



Why Tibet is Burning...

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Foreword

As of this moment, the flames of fire raging in Tibet have consumed the lives of 98 Tibetans. This deepening crisis in Tibet is fuelled by China's total disregard for the religious beliefs, cultural values and reasonable political aspirations of the Tibetan people. The crisis grows out of China's political repression, cultural assimilation, economic marginalisation, social discrimination and environmental destruction in Tibet.

We, the Kashag, continue to appeal not to resort to drastic actions, including self-immolations, because life is precious. Unfortunately, self-immolations continue to persist in Tibet. It is therefore our sacred duty to support and amplify the aspirations of Tibetan people: the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his homeland and freedom for Tibet. The Central Tibetan Administration believes that collective action by the international community can persuade Chinese leaders to put in place lenient policies that respect the aspirations of the Tibetan people—and at the same time, do not undermine the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China. With this goal in mind, we offer this report to global citizens and leaders. It presents in-depth examination and analysis of the policy areas that relentlessly rob Tibetans of their culture and language, and undermine their chosen way of life.

These four critical policy areas include interference in and suppression of both religion and language, the forced removal of Tibetan nomads from the grasslands and the population transfer policy that moves Chinese to the Tibetan Plateau and reduces Tibetans to an increasingly disenfranchised and marginalised minority in their own land.

We issue this report to help illuminate the deeper layers of the current crisis in Tibet. It is our hope it will motivate and assist members of the international community to urge the new Chinese leadership, led by Xi Jinping, to initiate wise new policies in regard to the Tibetan people. As we have repeatedly said, the blame for and the solution to the crisis in Tibet lies in the hands of the Chinese leadership.

Dr. Lobsang Sangay

Sikyong

16 January 2013

Introduction

This white paper examines the underlying causes of the increasing number of self-immolations that are currently engulfing Tibet. The Central Tibetan Administration has made many appeals to the Tibetans in Tibet to desist from self-immolation. Despite the Central Tibetan Administration's repeated appeals to stop the self-immolations, unfortunately the numbers of Tibetans setting themselves ablaze are adding up at an alarming rate and frequency. All Tibetans who have set themselves ablaze have called for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his homeland and freedom for Tibet. What are the causes which drive Tibetans to such acts of extreme desperation?

The reason lies in China's massive policy failure in Tibet over the course of more than 60 years of its rule. The revolution that is brewing in Tibet is driven by political repression, cultural assimilation, social discrimination, economic marginalisation and environmental destruction. 98 Tibetans so far, most of them in their teens and early twenties, have set themselves ablaze. According to Chinese communist propaganda, this is the generation that was supposed to have benefitted most from Chinese rule in Tibet. Clearly, though, China's spectacular policy failure in Tibet has totally alienated the new generations of Tibetans and they express this alienation by asserting their loyalty to His Holiness the Dalai Lama whom they have not seen in entire their lives and who has not set foot in Tibet for more than 50 years.

China's failure to solve the fundamental problem of its rule in Tibet was foreseen in the early days of Chinese rule in Tibet by eminent Tibetan leaders working within the Chinese communist establishment. As far back as the early 1960's, these Tibetan leaders strongly decried Chinese communist rule. In an act of unprecedented courage and boldness, the late 10th Panchen Lama presented a 70,000-character petition addressed to the top Chinese leaders, which, though diplomatically worded, amounted to an accusation of China committing cultural genocide in Tibet. This blistering critique of the nature of Chinese rule in Tibet cost the Panchen Lama dearly. Mao Zedong called the Tibetan leader "our class enemy" and denounced his 70,000-character petition as a "poisoned arrow." He was "struggled", sometimes violently, and subjected to imprisonment and solitary confinement for many years. When he was released from confinement in the aftermath of the death of Mao Zedong, the Panchen Lama rebounded, and in 1989, stated that Tibet had lost more than it gained under Chinese communist rule. He made these comments only a few days before his mysterious and untimely death.

Arjia Rinpoche, the abbot of Kumbum Monastery in Tibet, held many important posts in the Chinese Buddhist Association. In 1998, when increasing pressure was exerted on him to recognise the Chinese-appointed Panchen Lama, he fled to America. "Modern Chinese history," he has said, "can be characterised as a 'Tale of Three Fish.' Taiwan is still swimming in the ocean. No one has caught that fish - at least not yet. Hong Kong is alive but on display in a Chinese aquarium. Tibet, the third fish, is broiled and on the table, already half devoured: its language, its religion, its culture and its native people are disappearing faster than its glacial ice."

The late Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, one of the most prominent Tibetans who had worked with the Chinese communist establishment and was considered one of the national leaders of the People's Republic of China, said at a party congress many years ago that the dearest wish of all old Tibetans was to see the Dalai Lama before their death. This would fulfil all their fondest hopes.

This universal wish of the Tibetan people was reiterated by Baba Phuntsog Wangyal, the founder of the Tibetan Communist Party, in one of the several letters he addressed to the top Chinese leaders on the issue of Tibet. "Therefore, most people in Kham, in (Central Tibet) Tibet and Amdo miss their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, from the bottom of their hearts. They trust and rely on him and ask him to grant favour to them and pray for them."

Many Tibetan intellectuals and cadres who work in the communist establishment in Tibet make their judgment of Chinese communist rule in these terms: "In the first 10 years (1950-60) we lost our land (i.e. communist China invaded Tibet). In the second 10 years (1960-70) we lost political power (the government of old Tibet was replaced by the communist establishment). In the third 10 years (1970-1980) we lost our culture (the Cultural Revolution destroyed Tibet's traditional beliefs). In the fourth 10 years (1980-90) we lost our economy (Chinese settlers took over the job market in Tibet)."

This stark judgment of Chinese rule in Tibet describes the reasons that drive so many young Tibetans in Tibet to

self-immolation. Daily, they see and experience China's constant assault on Tibetan Buddhist civilization, Tibetan language and their very identity. They strongly resent the Chinese communist party's active interference in their spiritual life, including the attempt to appoint Tibetan spiritual leaders. They resent to the core of their being China's demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the policy of forcing monks to denounce him. They look on with alarm and fear as Chinese settlers stream into Tibet, taking away Tibetan jobs, land and their very future—and in the process, transforming Tibetan towns and cities into so many Chinatowns. They resent the forced removal of nomads from the grasslands, away from their animal herds and their source of livelihood, and settling them on permanent housing structures, which bring no income, and reduce formerly self-sufficient families to impoverishment. At the same time the Tibetan people see massive development activities undertaken on their land that bring little or no benefit to them and aimed, instead, to cart away Tibetan natural resources to a resource-hungry China. In fact the policies of the Chinese communist party demonstrate to the Tibetan people that China wants Tibet but not the Tibetan people.

The perceptions of the Tibetan people of constant assault by China, and abandonment by an indifferent world, is shared by Tibet scholars. As David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson explain why they jointly wrote their book, *A Cultural History of Tibet*: "We have taken upon ourselves to write this book at this time because the civilization of the Tibetan people is disappearing before our very eyes, and apart from a few gentle protests here and there the rest of the world lets it go without comment and without regret. Many civilizations have declined and disintegrated in the past, but it is rare that one has the opportunity of being an informed witness of such events."

The critical question to ask is, why this twentieth and twenty-first century of destruction of the Tibetan Buddhist civilization which the Tibetan people developed over the course of 1,300 years? Is this capacity and willingness to destroy another people's culture something innate in the character of the Chinese people?

Clearly, the answer to these questions is a resounding no. Throughout history, the Chinese people have repeatedly proved themselves and their culture to be cosmopolitan, inclusive and embracing. Note the tolerance shown, down the centuries, to Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and other non-Chinese faiths. Confucian China might have exhibited a degree of condescension, but not intolerance, to the non-Chinese world, dismissing many in the imperial periphery as "barbarians," from whom the Middle Kingdom had nothing to learn but had much to teach in the ways of developing and operating a civilized society. Though dismissive of the cultural development of the peoples outside its imperial fringes, there was one and only one country to which China reciprocally sent students to learn and invited masters to teach. That country was India. Why India? Because that was where the spiritual traditions of Buddhism that had established itself in India, and from where it fanned out to embed itself as the core system of values and beliefs among many cultural and national identities in large swaths of Asia—including China.

China's admiration for Buddhism is best expressed by Xuanzang, the 7th century Chinese traveller to India who spent many years in Nalanda studying Buddhism and other related subjects. His journey to India along the Silk Road is immortalised in the Chinese epic, *Journey to the West*. In response to the pleas of the teachers and students of Nalanda not to return to China, Xuanzang, as quoted in Amartya Sen's *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity*, responded by saying, "Buddha established his doctrine so that it might be diffused to all lands. Who would wish to enjoy it alone and forget those who are not yet enlightened?"

The spread of Buddhism to China made a major contribution to opening Chinese minds to a higher and wider appreciation of cultures and wisdom emanating from realms beyond their own. This historical fact demonstrates that Buddhist Tibet's destruction at the hands of communist China does not lie in either the Chinese people or their culture. It lies in the intolerance China imported in the form of communism from the West. More specifically, it lies in the Leninist state structure in China that considers Tibetan culture and identity as the fundamental challenge to the party's rule in Tibet.

This observation is confirmed by the current attitude of Chinese scholars and activists to the burnings and self-immolations in today's Tibet. In a recent interview in the *Foreign Policy*, September-October 2012 issue, Ai Weiwei, the world famous Chinese artist, commented in response to the question whether he been to Lhasa before: "No. I would feel ashamed to go. I think to respect [the Tibetans] is not to touch them, to leave them alone."

Ran Yunfei, one of China's most outspoken public intellectuals, stated in an interview in *New York Review of*

Books, “The communists really destroyed religion. They don’t understand it at all. Look at Tibet. I told the *guobao* (state security agents) that, “you guys have gone too far. You don’t allow them to hang pictures of the Dalai Lama. You don’t have faith so you don’t understand. So the Tibetans get very angry and depressed. And then you go into temples and instead hang pictures of Mao and Jiang (Zemin) or Hu (Jintao). You’ve gone overboard! This isn’t right. Think about it. No wonder they set themselves on fire.”

The truth of Chinese rule in Tibet is that, despite strong-arm twisting and economic and financial inducements, the Tibetan people remain unflinchingly loyal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This is China's real dilemma in Tibet. China might physically rule Tibet but not the hearts of the Tibetan people. And the conquering nature of Chinese rule in Tibet further alienates Tibetans from their masters. To wean away the Tibetans from their devotion to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, China has waged campaigns that force the Tibetan people to denounce and demonize the Tibetan spiritual leader. Demonizing His Holiness the Dalai Lama strikes at the root of Tibetan values and is an immediate cause of the fire that is consuming the lives of so many young Tibetans. China's policy and habit of equating the Tibetan spiritual leader to the devil has turned the whole of Tibet into the class enemy of the Chinese Communist Party. It is as if Hitler called Jesus Christ the devil and expected the whole of Christendom to love the Nazi dictator. Equating the Tibetan spiritual leader to the devil is the gravest insult anyone can make against Tibetan Buddhism. Such insult is the height of intolerance of other people's cultural and spiritual values. This incessant insult of Tibetan culture and Buddhism and the shrill demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama drive these young Tibetans to self-immolate to protest Chinese rule and the Chinese Communist Party's demeaning attitude to their most sacred beliefs.

For a long time, the Chinese Communist Party taught the Tibetan people that there cannot be two suns in the same sky: the Chinese Communist Party and Tibetan Buddhism. The horrifying self-immolations that are taking place on the plateau say that the Tibetan people agree with this assessment. For the inhabitants of the plateau, there is only one sun over the Tibetan sky and that sun is His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the values and culture which he embodies. Out of the 98 self-immolations that have so far taken place in Tibet, 60, among other dying wishes, have called for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his homeland. 40 have made freedom for Tibet their dearest wish. Eight of those who set themselves on fire have called for the independence of Tibet. Five have called on Tibetans on and outside the plateau to remain united.

Perhaps the last word on the nature of Chinese communist rule in Tibet should be given to a Chinese. Ma Jian's book, *Stick Out Your Tongue*, was first published in Chinese in 1987 in *People's Literature*. Sometime later when the author was on sojourn in Hong Kong, his work was banned on the mainland. The reason for the ban was that ‘*Stick Out Your Tongue*, is a vulgar, obscene book that defames the image of our Tibetan compatriots.’ Since then the book has been translated into English published in the West. In an afterword to the English translation penned in 2005, before the Tibet-wide peaceful protests that engulfed the plateau in 2008 and before the self-immolations that are spreading in Tibet today, Ma Jian describes the nature of Chinese communist rule in Tibet in the following words.

On the surface, Tibet too has changed greatly, or at least the towns have. Lhasa has become a dirty, polluted city like any other you might find in China, with karaoke bars and massage parlours and gaudy neon signs. The Chinese government has discovered that economic prosperity is more effective than machine-guns and army tanks in silencing demands for democracy or regional autonomy. But the Tibetans who dare question Chinese rule are still treated with the same brutality. Today, over one hundred Tibetans are languishing in Chinese jails because of their political views.

In the West, I have met many people who share the same romantic vision of Tibet that I held before I visited the country. The need to believe in an earthly paradise, a hidden utopia where men live in peace and harmony, seems to run deep among those who are disconnected with the modern world. Westerners idealise Tibetans as gentle, godly people untainted by base desires and greed. But in my experience, Tibetans can be as corrupt and brutal as the rest of us. To idealise them is to deny them their humanity.

The Chinese people have retained a very different view of Tibet. For them, it is not a mystical Shangri-la, but a barren outpost of the great Chinese Party's nationalist propaganda concerning China's 'liberation' of the country, and would fiercely oppose any moves to break up the 'integrity of the Motherland'. They know nothing of the destruction the Chinese have wreaked in Tibet, or of the fact that since 1949, an estimated 1.2 million Tibetans have died due to political persecution, imprisonment, torture and famine.

Political Repression: Chinese Communist Leaders' Views of and Policies on Tibet

During his final meeting with the Dalai Lama in 1954, Mao Zedong edged closer to the Tibetan leader and whispered: "... but of course religion is poison. It has two great defects: it undermines the race, and secondly it retards the progress of the country. Tibet and Mongolia have been both poisoned by it."¹

Four decades later, in his speech at the 1993 Working Meeting of the United Work Front Department, Jiang Zemin, then President of China said, "[We are] asking them [monastic community] to love the motherland, to support the socialist system and the leadership of the Communist Party. We don't allow religion to be used to confront the leadership of the Party and the socialist system."²

Later, both Mao's animosity to Buddhism and Jiang's political demands re-surfaced as China's official policy. Beijing's Third Work Forum on Tibet in 1994, recommended putting an end "to the unbridled construction of monasteries and nunneries as well as to the unbridled recruitment of monks/nuns."³ The Forum further advocated that "the struggle between ourselves and the Dalai Clique is neither a matter of religious belief, nor a matter of question of autonomy, it is a matter of securing unity of our country and opposing splittism...This is a life-and-death struggle."⁴

The forum initiated a campaign of 'striking relentless blows' against 'the Dalai clique' and 'separatists' as one of the "important elements" of the Comprehensive Management of Public Security.

Jiang Zemin, who presided over the Forum, said, "it is necessary [for Tibetan culture] to absorb the fine cultures of other nationalities in order to integrate the fine traditional culture with the fruits of modern culture. This will facilitate the development of a socialist new culture in Tibet."⁵

On 14 May 1996, Chen Kuiyuan, who in January 1992 succeeded Hu Jintao as the party secretary in Tibet ('Tibet Autonomous Region' or TAR) said, "There are a few die-hard reactionaries in the monasteries who are hell-bent on following the Dalai,"⁶ and that "In order to beat the splittist and sabotage activities of the Dalai Clique and protect the normal religious life of the masses of religious devotees, we must carry out a carefully differentiated rectification of the monasteries within our region."⁷

On 23 July 1996, Chen launched the so-called Spiritual Civilization campaign and declared its main thrust in Tibet. He said, "One of the most important tasks in facilitating the Spiritual Civilization drive is to screen and eliminate Dalai's influence in the spiritual field. If we fail to accomplish this task, we cannot claim to have attained any great results in facilitating the Spiritual Campaign drive."

On 14 May 1996 in a speech to the Party Section Meeting in Tibet, Chen said, "Communists are atheist. If we see the Dalai as a religious ideal and avoid denouncing him in the process of the anti-splittist campaign, then politically we will not be able to lead the masses to fight effectively against the splittist group headed by him. We must denounce him fundamentally and not recognise his religious authority."⁸

On 8 November 1997, in a speech to the "TAR" Party Committee, Chen said, "Religious believers, and even some Party members and cadres, are not able to free themselves from the shackles of their outlook on the world as seen from the religious idealism. ... They waste their precious time in futile efforts in praying for individual happiness in the next world; instead of using their limited financial resources to improve their economic condition, they unrestrictedly donate their money to monasteries; instead of letting their children receive a modern education, they send them to monasteries to become a monk or a nun. Such negative thinking and behaviour prevents science and technology from spreading..."⁹

In 1997, Li Ruihuan, a Politburo member said, "Expanding Tibet's economy is not a mere economic issue, but a major political issue that has a vital bearing on Tibet's social stability and progress. This work not only helps Tibet, but is also related directly to the struggle against the Dalai Lama's splittist attempts."

One year later, during a televised dialogue with then US President Bill Clinton during his China visit, Jiang Zemin said, "Last year when I visited the USA and also some European countries, I found that many well-educated people actually believed in the doctrines of lamaism. I think this is a problem which needs to be studied. Why? Why?"¹⁰

In his March 1999 speech to ethnic and religious leaders at the Ninth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Jiang announced, "To correctly handle religious problems, first we should completely and correctly implement the party's religious policy; second, we should strengthen management of religious affairs according to the law; third, we should actively guide religions to adapt to the socialist society."¹¹

On 19 July 2001, in a speech at the rally in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the 'peaceful liberation' of Tibet, then Vice-President Hu Jintao said, "The PLA Garrison, PAP units and the law enforcement departments in Tibet are the strong pillars and loyal guards in defending the frontier of the motherland and maintaining stability in Tibet. They are an important force in building of both material and spiritual civilization,"¹² and that China "ushered in a new era in which Tibet would turn from darkness to light, from backwardness to progress, from poverty to affluence and from seclusion to openness."¹³

These Chinese leaders' perceptions and policies of intolerance, arrogance and chauvinism has devastated Tibetan culture and society. In addition, Tibetans experience massive suffering under policies such as 'democratic reform' and 'patriotic education' campaigns initiated in Tibet, and the Great Leap Forward, anti-rightist campaign and the Cultural Revolution that Beijing launched throughout China to enforce its ultra-leftist policies.

These past and current campaigns are carried out by a vast bureaucracy entrenched in the party, the military and the government. They include social apparatus controls set up by Chinese authorities, including 'democratic management committee' in the monasteries, neighbourhood watch committees and 'work teams'. Beijing has also established a network of security personnel, including the People's Liberation Army (PLA), People's Armed Police (PAP), Public Security Bureau (PSB) and a complex and vast network of paid informers. This "anti-splittism" bureaucracy employs an estimated 400,000 cadres. The party, through its bureaucracy, has also issued various documents, directives and guidelines to control creative expression and to use systematic procedures to destroy and to sinicize Tibetan culture.

The communist party's inherent intolerance and repressive nature is further shown in its appointment of party secretaries since its occupation of Tibet. Beginning with Zhang Jingwu (1951-1965) as the first secretary of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet to Zhang Qingli, and the current party secretary Chen Quanguo all are Chinese, except Wu Jingua. Wu is of Yi nationality and was reportedly fired from his position in 1988 for 'right deviationism'.

As disclosed in the Kashag's statement on Tibetan Democracy Day on 2 September 2000, during a closed-door meeting on Tibet in December 1999 in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, Chen Kuyuan recommended to the Chinese government to "...eradicate Tibetan Buddhism and culture from the face of the earth so that no memory of them will be left in the minds of coming generations of Tibetans, except as museum pieces."¹⁴ He also stated that the main cause of instability is the existence of the Dalai Lama and his government in exile and these must be "uprooted" and recommended that Tibet, Tibetan people and Tibetan Buddhism be destroyed and the Tibet Autonomous Region merged with Chinese provinces like Sichuan.

In his article China's Gaping Wound published in *The New Statesman* on 14 June 2007, Jonathan Mirsky writes that Hu Jintao, the outgoing Chinese President, told him that he disliked Tibet, its lack of culture and its 'dangerous people'. Hu imposed martial law in Tibet in 1989 after a spell of peaceful protests by Tibetans in Lhasa. It was during his reign that the 10th Panchen Lama suddenly and mysteriously died in Shigatse in 1989.

Zhang Qingli, the previous party boss in Tibet, describes the Dalai Lama as "a wolf in monk's clothes, a devil with a human face." On 16 August 2006, during an interview with *Der Spiegel*, he wondered, "I have never understood why a person like the Dalai Lama was honoured with this prize. What has he done for peace? How much guilt does he bear toward the Tibetan people! How damaging is he for Tibet and China! I cannot understand why so many countries are interested in him."¹⁵

He said, "The Communist Party is like the parent to the Tibetan people, and it is always considerate about what the children need. The Central Party Committee is the real Buddha for Tibetans."

More recently in 2010, he said, "If there were no anti-China forces or no Dalai to destroy and create chaos, Tibet would be better off than it is today,"¹⁶

Such intolerance of Tibetan culture on the part of successive Chinese leaders deviates sharply from official

Chinese government policies spelled out on paper.

In theory, Beijing has sound policies on the preservation and promotion of Tibetan culture and religion. The 17-Point Agreement, which Tibet was forced to sign with China in 1951, promised that Tibetans "shall have the freedom to develop their spoken and written language and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs..."¹⁷ And the constitution of the PRC states that "all ethnic groups have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs."¹⁸

However, due to extreme intolerance and the perception of the existence of Tibetan culture and identity as a threat, in practice the Chinese authorities have put together a systematic planning and execution of various campaigns and policies to annihilate Tibetan culture. These measures of social control, suppression and eventual eradication of Tibetan tradition and culture are recorded in official documents, directives and guidelines. Many of the key documents are cited below.

In 1982, Beijing issued *The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religious Question* during Our Country's Socialist Period (popularly known as Document 19). This was the most authoritative and comprehensive statement issued by China on the permissible scope of religious freedom. The document "declared religious tolerance to be a necessary step in the path towards eradication of religion."¹⁹

Work Plans of the Regional Party and the Regional People's Government for Resolutely Striking Splittists and Other Serious Criminals Through Screening and Investigation (referred to as Document No. 13) issued in July 1989, included sections on "reorganizing and strengthening the management of the monasteries" and increasing propaganda education in monasteries.²⁰

A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era published by "TAR" Party in 1994 ordered a halt to any further expansion of Buddhist institutions in Tibet, and identified opposing the Dalai clique as the lifeline of TAR's struggle and advocated that 'to kill a serpent, its head must be crushed.'²¹

Document No. 5 of the Sixth Enlarged Plenary Session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Congress of TAR Branch of the Chinese Communist Party issued on 5 September 1994, includes a section on "cutting off the serpent's head," encouraging Chinese migration [into Tibet], closing monasteries, intensifying political education, and punishing people who sing so-called counterrevolutionary songs.²²

Order No. 5 issued by the State Religious Affairs Bureau in July 2007 requires recognition of all reincarnate lamas be authorized by Beijing.²³

Order No. 2 from the People's Government of Kardze (Ch. Ganzi) in Kham in eastern Tibet in June 2008, which, among many utterances, stated that monks and nuns "who show stubborn attitude will be counseled, strictly given warning, stripped of their rights as religious practitioners and expelled from their monasteries, and held in custody doing re-education," and that tulkus "will be stripped of their right to hold the incarnation lineage."²⁴

The drastic impacts of these views and policies are explained and explored below.

Cultural Assimilation: Destruction of Tibetan Buddhism

"Religion is the opium of the people,"¹ wrote Karl Marx. "Religion is a spiritual oppression ... [a kind] of spiritual booze,"² Lenin wrote. As mentioned above in 1954 when Mao met the Dalai Lama for the last time, he whispered, "Religion is poison."³ For this communist trinity, on whose theories and principles the People's Republic of China operates, religion is a social toxin.

The Chinese Communist Party once stated that "since religion is harmful to the socialist construction of the mother country, it will inevitably prove harmful to the progress and development of the minority nationalities ... All national characteristics unfavourable to the socialist construction and national progress can and should be changed."⁴

Chinese leaders view Buddhism as the biggest hurdle to their control over Tibet. In the 1950s and 60s, under 'democratic reform', land and other assets were seized from the monasteries. In *A Short History of Tibet*, Hugh Richardson writes, "Attacks on religion became more violent. Lamas were assaulted and humiliated; some were put to death. The ordinary people who refused Chinese orders to give up the practice of religion were beaten and had their goods confiscated." By 1959, the occupying Chinese forces killed a large number of monks and civilians and demolished numerous religious structures, prompting the International Commission of Jurists to comment that "they [Chinese] have systematically set out to eradicate this religious belief in Tibet," and that "in pursuit of this design they [Chinese] have killed religious figures because their religious belief and practice was an encouragement and example to others."⁵

In *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*, Rick Fields writes, "The Chinese had swiftly and brutally suppressed the revolt of 1959, a half million people lost their lives, and Tibetan culture had been nearly eradicated. Monasteries had been transformed into barracks, and many of the ancient texts of Tibetan and Indian Buddhism burned, or used as fodder for mules. To the Chinese, Buddhism and feudalism were one and the same, and both had to be destroyed."⁶

Authors Jung Chang and Jon Halliday add, "Mao was bent on destroying religion, the essence of most Tibetans' lives. When he met the Dalai Lama in 1954-5 he told him there were too many monks in Tibet, which he said, was bad for reproducing labour force. Now lamas and nuns were forced to break their vows of celibacy and get married."⁷

Arjia Rinpoche stated that in 1958, the occupying Chinese army "forced [the monks of his monastery] to assemble at Yar Nang Choedra" and "in a public accusation meeting, more than 500 monks were beaten and arrested. More cycles of arrests took place and by the end of 1958, the Three Red Flags symbolizing the Great Leap Forward, Socialism, and People's Communes were flying above Kumbum. Women were urged to come live inside the monastery's walls and marry the monks who lived there."⁸

In his historic 70,000 Character Petition, submitted to the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1962, the 10th Panchen Lama, wrote that "the democratic campaign, which was carried out in conjunction with suppression of the rebellion, was a large-scale, fierce, acute and life-and-death class struggle, which overturned heaven and earth,"⁹ during which the cadres "carried out in a muddled fashion all types of half-baked directives"¹⁰ to arrest, accuse, lockup and heavily subject people to unfair interrogations and political education. The first task of the 'reform' was to attack religion by destroying the statues of Buddhas and burning the scriptures in the name of 'eliminating superstition'. Work teams forced monks to return to their homes and to marry. In monasteries 'democratic management committees' were set up, whose members engaged in immoral and totally anti-religious acts such as going with prostitutes, drinking excessively, and keeping their hair long and as a result "religious activities were as scarce as stars in the daytime."¹¹

The Petition adds that Tibet in the past had "total of about 110, 000 monks and nuns ... After the democratic reform was concluded, the number of monks and nuns living in the monasteries was about 7,000 people, which is a reduction of 93% ... Due to this, the sweet dew of 'teaching, debating and writing' and 'listening, thinking and contemplating' has dried out."¹²

In Mikel Dunham's *Buddha's Warriors: the Story of the CIA-backed Tibetan Freedom Fighters, the Chinese Invasion and the Ultimate Fall of Tibet*, Athar Norbu recounts that in the spring of 1956, after the PLA stormed

Lithang Monastery, "three Russian Ilyushin-28 warplanes circled ... and bombed Lithang. By the time they had dropped all their bombs, nothing was left ... totally gone in a matter of minutes ... all the ancient texts, the famous art, the holy relics, the stupas, the largest statue of the Buddha in Tibet ... everything was gone."¹³ Over three thousand monks, nuns and lay people were killed in the siege. "Those same bombers flew to other monasteries that day, in Ba and Markham area, and destroyed them just as they had destroyed Lithang."¹⁴

In his essay *The End of Tibetan Buddhism*, published in *The Struggle for Tibet*, the Chinese author Wang Lixiong, who lives in Beijing, writes that a tulku educational group was established in Lhasa in 1964, "where more than ten tulkus under the age of twenty were gathered for thought reform and labour — specifically as butchers and hunters of wild animals. Some of the things learned from the study group became lifelong addiction the tulkus later had trouble shedding."¹⁵

Wang further writes that after 1959, the Chinese communist authorities disrupted religious activities that led to "an entire generation within the monastic community [to] become polluted in their views on religion, [and] a new generation had grown up completely in an atheist environment."¹⁶

On 25 August 1966 the Cultural Revolution was launched in Tibet. Two days later, Red Guards from TAR's teachers' training college put up posters and handed out leaflets ordering the eradication of feudal culture, which listed that all books praising idealism and feudalism should be prohibited; all mani walls, prayer flags and incense burners should be destroyed; no one should recite prayers, circumambulate, or prostrate; and that all monasteries and temples apart from those that are protected by the government should be converted for general public use; and monks and nuns should be allowed to marry and that they must engage in productive labour.¹⁷

This systematic campaign of destruction was carried out across Tibet. The Cultural Revolution reached even a tiny remote village like Rivoche, where the monastery and the 13-story stupa built in the village by Thangtong Gyalpo, the 14th century Tibetan social reformer, were destroyed. Statues were broken down and scriptures burnt. Monks of the monastery were forced to throw the physical remains of Thangtong Gyalpo into the nearby YarlungTsangpo River.

The late Dr Lobsang Wangyal writes that during the height of the Cultural Revolution, prisoners were struggled against and routinely beaten for engaging in anything resembling Tibetan habit or custom. "Prisoners were subjected to struggle sessions for even using spoons and wooden bowls. Using a traditional Tibetan belt earned public humiliation and beating."¹⁸

Tsering Shakya, a contemporary Tibetan scholar and historian, writes in *Dragon in the Land of Snow: The History of Modern Tibet since 1947* that the Cultural Revolution aimed to create a 'socialist man'. "Those who held on to old values and traditions were said to possess a 'green brain', while the progressive man had a normal 'white brain.' The new brain would be filled with the teachings of Chairman Mao. As food provided nourishment to the body, so that teachings of Mao would bring ideological transformation. It was said that without studying the Thoughts of the Chairman Mao, the brain would be empty."¹⁹

Tibet had more than 6,259 religious institutions. An estimated 592, 558 resident monks and nuns lived in the monasteries and nunneries, which also sheltered hundreds and thousands of statues and religious artifacts. When Mao's Cultural Revolution ended with his death in September 1976, the Chinese government was responsible for the destruction of more than 6000 monasteries.²⁰ The contents of these monasteries were destroyed and looted, and millions of ancient and priceless manuscripts burned.

Ribhur Tulku writes that "during the Cultural Revolution, most of the Tibetan cultural artefacts were carted to China and destroyed. The statues and ritual objects of pure gold and silver were never seen again. Those of gilded copper, bell-metal, red copper, brass, etc., were ferried to Luyen, from where they were eventually sold to foundries in Shanghai, Sichuan, Tai Yuan, Beijing etc. The foundry called Precious Metal Foundry, situated about five kilometres to the east of Beijing city, alone purchased about 600 tonnes of Tibetan crafted metals."²¹ Of the 600 tons only 50 tons were later salvaged. The rest were melted and sold.

Keutsang Tulku Jampel Yeshe, whose former incarnation led the search party that was responsible for identifying the present Dalai Lama, writes in *Memoirs of Keutsang Tulku* that once in jail he was forced to transport human excrements from toilets to the fields under 'reform through hard labour' campaign. Keutsang Tulku was beaten, forced to undergo intense political education and during the later years in prison he and other inmates were made

to repair bicycles and knit sweaters which were either exported or sold in markets by the authorities. His monastery was destroyed and students were either jailed or defrocked.²²

Palden Gyatso, a monk, who spent more than three decades in jail, was also tortured, forced to undergo ideological education and put under 'reform through hard labour' campaign in the Chinese gulag. He writes in his autobiography *Fire Under Snow: True Story of a Tibetan Monk* that he was handcuffed, legs shackled, and interrogated for days to force him to denounce his spiritual teacher, Gyen Rinzin Tenpa, who was a member of 1946 Tibetan delegation sent to India to congratulate British India on their victory in the Second World War. The Chinese authorities forced Palden Gyatso to confess that his teacher was a spy sent by the Indian Government.²³

The implementation of such severe measures to control and to annihilate religion stem from the fact that religion is considered the single greatest threat to party rule. The various policies on religion are overseen and authorized by China's highest bodies: the Central Committee, Politburo and the State Council. The party sits at the top of a tightly controlled system.

Through an unbroken chain of command, the Democratic Management Committee (DMC)²⁴ that China set up in each of the monasteries throughout Tibet implements the party's policies and directives. Jing Wei, the author of *100 Questions about Tibet*, says that DMC "receives guidance and support from relevant government departments in charge of religious affairs, and keeps them informed of any problem in implementing state policies..." Through this system, the government imposes maximum economic and political control over monasteries. One of DMC's most important functions is to inform the PSB of the 'identities of counter-revolutionaries'. The local DMC operates with 'work teams', a specially formed unit of government personnel sent to conduct 'patriotic re-education' in an institution or locality, to conduct political education and investigation. The 'work teams' routinely move into monasteries and nunneries sometimes for months "to carry out investigations, hold meetings, conduct surveillance and identify candidates for arrest."²⁵ Thus the traditional role of the lama or the abbot, who is the spiritual teacher and the final authority on all monastic issues, is fully undermined and the entire religious establishment turned into a political battlefield to bend monks' and nuns' loyalty towards the party.

In 1994, *A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era* was issued. This is the guidelines on religious policy announced at the Third Work Forum on Tibet, which gave strict orders to curtail religious activities.

A Golden Bridge states that "there are too many places where monasteries have been opened without permission from the authorities, and having too much religious activity ... the waste of materials, manpower and money has been tremendous ... sometimes leading to interference in administration, low education, marriage, birth control and daily life,"²⁶ and that "each monk and nun [must] give declarations of their absolute support for the leadership of the Communist Party and the integrity of the motherland."²⁷

This policy aimed to reshape the thinking of the monks and nuns through political education that required them to "draw a clear line of demarcation with the Dalai clique."²⁸

Five years later, the Fourth Work Forum held in 2001 concentrated on strengthening "Party building" as one of the focuses to gain support and legitimacy. Jiang Zemin said at the Forum that it is important to "strengthen the administration of religious affairs, strike those who use religion to carry out splittist criminal activities, and vigorously lead Tibetan Buddhism to adapt to socialism"²⁹

To carry out this political goal, Beijing launched campaigns such as 'Strike Hard' and 'Patriotic Re-education' through which the government heavily interferes in the religious institutions. It also introduced the dictate that "Marxist outlook to Buddhism or reshaping of Buddhism to suit the needs of socialist China."³⁰

A Golden Bridge states that "religious tenets and practices which do not comply with socialist society should be changed,"³¹ strengthening Beijing's assertion that there cannot be two suns in the sky. There can be only one sun and that is the Communist Party. This has always been the central focus of China's policy on Tibetan Buddhism, forcing the monks and nuns 'to love the Communist Party of China; to love the motherland; to love socialism; and to love people.'³²

On 15 February 1996, a statement by Tibet's Commission of Nationalities and Religious Affairs issued in *Tibet Daily* stated that "we must close the doors of the lamaseries which have serious problems or where political

problems often occur for overhauling and consolidation and set a time limit for correction."³³

On 18 April 2001, after sending 'work team' officials to conduct the 'patriotic re-education' campaigns, Larung Gar Buddhist Institute in Kham in eastern Tibet was issued a notice to put a ceiling on its number of resident monks. This sprawling spiritual establishment, started as a hermitage in the early 1980s in order to bypass China's restrictions on the construction of new monasteries, was founded by the highly respected Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok. At its height, Larung Gar Institute instructed more than 10,000 students, including more than 1000 Chinese followers from Mainland China. The 'work team' officials evicted over 7,000 students. In June of the same year, thousands of security officials camped on the outskirts of the Institute and destroyed the monastic residences of the evicted students. The institute's founder, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, was arrested. He died on 7 January 2004 under mysterious circumstances.³⁴

In December 2002, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche,³⁵ the founder of Kham Nalanda Monastery in eastern Tibet, was sentenced to death with a two-year reprieve on false charges of having been involved in a bombing case. Because of his work to benefit the people, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche commanded widespread respect and trust among both Tibetans and Chinese in his area. The local authorities saw this as a threat to their legitimacy and power, and had been looking for a way to remove him.

According to the Annual Report 2009 by United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, Tulku Phurbu Tsering, a highly respected tulku of Tehor Kardze Monastery, "was detained on 19 May 2008 after police detained more than fifty of his students for staging a peaceful protest against requirements that they denounce the Dalai Lama and their teacher."³⁶

In 1999 Bangri Rinpoche and Nyima Choedron, who founded an orphanage in Lhasa called Gyatso Children's Home, were arrested on charges of espionage and activities endangering national security, and were sentenced to 15 and 10 years in jail respectively.³⁷

Many other contemporary Tibetan religious leaders such as Geshe Sonam Phuntsok³⁸ of Dargay Monastery in Kardze in eastern Tibet have been arrested and jailed on trumped-up charges.

These lamas and tulkus possess great moral authority and fulfil a role as natural community leaders who champion the welfare of Tibetans. People turn to them for guidance and advice on both religious and secular matters. The respect that is given them is seen as undermining the party's authority.

In mid May 2007 the Chinese authorities demolished a colossal statue of Guru Rinpoche near Samye Monastery in central Tibet and rubble from the destroyed statue was transported to unknown locations.

According to a report by the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy "a convoy of Chinese PAP came to Samye Monastery, and forcibly demolished a nearly completed gold and copper plated statue of Guru Padmasambhava [Rinpoche]. The statue was constructed with the fund of about 800,000 Chinese renminbi generously donated by two Chinese devotees from the highly industrialized Mainland city of Guangzhou in Guangdong Province."³⁹

In 2007, the State Religious Affairs Bureau issued the so-called Order No. 5 that requires recognition of all reincarnate tulkus or lamas to be authorized by Beijing. This is a further act of clear and direct interference in the Tibetan people's spiritual domain. It demonstrates once again that Chinese leaders use religion as a political tool not only "to transform Tibetan national identity and loyalty to the Dalai Lama into Chinese national identity and loyalty to China"⁴⁰ but also as a legal measure to put communist party cadres in positions that control and supervise the Tibetan people's spiritual activities.

Beijing's involvement in the selection of the Chinese-appointed Panchen Lama all too clearly demonstrates these policies. Arjia Rinpoche, the former abbot of Kumbum Monastery who now lives in exile in the US, attests that he "was forced to play a part in the selection of the 11th Panchen Lama by the Chinese government. Since the government wished to use this event as a precursor to their future selection of the 15th Dalai Lama, they made up their own rules and carefully choreographed the Golden Urn Ceremony. I was an eyewitness to the fact that the ritual was a farce and that the selection was rigged. It was totally manipulated."⁴¹

The Chinese author, Wang Lixiong, writes in *The End of Tibetan Buddhism* that the "local political power has become the only controlling force, one that obviously demands the surrender of monks and nuns to its authority.

It has nothing to do with respecting the dharma or observing monastic vows."⁴²

This destruction of religion is again clearly revealed in the report issued by Beijing-based Gongmeng Law Research Centre, an organisation of independent Chinese lawyers. In the aftermath of the widespread unrest in Tibet in 2008, Gongmeng sent researchers to Tibet to find out the causes of these protests. Their findings were made public in May 2009. Gongmeng Report points out that Buddhism "is not only an important constituent part of Tibetan culture, it is also the main source of thinking for how Tibetan religious culture comports with the logic of historical development."⁴³ The report adds, "Having been through the Cultural Revolution, there's now a gap in the ages of the inheritors of religious culture in Tibetan areas, with a lack of middle-aged monks leaving a weakness in influence and transmission from older monks to younger monks."⁴⁴

This breakdown in the transmission of Buddhism from the old to the new generation is the most fatal assault on Tibetan Buddhist culture. In turn, it had led to the collapse of the special bond between spiritual masters or the lamas and their students. This special bond or *dam-tshig* is the sacred commitment to maintain harmonious relationship between masters and students and at the same time foster the continuity of the true teachings and practice. *Dam-tshig* consists of the vows of integrity, pledge, loyalty, and the word of honour between teachers and the students. Since the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet in the 7th century, the entire corpus of Buddhist philosophy and knowledge of astronomy, language, law and ethics were passed from one generation to the next through this unique system of learning. This becomes especially important in the practice of Buddhist tenets as many essential teachings, initiations and transmissions are orally passed from the root masters to their students.

The Dalai Lama is the supreme temporal and spiritual leader of all Tibetans. Despite Beijing's severely repressive policies and acts, the Tibetan people's devotion to, faith and trust in him are unblemished, attesting to the fact that the Dalai Lama provides spiritual guidance and leadership when Tibet and Tibetans are facing the most pressing circumstances.

Obviously, Beijing considers this singular relationship between the Dalai Lama and his people based on complete trust, loyalty, devotion and faith as the key threat to their power and legitimacy in Tibet. The Communist Party has heightened its attacks on the Dalai Lama in the hope of severing this extraordinary bond. Tibetan monks, nuns and lay people, who display any loyalty to or faith in the Dalai Lama are described as "the scum of Buddhism" and "the loyal running dogs of the Dalai clique."

"The influence of our enemies in foreign countries, especially the 'Dalai clique,' is slipping into the monasteries of our region more than ever"⁴⁵ states *A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era*. In its counterattack to undermine such influence, Beijing initiated Tibet-wide 'patriotic education' campaign in almost all religious institutions. This has replaced traditional religious education. Now monks and nuns are forced to undergo political re-education under the strict supervision of DMC and 'work teams.'

DMC and 'work teams' conduct written exams for the monks and nuns after 'patriotic education' sessions. The questions in the tests include: What are the reasons to oppose separatists and the Dalai clique? What is the number one political responsibility of the TAR? What are the ways to show your love for the motherland?⁴⁶

These questions must be answered according to the political and ideological education which the monks and nuns are forced to undergo. There are a few books on 'patriotic education,' such as a book on opposing separatism, a book on [the Chinese version] Tibetan history, a book on conduct of citizens, and a book on government policies.⁴⁷ These books are mandatory study material in monasteries.

The Marxist view of religion, called notices, are put on the walls of monasteries. These notices say, for example, "In a socialist society such as our own, the Marxist religious viewpoint is the theory and guide for how to understand and handle religion and questions of religion."⁴⁸ Monks and nuns are made to recite: I oppose the Dalai clique; I will not keep the Dalai's photo in my house; my thinking will not be influenced by the Dalai clique; I love the Communist Party; I will follow the Party no matter what, etc.⁴⁹

DMC has taken the place of abbots, whose responsibilities before 1959 resembled an academic dean of a university and served as traditional heads of monasteries. Political indoctrination has replaced religious education. The special bond between spiritual teachers and students has been severed and rules enforced to limit the number and age of students. Monks below the age of eighteen are not allowed to join monasteries. The new mandatory registration of monks and nuns does not allow students outside of the locality.⁵⁰

An official government-issued document states that the DMC must report to the local security branch any 'activity harmful to the national security' and 'public stability' carried out by the monastery's lamas and chant and discipline masters.⁵¹

On 28 June 2008, Li Zhangping, head of the so-called Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, (which holds more political and religious prisoners than any other Tibetan region outside of the 'TAR') issued an Order No. 2. The order instructed monks and nuns, "who do not agree to be registered and photographed, who leave the monastery premises as they please and refuse to correct themselves despite repeated re-education, will be completely expelled from the monastery, will have their rights as religious practitioners annulled, will be sent back to their native places, and their residential cells will be demolished,"⁵² and "any tulku, khenpo and geshe who does not abide by the order will not be allowed to participate in religious activities" and "in the case of tulkus, they will be stripped of the right to hold the incarnation lineage."⁵³

Voice of Tibet radio broadcast on 23 July 2010 reported that Lama Dawa of Rongpo Choje Monastery in Nakchu was arrested in April that year with the accusation of having links to the Dalai Lama. The Chinese authorities stripped Lama Dawa of his religious position and the right to hold the incarnation lineage. According to the same radio broadcast, 17 other monks from the same monastery were arrested under the 'Patriotic Education' campaign and ordered to 'oppose the Dalai Lama and Lama Dawa, and to sever their ties with Lama Dawa. As a result, the 70-year-old monk named Ngawang Gyatso committed suicide on 20 May 2010. Later, all 17 monks were expelled from the monastery. The authorities labelled this event as '5-20 Incident' and branded the monastery as 'criminal monastery' that must be watched constantly.⁵⁴

At the same time, Wang Lixiong writes that in Tibet today, "all famous monasteries have to be transformed into tourist sites, while high-ranking tulkus are utilized as attractions for commercial investment ... That is how they became a valuable commodity."⁵⁵

Similarly, Ma Jian, the Chinese author and painter who widely travelled in Tibet writes in his book *Stick Out Your Tongue*, that "Tibet was a land whose spiritual heart had been ripped out. Thousands of temples lay in ruins, and the few monasteries that had survived were damaged and defaced. Most of the monks who'd returned to the monasteries seemed to have done so for economic rather than spiritual reasons. The temple gates were guarded by armed policemen, and the walls were daubed with slogans instructing the monks to 'Love the Motherland, love the Communist Party and study Marxist-Leninism.'"⁵⁶

In his 70,000 Character Petition in 1962, the 10th Panchen Lama clairvoyantly wrote "the future of religion has in reality been destroyed; therefore, in fact, religion has no future."⁵⁷

The Communist Party's destruction of Tibetan Buddhist tradition and religious institutions has had a chain reaction on Tibetan education, values, language and communal harmony. Tibet today experiences increased social breakdown, lawlessness, communal disharmony, illiteracy, greed and a high growth in sex trade and alcoholism,⁵⁸ which in turn contribute to the deterioration of Tibetan society.

With this destruction of religion, Tibet has stopped attracting students from countries such as Russia, Mongolia, Nepal, India and Bhutan. It earlier served as a centre of higher learning for non-Tibetans who embraced Tibetan culture. This role is now assumed by exile Tibetan institutions which attract a large number of non-Tibetan students who wish to re-connect with the fount of their culture or to study and embrace the wisdom of the Tibetan Buddhist civilization.

Social Discrimination: Strangling the Tibetan Language

Tibetan is an essential language of the world. Belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language group. Tibetan and its various dialects are written and spoken by more than 12 million people spread over a vast geographic space: across the entire plateau and along the northern belt of the Indian Himalayas, from Arunachal Pradesh to Ladakh and spilling over to Pakistan and into areas like Baltistan, Bhutan and northern belt of Nepal. At one time, Tibetan was the language of higher education across this entire region as well as in Mongolia and republics of Kalmkyia, Tuva and Burytia in Russia. Yet after more than 60 years of assault under Chinese rule, scholars in Tibet fear that the Tibetan language will soon become extinct.

Beijing's fundamental education policy in Tibet since its occupation has been to win over the loyalty of generations of Tibetans. To fulfil this task, the education strategy has been shaped by the ideological viewpoint to undermine all instances of Tibetan character, identity and content. In the early 1960s, the Chinese authorities started to 'reform' the Tibetan language by making grammatical changes to bring it closer to the so-called proletarian language spoken by the people. The most pronounced example was the elimination of three of the five *del-dra* or genitive particles *gi*, *kyi*, *gyi*, *yi* 'i.¹ These were considered redundant. The standard written Tibetan requires all five.

In her book *Education in Tibet: Policy and Practice since 1950*, Catriona Bass writes that "during the Cultural Revolution, all concessions to culturally specific education for China's nationalities were abolished; the political nature of education during this period meant that it consisted almost entirely of launching attacks on the traditional Tibetan culture, the prime target being the Tibetan language."²

The Tibetan scholar, Muge Samten, who had first-hand experience of the occupation and lived through the terrible decades of the Cultural Revolution, stated that "almost all the universities and schools in Tibet were shut down, Tibetan language classes were banned, bits of Tibetan used in propaganda material were so-called 'reformed language' created in the name of destroying the 'four olds,' opposing the bourgeoisie and to be closer to 'people's language'. This 'reformed language' was devoid of standard Tibetan grammatical usage and was far removed from the colloquial language spoken by ordinary people. Anyone using the standard Tibetan language was attacked by having them branded as 'revisionists' and counter-revolutionary."³

The campaign to smash the 'olds' led to the complete destruction of traditional learning centres, banishment of intellectuals to labour camps and implementation of mass struggle sessions to cleanse people's memories of the past.

Dhondup Choedon, a young Tibetan woman who attended The Red Flag People's Commune School in Nyethang Dzong in Lhoka, southern Tibet, and later escaped into exile in 1973, wrote in her book *Life In the Red Flag People's Commune*, "there is a meeting once in every week where the children engage in criticism and self-criticism ... The children were asked to report any anti-Chinese remark or act they see ... The Chinese lecture them constantly about the prosperity and happiness brought by the Chinese liberation and condemn the old society, where the 'crimes committed by the three big serf-owners cannot fit the sky.'"⁴

When the TAR Teachers' College was established in 1975, Catriona Bass recounts in her book that TianBao, deputy secretary of the TAR party committee announced: "Students should be selected from among the workers and peasants with practical experience, and they should return to production after a few years of study"⁵ and that "the major topic of the new college was to be class struggle, and the curriculum was to focus on the 'ideological transformation' of the students."⁶

Liberal policies initiated in the early 1980s by Hu Yaobang and encouraged by the late Panchen Lama were emasculated by the decade's end when leftist hard-liners regained power in Tibet. Hu Jintao replaced Wu Jingua, who was widely perceived as a liberal. Hu was followed by Chen Kuiyuan, the firebrand party boss in Tibet and the "pendulum swung back to promote ideological education over academic education."⁷ Chen ruled Tibet from 1992 to 2000. Robert Barnett, a Tibet scholar and a professor at Columbia University, remarked during a seminar on Tibet held in St Andrew's University in Scotland in August 2001 that Chen increased attacks on Tibetan scholars and intellectuals and played an important role in reshaping "the pedagogy of Tibetan history and culture in the University of Tibet."⁸

In his speech at the Fifth Regional Meeting on Education in the TAR on 26 October 1994, Chen had announced that ideological goals must be the top priority in schools. He said, "The success of our education does not lie in the number of diplomas issued to graduates from universities, colleges, polytechnic schools and middle schools. In the final analysis, in whether our graduating students are opposed to or turn their hearts to the Dalai clique and in whether they are loyal to or do not care about our great motherland and the great socialist cause. This is the most salient and the most important criteria for assessing right and wrong, and the contributions and mistakes of our educational work in Tibet. To successfully solve the problem, we must improve political and ideological work in schools, and have political and ideological work run through all the teaching, study and work at schools."⁹

In the same speech Chen stated that "...schools are not a forum on 'freedom'. Schools should be captured by socialism. We should not allow the splittist elements and religious idealism to use the classrooms to poison people's sons and daughters ... This is an issue which deserves our utmost concern. This is a test."¹⁰

Chen further clarified this position: "Scriptures have entered some schools and become textbooks in the classrooms. Some students have joined the ranks of monks. Some people purposely interpret this phenomenon as a national feature in an attempt to legalise religious interference in educational affair ... Therefore, we have arduous tasks in political and ideological work as well as heavy responsibilities in training instructors and successors who possess deep love for the Motherland and socialist undertakings."¹¹

Not only was there a shift to packing the curriculum with ideological content but Chen even suggested discarding subjects such as science and technical studies. This went counter to the claims by Beijing that literacy level had gone up and that all-round education was given to Tibetans. Rather, Chen said, "Ethnic education cannot be regarded as successful if it successfully maintains the old culture and traditions, but fails to suit the need of present social development."¹²

In that same year of 1994, a TAR government report instructed that "schools of all categories at various levels should firmly put the correct political orientation above all else and strive to train qualified personnel who have lofty ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline."¹³ This was reiterated in *A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era* which states that teachers "should have some professional skills, but most of all, they must be determined revolutionaries,"¹⁴ which reveals a clear official preference for "red" over expert.

Along the same line selected Tibetan children are sent to China for secondary education and teachers from various Chinese provinces are sent to work in schools and colleges in Tibet. "The programme has a number of side effects which are likely to (have) a negative impact ...[and] implications for the development of Tibetan language and culture ... Furthermore, since these [Chinese] teachers do not speak Tibetan (many of them are unable to speak even standard Chinese, putonghua), additional learning difficulties are created for Tibetan students."¹⁵

This lack of real education is confirmed by the fact that a large number of young Tibetans, risking their lives, continue to come to India to receive a decent education. Since the 1980s hundreds of thousands of Tibetans have come out of Tibet into exile, most of them young monks, nuns and students seeking to study in Tibetan exiles' monasteries, nunneries and schools.¹⁶

Gongmeng Report states that "majority of Tibetans born in the 1980s were educated to the level of elementary schools, the levels of education among the young people of our [researchers] own generation are far lower than Han areas."¹⁷ The report said that according to 2007 statistics, "the average term of education in Tibetan areas is less than four years, and the high-school enrolment rate is extremely low"¹⁸ and that "majority of adults at the grass-roots are illiterate."¹⁹ The report states that the quality of teachers and standard of education are also low and children of nomads and farmers have difficulty in having access to education.²⁰

In the beginning of 2010 the Chinese education department issued a new notice, writes Woesser, a Tibetan writer living in Beijing, which instructed "all the schools in the country to organise their students to participate in an event during Spring Festival 'wishing the beloved motherland a happy and prosperous new year.'²¹" At the "congratulating the motherland"²² event, the students were told to praise the legendary early ancestors, Yan and Huang Emperors; and to praise the revolutionary martyrs. The education department instructed all schools to organise the worshipping of the Yan and the Huang Emperors. Yan and Huang are considered by the Chinese to

be their earliest ancestors.

At the same time, the Chinese authorities made it mandatory in schools in Tibet to have a flag-raising ceremony each morning. Peter Hessler, a veteran reporter and the author of *Country Driving: A Chinese Road Trip*, who travelled to Tibet writes in his essay *Tibet Through Chinese Eyes* published in *The Atlantic Online* in February 1999 that he witnessed a "flag-raising ceremony at a middle school, where students and staff members lined up to listen to the national anthem, after which, in unison, they pledged allegiance to the Communist Party, [and] love for the motherland."²³

Such systematic programming and structured methods of education leave little room for Tibetans growing up in Tibet to learn their language and find their cultural roots. As a result, generations of Tibetans grow up as a hybridised species uprooted from their cultural origin and unable to adjust to the new cultural and social milieu created by the authorities.

Gongmeng Report states the "largest shortfall of teachers in Tibetan areas today is in Tibetan language."²⁴ Through its research in many Tibetan areas Gongmeng concluded that the students find it easier to learn Chinese than Tibetan simply because of lack of qualified teachers and teaching aids. "Even though they could speak Tibetan, there were however extremely few teachers who could undertake the teaching of Tibetan, and give in-depth explanations of the Tibetan language to the students,"²⁵ says the report.

This lack of competent Tibetan teachers is made worse by intentional suppression of Tibetan language as testified by the detained Tibetan author Tashi Rabten or Theurang in his recent book *Written in Blood*. Theurang describes that when he was a student at Northwest University for Nationalities in Lanzhou in 2008, he and his friend put up notices about a book sale written in Tibetan on the campus walls and near the dormitories. Later they learned that all their notices had been taken down while similar notices written in Chinese were left untouched. He writes, "I later found out that it was the government order to not allow any notices written in Tibetan to be put up. If any notice written in Tibetan is put up, the school police were given the authority to take them down."²⁶

The late professor Dungkar Lobsang Trinley, a leading Tibetan intellectual, remarked that "all hope in our future, all other developments, cultural identity, and protection of our heritage depends on this [Tibetan language]. Without educated people in all fields, able to express themselves in their own language, Tibetans are in danger of being assimilated."

Other Tibetans are equally concerned about the fate of the Tibetan language and education system in Tibet. In 1996, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok wrote, "Actually, the Tibetan language has no value in present-day Tibet. For instance, if a letter were mailed with an address written in Tibetan, it wouldn't reach its destination even within Tibet, let alone outside. In case of travels, no matter how literate a person is in Tibetan, he would not be able to know the bus timing or read the seat number on his ticket. Even if one has to look for a hospital or a shop in the county headquarters or a city, the knowledge of Tibetan is useless. A person who knows only Tibetan will find it difficult even to buy daily necessities."²⁷

"If our language is useless in our own country, where else will it have any use? If the situation remains like this much longer, the Tibetan language will become extinct one day... Rare in Tibet are schools where one can study Tibetan language and culture ... Moreover, parents have developed the habit of not sending their children to school. This is because the primary school teaches Chinese rather than Tibetan. Even if the students learn Chinese and graduate from the middle school, there is no employment scope in Tibet. There is, of course, a slight opportunity for learning Tibetan. But the parents know that Tibetan language is useless in day-to-day life. Therefore, they have no motivation to send children to school."²⁸

"In the cities and county headquarters there are serious cases of people being unable to speak Tibetan, although both their parents are Tibetans. Many of them have lost their Tibetan characteristics. Moreover, Tibetan officials cannot speak pure Tibetan. One-fifth or two-thirds of the words they use are Chinese. That's why ordinary Tibetans can't understand their speech."²⁹

A report by Human Rights in China titled *China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalization and Rising Tensions* states that Tibetan children are "subjected to an educational system systematically designed to deny them the opportunity and ability to learn their own histories and languages"³⁰ and "to indoctrinate children and instil a

sense of inferiority regarding Tibetan culture, religion and language relative to Chinese culture."³¹

Such drastically negative outcomes of the Chinese government-sponsored education are made worse by Beijing's persecution of Tibetan scholars and intellectuals through torture, arbitrary arrests and lengthy jail sentences. This trend, which decreased in the early 1980s, was reinstated and intensified during Chen Kuiyuan's rule.

In January 1996, Chen stated at an internal meeting that Tibetan nationalism was rooted in Tibetan religion, and that Tibetan religion was rooted in Tibetan culture and language. In his paper *The Chinese Frontiersman and the Winter Worms - Chen Kuiyuan in the TAR, 1992-2000* presented at St Andrews University in Scotland in 2001, Robert Barnett wrote that "this theory implied that Tibetan culture and language had to be restricted,"³² and that "shortly afterwards, the experimental Tibetan-medium school classes that had been started by the [late] Panchen Lama some six years earlier in four secondary schools were closed down."³³

This punitive attitude to Tibetan language and culture was followed by a crackdown on any assertion of Tibetan identity by Tibetan intellectuals and writers. In 2004, the noted Tibetan author and poet Woesser's book *Notes on Tibet* was banned by the Chinese authorities and she was dismissed from her position as the editor of Lhasa-based Chinese language journal *Tibetan Literature*.³⁴ The authorities instructed that all her working hours would be devoted to political re-education. Later, her influential blog was hacked and shutdown. International PEN writes on its website that Woesser has suffered repeated and sustained harassment since 2004, including brief detentions, periods of house arrest, travel restrictions, loss of work, denial of access to information and communications, heavy surveillance and censorship.³⁵

A Raging Storm: The Crackdown on Tibetan Writers and Artists after Tibet's Spring 2008 Protests, a report released in May 2010 by the International Campaign for Tibet, a Tibet advocacy group based in Washington, DC, details "the cases of more than 50 Tibetans, including 13 writers, involved in the arts and public sphere who are either in prison, have been 'disappeared' or have faced torture or harassment due to expressing their views."³⁶

These intellectuals and writers include eighty-one-year old Paljor Norbu, a professional printer and prominent Tibetan cultural figure in Lhasa. He was sentenced to seven years in prison for allegedly printing prohibited materials. Another is Rinchen Sangpo, the author of *No Retreating Path* and two unpublished books *The Story of Blood* and *The Story of Lhasa*. He was beaten and tortured by the Chinese authorities in August 2006. Another is Kunchok Tsephel, the founder of the influential Tibetan literary website, Chodmey or Butter Lamp. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison by the Intermediate People's Court of Kanlho in Tso, northeastern Tibet, on charges of disclosing state secrets after a closed-door trial.³⁷

Other persecuted Tibetan writers include Drogru Tsultrim, Jamyang Kyi, Dolma Kyab, Kunga Tsayang or Gangnyi and Tashi Rabten or Theurang. Drogru was accused of sedition and supporting 'motivations of Dalai supporters' in his articles and the authorities banned the publication of his Tibetan-language journal *Khawai Tsesok* or *Lifeline of the Snow*. Jamyang Kyi, a writer and singer, was detained by PSB in April 2008. Dolma Kyab, the author of *Restless Himalayas*, is believed to be held in Chushul high-security prison near Lhasa. Kunga Tsayang or Gangnyi, a writer, photographer and blogger, was sentenced to five years in jail in a closed-door trial on 12 November 2009 by the Kanlho Intermediate People's Court in Tso, northeastern Tibet. Tashi Rabten or Theurang, the author of *Written in Blood* and the editor of *Eastern Snow Mountain* (Tib. *SharDungri*), a collection of essays about 2008 peaceful protests in Tibet, is believed to be in detention in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province in China.

Another Tibetan writer, Shogdung (Morning Conch) or Tagyal, was arrested on 23 April 2010. He was a staff member at the Nationalities Publishing House in Xining and authored many books, including his latest *The Line Between Sky and Earth*, about the 2008 protests in Tibet. According to the ICT's new report, "his detention followed the publication of a book about the meaning of what he terms 'peaceful revolution' and the significance of the protests across Tibet since March 2008, which he describes as: 'a sign of the rediscovery of the consciousness of nationality, culture and territory.'"³⁸

The same report relates "for the first time since the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, singers, artists and writers have been the target of a drive against Tibetan culture in which almost any expression of Tibetan identity not validated by the state can be branded 'splittist'" and banned."³⁹

Furthermore, according to ICT, when Tibetan students in Barkham in Ngaba, Eastern Tibet, started a hunger

strike on 17 March 2011, in solidarity with the self-immolation of Phuntsok, a monk from Kirti Monastery, the authorities confiscated their mobile phones and blocked internet access.

One month later, around 22 April, the students' textbooks and other reading materials were checked by government officials, any books not endorsed by the officials were confiscated and burned. Publications that were burned included copies of the magazine *SharDungri (Eastern Snow Mountain)*, a collection of writings that was the first published Tibetan language commentary about the protests and crackdown in 2008. Students were told that they were not allowed to possess any book without an official stamp of approval.

There is a clear historical precedent in Manchuria, after the Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911, when "the teaching of Manchu was abolished"⁴⁰ by the Chinese authorities in the same year. "The current population of Manchu in China is nearly 10 million"⁴¹ and yet "fewer than 100 people can speak Manchu,"⁴² and scholars believe that "oral Manchu will disappear in five to 10 years."⁴³

Tibet is likely to suffer the same fate. Tibetan writers are subjected to arbitrary arrests, torture, detention and long jail terms. Especially after the 2008 uprising in Tibet, these cases of arbitrary arrests, torture, detention and long jail terms have become increasingly frequent. These systematic and sustained assaults completely stifle Tibetan language and identity, and thwart any assertion of Tibet's distinct civilization and culture based on creative expression, individual talent and collective voice.

Environmental Destruction: Tibetan Nomads and Ending Their Way of Life

In the spring of 1956, Zhu De, Commander-in-Chief of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, ordered that "all nomadic herdsmen [in Tibet] should settle in order to facilitate socialist transformation and socialist construction."¹ This was during the height of enforcing 'democratic reform' in eastern and north-eastern Tibet, where the majority of the agricultural sector was 'collectivised.' Massive propaganda was disseminated to promote the policy of 'mutual aid and co-operation' in the pastoral areas. However, the principal objective of this campaign was not to improve the lives of nomads and farmers or to bring about a positive social transformation. Rather, it was to enforce control, to manage and to implement the 'democratic reform' across Tibetan society. This was apparent from the official document Outline of the Propaganda for CCP Tibetan Working Committee Concerning the Policy of Not Implementing Democratic Reforms in Tibet Within Six Years, which states that "to be able to live happily, the Tibetan people must take the road of socialism; and to enforce democratic reform is the unavoidable path the Tibetan people have to follow."² To force the nomads to settle in permanent homes and to prevent them from pasturing their herds of yaks across vast distances, depending on where the grass was greener, was done so that the Chinese communist authorities could better control this population of nomads.

In Communalization in a Single Stride, Xie Zhanru, first secretary, CCP Committee, Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Zhou in present Gansu stated that by 15 September 1958, "46,000 Tibetan herdsmen, who only a short time ago still basically lived in a feudalistic society, have now, on the basis of having scored victories in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and carried out a social reform, ... singing and dancing, have reached heaven in one stride, taking them into People's Communes in which are carried the seeds of communism."³ Xie added that "the culture of the pastoral people is quite backward, and their level of science and technology even lower,"⁴ and claimed that "after a few years of socialist ideological education by the Party, they abolished their superstitions, liberated their thoughts, promoted their class consciousness, determined to follow the socialist road."⁵

In reality, however, the dark side of the revolution imposed in the pastoral areas was 'a very violent class-struggle of life and death.'⁶ Just as the coming of the Chinese communists had destroyed the way of life of the Tibetan nomads, who traditionally pastured their herds with the change of seasons and lived in harmony with the natural environment, so too, the commune system imposed by the Chinese presented a totally alien concept. In these new circumstances, these fiercely independent nomads found it difficult to operate in a system where everything was imposed from top down. "In the people's commune," Tibetans said to one another, "every person only has three personal belongings, a set of clothes, a set of bedclothes, and a bowl with a pair of chopsticks."⁷

Since ancient times, Tibetan nomads and farmers engaged in barter systems in which nomads gave salt, butter, meat, dried cheese and wool in exchange for barley, clothes and other items of daily use. By the end of 1950s, this way of life had been replaced by the commune system, which allowed the authorities to operate a more efficient system of taxation. The taxes included, as stated elsewhere in this report, the Patriotic Grain Tax, State Grain Reserve, War Preparation Reserve,⁸ etc. It was a system that resulted in massive grain shortage, forcing the people to slaughter and eat much of their livestock. The late Panchen Lama writes in his Petition that "most of the households were ransacked, and almost all of the residents' own stores of grains, meat and butter were taken away ... many of the residents were short of grain; some ran out of grain, and were very short of meat, butter, oil and so on; there was not even any lamp oil. Even firewood could not be bought."⁹

Like other Tibetans, the nomads suffered greatly through the next three decades, as one political campaign followed another, culminating in the Cultural Revolution. However, the biggest threat to their way of life is permanent resettlement, a policy that the Chinese authorities vigorously push forward today.

These permanent settlements of Tibetan nomads, seriously begun in the 1990s, is associated with the 'Western Development' campaign. Claiming environmental protection as the reason to fence off pastureland and to impose the sedentarization of nomads, the Chinese government carried out policies such as "convert farmland to forest"¹⁰ and "revert pasture to grassland."¹¹ The Chinese authorities, claiming to reverse the supposed degradation in pastoral regions, imposed bans on grazing, and issued an official policy that blames the supposed crisis in the grassland on the 'primitive' and 'unscientific' way of life of the Tibetan nomads.¹²

An estimated 2.25 million nomads live on the Tibetan Plateau. Through the ages, Tibetan nomads skillfully managed their livestock and sustained the land while adapting to the realities of Tibet's fragile ecological system.¹³ The current crisis in the pastoral regions has nothing to do with the nomads' traditional way of life. It grows out of Beijing's policies of the past 50 years, such as compulsory collectivization, imposition of production quotas, and collectivised herding which directly led to famine, degradation of grasslands and destruction of the traditional sustainable methods of pasture management.

In June 2007, the New York-based Human Rights Watch issued a report on the permanent re-settlement of the nomads in Tibet titled *No One Has the Liberty to Refuse*. This report explains China's nomadic resettlement project: "Since 2002, the Chinese government has been implementing resettlement, land confiscation, and fencing policies in pastoral areas inhabited primarily by Tibetans, drastically curtailing their livelihood. The policies have been especially radical ... many Tibetan herders have been required to slaughter most of their livestock and move into newly-built housing colonies in or near towns, abandoning their traditional way of life."¹⁴

"These requirements are part of a broader policy associated with the 'Western Development' campaign. Since this campaign got underway in 1999 many Tibetan agricultural communities have had their land confiscated, with minimal compensation, or have been evicted to make way for mining, infrastructure projects, or urban development."¹⁵

The Human Rights Watch report quotes a Tibetan who assesses the impact of this scheme on the nomadic way of life. He says, "They are destroying our Tibetan (herding) communities by not letting us live in our area and thus wiping out our livelihood completely, making it difficult for us to survive in this world, as we have been (herders) for generations. The Chinese are not letting us carry on our occupation and forcing us to live in Chinese-built towns, which will leave with no livestock and won't be able to do any other work."¹⁶

In 2003 a total ban was imposed on grazing in Golok in north-eastern Tibet and nomads were forced to move into government-built houses. A case in point that illustrates the compulsory change in land use is Tang Karma project in Amdo (Ch. Qinghai) province, where nomads have been forced to resettle at a disused prison site, where there is no drinking water and electricity.¹⁷ The site of this project is a mixed farming settlement where nomads, who have no experience in cultivating fields and growing crops, are newly expected to engage in farming with no water. A Tibetan interviewed by Human Rights Watch said in *No One Has the Liberty to Refuse* that the order came directly from the central government, not something made up [at lower levels] and that "not a single household can stay behind."¹⁸

Removal and relocations are also taking place to make way for large-scale infrastructural projects such as dams, mining and undertakings like Lhasa-Xining highway and railway line. According to the research paper *Constructing A Green Railway on the Tibet Plateau: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Mitigation Measures* by Zhou Jinxing, Chinese Academy of Forestry Sciences, Yang Jun, Department of Landscape, Architecture and Horticulture, Temple University in Philadelphia and Peng Gong, Beijing Normal University, the construction of the Lhasa-Xining Highway was done "without an environmental impact assessment or any environment protection plan."¹⁹ It resulted in "the destruction of the vegetative mat on the route of the highway, the adjacent vegetative mats were damaged as the soil was scraped up to build the road."²⁰ The researchers add that "the damaged vegetation has led to the loss of organic matter in the soil and the melting of the permafrost layer under the top soil."²¹

These development plans and infrastructural projects are urban-centric and finance is channelled in such a way that "Tibetans find it hard to compete with Chinese migrants."²² In *Perversities of Extreme Dependence and Unequal Growth in the TAR*, Andrew Fischer, a development economist who specialises on Tibet, writes that "this situation arises precisely because of who controls the subsidies and investments and where the money is spent."²³

Fencing off of pastures, limit imposed on herds and relocation in permanent settlements have forced the nomads to seek other sources of income for which they either do not have enough skills or lack opportunities.²⁴ The relocation of the nomads in permanent settlements has severed their intimate connection with their animals, and rendered their knowledge of animal and grassland management, inherited from one generation to another, useless.

The officially stated reason for the permanent settlement of the nomads, from the time Zhu De ordered that “all nomadic herdsman should settle”²⁵ in 1956 to the total ban on grazing in Golok and resettlement of nomads in Tibet today, is to transform the ‘backward’ nomads and to bring them ‘scientific development’.

This assertion of bringing 'scientific development' to the nomads is particularly odd given the fact that Tibet possess a long history of environmental protection and respect for the land, animals and natural resources.²⁶

According to Katherine Morton, a China specialist at Australia National University, over 700,000 nomads have been settled since 2000.²⁷ The official Chinese media mention that 226,302 houses were built for Tibetan herders and farmers since early 2006²⁸ and that by the end of 2009 over 80 percent of herdsman and farmers will live in houses; the projected figure for 2009 is about 1.32 million people, or 220,000 households.²⁹

Often, resettled nomads have been given a one-time payment for their livestock, and houses with no job prospect and no steady source of income.³⁰ As a result, they resort to collecting and selling yartsagunbu or caterpillar fungus, a medicinal root that has high demand and very high market value. During the summer, almost the entire population in nomadic areas scour the grasslands for this plant.³¹ In some areas, local leaders issue passbooks that allow people to collect the root and then officials act as middlemen in selling it to make huge profits. Some officials organize video nights in the mountains for root collectors during which adult films are shown and cheap alcohol is sold. There also have been cases of violent and often fatal conflicts over trading and scarcity, as Jonathan Watts reports in 17 June 2010 issue of *The Guardian* that “in July 2007 eight people were shot to death and 50 wounded in one such conflict.”³²

Another assault on nomads' traditional values and religious sentiments is the building of series of slaughter houses³³ in pastoral areas by the Chinese government and setting quotas for each household to provide animals to these houses. Punishments are meted out by local officials if herders fail to comply with the order to slaughter animals. In Sershul county in Kardze in eastern Tibet, people petitioned the local authorities against the slaughter house built in the locality. When the petition was rejected some monks of Bumnyak Monastery and local people wrote an appeal saying that "there is no greater harm to Buddhist religion than this. Even if we don't protect living creatures, slaughtering them without mercy is against Buddhism. This is the heartfelt wish of the people."³⁴ The official response was to arrest the three people, who had gone to submit the appeal.

Summary solutions like arrests, imprisonment and coercions are compounded by large-scale resource extractions and rampant commercialisation of livestock such as yak sperm banks³⁵ to breed bigger yaks at a shorter time. Yaks are restricted in barbed-wire fences and herders in state-built houses.³⁶ The fundamental problem is the failure to acknowledge and understand the wisdom and sophistication of Tibetans' traditional livestock management, which has allowed nomads to thrive for centuries.

Wu Ning, a rangeland expert at the Chengdu Institute of Biology, writes that "simply focusing on pasture or livestock development fundamentally ignores the tight linkages between culture and the land."³⁷ In this current policy from Beijing, nomads are at the receiving end. Chinese government has little or no experience, in pastoral production beyond a simplistic and risky policy of reliance on overstocking, and in more recent years, on accelerated slaughter.

Traditionally in Tibet the nomads were regarded as the naturally well off. They, like most Tibetans, fervently engaged in religious activities by inviting monks and lamas to the environs, and were generous in their offerings to the monasteries. However, as the resettlement has driven them into poverty and desperation, social linkages are broken down and traditional values abandoned for immediate and urgent needs to survive.

Beijing accuses that "their [Tibetan nomads] way of life is threatening the environment" and that they live a 'primitive' life' bound by traditional concept' of self-sufficiency and "did not know how to make money by selling their domestic animals."³⁸ What is actually being threatened and driven into extinction is the nomads' way of life, their culture, their religion—and their existence as people who have successfully survived on the Tibetan Plateau for thousand of years.

Economic Marginalisation: Population Transfer and Western China Development Programme

According to Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, authors of *Mao: the Unknown Story*, "From the time he conquered China, Mao was determined to take Tibet by force. When he saw Stalin on 22 January 1950, he asked if the Soviet air force could transport supplies to Chinese troops 'currently preparing for an attack on Tibet.' Stalin's reply was, 'It's good that you are preparing to attack. The Tibetans need to be subdued...' Stalin also advised flooding Tibet and other border regions with Han Chinese: 'Since ethnic Chinese make up no more than 5 per cent of Xinjiang's population, the percentage of ethnic Chinese should be brought to 30... In fact, all the border territories should be populated by Chinese...' This is exactly what the Chinese communist regime then proceeded to do."¹

In 1952, three years after founding the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong said, "Tibet covers a large area but is thinly populated. Its population should be increased from the present two or three million to five or six million, and then to over ten million."² At that time, Tibet had been occupied by the Chinese communists only since 1951 and yet Mao already had formulated the idea to swamp Tibet with Chinese.

In 1955, Liu Shaoqi, the president of the newly-formed republic, told the late Panchen Lama that Tibet was a big unoccupied country and China had a big population which could be settled there.³ In August 1957, Zhou Enlai, the Chinese premier, gave an important speech on the incorporation of non-Chinese regions into the national plan. The premier pointed out the shortage of land and underground natural resources in the Chinese-inhabited regions and the importance of exploiting natural resources in areas populated by the 'fraternal minority nationalities' to support industrialization. Zhou said that the natural resources in the minority regions had been left untapped because of lack of labour power and technological expertise. The Chinese premier said, "Without mutual assistance, especially assistance from the Han people, the minority people will find it difficult to make significant progress on their own."

With clear guidelines from the highest leaders of the Communist Party, the *xiafang* campaign was launched in 1956. *Xiafang* or the 'downward transfer to the countryside' was a campaign to move millions of people from the urban areas of eastern China to the remote and sparsely-populated regions in the north and west, with the intention to integrate and assimilate the minorities. Over 600,000 people were sent to Amdo, Gansu, Ningxia, East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and Inner Mongolia in the first couple years after the campaign was launched.⁴ A large number of Chinese also arrived in central Tibet.

Xiafang campaign was intensified during the Great Leap Forward. Launched in 1958, this campaign mobilized the masses to intensify China's economic growth—the result produced disastrous consequences: a famine of such magnitude, it was unprecedented in China's own famine-stricken history. Scholars say about 20-30 million people died.⁵ Others put the figure much higher.

After Deng came to power, he initiated the "four modernizations" to revive China's stagnant economy. In 1987, as a part of this drive, Deng said: "Tibet is sparsely populated. Two million Tibetans are not enough to handle the task of developing such a huge region. There is no harm in sending Han into Tibet to help... and move ahead in the four modernizations in China."⁶

As part of his four modernizations drive, Deng also demolished the commune system and allowed peasants the right to private ownership of wealth. This led to an increased agricultural output, which in turn produced a huge surplus in rural labour — the floating population. Millions of peasants, freed from the commune system, and unable to find jobs on their own in the rural areas because of increased mechanization of agriculture, drifted to urban China. Seeing such an exodus into cities as a threat to social stability, the Chinese authorities planned a step-by-step migration to the border regions of Xinjiang, Gansu and Tibet, including Tibetan areas in Gansu, Qinghai, Yunnan and Sichuan. It was estimated that this vast region could absorb more than 100 million migrant Chinese workers.⁷ These Chinese workers did indeed flock to sparsely-populated Tibet, to Tibetan urban areas like Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo and Gormo and to urban centres in eastern and north-eastern Tibet.

According to *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*, the Chinese population transfer to the 'TAR' was carried out in earnest in the 1980s when Beijing launched the campaign to 'Help Tibet Prosper'. In May 1984, Radio Beijing reported that, "Over 60,000 workers, representing the vanguard groups to help in the construction work in the TAR, are arriving in Tibet Daily and have started their preliminary work. They will be helping in the

electricity department, schools, hotels, cultural institutions and construction of mills and factories."⁸ Another 60,000 Chinese workers – mainly from Sichuan Province – arrived in the “TAR” in the summer of 1985.⁹ In the same year, there were 50,000 to 60,000 Chinese civilian residents in Lhasa alone, and within three years this figure doubled.¹⁰

The influx of Chinese settlers into the region accelerated in the early 1990s due to Deng Xiaoping's personal encouragement of the migration of large numbers of Chinese 'comrades' into Tibet to 'impart scientific and technological know-how and share their scientific expertise.'¹¹ In January 1991, *Beijing Review* reported that about 300,000 workers were prepared to join the new construction projects in the 'TAR'.¹² In Lhoka alone about 28,000 Chinese settlers arrived between 1987 and 1992. 43,860 arrived in Nagchu between 1986 and 1992.¹³

Around this time Mao Rubai, vice-chairman of the 'TAR' government was quoted as saying that apart from the PLA soldiers and other military personnel stationed in the autonomous region there were one million new Chinese settlers in the 'TAR'.¹⁴

Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years states that the fertile Tibetan areas outside of the 'TAR' have the highest concentration of Chinese migrants. These territories include the whole of Amdo and a substantial portion of Kham. Official Chinese statistics published between 1990 and 1995 show the total population of these regions at 7,742,000—and that Tibetans numbering 2,546,500, constituted about 32.89 per cent, of that total figure.¹⁵

Under various guises such as 'reducing the gap between the eastern provinces and western regions' and maintenance of 'sustained, stable and coordinated growth', population transfer was carried out. In 1992, Chen Kuiyuan, the party boss of 'TAR', even advocated setting up a framework which would allow and encourage extensive Chinese migration.

"We should open Tibet wider to the outside," Chen said. "In other words, we should open Tibet to all countries and regions and open our job market to all fellow countrymen."¹⁶

Around this time, development programmes in Tibet emerged such as the plan to turn Lhasa-Shigatse-Tsethang triangle into a 'bread basket.' Elsewhere in 'TAR' and other Tibetan areas, mining, logging of trees and commercial animal husbandry (to raise pigs, ducks and chickens to meet the demand of Chinese settlers in Tibet) were intensified. These economic projects and initiatives were further stepped up after the Third Work Forum on Tibet in 1994, which ushered in economically liberal but politically hard-line policies to assimilate Tibet in the Chinese economic mainstream. The major thrust of the strategy was "to open Tibet's door wide to inner parts of the country and encourage traders, investments, economic units and individuals from China to Central Tibet to run different sorts of enterprises."¹⁷

Massive highway constructions in Tibet and other infrastructural projects like the construction of airports, dams and extensive mining encouraged unskilled labourers from neighbouring provinces like Sichuan to flock into Tibet, transforming Tibetan cities and urban centres into so many Chinatowns.¹⁸

This influx of Chinese migrant workers caused commodities to be in short supply and prices to shoot up. Pressure on the land and Tibetans became so apparent that a high-level Tibetan in 'TAR', remarked in 1992, "There is a little door and a big door. The little door opens to the outside world, and the big door opens to China ...The big door will outweigh the little door, and Tibet is more than ever in danger of being engulfed."¹⁹

With the completion of the Lhasa-Gormo railway line in 2006, the policy of population transfer and resource extraction was expedited. *Tracking the Still Dragon*, a report by the Washington, DC-based International Campaign for Tibet, says the railway line "has had a dramatic impact on the lives of Tibetans and on the land itself. As the 'centrepiece' and most visible symbol of Beijing's plan to develop the western regions of the People's Republic of China, the rail road is accelerating the influx of Chinese people to the plateau, exacerbating the economic marginalisation of Tibetans, and threatening Tibet's fragile high-altitude environment."²⁰

During its first year Lhasa-Gormo railroad transported "1.5 million passengers into Tibet."²¹ The director of 'TAR' Development and Reform Committee, Jin Shixun, stated that over 60 percent of the people coming into Tibet by train were businessmen, students and transient workers and only 40 percent were tourists.

However, according to *Tracking the Still Dragon*, "In 2006 a total of 2.51 million tourists visited 'TAR', almost

matching the reported 2.7 million Tibetan residents in the whole of 'TAR', and this figure is expected to more than double by 2010."²²

Such mass migration into isolated regions after railroad construction follows a pattern seen elsewhere in China. For instance, from 1912 to 1949, the Chinese population of Inner Mongolia increased five-fold after the completion of a railroad from Zhangjiakou in Hebei province to Hohhot, the capital city of Inner Mongolia. By 1949 Chinese outnumbered the Mongolians eleven to one.

Exporting its excess population to the minority regions in the west and importing the region's vast and abundant natural resources to the east was first formulated in China's seventh five-year plan (1986-1991). In her foreword to *The Poverty of Plenty*, a book authored by Wang Xiaoqiang and Bai Nanfeng, Angela Knowx writes, "Based on a model of regional comparative advantage, the plan sees the western regions as the providers of energy and mineral resources, to be used by the central provinces where much of China's energy and defence industry is based, the argument being that the wealth created in this region can later be shared with the west. The plan also provides personnel to be transferred from the east to the west in order to raise the level of technology there... In April 1988 the then party secretary Zhao Ziyang stated, 'Our goal is to seek common prosperity for all nationalities, but this cannot be achieved simultaneously.' For the time being, he said, the west was to supply the raw materials for the development of the east, and in return provide a ready market for the goods the east produces. Raising incomes, increasing marketization and exploiting natural resources in the west are clearly of major importance for this strategy."²³

In fact, in their book, *The Poverty of Plenty*, Wang Xiaoqiang and Bai Nanfeng recommended that the central government create the infrastructures needed to exploit the natural resources of Tibet, East Turkestan (Ch. Xinjiang) and Inner Mongolia to feed the industries of coastal China. They also recommended that urban centres be established in these minority regions to house the Chinese migrant workers involved in resource extraction. This strategy, they hinted, would serve the double purpose of relieving population pressure in China proper and establishing a growing Chinese presence in the minority regions that would serve to stifle separatist trends. Here, then, is China's master plan for the minorities: use the natural resources of minority regions to fuel China proper's economic development while pressing down on the minorities by exporting China's excess population to these regions.²⁴

More than a decade later, China came up with an overall solution to the urgent problems first articulated by Wang and Bai in *The Poverty of Plenty*. According to the London-based Tibet Information Network's publication, *China's Great Leap West*, "President Jiang Zemin launched the Western China Development Programme in a speech he gave in Xian on 17 June 1999. The initial emphasis of the campaign was on the acceleration of development focusing on the western regions, Tibet, which include Tibetan areas outside the autonomous region, Xinjiang, Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan, Shaanxi, Ningxia, Guizhou and the Chongqing municipality, which altogether cover 56 per cent of China's total land mass and 23 per cent of its total population. Party speeches on the subject were little more than lists of ideals and grand plans, devoid of context on implementation or priorities."²⁵

Despite the vagueness of the economic priorities of the Western China Development Programme in the initial announcement, its political motivations were clearly articulated right from the beginning. Party leaders have explicitly linked the success of the campaign to the survival of the party. Jiang Zemin, the president of China, has been quoted as saying that the campaign "has major significance for the future prosperity of the country and the (Party's) long reign and perennial stability."²⁶ On 18 September 2000, Jiang Zemin was quoted by China Daily, as saying that developing the west "will help develop China's economy, stabilise local society and contribute to China's unity."²⁷

But external developments also forced China to speed up the pace of the implementation of its Western China Development Programme. NATO military intervention in the war in Kosovo was perceived by the nervous regime in Beijing as a dangerous precedent set by the West for interference in a nation's internal affairs. Hu Angang, an economist at the Chinese Academy of Sciences, said, "The worst case scenario – and what we are trying to avoid – is China fragmenting like Yugoslavia... Already, regional (economic) disparity is equal to – or worse than – what we saw in Yugoslavia before it split."²⁸

A Chinese economist living in the West, quoted in *China's Great Leap West*, explained it all when he said, "First of all the Chinese authorities are looking at the economic aspect, the western areas are very poor, and the

standard of living needs to be increased. But Beijing is also concerned about the potential for social unrest, due to poverty and nationalistic feelings in areas such as Tibet and Xinjiang. Their real fear is that the west could become another Chechnya. That is the origin of the campaign to develop the west."²⁹

So the solution China came up to solve its pressing political and economic problems in Tibet and elsewhere in the western region was the Western China Development Programme. Hidden behind this facade are the colonial power's greed for continued exploitation of native resources, and its need to control and extinguish indigenous instability. Much of the "development" in the Western China Development Programme consists of construction of infrastructure—building of roads, laying of railway lines, airports and communication facilities—all geared towards facilitating exploitation of the region's abundant natural resources and transporting them to China's resource-hungry coastal seaboard.

It is this aspect of the Western China Development Programme, plus its political motivations and strategies, that deeply concern Tibetans on the plateau. A Tibetan living in Lhasa summed up some of the deeper fears of the development of the west when he told Tibet Information Network, "The western development project aims to transfer large numbers of Chinese for permanent settlement into areas inhabited by minority nationalities, exploit mineral resources, and above all to bear down heavily on people for perceived political intransigence. Contrary to the claims of 'rare opportunity' for the minority nationalities, this campaign represents a period of emergency and darkness."

Indeed, contrary to the officially-expressed benign intentions of the Western China Development Programme, the real reasons and motivations that are driving the Chinese authorities to develop this vast, troublesome region is to ensure that the forces of market economy will succeed in fully integrating its 'Wild West' into China proper.

As a part of its Western China Development Programme, China came up with numerous projects to help migration of the poor or displaced Chinese population to Tibet. One of them, the Western Poverty Reduction Project, include a component to develop agriculture in the Dulan area of Amdo and to relocate 58,000 Chinese settlers there. In 2000, in the face of protests from Tibetans and their international supporters, the World Bank withdrew its US\$40 million loan to this project. China claimed it would go ahead with the resettlement project using its own finances.³⁰

In his book *Written in Blood*, the detained Tibetan author Tashi Rabten or Theurang writes that "each year the number of tourists [from China] increases ... and there are clear signs that a huge number of them are preparing themselves to settle in Tibet."³¹

The impact of this extraordinarily large influx of Chinese migrant workers into Tibet is multiple. The development in infrastructure to facilitate the extraction and transportation of Tibet's abundant and till now untapped natural resources attracts increasing numbers of jobless Chinese workers to the 'TAR' and other Tibetan areas. These Chinese workers benefit from government subsidies and an administration that favours them, in terms of employment, at the expense of Tibetans. Obtaining jobs often entails *guanxi*, "the backdoor" or connections with officials, and also a proficiency in Chinese language, which very few Tibetans possess.³² As a result, *Gongmeng Report* says that there is "a relentless trend of growing disparities" between Tibetan areas and Chinese areas and between urban and rural areas amid the process of rapid modernization and marketization.³³

In order to accommodate this influx of Chinese settlers in Tibet, Beijing has initiated "massive construction schemes and rows upon rows of Chinese barrack-style housing"³⁴ which the authorities term as "a new highland city with national characteristics".³⁵ These uniform structures have appeared in most Tibetan towns and cities and are predominantly populated by fresh Chinese migrant workers and settlers.

In his essay *Tibet Through Chinese Eyes*, highly regarded author Peter Hessler, writes, "In Tibet Sichuanese have helped themselves to a large chunk of the economy. This was clear from the moment I arrived at the Lhasa airport, where thirteen of the sixteen restaurants bordering the entrance advertised Sichuan food. One was Tibetan. Virtually all small business in Lhasa follows this pattern; everywhere I saw Sichuan restaurants and shops. Locals told that 80 percent of Lhasa's Han were Sichuanese ... In front of the Jokhang, the holiest temple in Tibet, rows of stalls sell khataks, the ceremonial scarves that pilgrims use as offerings. It's a job one would expect to see filled by Tibetans [but] all the stalls were run by Sichuanese... There were more than 200 of them — relatives, friends of relatives, relatives of friends — and they had completely filled that niche."³⁶

The vast influx of Chinese migrants, all with the same aim of making quick money, is eroding Tibetan cultural values and Tibet's environment. Perhaps, worst of all outcomes this mass migration of Chinese workers is its daily impact on Tibetans. Day by day, the Tibetan's traditional way of life, their values and outlooks, are negatively affected. The impact of this cultural invasion cannot be overstated. It is reflected in changing habits, in the decreasing use of Tibetan language, and in the new and much transformed urban landscape. Adjustment to the cultural influence of this "new majority" comes at the cost of Tibetan identity and culture.³⁷

Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years sums up China's rule in Tibet in the following words, "Earlier communist China looked at Tibet more from a geopolitical and security perspective. Now coupled with this enduring imperial reason for staying put in Tibet, an economically vibrant China looks to Tibet as the best source for coastal China's galloping demand for energy, fuel and water. The devastating impact of this change in attitude toward Tibet is already felt in Tibet as Tibetans, unable to compete with more skilled Chinese settlers, are increasingly marginalised by the forces of globalisation unleashed on the roof of the world. Having lost their country, Tibetans in increasing number are losing their jobs and their future to the Chinese settlers streaming to Tibet to take advantage of the economic boom."³⁸

Mining Tibet - Mineral Exploitation in Tibetan Areas of the PRC, a report by the London-based Tibet Information Network, published in 2002, asserts, "Many Tibetans see the immigration of large numbers of Chinese into Tibetan areas as the most serious threat to their land and resources and to traditional Tibetan livelihoods and culture."³⁹

LhasangTsering, a Tibetan writer and activist, says in *The Sun Behind the Cloud*, a documentary on the Tibetan struggle for freedom by Ritu Sarin and Tenzin Sonam, two veteran filmmakers: "I do not see we have that long before we reach the point of no return. I am not saying all Tibetans are going to disappear but by then there will be so many Chinese in Tibet, it will be no longer realistic for the Tibetan people to regain a Tibet for Tibetans. What has happened to the native Americans, to the native Australians, is happening in Tibet."⁴⁰

As stated in the introduction, given these realities, it is only natural for Tibetans to believe, as many do in Tibet, that China wants Tibet and not the Tibetans.

Abbreviation

TIBET	Tibet in this report refers to the entire Tibetan Plateau comprising of the three traditional Tibetan provinces of Central Tibet, Kham and Amdo. Major parts of Kham and Amdo are incorporated into various Chinese provinces such as Sichuan, Yunnan and Gansu by Beijing since its occupation of Tibet. Amdo has been made into a separate province and renamed as Qinghai.
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DMC	Democratic Management Committee
ICJ	International Commission of Jurists
ICT	International Campaign for Tibet
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PAP	People's Armed Police
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSB	Public Security Bureau
TAR	Tibet Autonomous Region
TIN	Tibet Information Network

FOOTNOTE

Political Repression: Chinese Communist Leaders' View of Tibet

- 1 *My Land and My People*. p.118
- 2 *The Struggle for Tibet*. p.166
- 3 *DusRabsGsar par SkyodPa'iGserZam(A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era)* p.74
- 4 *ibid* p.66
- 5 *Tibet – Human Rights and Rule of Law*.International Commission of Jurists.p. 109.
- 6 TIN NEWS, Review No. 25 *Reports from Tibet* 1996
- 7 *ibid*
- 8 Speech made at the 6th 'TAR' Political Consultative Conference. 14 May 1996
- 9 Speech made at the 'TAR' Party Committee. 8 November 1997
- 10 *The Struggle for Tibet*. p.175
- 11 Jiang's speech at the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Working Meeting on religious Affairs. 12 December 2001.
- 12 Speech by the then Vice-president Hu Jintao at the 50th anniversary of Tibet's 'liberation.' 19 July 2001. Available at: <http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/20010719/431559.htm>
- 13 *ibid*
- 14 Kashag's speech on Tibetan Democracy Day, 2 September 2000.
- 15 *Interview with Tibet's Communist Party Chief*. Der Spiegel. 16 August 2006.
- 16 *Al Jazeera*. Available at: <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/asia-pacific/2010/03/201031085048872552.html>
- 17 *Facts About the 17-point "Agreement" Between Tibet and China*.DIIR.Dharamsala. 22 May 2001.
- 18 *Constitution of the People's Republic of China*
- 19 For more see *Religion in China Today* (edited by Donald MacInnis) in which the full document is reprinted. pp.8-26
- 20 *Circle of Protest – political ritual in the Tibetan uprising* by Ronald D. Schwartz in which the full document is reprinted. pp.235-43
- 21 *dusrabsgsar par skyodpa'igserzam (A Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era)*. A document issued after the Third Work Forum on Tibet was held from 20-23 July 1994, which marked a clear move towards a hardline policy regarding Tibetan religion, culture and intellectual freedom. The First Work Forum was held in 1980, and the Second in 1984.
- 22 *Cutting Off the Serpent's Head*, in which the full document is printed, including those passages that were omitted from the public version. pp.150-68
- 23 The full document in Chinese is available at: www.sohu.com/20070802/n251386214.shtml Although the document does not mention the Dalai Lama by name, it can be clearly inferred from "those [reincarnations] with a particularly great impact shall be reported to the State Council for approval" meaning that the highest authority in the PRC will interfere in the selection of the future Dalai Lama
- 24 Full text of the *Order No. 2* or "Measures for dealing strictly with rebellious monasteries and individual monks and nuns" is available in *Tibet at a Turning Point: The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown*. pp.137-139

Cultural Assimilation: Destruction of Tibetan Buddhism

- 1 *Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* by Karl Marx
- 2 *Lenin Collected Works*. Progress Publishers. 1965. Moscow. Volume 10. p.83
- 3 *My Land My People*. p.118

- 4 *The Nationalities Policy of the CCP* by W. Smith in *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*. p.61
- 5 *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law* by International Commission of Jurists. 1959.
- 6 *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*. p.276
- 7 *Mao: The Unknown Story*. p.556
- 8 Personal correspondences with Arjia Rinpoche
- 9 *A Poisoned Arrow: The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama*. p.9
- 10 *ibid* p.26
- 11 *ibid* p.55
- 12 *ibid* p.52
- 13 See *Buddha's Warrior*. p.165
- 14 *ibid*
- 15 *The End of Tibetan Buddhism* by Wang Lixiong in *The Struggle for Tibet*.pp.147-189
- 16 *ibid*
- 17 *Dragon In the Land of Snow*.pp.320-21
- 18 *My Life My Culture*. p.45
- 29 *Dragon In the Land of Snow*. p.316
- 20 See *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*; also see *Authenticating Tibet*
- 21 *Search for JowoMikyoDorjee*. p.6
- 22 For more see *Memoirs of KeutsangTulku*.
- 23 *Fire Under Snow: True Story of a Tibetan Monk*. pp.66-67
- 24 For more on DMC see *A Poison Arrow*. p.52; *Forbidden Freedom: Beijing's Control of Religion in Tibet*. pp.24-30; and *Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era*. p.80
- 25 *Forbidden Freedom: Beijing's Control of Religion in Tibet*. p.26
- 26 *Golden Bridge Leading to New Era*. p.74
- 27 *ibid* p.80
- 28 *ibid*. pp65-67
- 29 *Xinhua News*.30 June 2000
- 30 *Strike Hard'' Campaign: China's Crackdown on Political Dissidence*. p.27. For more see *The Communist Party as Living Buddha: The Crisis Facing Tibetan Religion Under Chinese Control*. p.108
- 31 *Golden Bridge...* p.77
- 32 For more see *Tibet At a Turnign Point*. p.75
- 33 *Tibet Daily*. 18 April 2001.
- 34 For more on Larung Gar destruction and KhenpoJigmePhuntsok see *Destruction of SertharInstitute : A special report*. TCHRD. Available at:
[http://www.tchrd.org/publications/topical_reports/destruction_of_serthar-2002/andJigmePhuntsok: Buddhist monk whose settlement at Larung Gar in Tibet attracted thousands until it was brutally destroyed by the Chinese. 12 January 2004. Available at:http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article992925.ece](http://www.tchrd.org/publications/topical_reports/destruction_of_serthar-2002/andJigmePhuntsok:Buddhist_monk_whose_settlement_at_Larung_Gar_in_Tibet_attracted_thousands_until_it_was_brutally_destroyed_by_the_Chinese.12_January_2004.Available_at:http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article992925.ece)
- 35 For more on Tulku Tenzin Delek see *Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The Case of Tenzin Delek*, vol.16, no.1, February 2004. www.hrw.org/reports/2004/china204/index.htm. and *Unjust Sentence*. TCHRD available at www.tchrd.org/publications/topical_reports/unjust_sentence-trulku_tenzin_delek-2004/trulku.pdf
- 36 *Annual Report 2009* by United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. p.75
- 37 Congressional-Executive Commission on China.*2007 Annual Report*;

38 Crackdown by the Chinese authorities has increased since 2008 not only on religious leaders but also on public intellectuals such as writers, singers and others who are involved in social services such as starting an orphanages etc. see *A Raging Storm: The Crackdown on Tibetan Writers and Artistes after Tibet's Spring 2008 Protests*

39 For more see *Colossal Guru Rinpoche's statue demolished in Tibet: China's new religious affairs regulations for 'TAR' entered into force*. TCHRD. June 2007. Available at:

http://www.tchrd.org/publications/hr_updates/2007/hr200706.pdf and *Demolition giant Buddha statue at Tibetan monastery confirmed by China*. ITC. Available at:

<http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/demolition-giant-buddha-statue-tibetan-monastery-confirmed-china>

40 *Order No. Five* issued by the State Religious Affairs Bureau of PRC. 18 July 2007.

41 Personal correspondences with Arjia Rinpoche

42 See *The End of Tibetan Buddhism* by Wang Lixiong in *The Struggle for Tibet*.

43 *An Investigative Report Into the Social and Economic Causes of the 3.14 Incident in Tibetan Areas*. Gongmeng Law Research Center.

44 *ibid*

45 *Golden Bridge...* p.75

46 Questions of the first term examination for the nuns of Tsamkhung Nunnery "in order to deepen the Patriotic Education." The test paper (2006) contains 30 questions on various issues such as religion, politics and how to 'oppose the Dalai clique' etc.

47 *The "Strike Hard" Campaign: China's crackdown on political dissidence*. p.22

48 *Communist Party as Living Buddha*. p.107

49 *Tibet at a Turning Point: The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown*. p.75

50 *ibid* p.137

51 *ibid* p.88

52 *ibid* pp.137-38

53 *ibid* p.139

54 VOT radio broadcast. 23 July 2010. www.vot.org

55 *The Struggle for Tibet* pp.147-189

56 *Stick Out Your Tongue*. p.84

57 *A Poisoned Arrow*. p.105

58 *Social Evils: Prostitution and Pornography in Tibet*. TIN. Also see **Days of Debauchery** in *Tibetan Bulletin*. January-April 2000.

Social Discrimination: Strangling the Tibetan Language

1 *Politicisation and the Tibetan Language* by TseringShakya in *Resistance and Reform*. p.159

2 *Education in Tibet: policy and practice since 1950*. p.20

3 *Sum rtagsmtha' dpyadlas bod kyispyiskadskor*. pp 17-34

4 *Life In the Red Flag People's Commune*. p.23

5 *Education in Tibet*. p.38

6 *ibid*

7 *ibid* p.21

8 For more see *The Chinese Frontiersman and the Winter Worms – Chen Kuiyuan* In *the TAR, 1992-2000*

9 Full text of the speech is available in *Education in Tibet*. pp.272-279

10 ibid

11 ibid

12 ibid

13 As quoted in *Cutting Off the Serpent's Head: Tightening Control in Tibet*

14 *Golden Bridge Leading to a New Era*. p.40

15 For more on this see *Education in Tibet*. pp 53-54; also see *China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalization and Rising Tension* by Human Rights in China. p.29

16 A moderate estimate number of Tibetans who have escaped into exile is over 80,000 since the 1980s. About two to three thousand refugees come from Tibet each year. However, the number has dramatically reduced since 2008 due to strict border patrolling by the Chinese authorities.

17 *Gongmeng Report* or *An Investigative Report into the Social and Economic Causes of the 3.14 Incident in Tibetan Areas*.

18 ibid

19 ibid

20 ibid

21 *We Have Our Own Religious Symbols, Our Own Culture and History* by Woenser. Available at: www.highpeakspureearth.com/2010/02/we-have-our-own-religious-totems-our.html

22 ibid

23 *Tibet Through Chinese Eyes* (part 1, 2 & 3) by Peter Hessler published and available on *The Atlantic Online* www.theatlantic.com

24 see *Gongmeng Report*

25 ibid

26 *Trag-Yigor Written in Blood*. p.110

27 as quoted in *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*. p.40

28 ibid p.41

29 ibid

30 *China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalization and Rising Tension* by Human Rights in China. pp.18-19

31 ibid pp.26-31

32 For more see *The Chinese Frontiersman and Winter Worm*

33 ibid

34 For more on Woenser see www.nytimes.com/2009/04/25/world/asia/25woenser.html

35 See <http://www.pen.org/viewmedia.php/prmMID/1919/prmID/172>

36 *A 'Raging Storm': The Crackdown on Tibetan and Artists After Tibet's Spring 2008 Protests*

37 ibid

38 ibid

39 ibid

40 *Race Against Time to Save Manchu Language*. Available at: www.china.org.cn/english/culture/167537.htm Also see *Mustering the Strength to Save Manchu*. Available at: <http://tyglobalist.org/index.php/20090105171/focus/Mustering-the-Strength-to-Save-Manchu.html>

41 ibid

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43 ibid

Environmental Destruction: Tibetan Nomads and Ending Their Way of Life

1 *The Nationalities Policy of the CCP* by Warren Smith in *Resistance and Reform*. p.65

2 *ibid* p.66

3 Full text of *Communalization in a Single Stride* is available in *A Poisoned Arrow*.pp.161-163

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *A Poisoned Arrow*. p.10

7 *ibid* p.110

8 For more see *Tibet Under Chinese Communist Rule: A Compilation of Refugee Statements 1958-1975*. p.119 and p.122

9 *A Poisoned Arrow*. p.30

10 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*. p.17

11 *ibid*

12 *Northern Tibet Grassland Takes on a New Look*. 19 May 2009. Available at www.eng.tibet.cn/news/today/200905/t20090519_477226_1.htm.

13 for a detailed report on the traditional Tibetan environmental protection see *High Sanctuary, wildlife and nature conservatory in Old Tibet* by JamyangNorbu. 6 December 2009. Available at www.shadowtibet.com. Also see *Ecological Responsibility: a dialogue with Buddhism* edited by Julia Martin

14 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*. p.3

15 *ibid* pp.3-4

16 *ibid*p.3

17 *ibid* p.27

18 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*. p.35

19 *Constructing a green railway on the Tibet Plateau: Evaluating the effectiveness of mitigation measure*. Available at www.elsevier.com/locate/trd

20 *ibid*

21 *ibid*

22 For more on this see *Mining in Tibet*. pp.77-114; *Tracking the Steel Dragon*.pp.61-72; *The Political Economy of Boomerang Aid in China's Tibet* by Andrew Fischer in *CHINA Perspective*. No. 2009/3

23 *Perversities of Extreme Dependence and Unequal Growth in TAR*.Tibet Watch Special Report August 2007.

24 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*.pp.39-44

25 *Politicisation and the Tibetan Language* by Warren Smith in *Resistance and Reform*. p.159

26 For a detailed report on the traditional Tibetan environmental protection see *High Sanctuary, wildlife and nature conservatory in Old Tibet* by JamyangNorbu. 6 December 2009. Available at: www.shadowtibet.com; Also see *Ecological Responsibility: A Dialogue with Buddhism* edited by Julia Martin

27 Morton, Katherine.*Climate Change on the Tibetan Plateau: A New Security Challenge*. Woodrow Wilson Center. Washington DC. 12 February, 2009 available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/ondemand/index.cfm?fuseaction=Media.play&mediaid=A98B9EA0-B257-1FBB-7079F3FB8A24667F>

28 See at <http://chinatibet.people.com.cn/6829088.html>

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30 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*.pp.57-64

31 *ibid* p. 49; also see *The Struggle for Tibet*. pp.160-168; *Fungus gold rush in Tibetan plateau rebuilding lives after earthquake* by Jonathan Watts. 17 June 2010. The Guardian. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2010/jun/17/fungus-tibetan-plateau>

32 *Fungus gold rush in Tibetan plateau rebuilding lives after earthquake*. The Guardian. 17 June 2010.

33 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*. pp.64-71

34 *ibid* p.69

35 *Tibetan Nomads in a Fix?* By Anthony Kuhn. *Tibetan Bulletin*. July-September 2002.

36 *No One has the Liberty to Refuse*. pp.31-59

37 *12 Northern Tibet Grassland Takes on a New Look*. 19 May 2009. Available at: www.eng.tibet.cn/news/today/200905/t20090519_477226_1.htm.

38 For more see *Drokpa in Peril*; and *Pastoral-Nomadism of Tibet: between Tradition and Modernization*. *Tibetan Bulletin*. September-December. 2000

Economic Marginalisation: Population Transfer and Western China Development Programme

1 *Mao: The Unknown Story*. p.552

2 *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*. p.45

3 *Tibet and the People's Republic: a report to the International Commission of Jurists*. p.289

4 *New Majority: Chinese Population Transfer Into Tibet*. p.38

5 For more see *Hungry Ghosts: China's Secret Famine*

6 Peter Hessler's *Tibet Through Chinese Eyes* published in *The Atlantic Online*. February 1999. Available at: www.atlantic.com

7 *New Majority: Chinese Population Transfer into Tibet*. p.47

8 *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*. p.47

9 *ibid*

10 *ibid*

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12 *Beijing Review*. January 21-27 1991.

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14 *Response to Beijing's Comments on De-militarization and 'Ethnic Cleansing'*. 5 September 2009. Available at: www.tibet.net

15 *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*. p.47

16 *New Majority: Chinese Population Transfer into Tibet*. p.54

17 For more see *Cutting Off Serpent's Head*. TIN/HRW. 1996; and *Tibet: Human Rights and Rule of Law*. ICJ. 1997.

18 For more see *Destruction by Design: Housing Rights Violations in Tibet* by Scott Leckie

19 *New Majority*. p.55

20 *Tracking the Steel Dragon*. p.9

21 *ibid* p.37

22 'The Second Invasion' in *Tracking the Steel Dragon*. pp.37-60

23 *The Poverty of Plenty*.

24 *ibid* xiii

25 *China's Great Leap Westward*. p.5

27 *ibid* p.6

27 *ibid*; also see *China Daily*. 18 September 2000

28 *Newsweek International*. 2 July 2000.

29 *Height of Darkness: Chinese Colonialism on the World's Roof*. 10 December 2001.

30 *Tibetan Bulletin*. July-August 2000.

31 *Written in Blood*. pp.105-108

32 For more see *New Majority*

33 *An Investigative Report Into the Social and Economic Causes of the 3.14 Incident in Tibetan Areas*. Gongmeng Law Research Center.

34 *Tibet Daily*. 27 February 1991.

35 *Destruction by Design: Housing Rights Violations in Tibet*. pp.85-113

36 *Tibet Through Chinese Eyes* (part 1, 2 & 3) by Peter Hessler. Available at: *The Atlantic Online* www.theatlantic.com

37 *New Majority: Chinese Population Transfer into Tibet*. pp.101-145

38 *Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years*. p.i

39 *Mining in Tibet – mineral exploitation in Tibetan areas of the PRC*. p.84

40 LhasangTsering in *Sun Behind the Cloud*, a documentary on Tibetan struggle for freedom by TenzingSonam and RituSarin

**Factsheet on Self-Immolation Protest Inside Tibet Since
27 February 2009**

Factsheet on Self-Immolation Protest inside Tibet since 27 February 2009

1. Name: Tapey

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Age: 20

Parents: Father Rabten & Mother Mekho

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: February 27, 2009

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

2. Name: Lobsang Phuntsok

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 21

Parents: Father Tsering Tashi & Mother Dzogkar

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 16, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on March 17, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibet is independent.

3. Name: Tsewang Norbu

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Nyitso Monastery

Birth Place: Tawu (Ch: Daofu), Kardze TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 29

Parents: Father Tsognyi & Mother Chhogleg

Location of incident: Tawu county, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 15, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on August 15, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Invite our root guru His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet and we Tibetans are being disdained.

4. Name: Lobsang Konchok

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Tsegye & Mother Tsegetsang

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: September 26, 2011

Current Situation: Alive (Serious condition after amputation of legs and arms)

Aspirations/slogans: The Chinese government never gives happiness, freedom and human rights to Tibetans inside Tibet.

5. Name: Lobsang Kelsang

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Tsering Tashi & Mother Dzogkar

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: September 26, 2011

Current Situation: Alive (Legs amputated, no further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Religious freedom in Tibet.

6. Name: Kelsang Wangchuk

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 17

Parents: Father Tsurdri & Mother Dechok

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 3, 2011

Current Situation: Alive (Permanently paralyzed after spinal cord injury)

Aspirations/slogans: Held the portrait of His Holiness the Dalai Lama while immolating himself.

7. Name: Choephel

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Jigri & Mother Jigritsang

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 7, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on October 11, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet, Equality to nationality and Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

8. Name: Khaying

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Kelsang & Mother Sangpotsang

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 7, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on October 8, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet and Human Rights to Tibetans.

9. Name: Norbu Damdul

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Pema Tsang

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 15, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on January 5, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

10. Name: Tenzin Wangmo

Gender: Female

Occupation: Nun of Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Nyitse

Location of incident: Sumdo bridge located below Mamae nunnery, approximately 3 km outside of Ngaba county town, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 17, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on October 17, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom of religion in Tibet.

11. Name: Dawa Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kardze Monastery

Birth Place: Kardze TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 38

Parents: Father Delek & Mother Doltso

Location of incident: Kardze county, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: October 25, 2011

Current Situation: Alive (Recovering from burn injuries.)

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet, Equality to nationality and Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

12. Name: Palden Choetso

Gender: Female

Occupation: Nun of Gaden Choeling Nunnery, Tawu

Birth Place: Tawu, Kardze TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 35

Parents: Father Joney & Mother Konlang

Location of incident: Tawu (also known as Dawu) county in Kardze, Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 3, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on November 3, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: Freedom in Tibet, Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

13. Name: Tenzin Phuntsok

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Karma Monastery, Chamdo

Birth Place: Chamdo TAP, TAR

Age: 46

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Chamdo (Chengdu/Qamdo) prefecture in TAR

Date of Incident: December 1, 2011

Current Situation: Passed away on December 6, 2011

Aspirations/slogans: May Gyalwa Tenzin Gyatso knows! (His Holiness the Dalai Lama)

14. Name: Tsultrim

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Tenkho & Mother Ghokhotsang

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: January 6, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on January 7, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

15. Name: Tennyi

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Yarphel

Location of incident: Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: January 6, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on January 6, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

16. Name: Sonam Wangyal/ Soebe

Gender: Male

Occupation: Trulku, Darlag Monastery

Birth Place: Golog TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 42

Parents: Father Soekyab & Mother Drukthe

Location of incident: Darlag County, Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: January 8, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on January 8, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet and There is no religious freedom in Tibet.

17. Name: Lobsang Jamyang

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Andu Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 22

Parents: Father Gyatso & Mother Lhachung

Location of incident: Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: January 14, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on January 16, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and freedom in Tibet.

18. Name: Rigzin Dorje or Rigbe

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Garpa Tsonkho & Mother Dzungkar

Location of incident: Ngaba County, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: February 8, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on February 21, 2012

19. Name: Sonam Rabyang

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lab Monastery, Tridu County, Yushul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Birth Place: Tridu county, Yushul TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 42

Parents: Father Phuntsok Kyab & Mother Konchok Wangmo

Location of incident: Triwang (Chen wen) town, the capital of Tridu county, Yushul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: February 18, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

20. Name: Tenzin Choedon

Gender: Female

Occupation: Nun of Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery, Ngaba County.

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Lopay & Mother Tsepo

Location of incident: Sumdo bridge located below Mamae nunnery, approximately 3 km outside of Ngaba county town, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: February 11, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on February 11, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom in Tibet.

21. Name: Lobsang Gyatso

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Badzri & Mother Pekar

Location of incident: Main Street of the Ngaba county town, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: February 13, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

22. Name: Dhamchoe Sangpo

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Bongthak Monastery

Birth Place: Themchen County, Tsonub TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 38

Parents: Father Taklha

Location of incident: Themchen (Tianjun) county town, Tsonub Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: February 17, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on February 17, 2012

23. Name: Nangdrol

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lay man

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Chensig & Mother Nyingmo

Location of incident: Near Jonang Dzamthang Monastery Samdrup Norbu Ling, Dzamthang (Langtang), Ngaba TAP, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: February 19, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on February 19, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Sacrificing life for Snow land of Tibet.

24. Name: Tsering Kyi

Gender: Female

Occupation: Tibetan Middle school student, Machu (Maqu), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Birth Place: Machu county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Sonam Yeshe & Mother Lhayang

Location of incident: Vegetable market of Machu town in Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: March 3, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 3, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Chinese government should give freedoms in Tibet.

25. Name: Rinchen

Gender: Female

Occupation: Mother of four children

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 32

Parents: Father Rana & Mother Lhakho

Location of incident: Near military camp located 1.5 km from Kirti monastery, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 4, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 4, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom in Tibet.

26. Name: Dorjee

Gender: Male

Occupation: Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Chacha

Location of incident: Local government office in Cha Ruwa, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 5, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 5, 2012

27. Name: Gepey

Gender: Male

Occupation: Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Chhagdor & Mother Chhakho

Location of incident: Near military camp located 1.5 km from Kirti monastery, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 10, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 10, 2012

28. Name: Jamyang Palden

Gender: Male

Occupation: Rongpo Monastery, Rebkong (Chi: Tongren)

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 34

Parents: Father Konchok Kyab & Mother Chakmo

Location of incident: Dolma Square, Near Rongpo monastery, Rebkong, Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: March 14, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on September 29, 2012

29. Name: Lobsang Tsultrim

Gender: Male

Occupation: Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Yeshe & Mother Tsedron

Location of incident: Main road in the upper part of Ngaba county town, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 16, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 19, 2012

30. Name: Sonam Dhargye

Gender: Male

Occupation: Farmer

Birth Place: Rebkong (Ch: Tongren) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 44

Parents: Father Shamo & Mother Chagmo Gyal

Location of incident: Middle of street in Rongpo town, Rebkong (Chin: Tongren) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: March 17, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 17, 2012

31. Name: Lobsang Sherab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Ganden Tenpelung Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Soedhen & Mother Nyima

Location of incident: Main road of Cha Ruwa, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 28, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 28, 2012

32. Name: Tenpa Dhargye

Gender: Male

Occupation: Studied both at Gyalrong Tsodhun monastery and Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Barkham county, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 22

Parents: Father Kalden & Mother Peltso

Location of incident: Barkham (Chin: Ma'erkang), Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 30, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on April 7, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Opposing violent policy of Chinese government to annihilate Tibetan nationality.

33. Name: Chimey Palden

Gender: Male

Occupation: Tsodun Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 21

Parents: Father Rabgye & Mother Machig Tso

Location of incident: Outside the prefectural government office in Barkham, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: March 30, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on March 30, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Opposing violent policy of Chinese government to annihilate Tibetan nationality.

34. Name: Choephag Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lay man

Birth Place: Dzamthang county (Ch: Lantang), Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 25

Parents: Father Sungthar & Mother Penay

Location of incident: Near Local government office in Barma township near Jonang Dzamthang monastery in Tibetan area of Dzamthang (Chin: Rangtang), Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: April 19, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on April 19, 2012

Last will of both Choephag Kyab and Sonam (below 35) are:

“No human rights and freedom to Tibetans is more painful than burning one’s body. For the freedom of Tibet, spread of Buddhism and peace in the world, we sacrifice our bodies”.

35. Name: Sonam

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lay man

Birth Place: Dzamthang county (Ch: Lantang), Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Dhonri & Mother Semkyi

Location of incident: Near Local government office in Barma township near Jonang Dzamthang monastery in Tibetan area of Dzamthang (Chin: Rangtang), Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: April 19, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on April 19, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Last will of both Choephag Kyab (above 34) and Sonam are:

“No human rights and freedom to Tibetans is more painful than burning one’s body. For the freedom of Tibet, spread of Buddhism and peace in the world, we sacrifice our bodies”.

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36. Name: Dorjee Tseten

Gender: Male

Occupation: Cook in one Tibetan restaurant in Lhasa

Birth Place: Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Bandhe Khar & Mother Dolkar Kyi

Location of incident: Outside of the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, TAR

Date of Incident: May 27, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on May 27, 2012

37. Name: Dhargye

Gender: Male

Occupation: Cook in one Tibetan restaurant in Lhasa

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 25

Parents: Father Lodhe & Mother Shekyi

Location of incident: Outside of the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, TAR

Date of Incident: May 27, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

38. Name: Rikyo

Gender: Female

Occupation: Nomad & mother of three children

Birth Place: Dzamthang county (Ch: Lantang), Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 36

Parents: Father Chhuglo & Mother Rinlha

Location of incident: Near Jonang Dzamthang Monastery, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: May 30, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on May 30, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Tibetans should be united and study Tibetan culture.

39. Name: Tamding Thar

Gender: Male

Occupation: Businessman

Birth Place: Chentsa (Jiangza) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 64

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: In front of the People's Armed Police base in Chentsa (Jianza) county, Malhi TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: June 15, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on June 15, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Request for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and To protect the land of Tibet, I offer my body.

40. Name: Ngawang Norphel

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lay man

Birth Place: Nyalam (Ch: Nielamu) county, Shigatse TAP, TAR

Age: 22

Parents: Father Lhakpa Dhondup & Mother Tsering Yangchen

Location of incident: Dzatoe (Chin: Zaduo) township, Yulshul TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: June 20, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on July 30, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Independence for Tibet and Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

41. Name: Tenzin Khedup

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Silkar Monastery, Yushul TAP

Birth Place: Tridu county, Yushul TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Lhakdup & Mother Kyizom

Location of incident: Dzatoe (Chin: Zaduo) township, Yulshul TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: June 20, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on June 20, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Independence for Tibet and Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

42. Name: Dekyi chozom

Gender: Female

Occupation: Businesswoman and mother of two children

Birth Place: Yushul TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 40

Parents: Father Pema Dhondup

Location of incident: Near Dhondupling Monastery in Kyegudo town, Yushul TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: June 27, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Opposing Chinese government's policy of seizing Tibetan people's land and houses.

43. Name: Tsewang Dorjee

Gender: Male

Occupation: Merchant from Central Tibet

Birth Place: Damshung (Ch: Dangxiong), Lhasa Municipality, TAR

Age: 22

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Damshung, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR)

Date of Incident: July 7, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on July 10, 2012

44. Name: Lobsang Lozin

Gender: Male

Occupation: Gedhen Tashi Choeling Monastery

Birth Place: Barkham county (Ch: Ma'erkang), Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Jorgyal & Mother Tsebho

Location of incident: In front of the monastery's main assembly hall and walked towards the township government office, North of Barkham county, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: July 17, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on July 17, 2012

45. Name: Lobsang Tsultrim

Gender: Male

Occupation: Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 21

Parents: Father Wangtse & Mother Dolkar Kyi

Location of incident: Main street towards the office building of the Forestry Department, Ngaba county, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 6, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 6, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Kyabje Kirti Rinpoche to Tibet and School of Kirti monastery should be opened.

46. Name: Dolkar Tso

Gender: Female

Occupation: Farmer & mother of two children

Birth Place: Tsoe city (Ch: Hezuo), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 26

Parents: Father Druk Gyalkhar & Mother Sangye Tso

Location of incident: Near White Stupa at Tsoe Gaden Choeling Monaster in Tsoe (Chin: Hezuo) city, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: August 7, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 7, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and No freedom to Tibetans.

47. Name: Choepa

Gender: Male

Occupation: Lay man

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Palho & Mother Madon

Location of incident: In Barkham (Ma'erkang) County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 10, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 10, 2012

48. Name: Tashi

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 21

Parents: Father Lhawang & Mother Ngapo

Location of incident: Prayer wheel enclosure on the monastery's perimeter, Kirti monastery, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 13, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 14, 2012

49. Name: Lungtok

Gender: Male

Occupation: Student monk of the Kirti monastery's medical college, Ngaba

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Richhung & Mother Lumo

Location of incident: Prayer wheel enclosure on the monastery's perimeter, Kirti monastery, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 13, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 13, 2012

50. Name: Lobsang Kelsang

Gender: Male

Occupation: Monk of Kirti Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Tsekho Dorjee & Mother Sangye Don

Location of incident: Near the eastern gate of the Kirti monastery, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 27, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 27, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Freedom of religion in Tibet.

51. Name: Dhamchoe

Gender: Male

Occupation: Former monk of the Kirti Monastery and currently nomad

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 17

Parents: Father Doshi Lobe & Mother Tsepo

Location of incident: Near the eastern gate of the Kirti monastery, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: August 27, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on August 27, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Freedom of religion in Tibet.

52. Name: Yungdrung

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Karma Yutso village, Chamdo county, Chamdo TAP, TAR

Age: 27

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Main road in Dzato county town, Yulshul TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: September 29, 2012

Current Situation: Unknown

Aspirations/slogans: Tibet is independent; Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Gyalwa Karmapa to Tibet, Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dr. Lobsang Sangay is Tibet's king and stop mining inside Tibet.

53. Name: Gudrup

Gender: Male

Occupation: Writer

Birth Place: Driru (Ch: Biru) county, Nagchu TAP, TAR

Age: 43

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Driru (Biru) County, Nagchu Prefecture, TAR

Date of Incident: October 4, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 4, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, No freedom in Tibet and Need Freedom in Tibet.

54. Name: Sangye Gyatso

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Tsoe city (Hezuo), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 27

Parents: Father Gonpo Dhondup & Mother Gonpo Tso

Location of incident: Near local monastery in Tsoe city (Chin: Hezuo), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: October 6, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 6, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom of language and religion in Tibet.

55. Name: Tamding Dorjee

Gender: Male

Occupation: Grandfather of a prominent young Tibetan reincarnate lama at Labrang Tashikhyil monastery

Birth Place: Tsoe city (Hezuo), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 52

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Near White Stupa beside Tsoe Gaden Choeling monastery in Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: October 13, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 13, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

56. Name: Lhamo Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Father of two children

Birth Place: Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 27

Parents: Father Topdhen & Mother Nyingmo Thar

Location of incident: Near Bora monastery Sangchu (Chin: Xiahe) county, Kanlho Prefecture, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: October 20, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 20, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Independence for Tibet, Release Panchen Lama and Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

57. Name: Dhondup

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 60

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: At the side of a temple called Serkhang in Labrang Tashikhyil monastery in Kanlho TAP in Gansu Province.

Date of Incident: October 22, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 22, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

58. Name: Dorjee Rinchen

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Sangchu county (Ch: Xihae), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 57

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Near the military camp and in front of the Gyugya market on the main street of Labrang in Kanlho TAP in Gansu Province

Date of Incident: October 23, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 23, 2012

59. Name: Tsepo

Gender: Male

Occupation: Bankar Monastery, Driru county, Nagchu TAP, TAR

Birth Place: Driru county (Ch: Biru), Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) TAP, TAR

Age: 20

Parents: Father Bhuchung & Mother Gaga

Location of incident: Near government building in Nagchu (Chin: Naqu) TAP, TAR

Date of Incident: October 25, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 25, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Independent Tibet, Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Unity among Tibetans.

60. Name: Tenzin

Gender: Male

Occupation: Bankar Monastery, Driru county, Nagchu TAP, TAR

Birth Place: Driru county (Ch: Biru), Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) TAP, TAR

Age: 25

Parents: Father Nyima & Mother Lugge

Location of incident: Near government building in Nagchu (Chin: Naqu) TAP, TAR

Date of Incident: October 25, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Independent Tibet, Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Unity among Tibetans.

61. Name: Lhamo Tseten

Gender: Male

Occupation: (Father of one child)

Birth Place: Sangchu County (Ch: Xihae), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Namchuk Tsering & Mother Sungdue Kyi

Location of incident: In front of the local military base and township administration in Amchok, Sangchu county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: October 26, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 26, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

62. Name: Thubwang Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation:

Birth Place: Ruming Village, Labrang, Sangchu county (Ch: Xihae), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 21

Parents: Mother Lumo Jam

Location of incident: Near bus stand in Setri village in Sangkok township in Sangchu, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province.

Date of Incident: October 26, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on October 26, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Release of Panchen Lama and other political prisoners.

63. Name: Dorjee Lhundup

Gender: Male

Occupation: Farmer and father of two children

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Tongren), Malho TAP (Ch: Huangnan), Qinghai Province

Age: 25

Parents: Father Drukthar Gyal & Mother Shawo Yangmo

Location of incident: Taglung South Street, some kilometers from Rongwo monastery, Rebkong (Chin: Tongren) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 4, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 4, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

64. Name: Tamding Tso

Gender: Female

Occupation: Mother of one child

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 23

Parents: Father Tamding Kyab & Mother Konchok Tso

Location of incident: Center of the Drorong Po village in Dowa township in Rebkong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 7, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 7, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

65. Name: Dorjee

Gender: Male

Occupation: Ngoshul Monastery, Tsodrug Village, Gormay Town, Ngaba

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 15

Parents: Father Tsering & Mother Ghangkar

Location of incident: Near Police station, Ngatsoe Gomang Yultso, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 7, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 7, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

66. Name: Samdub

Gender: Male

Occupation: Ngoshul Monastery

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 16

Parents: Father Sothar & Mother Passang

Location of incident: Near Police station, Ngatsoe Gomang Yultso, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 7, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (Hospitalized in Ngaba county hospital, but no further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

67. Name: Dorjee Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Ngoshul Monastery, Ngaba county

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 16

Parents: Father Tsering Dhondup & Mother Mekho

Location of incident: Near Police station, Ngatso Gomang Yultso, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 7, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

68. Name: Tsegyal

Gender: Male

Occupation: Father of two children

Birth Place: Nagchu TAP, TAR

Age: 27

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: Near government offices at Bankar village, Driru county, Nagchu TAP, TAR

Date of Incident: November 7, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 18, 2012

69. Name: Kelsang Jinpa/ Jinpa Gyatso

Gender: Male

Occupation: Not known

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Choepa & Mother Dechok Kyi

Location of incident: Near Dolma Square, Rongwo Monastery, Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 8, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 8, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

70. Name: Gonpo Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation: Artist

Birth Place: Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 19

Parents: Father Tashi Sonam & Mother Nyinglo

Location of incident: In front of monastery in Tsoe county, Kanlho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 10, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 10, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Freedom in Tibet.

71. Name: Nyingkar Tashi

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Tashi Namgyal & Mother Khando Tso

Location of incident: Dowa township in Rebgong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 12, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 12, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Freedom in Tibet.

72. Name: Nyingchak Bhum

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 20

Parents: Father Lhachung & Mother Tsering Tso

Location of incident: Near government office in Dowa township in Rebkong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 12, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 12, 2012

73. Name: Khabhum Gyal

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Tamding Gyal & Mother Dolkar Tso

Location of incident: Tsemo region of Rebkong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 15, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 15, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Opposing oppressive policies of the Chinese government.

74. Name: Tenzin Dolma

Gender: Female

Occupation: Farmer

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 23

Parents: Father Bhulo & Mother Tashi Dolma

Location of incident: Goge village, Tsenmo township, Rebgong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 15, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 15, 2012

75. Name: Chagmo Kyi

Gender: Female

Occupation: Mother of two children

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 27

Parents: Father Drukjam Bhum & Mother Dolma Tso

Location of incident: Dolma Square, Rongwo township, Rebgong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 17, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 17, 2012

76. Name: Sangdhag Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation: Father of one child

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Choeying & Mother Menlha Tso

Location of incident: Outside government building in Dokar Mo township in Tsekhog (Ch: Zeku) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 17, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 17, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: No freedom in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet is not allowed and Panchen Lama is imprisoned! So there is no purpose to live.

77. Name: Wangchen Norbu

Gender: Male

Occupation: Farmer

Birth Place: Yadzi county (Ch: Xunhua), Tsoshar Prefecture, Qinghai Province

Age: 25

Parents: Father Tenzin & Mother Drukmo Tso

Location of incident: Near Kangtsa Gaden Chepheling Monastery, Yadzi (Ch: Xunhua) county, Tsoshar Prefecture (Ch: Haidong), Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 19, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 19, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Release of Panchen Lama and Freedom in Tibet.

78. Name: Tsering Dhondup

Gender: Male

Occupation: Farmer as well as nomad, father of three children

Birth Place: Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 34

Parents: Father Lubum Gyal & Mother Drukmo Tso

Location of incident: Near Amchok Gyagar Thang's mining site, Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 20, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 20, 2012

79. Name: Lubum Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Tsego & Mother Dorjee Kyi

Location of incident: Main street of Dowa township in Rebgong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 22, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 22, 2012

80. Name: Tamding Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Nomad, Former monk of the Shitsang monastery.

Birth Place: Luchu county (Ch: Luqu), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 23

Parents: Father Tsering Tashi & Mother Dolma Tso

Location of incident: Near Luchu river, Luchu township, Luchu county (Luqu), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 22, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 22, 2012

81. Name: Tamding Dorjee

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 29

Parents: Mother Gyamo Kyi

Location of incident: In front of a government building in Dokarmo in the Tsekhog area of Rebgong county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 23, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 23, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama

82. Name: Sangay Dolma

Gender: Female

Occupation: Nun of the Rebgong Gonshul Nunnery near the Sangag Mindrol Dhargyeling Monastery

Birth Place: Rebgong county (Ch: Tongren), Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 17

Parents: Father Sonam Gyal & Mother Dhondup Tso

Location of incident: In front of the Chinese government office in Dokarmo town of Tsekhog, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: November 25, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 25, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: A letter of her last will: She has written in the form of poem in six stanzas entitled as 'He has returned'. (He referred to His Holiness the Dalai Lama) She called for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet.

83. Name: Wangyal

Gender: Male

Occupation: Student of Sertha People's Middle School, former monk

Birth Place: Taktse town, Serthar County (Ch: Seda), Kardze TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 20

Parents: Not known

Location of incident: In front of the golden horse statue at the local ground in Serthar, Kardze TAP, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 26, 2012

Current Situation: Alive (No further information)

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom in Tibet

84. Name: Konchok Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation:

Birth Place: Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Tsephag Kyab & Mother Gonpo Tso

Location of incident: Near Amchok Gyagar Thang's mining site, Sangchu county (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 26, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 26, 2012

85. Name: Gonpo Tsering

Gender: Male

Occupation: (Father of three children, all below the age of six)

Birth Place: Luchu county (Ch: Luqu), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Wangyal & Mother Namlolo

Location of incident: Near prayer hall of the Ala Dheugo monastery, Ala region, Luchu county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 26, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 26, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Freedom in Tibet and Human rights for Tibetans.

86. Name: Kalsang Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Nomad

Birth Place: Ngaba (Ch: Aba) TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 24

Parents: Father Trogyal & Mother Achoe

Location of incident: Near peoples' government building, Kangtsa township, Dzoerge (Ruo'ergai) county, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: November 27, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 27, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Long live His Eminence Kirti Rinpoche.

87. Name: Sangye Tashi

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 18

Parents: Father Namkho

Location of incident: Sangkhog Labrang, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 27, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 27, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Release of Panchen Lama and all other political prisoners.

88. Name: Tsering Namgyal

Gender: Male

Occupation: Father of two children

Birth Place: Luchu county (Ch: Luqu), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 31

Parents: Father Chhoero and Mother Tamding Tso

Location of incident: Near the local Chinese government office in Luchu county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 29, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 29, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Release of Panchen Lama, Freedom in Tibet and the Protection of Tibet's environment.

89. Name: Bendey Khar

Gender: Male

Occupation: Layman

Birth Place: Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Age: 21

Parents: Father Tsering Thar and Mother Kunsang Dolma

Location of incident: Tsoe city (Ch: Hezuo), Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: November 28, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on November 28, 2012

Aspirations/slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Release of Panchen Lama, Freedom in Tibet,

Freedom of religion and language and the Protection of Tibet's environment.

90. Name: Kunchok Kyab

Gender: Male

Occupation: Father of two children

Birth Place: Akyi region of Zoegey in Ngaba TAP, Sichuan Province

Age: 29

Parents: Father Phuntsok & Mother Lobsang Dolma

Location of incident: Near gas station in the Shagdom region of Ngaba TAP

Date of Incident: November 30, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on December 1, 2012

91. Name: Sungdue Kyab

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Dhardo Labrang village, Sangchu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Occupation: Father of one child

Age: 17

Parents: Father Tsepa & Mother Bendy Tso

Location of incident: Main Street near Bora monastery, Sangchu County, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: December 2, 2012

Current Situation: Condition and whereabouts unknown

92. Name: Lobsang Gendun

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Luchu County, Golog TAP, Qinghai Province

Occupation: Monk of Penag Kadak Troedreling Monastery, Seley Thang region of Golog TAP, Qinghai Province

Age: 29

Parents: Father Golok Lokho & Mother Sago Dewang

Location of incident: Pema (Ch: Banma) Golog TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: December 3, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on December 3, 2012

Aspirations/Slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and Freedom for Tibetans.

93. Name: Kunchok Phelgye

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Dzoerge (Ch: Ruo'ergai) county, Ngaba TAP, Sichuan Province

Occupation: Monk of Dringwa Sumdo Monastery

Age: 24

Parents: Father Kunchok Kyab & Mother Dolma Tso

Location of incident: Taktsang Lhamo Kirti Monastery, Ngaba Tibetan & Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province

Date of Incident: December 8, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on December 8, 2012

Aspirations/Slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Kirti Rinpoche to Tibet and the reunion of Tibetans in Tibet.

94. Name: Pema Dorjee

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Choekhor village, Luchu (Ch: Luqu) county, Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Occupation: Farmer

Age: 23

Parents: Father Ugyen Kyab & Mother Tsesung Tso

Location of incident: Outside Shitsang monastery in Luchu in Kanlho TAP, Gansu Province

Date of Incident: December 8, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on December 8, 2012

Aspirations/Slogans: Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Independence of Tibet and unity of Tibetans.

95. Name: Benchen Kyi

Gender: Female

Birth Place: Tsekhog (Ch: Zeku) county, Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Occupation: School girl (1st year in the Junior Middle School equivalent to 7th standard)

Age: 17

Parents: Father Sonam Tsering & Mother Sermo

Location of incident: Tsekhog (Ch:Zeku) Malho TAP, Qinghai Province

Date of Incident: December 9, 2012

Current Situation: Passed away on December 9, 2012

Aspirations/Slogans: She was reciting prayers for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Following her immolation, around two thousand Tibetans gathered at the site and shouted slogans for His Holiness the Dalai Lama's long life.

96. Name: Tsering Tashi, alias Tsebey

Gender: Male

Birth Place:

Occupation: Nomad

Age: 22

Parents: Father Dukar Kyab & Mother Dolma Tsering

Location of incident: Amchok Town, Sangchu County, Kanlho

Date of Incident: January 12, 2013

Current Situation: Passed away on the spot.

Aspirations/Slogans:

97. Name: Passang Lhamo

Gender: Female

Birth Place: Kyegudo

Occupation:

Age: 62

Parents:

Location of incident: Beijing

Date of Incident: September 2012

Current Situation: Alive

Aspirations/Slogans: She was protesting against land grabbing by Chinese authorities.

98. Name: Tsering Phuntsok

Gender: Male

Birth Place: Drachen Yultso Village, Khyunchu, Ngaba

Occupation:

Age: 21

Parents: Father Kyokpo & Mother Yangtso

Location of incident: Local Chinese police station, Drachen village in Khyungchu region

Date of Incident: January 18, 2013

Current Situation: Passed away on January 18, 2013
