans to commit self-immolation, “the Dalai Lama clique” showed willingness to “use terrorism to reach their objectives.”¹⁶ The same March report alleged that “a number of the self-immolators were “secularized monks with criminal records.” In June 2012, for example, Xinhua reported on two former monks who attempted self-immolation: one allegedly had stolen a “golden Buddha statute [sic]” from a monastery and the other allegedly had stolen money from a relative.¹⁷ The same Xinhua report featured a psychologist stating, “Teenagers aged 18–22 and the stressed are the most prone to copycat suicides as they are impulsive and lack self-control.”

Policies, Legal Measures, Stalled Dialogue May Influence Self-Immolators’ Decisions

International media and advocacy groups continued to report that as self-immolators burned they shouted anti-government slogans and called for Tibetan freedom (or independence) and the Dalai Lama’s return.¹⁸ The consistency of the reports, if they are accurate, indicates that Tibetan self-immolators rejected the outlook for the Tibetan culture under Party policy and government legal measures. Based on Commission analysis, several factors and trends that developed or worsened following Tibetan political protests that began in March 2008 may have contributed to the environment that influences Tibetan decisions to self-immolate. Examples of such factors and trends include:

- **Government failure to implement the PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL)** in a manner that provides local ethnic autonomous governments the “right to administer their internal affairs”—as guaranteed in the REAL’s Preamble;¹⁹
- **Erosion or elimination of future potential for ethnic autonomy** as the Party and government promote demographic transformation [see Box on Zhu Wei-qun below];²⁰

- **Deteriorating outlook for the Tibetan culture, language, and environment** as the government continues to prioritize development initiatives that accelerate infrastructure construction and resource exploitation;²¹
- **Steepening decline since 2007 in the status of religious freedom for Tibetan Buddhists** resulting from national-, provincial-, and prefectural-level government regulation of the religion;²²
- **Ongoing security crackdowns and enforced “education” campaigns** that pressure Tibetans to accept policies and regulations that Tibetans resent, but officials say “uphold [the] normal order of Tibetan Buddhism,” safeguard “social stability,” and foster a “harmonious society;”²³ and
- **Lack of hope that Party officials will resume dialogue with the Dalai Lama’s envoys** and engage in substantive discussions.²⁴

Zhu Weiqun, in his capacity as UFWD Executive Deputy Head (or Deputy Head prior to 2006²⁵), served as a principal interlocutor in the dialogue between Party officials and the Dalai Lama’s representatives starting in the 2003 second round²⁶ through the ninth and most recent round in January 2010.²⁷ The period of time since the ninth round—more than two-and-one-half years—is the longest without a formal meeting since dialogue resumed in 2002.²⁸ On June 1, 2012, the Dalai Lama’s envoys, Lodi Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltsen, reportedly resigned their positions as Special Envoy and Envoy respectively and noted “the deteriorating situation inside Tibet since 2008 leading to the increasing cases of self-immolations by Tibetans.”²⁹

Zhu Weiqun: Retirement of A Tibet Policy Hardliner, Not Necessarily of the Hard Line

According to a Hong Kong newspaper, Zhu Weiqun is retiring³⁰—an expected development based on his age (he turns 65 in 2012),³¹ his membership in the 16th and 17th Communist Party Central Committees (2002-2012),³² and the approach of the 18th Party Congress that will select a new Central Committee.³³ Zhu was a Central Committee member during all of the rounds of dialogue in which he participated from 2003–2010.

Zhu’s prominence as an exponent of harsh Party policies toward Tibetan political,³⁴ religious,³⁵ and ethnic³⁶ aspirations has been more apparent after the 2008 Tibetan protests, when

the Party leadership strengthened its capacity throughout Tibetan autonomous areas³⁷ to coordinate and implement policy.³⁸ For example, when China Directory 2009 (published November 2008) included for the first time a list of members of the Central Committee's Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs (CCGTA), it did not list Zhu Weiqun as a member.³⁹ China Directory 2010 (published November 2009), however, recorded for the first time a CCGTA General Office and listed Zhu Weiqun as Director.⁴⁰ China Directory 2010 also showed that the number of CCGTA members ranked as a deputy head increased from one to three.⁴¹

The Dalai Lama's envoys arrived in China in January 2010 for the ninth and most recent round of dialogue—with Zhu as their main interlocutor—less than a week after the Party's Fifth Tibet Work Forum (Fifth Forum).⁴² With the entire Standing Committee of the Political Bureau in attendance, the Fifth Forum for the first time expanded the Party's Tibetan policy purview beyond the administrative boundaries of the TAR to include the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties located in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces,⁴³ and applied the highest imprimatur of political power to achieving sweeping policy objectives throughout the Tibetan areas of China by 2020.⁴⁴

Zhu's statements since the Fifth Forum on issues such as the China-Dalai Lama dialogue,⁴⁵ Tibetan Buddhist monastic affairs,⁴⁶ and ethnic minority rights⁴⁷—likely made with some level of acceptance from CCGTA leaders and members⁴⁸—underscore Party resolve to transform core elements of Tibetan culture to conform with Party objectives.

In a February 13, 2012, Study Times article, Zhu advocated for ethnic “amalgamation” and advised that development initiatives should promote and make “irreversible” the trend toward “mixed habitation” of ethnic groups.⁴⁹ Zhu described himself as “personally predisposed” to removing ethnic information from household registration (*hukou*) cards,⁵⁰ “desegregating” education (i.e., assimilating ethnic minority students into Chinese-language educational programs and ending minority-language education programs),⁵¹ and not establishing any additional areas with ethnic autonomous status.⁵²

On February 23, the Chinese Association of Ethnic Theory Research convened a symposium under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) to discuss “current hot-button ethnic theoretical and practical issues.”⁵³ The group posted on the CASS Web site a summary of symposium views. Referring to a “leading cadre”—likely directed at Zhu Weiqun—the summary warned that turning away from “the basic [ethnic autonomy] system and policy” could “easily lead to ideological chaos and thereby cause a negative impact on

society.”⁵⁴ The article warned of increasing risks posed by the declining status of ethnic minority affairs:

The blind spot in knowledge, the erroneous zone in education, and the deficiency in mutual trust, which can be seen everywhere across the ethnic spectrum in today’s China, are turning gradually into a social governance tragedy.⁵⁵

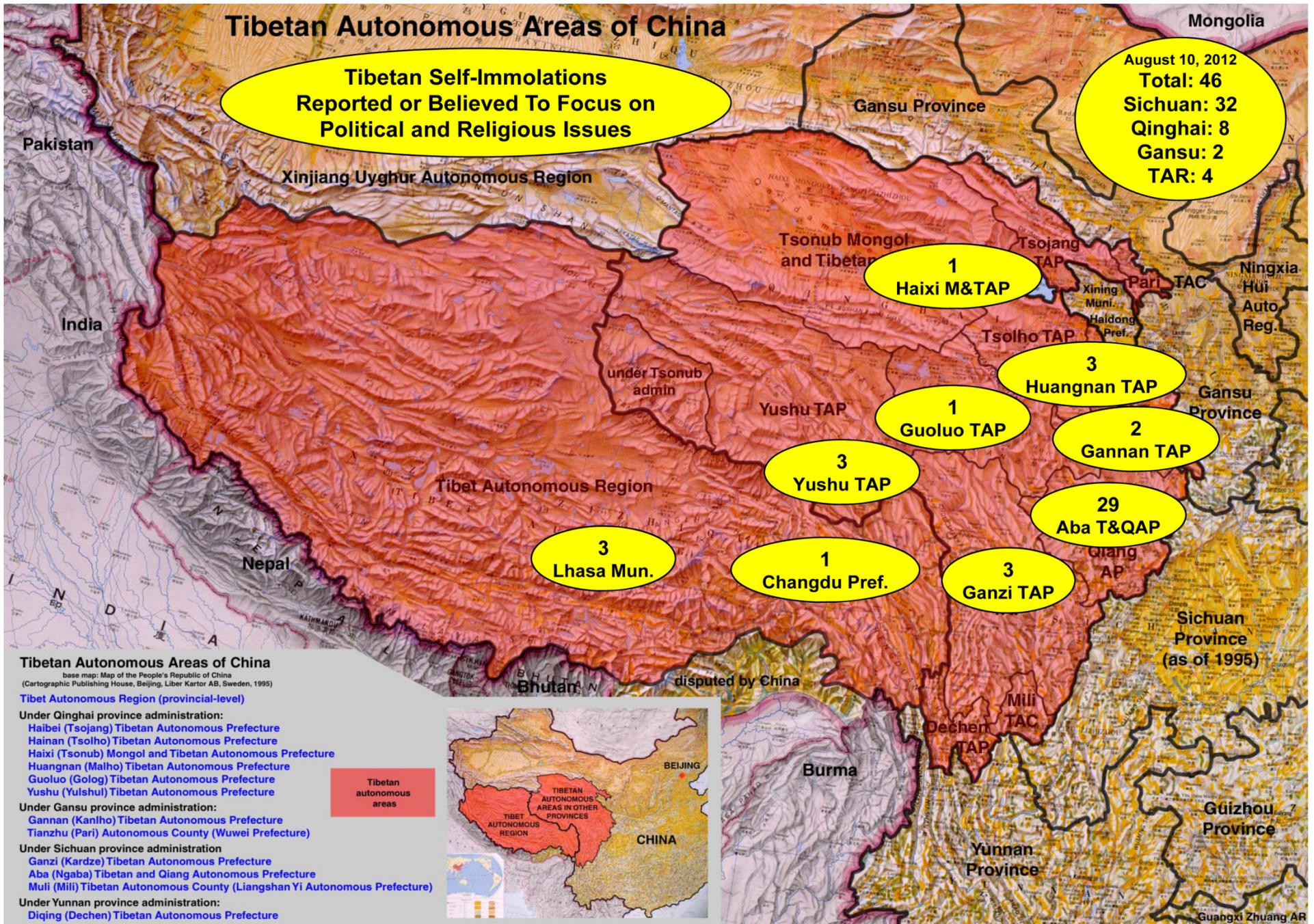
Based on Commission analysis, the 46 Tibetan self-immolation protests (37 reported fatal) known or believed to focus on political and religious issues as of August 10, 2012, demonstrate an unprecedented level of intensity in Tibetan rejection of Chinese governance. [See Table and Map below.]

TIBETAN SELF-IMMOLATION (FEBRUARY 27, 2009–AUGUST 10, 2012)

(Instances Reported or Believed To Involve Political or Religious Protest)

No.	Date of Self-Immo.	Name Sex /Approx. Age	Occupation Affiliation	Self-Immolation Location Prov. / Pref./ County	Status
2009					
1	February 27	Tashi (Tabe) M /24	Monk Kirti Monastery	Sichuan/ Aba T&QAP/ Aba county	Detained in hospital ⁵⁶
2011					
2	March 16	Phuntsog M/20	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁵⁷
3	August 15	Tsewang Norbu M/29	Monk Nytso Monastery	Sichuan/ Ganzi TAP/ Daofu county	Deceased ⁵⁸
4, 5	September 26	Lobsang Kalsang, Lobsang Konchog both M/18	Monks Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Both hospitalized ⁵⁹
6	October 3	Kalsang Wangchug M/17	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Hospitalized ⁶⁰
7, 8	October 7	Choephel, M/19 Khayang, M/18	Former monks Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Both deceased ⁶¹
9	October 15	Norbu Dradul M/19	Former monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁶²
10	October 17	Tenzin Wangmo F/20	Nun Dechen Choekorling Nunnery	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁶³
11	October 25	Dawa Tsering M/30s	Monk Gepheling Monastery	Sichuan/ Ganzi TAP/ Ganzi county	Hospitalized then released ⁶⁴
12	November 3	Palden Choetso (Choesang) F/35	Nun Gaden Choeling Nunnery	Sichuan/ Ganzi/ Daofu	Deceased ⁶⁵
13	December 1	Tenzin Phuntsog M/46	Householder (father) (former monk, Karma Monastery)	TAR/ Changdu prefecture/ Changdu county	Deceased ⁶⁶
2012					
14, 15	January 6	Tsultrim, Tennyi both M/about 20	Current or former monks Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁶⁷
16	January 8	Sonam Wanggyal (Zoepa) M/42	Monk Dungkyob Monastery	Qinghai/ Guoluo TAP/ Dari county	Deceased ⁶⁸

No.	Date of Self-Immo.	Name Sex /Approx. Age	Occupation Affiliation	Self-Immolation Location Prov. / Pref./ County	Status
17	January 14	Lobsang Jamyang M/21	Former monk Andu Monastery	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁶⁹
18	February 8	Rigzin Dorje M/19	Former monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁷⁰
19	February 9	Sonam Rabyang M/mid-30s	Monk Lab Monastery	Qinghai/ Yushu TAP/ Chenduo county	Hospitalized ⁷¹
20	February 11	Tenzin Choedron F/18	Nun Dechen Choekorling	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁷²
21	February 13	Lobsang Gyatso M/19	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Hospitalized ⁷³
22	February 17	Damchoe Zangpo M/38	Monk Bongtag Monastery	Qinghai/ Haixi M&TAP/ Wulan county	Deceased ⁷⁴
23	February 19	Nangdrol (Nyadrol) M/18	Layman	Sichuan/ Aba/ Rangtang county	Deceased ⁷⁵
24	March 3	Tsering Kyi F/19	Middle-school student	Gansu/ Gannan TAP/ Maqu county	Deceased ⁷⁶
25	March 4	Rinchen F/32	Widowed mother	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁷⁷
26	March 5	Dorje M/18	Layman	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁷⁸
27	March 10	Gepe M/18	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁷⁹
28	March 14	Jamyang Palden M /34	Monk Rongbo Monastery	Qinghai/ Huangnan TAP/ Tongren county	Hospitalized, removed by monks ⁸⁰
29	March 16	Lobsang Tsultrim M/20	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁸¹
30	March 17	Sonam Dargyal M/44	Farmer (father)	Qinghai/ Huangnan / Tongren	Deceased ⁸²
31	March 28	Sherab (Lobsang Sherab) M/20	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁸³
32, 33	March 30	Tenpa Dargyal, M/22 Chime Palden, M/21	Monks Tsodun Monastery	Sichuan/ Aba/ Ma'erkang county	Both deceased ⁸⁴
34, 35	April 19	Choephag Kyab, Sonam both M/early 20s	Laymen	Sichuan/ Aba/ Rangtang	Both deceased ⁸⁵
36, 37	May 27	Dorje Tseten, M/19 Dargye, M/25	Both, restaurant staff (Dargye: former monk, Kirti)	TAR / Lhasa municipality/ Lhasa city	Deceased ⁸⁶ Hospitalized ⁸⁷
38	May 30	Rikyo (Rechog) F/33	Wife and mother	Sichuan/ Aba/ Rangtang	Deceased ⁸⁸
39	June 15	Tamdrin Thar M/50s	Settled nomad, father	Qinghai/ Huangnan/ Jianzha	Deceased ⁸⁹
40, 41	June 20	Tenzin Khedrub, M/24 Ngawang Norphel, M/22	Former monk, Zilkar Monastery Carpenter (hailed from Rikaze prefecture, TAR)	Qinghai/ Yushu/ Chenduo	Both deceased ⁹⁰
42	July 7	Tsewang Dorje M/22	Settled nomad	TAR/ Lhasa municipality/ Dangxiong	Deceased ⁹¹
43	July 17	Lobsang Lozin M/18	Monk Tsodun Monastery	Sichuan/ Aba/ Ma'erkang county	Deceased ⁹²
44	August 6	Lobsang Tsultrim M/ 21	Monk Kirti	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁹³
45	August 7	Drolkar Tso F/26	Wife and mother	Gansu/ Gannan/ Hezuo	Deceased ⁹⁴
46	August 10	Choepa M/24	Nomad	Sichuan/ Aba/ Aba	Deceased ⁹⁵



ENDNOTES

¹ For Commission analysis of Chinese government regulatory intrusion upon Tibetan Buddhist affairs, see, e.g., [CECC](#), “Special Report: Tibetan Monastic Self-Immolations Appear To Correlate With Increasing Repression of Freedom of Religion,” 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. For measures issued by China’s central government, see, e.g., 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 hufo zhuanshi guanli banfa], passed 13 July 07, issued 18 July 07, effective 1 September 07 (translation by International Campaign for Tibet reprinted in [CECC](#)).

² [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Where is China Heading on Tibet?—Remarks by Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari to the Council on Foreign Relations Washington, DC, April 23, 2012,” 23 April 12. In prepared testimony, Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of the His Holiness the Dalai Lama, stated, “I am not here today to give you a report on my progress because there is nothing new to say on that front.” Referring to the “volatile situation in Tibet,” he said, “The Chinese government’s failure to grasp the reality of this situation and to act responsibly is of serious concern to many governments.”

³ See, e.g., “Monks’ Radical Moves in Tibet Opposed,” Xinhua, 15 March 12, reprinted in [China Daily](#) (remark attributed to Premier Wen Jiabao: “China opposes radical moves taken by a number of Tibetan monks such as self-immolation, as these actions disturb and undermine social harmony.”); “Zhu Weiqun Talks About Dalai and Other Issues With EU Officials, Scholars, and Reporters” [Zhu weiqun yu oumeng guanyuan, xuezhe, jizhe tan dalai deng wenti], China Tibet Online, 29 December 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 12 January 12) (Zhu Weiqun: “The Dalai Lama wants to turn Tibetan Buddhism into a religion of suiciders and self-immolators”); “Investigations Show Political Motive Behind Self-immolations in Tibetan-Populated Regions,” [Xinhua](#), 7 March 12 (Wu Zegang, head of the Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture government: “[The Dalai Clique] . . . are leading Tibetan Buddhism onto the track of extremism . . . and are not hesitant to use terrorism to reach their objectives).

⁴ “Tibetan Woman Sets Herself Alight,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 2 July 12 (Dekyi Choezom “set herself ablaze last week in western China’s Qinghai province in protest against what she said were unjust Chinese land confiscation policies”); [Free Tibet](#), “Tibetan Mother Self-Immolates During Protest Over Land Rights; Family Members Detained and Beaten,” 3 July 12 (Dekyi Choezom “set fire to herself alongside a protest being held by approximately 70 local families against Chinese state land confiscations”).

⁵ See, e.g., “Monk Burns To Protest Monastery Intrusion,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 17 February 12; “Tibetan Monk Dies of Self-Immolation,” [Voice of America](#), 17 February 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Self-Immolation Fact Sheet,” last visited 15 June 12.

⁶ Atelier Golok, Tibet and Adjacent Areas under Chinese Communist Occupation [rgyal dmar gyi btsan 'og tu gnas pa'i—bod dang sa 'brel khog] (Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 1998).

⁷ See, e.g., “Religious Activities Remain Normal in Sichuan,” Xinhua, 12 October 11 (reprinted in [China Daily](#)) (Foreign Ministry Spokesman Liu Weimin said “‘the Dalai Clique’ . . . openly embellished and played [self-immolation] up, and spread rumors to incite [more self-immolations]”); “A Self-Immolation Incident Occurs in Sichuan’s Daofu County” [Sichuan daofu xian fasheng yiqi zifen shijian], Xinhua, 3 November 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 5 November 11) (according to “a county official,” “initial investigations . . . showed that the event was another radical event that took place with the Dalai clique’s orchestration, instigation and support”); “Zhu Weiqun Talks About Dalai and Other Issues with EU Officials, Scholars, and Reporters” [Zhu weiqun yu oumeng guanyuan, xuezhe, jizhe tan dalai deng wenti], China Tibet Online, 29 December 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 12 January 12) (Zhu Weiqun: “The Dalai Lama wants to turn Tibetan Buddhism into a religion of suicides and self-immolators in order to serve his own political purpose; . . .”).

⁸ “FM Warns US on Exploiting Tibet Issues,” [China Daily](#), 12 January 12 (the article attributed to the MFA spokesperson the observation that self-immolations “were organized, premeditated and instigated by overseas groups and people”).

⁹ China Directory 2012, ed. Radiopress (Tokyo: JPM Corporation, Ltd., December 2011), 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹ “Zhu Weiqun Talks About Dalai and Other Issues With EU Officials, Scholars, and Reporters” [Zhu weiqun yu oumeng guanyuan, xuezhe, jizhe tan dalai deng wenti], [China Tibet Online](#), 29 December 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 12 January 12).

¹² See, e.g., “Investigations Show Political Motive Behind Self-immolations in Tibetan-Populated Regions,” [Xinhua](#), 7 March 12 (Wu Zegang, head of the Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture government: “[The Dalai Clique instigates] people to emulate this behavior and are not hesitant to use terrorism to reach their objectives”); “A Self-Immolation Incident Occurs in Sichuan’s Dawu County” [Sichuan daofu xian fasheng yiqi zifen shijian], Xinhua, 3 November 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 5 November 11) (“promote separatist activities through employing brutal and terrorist acts in disguise”); “China: Dalai Lama Stance on Suicides is Terrorism,” Associated Press, 19 October 11, reprinted in [Yahoo!](#).

¹³ See, e.g., “Investigations Show Political Motive Behind Self-Immolations in Tibetan-Populated Regions,” [Xinhua](#), 7 March 12 (the head of the Aba T&QAP government described some self-immolators as “secularized monks with criminal records”); “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article described two “secularized monks” who self-immolated on September 6, 2011, as thieves).

¹⁴ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article cited a psychologist stating that persons aged 18–22 are “most prone to copycat suicides”); “China Paints Self-Immolators as Distressed Criminals, Terrorists,” [Voice of America](#), 7 March 12 (the head of the Aba T&QAP reportedly accused “the Dalai clique” and others of “inciting more clerics and lay people to engage in copycat incidents.”).

¹⁵ “A Self-Immolation Incident Occurs in Sichuan’s Dawu County” [Sichuan daofu xian fasheng yiqi zifen shijian], Xinhua, 3 November 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 5 November 11).

¹⁶ “Investigations Show Political Motive Behind Self-Immolations in Tibetan-Populated Regions,” [Xinhua](#), 7 March 12.

¹⁷ “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#).

¹⁸ For reports characterizing self-immolators’ protests during the period beginning October 2011—the start of the Commission’s 2012 reporting year—see, e.g. (in chronological order according to the date of self-immolation), [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “17 Year Old Tibetan Monk From Kirti Monastery Self-Immolates in New Protest,” 3 October 11 (Kalsang Wangchug “carried a photo of the Dalai Lama and was shouting slogans against the Chinese government”); “Two Tibetan Youths Self-Immolate,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 7 October 11 (Choephel and Khayang shouted, “Tibet has no freedom,” and, “Invite the Dalai Lama back to Tibet”); “Teenager Torchers Himself In Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 15 October 11 (Norbu Dradul shouted, “Freedom for Tibet,” and, “Let the Dalai Lama Return to Tibet”); “Tibetan Woman Sets Herself on Fire,” [Voice of America](#), 17 October 11 (Tenzin Wangmo “called for the return of . . . the Dalai Lama and freedom for Tibet”); Sherab Woesser, “Fire Spreads in Tibet—Monk Self Immolates in Kardze,” [Phayul](#), 25 October 11 (Dawa Tsering “shouted slogans for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama . . . and the re-unification of the Tibetan people”); “Second Nun Dies in Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 3 November 11 (Palden Choetso chanted, “Free Tibet,” “Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama,” and “Let His Holiness return to Tibet”); Tendar Tsering, “Tenzin Phuntsok Passes Away in Chinese Hospital, Wife Feared Arrested,” [Phayul](#), 9 December 11 (witnesses reportedly heard Tenzin Phuntsog “shouting freedom slogans”); “Tsultrim, Tenyi, and Norbu Damdul All Succumb to Injuries,” [Phayul](#), 10 January 12 (eyewitnesses reportedly heard Tennyi and Tsultrim shout slogans including, “We want the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet”); “Thousands Attend Sopa Rinpoche’s Funeral; Protests Reported,” [Phayul](#), 17 January 12 (Zoepa reportedly shouted slogans “calling for Tibet’s freedom and the long life of . . . the Dalai Lama”); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “New Information on Latest Self-Immolation, Tibetans Critically Injured by Police,” 18 January 12 (Lobsang Jamyang called for “the long life of the Dalai Lama and for freedom in Tibet”); “Tibet in Flames: Rigzin Dorje Dies in Hospital, Lobsang Kunchok’s Limbs Amputated,” [Phayul](#), 4 March 12 (Rigzin Dorje “set his body on fire raising slogans against the Chinese government”); “18-Year-Old Tibetan Nun Dies After Self-Immolation,” [Voice of America](#), 12 February 12 (Tenzin Choedron “shouted slogans against the Chinese government when [she] set herself ablaze”); “Another Tibetan Self-Immolation from Restive Ngaba,” [Voice of America](#), 13 February 12 (Lobsang Gyatso “shouted slogans against China when he set himself ablaze”); “Monk Burns To Protest Monastery Intrusion,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 17 February 12 (Damchoe Zangpo “had objected to the cancelling by Chinese authorities of a traditional prayer festival at the monastery and to the presence of Chinese security forces”); “Monks Fleeing Monastery Fearing Persecution,” [Phayul](#), 24 February 12 (Nangdrol “called for freedom in Tibet and return of the Dalai Lama from exile”); “Tibetan School Girl Dies in Self-Immolation Protest,” [Voice of America](#), 5 March 12 (Tsering Kyi had told friends, “We should do something—life is meaningless if we don’t do something for Tibet.”); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Student and Widowed Mother Self-Immolate in Tibet,” 5 March 12 (Rinchen shouted slogans including, “Return His Holiness to Tibet,” and, “We need freedom”); “Tibet Continues To

Burn: Third Self-Immolation in Three Days,” [Phayul](#), 5 March 12 (Dorje “raised slogans protesting the Chinese government’s policies in Tibet”); [Free Tibet](#), “Jamyang Palden,” last visited 4 May 12 (Jamyang Palden shouted “Let His Holiness return!” and “Freedom for Tibet and the Tibetan language!”); “Monk Burns Himself Amid Mass Protests,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 16 March 12 (Lobsang Tsultrim shouted “slogans against Chinese rule”); [Free Tibet](#), “Largest Protest in Living Memory in Rebkong After Father Sets Himself on Fire,” 17 March 12 (Sonam Dargyal shouted, “Let His Holiness the Dalai Lama return to Tibet”); “Fire Rages On: Tibetan Monk Dies in Fiery Protest,” [Phayul](#), 29 March 12 (Sherab shouted “protests against Chinese government repression”); [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Twin Self-Immolation in Barkham County,” 30 March 12 (Tenpa Dargyal and Chime Palden “set themselves on fire while shouting slogans against the Chinese government”); Tendar Tsering, “‘Restore Freedom in Tibet’ Demands Twin Self-Immolators in Last Message,” [Phayul](#), 24 April 12 (Choephag Kyab and Sonam reportedly left a voice message stating that their self-immolations were “for the protection of [Buddhism]” in Tibet and for the “restoration of Tibet’s freedom”); [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Two Tibetan Youngsters Self-Immolate in Jyekundo, One Dies,” 20 June 12 (sources: “the two youngsters were carrying Tibetan national flags and shouted slogans, calling for freedom in Tibet, return of [the Dalai Lama] and for the long life of [the Dalai Lama]”); “Man Self-Immolates Near Lhasa,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 9 July 12 (source: “[Tsewang Dorje] called for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama”); “18-Year-Old Monk Sets Himself on Fire, Latest in Spate of Tibetan Self-Immolations,” [Voice of America](#), 17 July 12 (Lobsang Lozin approached government buildings “while still ablaze and shouted slogans, although the words he was saying could not be verified at this time); “Monk in New Burning Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 6 August 12 (witnesses reportedly said Lobsang Tsultrim “shouted slogans calling for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet and for Tibetans living in and outside of Tibet to reunite”); “Mother of Two Burns Herself and Dies in Eastern Tibet,” [Voice of America](#), 8 August 12 (sources reportedly said Drolkar Tso “shouted slogans calling for freedom in Tibet and return of the Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama while engulfed in flames”); “Self-Immolator Choepa Passes Away,” [Phayul](#), 11 August 12 (based on sources: “Choepa, while engulfed in high flames had raised slogans, . . .”).

¹⁹ PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL) [Zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu quyu zizhifa], issued 31 May 84, effective 1 October 84, amended and effective 28 February 01 (translated by [CECC](#)). For information on impediments to ethnic autonomy created under the PRC Constitution and laws, see [CECC](#), Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009, 22 October 09, 25–28; [CECC](#), 2007 Annual Report, 10 October 07, 189–91.

²⁰ Zhu Weiqun, “Some Thoughts on Existing Problems in the Field of Nationalities” [Dui dangqian minzu lingyu wenti de jidian sikao], [Study Times](#), 13 February 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 20 February 12). In the article, Zhu promotes “ethnic mingling and amalgamation” and advised, “[o]ur policy orientation should be to go along with this trend in depth and make it irreversible.”

²¹ For information on the outlook for the Tibetan culture, language, and environment, see, e.g., [CECC](#), 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 192–194; [CECC](#), 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 282–288; [CECC](#), Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009, 22 October 09, 41–55; [CECC](#), 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 222–224; [CECC](#), 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 212–219. For an advocacy group’s assessment of the outlook for Tibetan culture, see [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “60 Years of Chinese Misrule—Arguing Cultural Genocide in Tibet,” 22 April 12.

²² For information on the decline since 2007 in the freedom of religion for Tibetan Buddhists, see, e.g., [CECC](#), “Special Report: Tibetan Monastic Self-Immolations Appear To Correlate With Increasing Repression of Freedom of Religion,” 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, [CECC](#), 2007 Annual Report, 10 October 07, 29, 183, 193; [CECC](#), 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 182, 185, 189–190; [CECC](#), 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 277–278, 281; [CECC](#), 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 214, 218; [CECC](#), 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 48, 208.

²³ For information on security crackdowns and campaigns, see, e.g., “Full Text of Speech by Xi Jinping at Tibet’s Peaceful Liberation Anniversary Conference,” [Xinhua](#), 19 July 11; Yu 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](#); Li Chengye, “Regionwide Picturephone Conference on Stability Maintenance and Comprehensive Public Order Management by Public Security, Procuratorial, and Judicial Departments Emphasizes Need To Create New Situation in Regional Harmony and Stability and To Usher in Triumphant Opening of 18th CPC National Congress With Outstanding Achievements; Chen Quanguo, Hao Peng Deliver Speeches; Baima Chilin, Wu Yingjie, Gongbao Zhaxi, Qizhala, Deng Xiaogang Attend Meeting; Luosang Jiangcun Presides Over Meeting; Luobu Dunzhu Attends Meeting at Chamdo Branch Conference Hall” [Quan qu zhengfa wei wen zong zhi gongzuo dianshi dianhua huiyi qiangdiao—Nuli kaichuang quan qu hexie wending de xin jumian—yi youyi chengji yingjie dang de 18 dasheng shengli zhaokai—chen quanguo hao peng jianghua baima chilin wu yingjie gongbao zhaxi qizhala deng xiaogang chuxi luosang jiangcun zhuchi luobu dunzhu chuxi changdu fenhuichang huiyi], *Tibet Daily*, 4 January 12, reprinted in [China Tibet News](#) (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 16 January 12; [Human Rights Watch](#), “China: End Crackdown on Tibetan Monasteries,” 12 October 11; “China Vows To Continue Crackdown on Tibetan Unrest,” Associated Press, 7 February 12, reprinted in [Guardian](#); Miles Yu, “‘Nine Must-Haves’ for Tibetans,” [Washington Times](#), 1 February 12.

²⁴ See, e.g., [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Where is China Heading on Tibet?—Remarks by Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari to the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC, April 23, 2012,” 23 April 12; “Kalon Tripa Accepts Resignations of the Dalai Lama’s Envoys,” [Phayul](#), 3 June 12. For more information on the decline in the status of dialogue between Chinese government and Party officials and the Dalai Lama’s representatives since 2008, see [CECC](#), 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 207–08; [CECC](#), 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219–220; [CECC](#), Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008-2009, 22 October 09, 13–23; [CECC](#), 2009 Annual Report, 10 October 09, 273–277; [CECC](#), 2008 Annual Report, 31 October 08, 187–188; “China Demands That the Dalai Lama Fulfill Additional Preconditions to Dialogue,” [Congressional-Executive Commission on China](#), 30 July 08.

²⁵ China Directory 2006, ed. Radiopress (Kawasaki: RP Printing, December 2005), 18 (lists Zhu Weiqun as a UFWD Deputy Head in effective 2005); China Directory 2007, ed. Radiopress (Kawasaki: RP Printing, December 2006), 18 (lists Zhu Weiqun as UFWD Executive Deputy Head effective in 2006).

²⁶ “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.”).

²⁷ “State Council Information Office Holds News Conference on Contacts and Discussions Between Concerned Central Departments and the Dalai Lama’s Private Representatives” [Guowuyuan xinwen ban jiu zhongyang youguan bumen yu dalai lama siren daibiao jiechu shangtan juxing hang xinwen fabuhui], Xinhua, 2 February 10 (translated in [Open Source Center](#)), reprinted in [People’s Daily](#); “Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” [China Daily](#), 11 February 10.

²⁸ Previously, the longest gap was between the November 2008 and January 2010 rounds of dialogue. “Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” [China Daily](#), 11 February 10. Zhu stated, “[We] first pointed out that more than one year has passed since the previous contact in November of 2008. This was the longest interval after we resumed contact and talks in 2002.”

²⁹ “Kalon Tripa Accepts Resignations of the Dalai Lama’s Envoys,” [Phayul](#), 3 June 12. The article attributes the quoted remarks to the envoys’ resignation letter.

³⁰ “The Central Government Changes the Negotiator for Tibet Affairs,” [Mingpao](#), 26 May 12, reprinted in [Yahoo!](#) (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 12 June 12. According to the article, “The tough talker [hardliner] Zhu Weiqun retired.”

³¹ “Zhu Weiqun,” [China Vitae](#), last visited 7 July 12. Zhu was born in 1947.

³² *Ibid.* Zhu was a member of the 16th Central Committee (2002–2007) and the 17th Central Committee (2007–[2012]).

³³ “Welcoming the 18th CPC National Congress With Excellent Results—Celebration of the 91st Anniversary of the CPC” [Yi youyi chengji yingjie dang de shiba da—qingzhu zhongguo gongchandang chengli 91 zhounian], Seeking Truth, 1 July 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 4 July 12; reprinted in [Xinhua](#), 3 July 12). According to the article, “The 18th CPC National Congress will be held in the second half of 2012.”

³⁴ For information on Zhu’s approach to Tibetan political aspirations, see, e.g., [CECC](#), 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219–220; [CECC](#), Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009, 22 October 09, 14–16; “Press Conference on Central Govt’s Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text),” [China Daily](#), 11 February 10; “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).

³⁵ For information on Zhu’s approach to Tibetan Buddhists’ religious aspirations, see, e.g., [CECC](#), 2011 Annual Report, 10 October 11, 208; Chang Chuan, “Tibet Buddhist Theological Institute Is Completed and Open—Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, Qin Yizhi Attend Ceremony, Zhu Weiqun, Hao Peng Speak, Luosang Jiangcun Unveils Signboard, Qizhala Presides Over Ceremony, 11th Panchen Erdini Qoigy Gyibo Sends Congratulatory Message” [Xizang foxue yuan luocheng kai yuan pabala gelie langjie qin yizhi chuxi dianli zhu weiqun hao peng jianghua luosang jiangcun jiepai—qizhala zhuchi shiyi shi banchan e’erdeni—queji jiebu zhi hexin], [Tibet Daily](#), 21 October 11,

reprinted in China Tibet Information Center (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 26 October 11), also reprinted in [China Tibet News](#).

³⁶ For information on Zhu's approach to ethnic issues, including with respect to Tibetans, see, e.g., Zhu Weiqun, "Some Thoughts on Existing Problems in the Field of Nationalities" [Dui dangqian minzu lingyu wenti de jidian sikao], [Study Times](#), 13 February 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 20 February 12).

³⁷ In China there are 1 provincial-level area of Tibetan autonomy, 10 prefectural-level areas of 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 TAPs (approximately 1.02 million square kilometers), and 2 Tibetan autonomous counties (TACs) (approximately 0.019 million square kilometers) total approximately 2.24 million square kilometers. The 10 TAPs make up approximately 46 percent of the TAR/TAP/TAC total area. 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. Tabulation on Nationalities of 2000 Population Census of China, Department of Population, Social, Science and Technology Statistics, National Bureau of Statistics, and Department of Economic Development, State Ethnic Affairs Commission (Beijing: Ethnic Publishing House, September 2003), Tables 10-1, 10-4; Steven Marshall and Susette Cooke, *Tibet Outside the TAR: Control, Exploitation and Assimilation: Development With Chinese Characteristics* (Washington D.C.: 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 (Yushul) 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 Web site of the U.S. Geological Survey: one square kilometer = 0.3861 square mile. For more information on the Tibetan autonomous areas of China, see CECC, Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009, 22 October 09, 22–24. For additional information on the Tibetan autonomous prefectures, see CECC, Special Topic Paper: Tibet 2008–2009, 22 October 09, 22–24.

³⁸ For information on the Party's principal policy meeting after the 2008 protests, see, e.g., "Communist Party Leadership Outlines 2010–2020 'Tibet Work' Priorities at 'Fifth Forum,'" [China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update](#), No. 3, 16 March 10; "The CPC Central Committee and the State Council Hold the Fifth Tibet Work Forum"

[Zhonggong zhongyang guowuyuan zhaokai diwu ci xizang gongzuo zuotanhui], [Xinhua](#), 22 January 10 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 25 January 10).

³⁹ China Directory 2009, ed. Radiopress (Kawasaki: RP Printing, November 2008), 26. China Directory 2009 listed a total of nine members of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs: Head Jia Qinglin; Deputy Head Ma Kai; Members Meng Jianzhu, Du Qinglin, Zhang Ping, Xie Xuren, Zhang Qingli, Ye Xiaowen, and General Wu Shuangzhan. Jia Qinglin was a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; Ye Xiaowen was an alternate member of the Central Committee; all the others were members of the Central Committee.

⁴⁰ China Directory 2010, ed. Radiopress (Kawasaki: RP Printing, November 2009), 26.

⁴¹ Ibid. China Directory 2010 listed a total of nine members of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs: Head Jia Qinglin; Deputy Heads Ma Kai, Meng Jianzhu, and Du Qinglin; members Zhang Ping, Xie Xuren, Zhang Qingli, and General Wu Shuangzhan; General Office Director Zhu Weiqun. Jia Qinglin was a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; all the others were members of the Central Committee. Ye Xiaowen was not listed as a member of the group.

⁴² [CECC](#), 2010 Annual Report, 10 October 10, 219-20; "Statement by Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Kasur Lodi Gyari, Head of the Delegation which Visited China in January 2010," [Tibetan Government-in-Exile](#), 2 February 10.

⁴³ "China To Achieve Fast-Paced Development, Lasting Stability in Tibet," [Xinhua](#), 23 January 10.

⁴⁴ "The CPC Central Committee and the State Council Hold the Fifth Tibet Work Forum" [Zhonggong zhongyang guowuyuan zhaokai diwu ci xizang gongzuo zuotanhui], [Xinhua](#), 22 January 10 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 25 January 10); "Communist Party Leadership Outlines 2010–2020 'Tibet Work' Priorities at 'Fifth Forum,'" [China Human Rights and Rule of Law Update](#), No. 3, 16 March 10.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., "Zhu Weiqun Talks About Dalai and Other Issues With EU Officials, Scholars, and Reporters" [Zhu weiqun yu oumeng guanyuan, xuezhe, jizhe tan dalai deng wenti], [China Tibet Online](#), 29 December 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 12 January 12); "Press Conference on Central Govt's Contacts With Dalai Lama (Text)," [China Daily](#), 11 February 10.

⁴⁶ Chang Chuan, "Tibet Buddhist Theological Institute Is Completed and Open—Pagbalha Geleg Namgyai, Qin Yizhi Attend Ceremony, Zhu Weiqun, Hao Peng Speak, Luosang Jiangcun Unveils Signboard, Qizhala Presides Over Ceremony, 11th Panchen Erdini Qoigy Gyibo Sends Congratulatory Message" [Xizang foxue yuan luocheng kai yuan pabala gelie langjie qin yizhi chuxi dianli zhu weiqun hao peng jianghua luosang jiangcun jiepai—qizhala zhuchi shiyi shi banchan e'erdeni—queji jiebu zhi hexin], *Tibet Daily*, 21 October 11, reprinted in China Tibet Information Center (translated in Open Source Center, 26 October 11), also reprinted in [China Tibet News](#).

⁴⁷ Zhu Weiqun, "Some Thoughts on Existing Problems in the Field of Nationalities" [Dui dangqian minzu lingyu wenti de jidian sikao], [Study Times](#), 13 February 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 20 February 12).

⁴⁸ For information on additional senior Party and government positions held by members of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs (CCGTA) that establish official areas of authority for those members, see China Directory 2012, ed. Radiopress (Tokyo: JPM Corporation, December 2011), 27. China Directory 2012 lists a total of 11 members of the CCGTA: Head Jia Qinglin (Standing Committee of Political Bureau); Deputy Heads (in

the order listed) Ma Kai (Central Committee), Meng Jianzhu (Central Committee), and Du Qinglin (Central Committee); members (in the order listed) Zhang Qingli (Central Committee), Zhang Ping (Central Committee), Yang Huanning (Central Committee alternate member), Xie Xuren (Central Committee), Lt. Gen. Wang Jianping (Central Committee alternate member), Wang Zuo'an (Central Committee alternate member), and Zhu Weiqun (Central Committee). According to China Directory 2012, some of the additional positions held by members of the CCGTA and the referenced page number are: Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (153); Ma Kai, State Councilor (45); Meng Jianzhu, Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee Political and Legal Affairs Commission (19), State Councilor (45), and Minister of Public Security (76); Du Qinglin, Head of the United Front Work Department (17); Zhang Qingli, Secretary of Hebei Province Communist Party Committee (291); Zhang Ping, Minister of the National Development and Reform Commission (69); Yang Huanning, Executive Vice Minister of Public Security (76); Xie Xuren, Minister of Finance (82); Lt. Gen. Wang Jianping, Member of the Central Committee Political and Legal Affairs Commission (19) and Commander of the Headquarters of the People's Armed Police (203); Wang Zuo'an, Director of the State Administration of Religious Affairs (115); and Zhu Weiqun, Executive Deputy Head of the United Front Work Department (17).

⁴⁹ Zhu Weiqun, "Some Thoughts on Existing Problems in the Field of Nationalities" [Dui dangqian minzu lingyu wenti de jidian sikao], [Study Times](#), 13 February 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 20 February 12). In the article, Zhu promotes "ethnic mingling and amalgamation" and advised, "[O]ur policy orientation should be to go along with this trend in depth and make it irreversible."

⁵⁰ Ibid. In the article, Zhu described himself as "personally predisposed to removing the 'ethnicity' box from the residence identification card."

⁵¹ Ibid. Zhu stated in the article that he "[promotes] desegregated education for students of different nationalities," and observed, "Now some of our educational and administrative measures have, by accident or design, weakened the education on the sense of nationhood and identification with the Chinese Nation."

⁵² Ibid. Zhu stated that he favors "not adding any more localities with regional autonomy for ethnic minorities" and "not implementing [the status of a] 'national autonomous city.'"

⁵³ Liu Ling, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences [Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology](#), "Persist in the Basic Political System, Resolve Ethnic Issues Through Development—An Outline of the Chinese Ethnic Theory Association Symposium" [Jianchi jiben zhengzhi zhidu-zai fazhanzhong jiejie minzu wenti—zhongguo minzu lilun xuehui zuotanhui jiyao], 23 February 12.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., "Xinhua Insight: Who Can Put An End To Self-Immolation Tragedy?," Xinhua, 22 June 12 ([Open Source Center](#), 22 June 12) (reports Tabe is "undergoing functional rehabilitation in a private hospital room suite" but does not identify the hospital); "Tibetan Monk Admits Spreading Shooting Rumors," Xinhua, 5 March 09, reprinted in [China Daily](#); Tendar Tsering, "Tabey Is Alive but Crippled: Woesser," [Phayul](#), 17 December 11;

[International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Monk in Tibet Sets Himself on Fire; Shot by Police During Protest,” 27 February 09.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., “1st Ld-Writethru: Tibetan Monk Jailed 11 Years for Murder in Self-Immolation Case,” Xinhua, 29 August 11, reprinted in [China Daily](#); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Chinese Authorities Confirm Death of Monk After Self-Immolation; Military Crackdown at Kirti,” 17 March 11; “Protest Monk Dies,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 17 March 11.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., “Monk Sets Himself on Fire in SW China,” Xinhua, 15 August 11, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#); “Tibetan Monk Sets Himself Ablaze,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 15 August 11; [Free Tibet](#), “Monk Dies After Setting Himself on Fire in Protest in Tibet,” 15 August 11.

⁵⁹ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article provided the survivors names as “Katrang” and “Konchok Tenpa”); “Tibet in Flames: Rigzin Dorje Dies in Hospital, Lobsang Kunchok’s Limbs Amputated,” [Phayul](#), 4 March 12; “Two More Monks Self-Immolate,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 26 September 11; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Two More Tibetan Monks From Kirti Monastery Set Themselves on Fire Calling for Religious Freedom,” 26 September 11.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “17 Year Old Tibetan Monk From Kirti Monastery Self-Immolates in New Protest,” 3 October 11; [Free Tibet](#), “Today’s Fifth Self-Immolation in Tibet Establishes Unprecedented Trend,” 3 October 11; “Self-Immolation a ‘Worrying’ Trend,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 4 October 11.

⁶¹ See, e.g., “Two Tibetans Injured in Self-Immolation,” Xinhua, 8 October 11, reprinted in [China Daily](#); [Free Tibet](#), “Teenage Faces of Tibetan Protest,” 13 December 11; “Two Tibetan Youths Self-Immolate,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 7 October 11; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Two Tibetan Teenagers Set Fire to Themselves in Latest Protest in Ngaba; ICT Calls for Urgent Actions by Governments,” 7 October 11.

⁶² See, e.g., “Tsultrim, Tenyi, and Norbu Damdul All Succumb to Injuries,” [Phayul](#), 10 January 12; “Teenager Torch himself in Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 15 October 11; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Self-Immolations Continue in Tibet; 8th Young Tibetan Man Sets Fire to Himself in Ngaba,” 16 October 11.

⁶³ See, e.g., “Tibetan Woman Sets Herself on Fire,” [Voice of America](#), 17 October 11; Sherab Woeser, “A Tibetan Nun Dies After Self-Immolation, Situation in Tibet Spiraling Out of Control,” [Phayul](#), 17 October 11; Edward Wong, “Ninth Tibetan, a Nun, Immolates Herself in Anti-China Protest,” [New York Times](#), 17 October 11.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Sherab Woeser, “Fire Spreads in Tibet—Monk Self-Immolates in Kardze,” [Phayul](#), 25 October 11; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “11th Self-Immolation in Tibet; Kardze Monk Sets Fire to Himself During Religious Ceremony,” 28 October 11; “Burned Monk Refuses Treatment,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 8 November 11.

⁶⁵ See, e.g., Yuan Jian, “A Self-Immolation Incident Occurs in Sichuan’s Dawu County” [Sichuan daofu xian fasheng yiqi zifen shijian], Xinhua, 3 November 11 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 5 November 11); “Tibetan Nun Dies of Self-Immolation,” Xinhua, 3 November 11, reprinted in [China Daily](#); “Second Nun Dies in Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 3 November 11; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Nun Self-Immolates Today in Kardze: Continued Resistance Despite Chinese Crackdown,” 4 November 11.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., “Farmer in Stable Condition After Setting Himself on Fire,” Xinhua, 2 December 11, reprinted in [China Daily](#); “Tibetan in New Self-Immolation Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 1 December 11; [International Campaign for](#)

[Tibet](#), “First Self-Immolation in Tibet Autonomous Region; Former Monk Sets Himself on Fire,” 1 December 12; Tendar Tsering, “Tenzin Phuntsok Passes Away in Chinese Hospital, Wife Feared Arrested,” [Phayul](#), 9 December 11.

⁶⁷ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article provided the names as “Tsering” and “Darle” and represented Darle as a survivor); “Two Tibetans Set Themselves Ablaze,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 6 January 12; “Tsultrim, Tenyi, and Norbu Damdul All Succumb to Injuries,” [Phayul](#), 10 January 12.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., “Tibetan Monk Dies From Self-Immolation,” Xinhua, 9 January 12, reprinted in [China Daily](#); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Self-Immolations Continue and Spread in Tibet Into 2012,” 9 January 12; “Thousands Attend Sopa Rinpoche’s Funeral; Protests Reported,” [Phayul](#), 17 January 12; “Dead Lama Urged Unity,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 20 January 12.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article provided the name as “Lhorang Jamyang”); “New Footage Depicts Self-Immolation in Tibet,” [Voice of America](#), 17 April 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “New Information on Latest Self-Immolation, Tibetans Critically Injured by Police,” 18 January 12; “‘No Regret’ for Loss: Mother,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 18 January 12.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., “Tibet Officials ‘Prepare for War,’” [Global Times](#), 10 February 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Who Self-Immolated in Ngaba Was 19-year Old Former Monk,” 10 February 12; “Tibet in Flames: Rigzin Dorje Dies in Hospital, Lobsang Kunchok’s Limbs Amputated,” [Phayul](#), 4 March 12.

⁷¹ See, e.g., “Tibetan Monk Self-Immolates in Yushu,” [Voice of America](#), 10 February 12; “Tibet Continues To Burn: Another Self-Immolation Reported—Updated,” [Phayul](#), 10 February 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Self-Immolation Fact Sheet,” last visited 15 June 12.

⁷² See, e.g., “Tibetan Monk Sets Himself on Fire in SW China,” Xinhua, 14 February 12, reprinted in [China Daily](#); “18-Year-Old Tibetan Nun Dies After Self-Immolation,” [Voice of America](#), 12 February 12.

⁷³ See, e.g., “Tibetan Monk Sets Himself on Fire in SW China,” Xinhua, 14 February 12, reprinted in [China Daily](#); “Another Tibetan Self-Immolation From Restive Ngaba,” [Voice of America](#), 13 February 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Nineteen Year Old Kirti Monk Sets Fire to Himself in Ngaba,” 13 February 12.

⁷⁴ Although multiple reports place Damchoe Zangpo’s self-immolation in Tianjun (Themchen) county, Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, a reliable, Tibetan-language map indicates that Bongtag Monastery is in neighboring Wulan county, Haixi M&TAP. See, Atelier Golok, *Tibet and Adjacent Areas under Chinese Communist Occupation* [rgyal dmar gyi btsan ‘og tu gnas pa’i—bod dang sa ‘brel khog] (Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 1998). See also, e.g., “Monk Burns To Protest Monastery Intrusion,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 17 February 12; “Tibetan Monk Dies of Self-Immolation,” [Voice of America](#), 17 February 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Self-Immolation Fact Sheet,” last visited 15 June 12.

⁷⁵ See, e.g., [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetans Gather in Dzamthang for Vigil After Self-Immolation: Lhasa Crackdown Deepens in Buildup to Tibetan New Year,” 19 February 12; “Monks Thwart Attempt to Snatch Body,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 19 February 12; Tendar Tsering, “Another Self-Immolation Days Ahead of Losar,” [Phayul](#), 19 February 12.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Lian Zhenxiang and Huang Wenxin, “The Incident of the Student’s Self-Immolation in Maqu, Gansu, Has Been Made Clear by Investigation” [Gansu sheng maqu xuesheng zifen shijian yi chaming], Xinhua, 6 March 12 (translated in [Open Source Center](#), 13 March 12); “Tibetan School Girl Dies in Self-Immolation Protest,” [Voice of America](#), 5 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Student and Widowed Mother Self-Immolate in Tibet,” 5 March 12.

⁷⁷ See, e.g., “Two Female Tibetans Burn to Death,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 4 March 12; [Free Tibet](#), “Tibetan Mother Dies,” 4 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Student and Widowed Mother Self-Immolate in Tibet,” 5 March 12.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., “Third Self-Immolation in Three Days,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 5 March 12; [Free Tibet](#), “Third Self-Immolation in Tibet in as Many Days,” 5 March 12; “Tibet Continues To Burn: Third Self-Immolation in Three Days,” [Phayul](#), 5 March 12.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., “18-Year-Old Self-Immolates on Tibetan Uprising Day,” [Voice of America](#), 12 March 12; [Free Tibet](#), “Tibet Anniversary Marked With Teen Self-Immolation,” 12 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Kirti Monk Who Self-Immolated on March 16 Dies in Custody; 18-Year Old Monk Dies on March 10 in Self-Immolation Protest,” 20 March 12.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., “Xinhua Insight: Who Can Put An End To Self-Immolation Tragedy?,” Xinhua, 22 June 12 ([Open Source Center](#), 22 June 12) (reports medical care in “makeshift hospital ward” at Rongbo Monastery); “Self-Immolation as Students Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 14 March 12; “Tibetan Monk Self-Immolates in Rebkong, Thousands Gather To Pray and Protest,” [Voice of America](#), 14 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tensions Escalate in Qinghai: Rebkong Self-Immolation, Student Protest, Monks Commemorate March 10,” 14 March 12.

⁸¹ See, e.g., [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Self-Immolation Protests Continue: Tibetan Monk Sets Self on Fire,” 16 March 12; “Monk Burns Himself Amid Mass Protests,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 16 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Kirti Monk Who Self-Immolated on March 16 Dies in Custody; 18-Year Old Monk Dies on March 10 in Self-Immolation Protest,” 20 March 12.

⁸² See, e.g., “Xinhua Insight: Who Can Put An End To Self-Immolation Tragedy?,” Xinhua, 22 June 12 ([Open Source Center](#), 22 June 12) (reports decedent’s name as “Sonam Dargye”); [Free Tibet](#), “Largest Protest in Living Memory in Rebkong After Father Sets Himself on Fire,” 17 March 12; “Farmer Dies in New Burning Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 17 March 12; “Thousands Protest in Rebkong, Sonam Dhargey Cremated,” [Phayul](#), 17 March 12.

⁸³ See, e.g., “Kirti Monk Self-Immolates, Dies,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 28 March 12; [Free Tibet](#), “Fires of ‘Tibetan Spring’ Continue,” 28 March 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Tibetan Self-Immolations and Their Impact Expand,” 29 March 12.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article provides the decedents’ names as “Chimed Palden” and “Nganlam”); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Self-Immolation of Two Tibetan Monks From Tsodun Monastery, Ngaba,” 30 March 12; “Monk Dies A Week After Burning,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 7 April 12; “Self-Immolation Death Toll Rises to 25 in Tibet, Tenpa Darje Passes Away,” [Phayul](#), 8 April 12.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., “Two Tibetan Cousins Self-Immolate” [Radio Free Asia](#), 19 April 12; [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Two Young Tibetan Men Die After Self-Immolation Protest in Ngaba Region,” 19 April 12; Tendar Tsering, “‘Restore Freedom in Tibet’ Demands Twin Self-Immolators in Last Message,” [Phayul](#), 24 April 12.

⁸⁶ See, e.g., Xu Tianran, “Tibet Officials Condemn Latest Self-Immolation,” [Global Times](#), 29 May 12 (apparently misreports Dorje Tseten’s name as Tobgye Tseten; origin Xiahe county [Gannan TAP, Gansu province]; deceased); [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “China Confirms Twin Self-Immolation in Lhasa,” 28 May 12 (provides name Dorje Tseten); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Detentions, Fear After Lhasa Self-Immolations; Prayer Gathering in Dzamthang,” 1 June 12 (age 19, left Gansu home after high school and moved to Lhasa).

⁸⁷ See, e.g., Xu Tianran, “Tibet Officials Condemn Latest Self-Immolation,” [Global Times](#), 29 May 12 (Dargye, origin Aba county [Aba T&QAP, Sichuan]); [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “China Confirms Twin Self-Immolation in Lhasa,” 28 May 12 (provides name Dorje Tseten, age 22); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Detentions, Fear After Lhasa Self-Immolations; Prayer Gathering in Dzamthang,” 1 June 12 (age 25; former Kirti Monastery monk; worked as cashier in Lhasa restaurant).

⁸⁸ See, e.g., “Self-Immolation Truth,” Xinhua, 25 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (the article provided the name as “Rechok”); [Free Tibet](#), “Latest Self-Immolation in Tibet,” 30 May 12 (provides name as “Rechog”); “Thousands Honor Burned Mother,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 31 May 12 (provides name “Rikyo,” age 33, mother of three); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Detentions, Fear After Lhasa Self-Immolations; Prayer Gathering in Dzamthang,” 1 June 12 (from nomadic family);

⁸⁹ See, e.g., “1 Dies in Self-Immolation in NW China,” Xinhua, 15 June 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#); [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Hundreds of Tibetans Face Down Police To Gather for Cremation of Tibetan Who Self-Immolated Today,” 15 June 12; [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “A Tibetan Nomad Dies After Burning Self,” 15 June 12.

⁹⁰ See, e.g., [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Two Tibetan Youngsters Self-Immolate in Jyekundo, One Dies,” 20 June 12 (Tenzin Khedrub disrobed in 2006; Ngawang Norphel hailed from Aba county, Aba T&AP); “Two Young Tibetans Self-Immolate,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 20 June 12; “Two Tibetans Set Themselves on Fire in West China,” Associated Press, 21 June 12, reprinted in [Huffington Post](#) (Xinhua reportedly described Tenzin Khedrub as a local herder and Ngawang Norphel as a migrant from Aba prefecture); “Self-Immolator Hospitalized,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 21 June 12 (Ngawang Norphel reportedly was hospitalized in Xining); Tendar Tsering, “Ngawang Norphel Passes Away in a Chinese Hospital,” [Phayul](#), 30 July 12 (Ngawang Norphel reportedly died on Monday [July 30, 2012] in a hospital; he hailed from Nielamu (Nyalam) county, Rikaze (Shigatse) prefecture, TAR [not from Aba county as initially reported]).

⁹¹ See, e.g., “Man Self-Immolates Near Lhasa,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 9 July 12 (“a resident of Damshung’s Chode village”); “Self-Immolating Youth Identified as Tsewang Dorjee, All Witnesses Arrested,” [Phayul](#), 10 July 12 (describes the self-immolator as “a 22-year-old nomad”); [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Tibetan Dies of Self-Immolation in Damshung,” 11 July 12.

⁹² See, e.g., [International Campaign for Tibet](#), “Teenage Monk and Model Student Self-Immolates in Tibet,” 17 July 12; [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Teenage Tibetan Monk Burns Self to Death in Ngaba,” 17

July 12; “18-Year-Old Monk Sets Himself on Fire, Latest in Spate of Tibetan Self-Immolations,” [Voice of America](#), 17 July 12.

⁹³ See, e.g., “Monk in New Burning Protest,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 6 August 12; “Self-Immolator Identified as Kirti Monk Lobsang Tsultrim,” [Phayul](#), 7 August 12; “Lobsang Tsultrim Passes Away, Self-Immolation Death Toll Reaches 37,” [Phayul](#), 8 August 12 (Lobsang Tsultrim “passed away shortly after arriving at a hospital” in Ma’erkang (Barkham), the Aba T&QAP capital).

⁹⁴ See, e.g., “Tibetan Woman Dies of Self-Immolation,” Xinhua, 8 August 12, reprinted in [China Internet Information Center](#) (Xinhua cited a written statement released by the Gannan TAP Communist Party Committee and provided Drolkar Tso’s name as “Drung Gertso”; “Mother of Two Burns Herself and Dies in Eastern Tibet,” [Voice of America](#), 8 August 12; “Woman Strips, Self-Immolates,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 7 August 12 (Drolkar Tso reportedly died as monks took her from Tso Monastery to her home).

⁹⁵ See, e.g., [Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy](#), “Young Tibetan Nomad Sets Himself on Fire, 10 August 12; “Third Burning Death in a Week,” [Radio Free Asia](#), 11 August 12 (RFA sources: “Choepa died as he was [taken] away by Chinese security forces”); “Self-Immolator Choepa Passes Away,” [Phayul](#), 11 August 12 (Tibetan monk living in India: “Martyr Choepa passed away at around 3 pm (local time) the very day of his protest”).