

# **TIBET: FREEDOM OF RELIGION**

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

**TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION**

UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

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JULY 12, 2017

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Official Transcript

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TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

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# TIBET: FREEDOM OF RELIGION

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 2017

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION  
*Washington, D.C.*

*The Commission met, pursuant to call, at 8:30 a.m., in Room 2255 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. James P. McGovern [co-chair of the Commission] presiding.*

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, thank you all for being here this morning. I wish you all a good morning.

This is an early start for our hearing and I want to – I want to thank you all for being here. I want to join my esteemed colleague, Commission Co-Chair Randy Hultgren, in welcoming you to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission hearing on religious freedom in Tibet.

And I think before we begin I think we all should keep in our thoughts in our prayers Liu Xiaobo and his family during this very, very difficult time. We pray for him, and I think it is important that we all keep him in our thoughts.

I want to thank our distinguished witnesses who are joining us this morning. I will introduce them shortly.

But I want to note that three of them have traveled long distances to be with us today – from Indiana, from California, and from Dharamsala, India, and we greatly appreciate their presence.

This is the fourth hearing that this Commission has held on Tibet since 2011. Our last one was almost exactly two years ago, on July 14th, 2015, just after I received the news of the tragic and unnecessary death of the revered Tibetan monk, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, in a Chinese prison.

At the time of his death, he was in the thirteenth year of a 20-year sentence for, quote, "inciting separatism," a charge he steadfastly denied. He was serving his unjust sentence under very harsh conditions.

He was not well, so at a minimum he should have been released on medical parole. But that didn't happen and he died in Chinese custody.

I called at the time for an international investigation into his death, but that has not happened. I still believe there ought to be an independent investigation into his death.

Everything I said two years ago I am compelled to say again today. You are here and I am here because we care about the fundamental rights of Tibetans to speak and teach their language, protect their culture, travel within and outside their country, and worship as they choose.

But the situation in Tibet, which was dire two years ago, has only gotten worse. His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, has now been in exile for 58 years.

The dialogue between the Chinese government and the representatives of the Dalai Lama that could provide a means to address Tibetan grievances remains suspended.

And as we will hear today, repression of the fundamental right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion has intensified. Tibetan Buddhists face extensive controls on their religious life, an intrusive official presence in monasteries, pervasive surveillance, limits on travel and communications, and ideological re-education campaigns. Religious expression and activism have been met with violent repression, imprisonment, and torture.

According to our own State Department, as of last August, 69 monks, nuns, or Tibetan reincarnate teachers were known to be serving sentences in Chinese prisons, although the real number is likely much, much higher.

And the Chinese government continues to claim the prerogative to decide who will succeed the Dalai Lama, who just turned 82 years old.

All of this, and the Chinese government suffers no apparent cost. There are no consequences for denying the basic human rights of the Tibetan people.

I believe that this is wrong and it must change. We need to be doing something different. We need to change the status quo.

One thing I believe should happen is that his Holiness, the Dalai Lama, should be allowed to go home, and if the Chinese government won't allow him to go home permanently they should at least allow him to go home for a visit if he so desires.

He is recognized around the world as a man of peace. He is not a separatist. He is not inciting violence. He is not inciting anything other than love, peace, truth, and justice. He should be able to go home, period.

I hope that there will be other ideas that will come from our discussion today because the situation is urgent. We need to take concrete steps to protect the Tibetan culture, religion, and way of life before time runs out.

And let me be clear – this Commission will continue to express its deep bipartisan concern regarding human rights abuses against the Tibetan people until those abuses stop occurring and the Tibetans are able to develop and experience the autonomy that they seek.

Let me just finally say before I yield to my colleague, Mr. Hultgren, you know, two – a little over two years ago I was able to travel to China. I was able to visit Tibet. And I have to be honest with you, the Chinese people are incredible people, and I appreciated the culture and the history of China. I met with many people in the government, many whom I had strong disagreements with, and many who we had very candid conversations, who, I think, are the type of people that you can have conversations with to move forward on this issue.

But this policy that China insists on adhering to is unconscionable. It has to stop. And if somebody in Beijing thinks that if they wait long enough, and if His Holiness passes on at some point, which I predict will be at least another 20 or 30 years, but if they are waiting for that day, believing that somehow this issue will go away, I have news for them. It won't. It won't.

The commitment to the Tibetan people and to the Tibetan cause has intensified and I have noticed that over my 20 years in Congress. It is getting stronger.

So we are not going away. So the time has come for the Chinese government to step forward and to come up with a new policy with regard to Tibet and the Tibetans who are in exile.

It is the right thing to do and we will do everything we can to encourage the Chinese government to move in that direction. And with that, I would like to yield to my co-chair, Mr. Hultgren.

[The prepared statement of Co-Chair McGovern follows:]

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JAMES P. MCGOVERN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS AND CO-CHAIR OF THE TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION**



**Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission Hearing**

**Tibet: Freedom of Religion**

**July 12, 2017**

**8:30 – 10:00 AM**

**2255 Rayburn House Office Building**

**Opening Remarks as prepared for delivery**

Good morning. I join my esteemed colleague and Commission Co-Chair Randy Hultgren in welcoming you to this Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission hearing on religious freedom in Tibet.

I especially want to thank the distinguished witnesses who are joining us this morning. I will introduce them shortly, but I want to note that three of them have traveled long distances to be with us today – from Indiana, California, and Dharamsala, India -- and we greatly appreciate their presence.

This is the fourth hearing that this Commission has held on Tibet since 2011. Our last one was almost exactly two years ago, on July 14, 2015, just after I received the news of the tragic and unnecessary death of the revered Tibetan monk Tenzin Delek Rinpoche in a Chinese prison.

At the time of his death, he was in the thirteenth year of a twenty-one year sentence for “inciting separatism,” a charge he steadfastly denied. He was serving his unjust sentence under very harsh conditions. He was not well, so at a minimum he should have been released on medical parole. But that didn’t happen, and he died in Chinese custody. I called at the time for an international investigation into his death. But that has not happened.

Everything I said two years ago I am compelled to say again today.

You are here and I am here because we care about the fundamental rights of Tibetans – to speak and teach their language, protect their culture, travel within and outside their country, and worship as they choose.

But the situation in Tibet, which was dire two years ago, has only gotten worse since.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has now been in exile for 58 years. The dialogue between the Chinese government and representatives of the Dalai Lama that could provide a means to address Tibetan grievances remains suspended.

And as we will hear today, repression of the fundamental right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion has intensified. Tibetan Buddhists face extensive controls on their religious life – an intrusive official presence in monasteries, pervasive surveillance, limits on travel and communications, and ideological reeducation campaigns. Religious expression and activism have been met with violent repression, imprisonment and torture.

According to our own State Department, as of last August, 69 monks, nuns or Tibetan reincarnate teachers were known to be serving sentences in Chinese prisons -- although the real number is likely much higher.

And the Chinese government continues to claim the prerogative to decide who will succeed the Dalai Lama, who just turned 82 years old.

All of this, and the Chinese government suffers no apparent cost. There are no consequences for denying the basic human rights of the Tibetan people.

I believe that this is wrong and must change. We need to be doing something different – we need to change the status quo.

One thing that should happen: Permit His Holiness the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet for a visit if he so desires. He is recognized around the world as a man of peace. He should be able to visit his homeland.

I hope other ideas will come from our discussion today, because the situation is urgent. We need to take concrete steps to protect the Tibetan culture, religion and way of life before time runs out.

And let me be clear: this Commission will continue to express its deep bipartisan concern regarding human rights abuses against the Tibetan people until those abuses stop occurring, and Tibetans are able to develop and experience the autonomy they seek.



Mr. HULTGREN. Thank you so much, and I want to thank all of you for being here. This is such an important topic and I am grateful for Co-Chairman McGovern's passion on this issue – that he has worked on this so consistently and so focused and grateful for his words but also his commitment to make sure that something happens and I absolutely agree with him and want to be a part of that.

I do need to apologize today. I am not feeling well. I am kind of scooting over from you a little bit. I got a touch of something. So I normally don't perspire as I am –

Mr. MCGOVERN. I have probably already had it.

Mr. HULTGREN. Yes, I thought I did, too. But anyhow, but I did want to be here and I did not want to miss this but I may have to leave a little bit early just because I am not feeling well.

The protection of religious freedom in Tibet has been a longstanding issue of deep concern for the Lantos Commission and the Members of Congress.

We have made efforts to increase travel by United States citizens and officials to Tibet through the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act and have written to the president underscoring the need for a special coordinator of Tibetan issues.

As our witnesses today share their insights on the ongoing systematic suppression of religious freedom, we are reminded that there is far more to be done.

Freedom of belief is perhaps the most foundational of human rights because it serves as the basis for every other right that we as human beings claim.

Freedom of speech, the right to public assembly, the right to fair trial, and every other fundamental human right is baseless without the freedom to believe and think however one chooses.

Unfortunately, the repression of religious freedom in Tibet has worsened this past year. According to this year's United States Commission on International Religious Freedom report on China, the current Communist Party Secretary of Tibet, Wu Yingjie, publicly said he expects the party's control over religion in Tibet to increase.

This has, unfortunately, been the case so far. Last July, the Chinese government launched a sweeping operation to demolish significant portions of Larung Gar Buddhist Institute located in Sichuan Province.

Larung Gar is home to an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 monks, nuns, lay people, and students of Buddhism from all over the world.

Local officials instituting the demolition order referred to the project as construction or renovation to reduce the number of residents to no more than 5,000 by the end of September in 2017.

As a result, officials have evicted thousands of monastics, lay people, and students, some of whom reportedly were locked out of their homes before they could collect their belongings.

Many were forced to sign pledges promising never to return and others were compelled to undergo forced indoctrination and so-called patriotic re-education programs.

Finally, in the light of the Dalai Lama's advancing age, now 82, the question of his succession has become a major source of tension within the

Chinese government. The government is claiming the power to select the next Dalai Lama, as the co-chairman said.

Regardless of doctrine or belief systems, no religious group in the world should have their beliefs dictated to them or repressed by their government, even more so when the purpose of these government policies is to further oppress and destroy a unique culture or heritage.

These reports of increasing and intensifying crackdown on the religious freedom of Tibetans are deeply troubling and underscore the urgency of international support.

I look forward to the hearing. Unfortunately, I am not going to be able to stay very long just because, again, I am not feeling well. But this is very important and I will follow up and see how I can be helpful as well.

Yield back.

[The prepared statement of Co-Chair Hultgren follows:]

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RANDY HULTGREN,  
A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS  
AND CO-CHAIR OF THE TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS  
COMMISSION**



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**July 12, 2017**

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**2255 Rayburn House Office Building**

**Opening Remarks as prepared for delivery**

Good morning and welcome to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission's hearing on freedom of religion in Tibet. I would like to thank our witnesses for coming here today to share their expertise with us.

The protection of religious freedom in Tibet has been a longstanding issue of deep concern for the Lantos Commission and members of Congress. We have made efforts to increase travel by United States' citizens and officials to Tibet through the "Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act" and have written to the President underscoring the need for a Special Coordinator of Tibetan Issues. As our

witnesses today share their insights on the ongoing systematic suppression of religious freedom, we are reminded that there is far more to be done.

Freedom of belief is perhaps the most foundational of human rights, because it serves as the basis for every other right that we as human beings claim. Freedom of speech, the right to public assembly, the right to a fair trial, and every other fundamental human right is baseless without the freedom to believe and think however one chooses.

Unfortunately, repression of religious freedom in Tibet has worsened this past year.

According to this year's United States Commission on International Religious Freedom report on China, the current Communist Party Secretary of Tibet, Wu Yingjie, publicly said he expects the party's control over religion in Tibet to increase. This has unfortunately been the case so far.

Last July, the Chinese government launched a sweeping operation to demolish significant portions of the Larung Gar Buddhist Institute located in Sichuan Province. Larung Gar is home to an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 monks, nuns, laypeople, and students of Buddhism from all over the world. Local officials instituting the demolition order referred to the project as 'construction' or 'renovation' to reduce the number of residents to no more than 5,000 by the end of September 2017. As a result, officials have evicted thousands of monastics, laypeople, and students, some of whom reportedly were locked out of their homes before they could collect their belongings. Many were forced to sign pledges promising never to return, and others were compelled to undergo forced indoctrination in so-called "patriotic reeducation programs."

Although 2016 did witness the release of several Tibetan prisoners who completed their sentences, USCIRF notes that others were arbitrarily detained and charged. For example, in March 2016, Chinese police arrested Tashi Wangchuk, an advocate known for promoting a deeper understanding of the Tibetan language, on "separatism" charges. His case is pending, and he could serve up to 15 years if convicted.

Finally, in light of the Dalai Lama's advancing age, now 82, the question of his succession has become a major source of tension within the Chinese government. The government is claiming the power to select the next Dalai Lama.

Regardless of doctrine or belief system, no religious group in the world should have their beliefs dictated to them or repressed by their government. Even more so when the purpose of these government policies is to further oppress and destroy a unique cultural heritage.

These reports of increasing and intensifying crackdowns on the religious freedom of Tibetans are deeply troubling, and underscore the urgency of international support. I look forward to hearing the insights and recommendations from our distinguished panel of witnesses on how best the United States can encourage and promote religious freedom in Tibet.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much. I appreciate your opening statement.

Our first witness is Dr. Tenzin Dorjee, who is a commissioner for the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom and a professor at the Department of Human Communication Studies at California State University, Fullerton.

He's a prominent translator who studied in India and is the author of articles and translated works of Tibetan Buddhism and culture into English. He has translated many preeminent Tibetan Buddhist professors including His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

He came to the United States as a refugee and, Doctor, we are honored to have you here and look forward to your testimony.

### **STATEMENT OF TENZIN DORJEE, COMMISSIONER, UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

Mr. DORJEE. Honorable co-chairs of the Commission, Representative McGovern and Representative Hultgren – I really appreciate him showing up despite his not feeling well.

Thank you for holding today's hearing. I am Tenzin Dorjee, a commissioner on the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. I ask that my written testimony be submitted for the record.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Without objection.

Mr. DORJEE. My testimony focuses on how the Chinese government ruthlessly seeks to control Tibetan Buddhism, restrict the teaching of the Tibetan language, force Tibetans to assimilate into the dominant Han culture, and the dire consequences of these actions.

Seeking stability and control, the Chinese government's suppressive actions have caused much suffering and instability.

I will begin with my story. I was born in western Tibet and smuggled out as an infant by my parents. Like tens of thousands of others, we fled after the Chinese Communist People's Liberation Army's brutal 1959 invasion and repressive conditions that characterize Tibet today.

While I was too young to remember, my parents told me about their suffering. My father was tortured during his ten-month imprisonment. He temporarily was released the day after I was born. Fearing being returned to prison, we fled on foot and horseback. Barely escaping pursuing soldiers, we crossed the Indus River and finally reached India.

My parents urged me and my siblings to preserve our religion, language, and culture, receive a modern education, and fight for the just cause of Tibet and the Tibetan people. We are grateful to the Indian government for offering us sanctuary and allowing us to thrive there.

In contrast, Tibetans in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas endure re-education encampments, extensive surveillance through closed-circuit television, internet and mobile phone monitoring, official presence in

monasteries, travel restrictions, and the separation of perceived religious dissent. Restrictions intensified up to the 2008 protest.

I have come a long way, growing up in freedom from laboring in the fields in south India, Tibetan settlement, entering a monastery, completing my high secondary education, becoming a translator, including for His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, coming to the United States and earning my Ph.D., becoming a professor, and being appointed as USCIRF by the Honorable Minority Leader Pelosi.

I am inspired by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, who perhaps is the most well-known refugee in the world. Chinese government officials believe His Holiness threatens their control. While he seeks peacefully to achieve stability and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples through the mutually beneficial Middle Way policy, Chinese officials vilify him, accusing him of blasphemy and splitism and calling him a wolf in monk's robes.

Officially atheist, the Chinese government absurdly claims it can select the next Dalai Lama. Seeking to strike at the heart of Tibetan Buddhism, the Chinese government targets Larung Gar, perhaps the world's largest Tibetan Buddhist institute.

Larung Gar – I have pictures of before and after the destruction – was home to more than 10,000 monks, nuns, lay people, and students. In July 2016, the government demolished parts of it and evicted thousands of – with some locked out of their homes and others forced to sign pledges never to return or send to the so-called patriotic re-education program.

The goal of the government's demolishing and plan to separate the educational facility from the monastery is to eviscerate the teachings and study of Tibetan Buddhism integral to the practice and traditions of the faith.

The Chinese government also detains many prisoners of conscience. Please review the list in my written testimony compiled from the Congressional Executive Commission on China's database.

I here highlight the Panchen Lama, who holds the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism. After the tenth Panchen Lama's death, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, chose then the six-year-old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima in May 1995 as the eleventh Panchen Lama.

Three days later, Chinese officials disappeared him and his family. In November selected their own Panchen Lama, who most Tibetan Buddhists reject.

The government does not have the authority to name the reincarnated religious leaders of Tibet. Gedhun Choekyi Nyima is one of the world's longest-held prisoners of conscience. As part of the USCIRF's Religious Prisoners of Conscience Project, I am working on his behalf.

The Chinese government detained Tashi Wangchuk in January 2016 because of his advocacy for the Tibetan language, which is integrated to the practice of Tibetan Buddhism, and indicted him in January 2017 for inciting separatism. He faces up to 15 years in prison if found guilty.

The government believes that Tibetan language acquisition would impede the sinicization of the education system and Tibetan assimilation in the majority Han culture.

I would be remiss if I did not mention two other prisoners who, while not Tibetan, underscore the government's pervasive use imprisonment.

Gulmira Imin is a Uyghur Muslim sentenced to life imprisonment simply for being a Uyghur Muslim. USCIRF Vice Chair Commissioner Sandra Jolley is advocating for her.

I also must mention Nobel Peace Laureate Liu Xiaobo, who unjustly endured years in prison, is in the final stages of terminal liver cancer. He bravely signed a petition calling for more autonomy for Tibet and negotiations with the Dalai Lama.

Due to the Chinese government's repression, at least 150 Tibetans since 2009 have self-immolated. The government alleges that self-immolators commit terrorist acts in disguise, or are manipulated by external cults, and considers them a threat to stability and security.

Instead of acknowledging its role in the self-immolations, the government threatens to charge with murder who encourages them – anyone who encourages them.

The government's response of more repression has led to more antipathy from the people and more self-immolations.

Why do people self-immolate?

His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, believes these are the desperate acts by people seeking justice and freedom. Others characterize them as one of the few possible forms of protest, given the securitization that prevents most collective acts of resistance.

Given this persecution, USCIRF recommendations include: Congress should appropriate funds for programs supporting the Tibetan people. Congress and the administration should swiftly enact the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act and USCIRF supports the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act.

Urge the Chinese government to allow the Dalai Lama to visit Tibet and permit an independent international investigation in Tenpin Delek Rinpoche's death.

Maintain contact with Chinese religious and human rights leaders, seek to meet with religious prisoners of conscience and secure the unconditional release, and press the government to abide by the Convention Against Torture.

Urge the Chinese government to provide evidence of the Panchen Lama's well-being.

Congress should urge the administration to appoint a qualified individual as the special coordinator for Tibetan issues at the State Department according to the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002.

Designate China as CPC, country of particular concern, and develop a list with USCIRF's input of Chinese officials subject to sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act and Frank Wolf International Religious Freedom Act.

Thank you again for holding this hearing, which comes at an important time for the Tibetan people. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dorjee follows]:

# **PREPARED STATEMENT OF TENZIN DORJEE**

**TESTIMONY OF**

**TENZIN DORJEE**

**COMMISSIONER**

**U.S. COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM**

**BEFORE THE**

**TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION**

**ON**

**TIBET: FREEDOM OF RELIGION**

**JULY 12, 2017**

Thank you to the Co-Chairs of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, Representatives Jim McGovern (D-MA), and Randy Hultgren (R-IL), and Commission members for holding today's hearing on "Tibet: Freedom of Religion." I am Tenzin Dorjee, a Commissioner on the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). USCIRF is an independent, bipartisan U.S. federal government commission created by the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA). The Commission uses international standards to monitor the universal right of religion or belief abroad and makes policy recommendations to the Congress, President and Secretary of State.

I am pleased to be here today with my fellow witnesses: Arjia Rinpoche, Nyima Lhamo, and Todd Stein. This hearing comes at an important time for the Tibetan people. The Chinese government ruthlessly seeks to control Buddhism, restrict the teaching of the Tibetan language, and force Tibetans to assimilate into the dominant Han culture. The bottom line is that the Chinese government's goal is to disappear the Tibetan people by repressing our religion, our culture, and our language. To help achieve these ends, the government has imprisoned an increasing number of prisoners of conscience. In reaction to and in protest of these repressive actions, some Tibetans have chosen to self-immolate.

In my testimony, I will discuss several prisoners of conscience, to shine a light on both their situations and the increasingly dire conditions of Tibetan Buddhists in China. I will begin my testimony by sharing with you my story as a Tibetan refugee. I then will focus on the Panchen Lama, Tashi Wangchuk, and the 150 people who have self-immolated to date. I will end my testimony with recommendations for U.S. government action.

## **My Refugee Story**

I was born in 1960 in the town of Ruthok, near Holy Mt. Kailash, in Western Tibet. I was smuggled out as an infant by my parents when, like tens of thousands of other Tibetans, we were forced to flee Tibet for India due to the brutal 1959 invasion of Tibet by the Chinese Communist People's Liberation Army and the repressive conditions that continue to this day.

While I have no memory of Tibet, I vividly remember what my parents, who now are deceased, told me about why they had to flee after China invaded Tibet. My father, Phuntsok Dhondup, belonged to Lhasa nobility and served as (Tibetan: *Zongpon Kutsab*) Acting District Magistrate of Ruthok District in Independent Tibet. My mother, Miggyur Lekkye, belonged to the richest semi-nomadic family in Ruthok. Chinese government officials imprisoned my father for about ten months and tortured him. By happenstance, he temporarily was released the day I was born, when he named me

*Gu Yang Nyima* (Amnesty Sun). Fearing that he would be returned to prison, he planned our escape to India. We were able to flee Tibet two weeks after his release. I remember him telling me that it took us two weeks, on foot and horseback, to reach India. We had to avoid many roadblocks and barely escaped the soldiers who were pursuing us. We finally crossed the Indus River and safely reached Ladakh, India.

After a year in Ladakh, my parents went to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama to be blessed. At their request, His Holiness named me Tenzin Dorjee (Diamond of Wisdom). My late parents served as foster parents at the Central School for Tibetans, Mt. Abu, in Rajasthan, India. The Indian government established these separate schools as part of the Central Tibetan School Administration to educate Tibetan children and preserve and promote their culture and heritage.

Understanding the importance of his children being steeped in the Tibetan religion, culture, and language, my father started teaching me when I was six years old. He also taught my younger sister, Tenzin Dolkar – who was born in Rajasthan, India, and my late younger brother Tenzin Losel – who was born in Dharamsala, India. While living as refugees in India, our parents told us stories about their suffering as well as the suffering of our Tibetan brethren under the Chinese Communist regime. They urged us to do our best to preserve our language, religion, and culture along with getting a modern education and continuing to fight for the just cause of Tibet. We are deeply grateful to the Indian government for its decades-long support for the Tibetan people, offering us sanctuary there and allowing us to thrive.

My family largely lived in Bylakuppe, which some refer to as “little Tibet in the heart of Karnataka” in South India. Like my siblings, I grew up working manually in the fields and sometimes had to miss class. My parents admitted me into the Sera Jhe Monastery as a child monk, but also insisted that I complete my secondary education at the Central School for Tibetans, Bylakuppe. Walking on dirt roads for miles to get to school, I completed my schooling in 1977. While I wanted to be a medical doctor, my school could not prepare me for that discipline and my parents did not have the money to send me to a different school. After high school, I studied for several years in Dharamsala at the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics. I joined the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA) as a translator in 1981 at the advice of my late teacher Gen Lobsang Gyatso, the founder of the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, Dharamsala, and College for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarah, India. While at the LTWA for over thirteen years, I had the great honor and privilege of translating on many occasions for His Holiness the Dalai Lama and for other eminent Tibetan Buddhist Professors including the late Lati Rinpoche, Debate Assistant to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Since I came to the United States, I have translated voluntarily, on weekends, for twenty-four years at Gaden Shartse Thubten Dhargye Ling in Long Beach, CA. In 2012, I was invited to be the guest translator for His Holiness the Dalai Lama during his visit to Hawaii.

In 1991 and 1993 I came to United States for a speaking and translation tour, remaining here to pursue my education, earning my Ph.D. in 2009 in communications at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Since that time, I have been a professor at the California State University – Fullerton and on December 8, 2016, upon the nomination by the Honorable Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, I was appointed as a Commissioner to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). Last June, 2017, I had an honor to personally meet His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Irvine, CA, and he was delighted that Leader Pelosi nominated me to be a Commissioner. He blessed and advised me to do my best in the position.

I have shared my story to highlight the following:

1. My family was forced to flee after the People’s Liberation Army under the new Chinese Communist state brutally invaded Tibet in 1959. Instead of liberation, there was repression and when Tibetans rose up against Beijing, more than 80,000 Tibetans escaped to India. To date, an estimated 150,000 Tibetans have been forced to flee our homeland. With the borders effectively closed, it is increasingly dangerous to leave without authorization.



2. I am deeply grateful to the Indian government for providing a safe haven to me, my family, and other Tibetan refugees, and for allowing Tibetan Buddhism to flourish there. Like many other Tibetan refugees in India, I was able to receive both a Tibetan and secular education. As refugees, my parents understood the vital importance of preserving the Tibetan religion, language and culture to help ensure the continuation of the Tibetan people. These are precisely what the Chinese government was and is trying to destroy.
3. The Chinese government views His Holiness the Dalai Lama as a threat to their control because officials recognize his central importance to the Tibetan people. In fact, devotion to the Dalai Lama is a core tenant for many Tibetan Buddhists.

The Dalai Lama fled Tibet in 1959, also finding refuge in India. He seeks to peacefully resolve the issue of Tibet and bring about stability and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese people through the “Middle-Way” policy. I fully support the Middle Way Policy to peacefully and nonviolently resolve Sino-Tibetan issues via mutual respect and dialogue for mutual benefit. Yet Chinese officials regularly and continually vilify him, viewing him as a threat to their power, even though political authority has belonged since 2011 to the prime minister of the Tibetan government in exile. They accuse him of “blasphemy” and “splittism” and refer to him as a “wolf in monk’s robes.” Officially atheist, the Chinese government absurdly claims the power to select the next Dalai Lama, citing a law that grants the government authority over reincarnations.

The Chinese government also cracks down on anyone suspected of so-called separatist activities and for participating in the “Dalai clique.” Monks and nuns who refuse to denounce the Dalai Lama or do not pledge loyalty to Beijing have been expelled from their monasteries, imprisoned, and tortured. Beijing also continually seeks to diminish the Dalai Lama’s international influence, issuing thinly veiled threats to other countries, including the United States. After the Dalai Lama delivered a commencement speech last month at the University of California, San Diego, the *Global Times* condemned the university and its chancellor for inviting him to speak, and threatened to withhold visas from the chancellor and future exchanges with the university. Senator Diane Feinstein has called the *Global Times* a mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party.

4. The Chinese government implements countless restrictions on Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetans’ peaceful religious activity, which have created an extremely oppressive environment. They implement these restrictions in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, but also have tightened controls in Tibetan areas of other provinces. These restrictions include: reeducation campaigns; extensive surveillance – through for example, security forces and closed-circuit television, internet and mobile phone monitoring; official presence in monasteries; canceling previously permitted festivals; restricting travel; and imposing intrusive restrictions on private religious practice. The government also quickly suppresses any perceived religious dissent, including through firing at unarmed people.

Between 1987 and 1989, the Chinese government brutally crushed protests. Restrictions further intensified after demonstrations that took place in 2008. On March 10, 2008, the anniversary of the failed 1959 uprising, monks from Drepung monastery peacefully protested against the government’s “patriotic education” programs and other restrictions on their freedom of religion or belief. Supportive demonstrations in Lhasa led to property destruction, arrests, and numerous deaths, with demonstrations spreading to Tibetan areas outside the Tibetan Autonomous Region. To this day, the Chinese government has not provided full details or a credible accounting of those detained, missing, or “disappeared” for their role or participation in the demonstrations. Those accused have not been given adequate legal representation and their trials—if held at all—were closed.

Since the 2008 demonstrations:

- Provincial authorities monitor the training, assembly, publications, selection, education, and speeches of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders. Monks are directed to attend “patriotic education” sessions consisting of pro-government propaganda.
- Authorities prohibit children from participating in religious holidays, threatening them with expulsion from school if they fail to comply.
- The state controls the movement and education of monks and nuns, the building or repairing of religious venues, and the conducting of large-scale religious gatherings.
- Authorities have installed a heavy security presence at monasteries and nunneries, monitoring and surveilling in and around the properties.
- Just this year, Chinese authorities prevented students and teachers from observing Saka Dawa, a Tibetan holy month, and even restricted their right to observe the holiday in their own homes.

Rigorous study and practice are very important to the Nalanda Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. The Chinese government seeks to strike at the heart of Tibetan Buddhism by attacking the Tibetan religious and educational institute of Larung Gar, the largest Tibetan Buddhist institute in the world which is located in Sichuan Province. Larung Gar is home to more than 10,000 monks, nuns, laypeople, and students of Buddhism from all over the world. In July 2016, the Chinese government launched a sweeping operation to demolish significant parts of this institute. Local officials implementing the demolition order referred to the project as “construction” or “renovation” to reduce the number of residents to no more than 5,000 by the end of September 2017. Many view the plan to separate the educational facility from the monastery as a ruse to facilitate government direct control over every aspect of life and learning at Larung Gar. Thousands of monastics, laypeople, and students have been evicted. Some reportedly were locked out of their homes before they could collect their belongings, or were forced to sign pledges promising never to return. Many others were forced to undergo so-called “patriotic reeducation programs.”

The demolition order contains language governing ideology and future religious activities at Larung Gar and gives government officials—who are largely Han Chinese, not Tibetan—greater control and oversight of the institute, including direct control over laypeople. The order also mandates the separation of the monastery from the institute, running counter to the Tibetan tradition of one blended encampment with both religious and lay education. The destruction at Larung Gar exemplifies Beijing’s goal to eviscerate the teachings and study of Tibetan Buddhism that are integral to the practice and traditions of the faith.

In December 2016, Tibet’s Communist Party Chief Wu Yingjie publicly stated that he expects the party’s control over religion in Tibet to increase.

### **Prisoners of Conscience**

Detaining religious prisoners of conscience is one way the Chinese government controls Tibetan Buddhists. I here will focus on two such prisoners: the Panchen Lama, who holds the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism, and Tashi Wangchuk, an advocate for the Tibetan language being integral to the practice of Tibetan Buddhism. While one is a religious leader and the other is a lay activist, the Chinese government has disappeared one and unjustly detained the other.

Please see the appendix for a selected list of other Tibetan prisoners of conscience the Congressional Executive Commission on China has compiled.

#### The Panchen Lama

Gedhun Choekyi Nyima was born on April 25, 1989 in Lhari County, Tibet. After the death of the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama, His Holiness the Dalai Lama chose Gedhun on May 15, 1995 to be the 11<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama, which is the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism. Three days after his selection as Panchen Lama, Chinese government authorities kidnapped then six-year-old Gedhun and his family. On November 11, 1995, Chinese authorities announced their own pick to serve as the Panchen Lama: Gyancain Norbu. Most Tibetan Buddhists have rejected the government's selection.

Gedhun Choekyi Nyima is now one of the world's longest-held prisoners of conscience. In the more than 20 years since his abduction, Chinese authorities have provided little information about his whereabouts, alleging that they need to protect him from being "kidnapped by separatists." In May 2007, Asma Jahangir, then-Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief of the UN Human Rights Council, asked Chinese authorities what measures they had taken to implement the recommendation of the Committee on the Rights of the Child and suggested that the government allow an independent expert to visit and confirm Gedhun's well-being. On July 17, 2007, the Chinese authorities said that he is a "perfectly ordinary Tibetan boy" attending school and leading a normal life, and that he "does not wish to be disturbed." Authorities say that the state employs both of his parents and that his brothers and sisters are either working or at university.

The Panchen Lama now is 28 years old. By the age of 28, I had received both a Tibetan and modern education, but we know nothing of the Panchen Lama's life. As part of USCIRF's Religious Prisoner of Conscience Project, I have chosen to work on behalf of the Panchen Lama, highlighting his case and the laws and policies of the Chinese government that led to his disappearance.

#### Tashi Wangchuk

Tashi Wangchuk is a Tibetan entrepreneur and education advocate known for promoting a deeper understanding of the Tibetan language as integral to the practice of Tibetan Buddhism. Tashi Wangchuk was detained on January 27, 2016 after speaking to the *New York Times* for a [documentary video](#) and two articles on Tibetan education and culture. His relatives did not know he was detained until March 24, despite a Chinese law requiring notification within 24 hours. He was indicted in January 2017 for "inciting separatism," and could face up to 15 years in prison if found guilty. Based on available information, authorities have not scheduled a trial date.

Tashi Wangchuk recounted that he learned to read and write Tibetan in primary school and from his older brothers who had studied with a monk. He continued studying as a monk himself for three years, and in 2012 took private classes in Yushu for a few months. Tashi Wangchuk called on Tibetans to protect their culture and has focused on the need for bilingual education and Tibetan language instruction across the Tibetan regions of China. He also has asserted that the government violates the Chinese constitution by not using the Tibetan language in government offices.

Tashi Wangchuk is from Qinghai Province. Schools in that area, which is home to nearly 60 percent of China's Tibetan population, had taught mainly in the Tibetan language, with much Tibetan poetry and academic writing coming from that area. In 2012, officials largely eliminated Tibetan as a language of instruction in primary and secondary schools and ordered the use of Chinese as the language of instruction. Many Tibetan teachers were laid off, and new Chinese textbooks were introduced that did not include detailed information on Tibetan history or culture. The estimated literacy rate in Tibetan among Tibetans in China currently has fallen well below 20 percent, and continues to decline.

Monasteries, the heart of Tibetan society, had served as vital educational institutions, with monks and nuns among the elite few who could read and write before Tibet came under Chinese Communist rule. Until recently, many monasteries held classes on the written language for ordinary people, and monks often gave lessons while traveling. However, Chinese officials in many parts of the plateau ordered monasteries to end the classes, though Tibetan can still be taught to young monks.

The global importance of Tibetan language preservation lies in the fact that the complete teachings of Buddha, especially, philosophy, science of mind and emotions, and metaphysics are best preserved in the Tibetan language today according to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The disappearance of the Panchen Lama and the imprisonment of Tashi Wangchuk and other prisoners underscore the following concerns:

1. The Chinese government, while officially atheist, believes it has the authority to replace the Panchen Lama with its own selection. As I noted earlier, the government has declared that it also will decide whom will be reincarnated as the next Dalai Lama. In 2016, the government published online a list of 870 “authentic living Buddhas.” However, the Chinese government does not have the authority to name the reincarnated religious leaders of Tibet.
2. The Chinese government fears Tashi Wangchuk as much as they do the Panchen Lama. The Chinese government unfairly imprisoned Tashi Wangchuk because it believes that Tibetan language acquisition would impede the sinicization of the education system and Tibetan assimilation into the majority Han culture. The Chinese government seeks to systematically destroy the Tibetan language to help facilitate the assimilation of Tibetans, who already face pressure from economic changes and a Chinese government fearful of ethnic and religious separatism, into the dominant ethnic Han culture.
3. The Panchen Lama and Tashi Wangchuk are only two of the many Tibetan prisoners of conscience whom Chinese authorities unfairly have detained. The appendix to this testimony includes other prisoners of conscience. I here want to highlight two who sadly did not survive their brutal imprisonment:
  - Goshul Lobsang: In 2008, authorities arrested Goshul Lobsang for his role in organizing a protest against the government. While in prison, he was subjected to extreme malnourishment and brutal torture, including regular injections and repeated stabbings. In March 2014, following his release, Lobsang died from his horrendous mistreatment.
  - Tenzin Delek Rinpoche: While his niece, Nyima Lhamo, is here today to speak about Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, I would be remiss if I did not discuss this prominent Tibetan religious leader. Chinese authorities arrested him in April 2002, accusing him of being involved in a 2002 bomb attack, and charged him with separatism and terrorism. He initially was given a death sentence with a two-year reprieve. Contingent upon good behavior, the death sentence could be lifted. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and then subsequently to 20 years in prison. However, Tenzin Delek died in prison in 2015. Before his death, he described to family members the torture he had endured in prison, including repeated beatings. The government denied his family’s request that he be granted medial parole, instead arresting those who advocated justice for him.

After his death in prison, Tenzin Delek’s family requested to see his body and that it be returned to them for proper Buddhist burial rites. But Chinese authorities cruelly cremated the body and refused to hand over his ashes, leading many to be suspicious about the cause of his death. Even in death, the Chinese government continued to defame Tenzin Delek, calling him a criminal and a fake religious leader, and authorities banned public memorials in honor of his passing.

Authorities subsequently detained his sister and niece for nearly two weeks after they requested his body be turned over to them. In 2016, Tenzin Delek’s niece, Nyima Lhamo, fled China to seek justice. She has become a powerful advocate for her late uncle and all Tibetan people, speaking earlier this year before the 9<sup>th</sup> Geneva Summit

for Human Rights and Democracy, calling on the international community to investigate her uncle's death. I am proud to testify alongside her.

### **Self-immolations**

At least 150 Tibetans from all walks of life and ages have engaged in self-immolations since 2009. According to the International Campaign for Tibet, 122 are men and 28 are women; 119 are known to have died following their protest; 26 are 18 or under; 13 were monks at Kirti Monastery in Ngaba; 11 were former monks there; and 2 were nuns from Mame Dechen Chokorling nunnery in Ngaba.

Kirti Monastery in Sichuan Province has been a center of the movement. According to observers, Kirti had been radicalized by the security forces occupying the monastery and turning it into a de facto prison. Ngaba is the county that includes Kirti and the nunnery. During the 2008 uprising, security forces shot protestors there, killing at least 10 people.

The protestors include the following people:

- Tsering Kyi was a 19-year old student in Gansu who, according to her relatives, set fire to herself and died in March 2012 after her high school changed its main language to Chinese. She had joined classmates to protest the new Chinese-language textbooks and the policy limiting Tibetan to one class. Following the protest, several teachers were fired and the headmaster was sent to work on a dam project. The Chinese authorities alleged that she was mentally unstable after hitting her head on a radiator because of which her grades suffered.
- Sonam Tso was a Tibetan mother of five who was believed to be in her fifties. She self-immolated in southwestern China's Sichuan province on March 23, 2016, near a monastery in Dzoegge County in the Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture.
- Dorjee Tsering, a 16-year old Tibetan, set himself on fire on February 29, 2016, the same day that Kalsang Wangdu, an 18-year old monk, self-immolated and died in Nyarong County in Kardze, the Tibetan area of Kham. Dorjee Tsering lived on a Tibetan settlement in northern India. While he survived the protest, he suffered 95 percent burns to his body and died in a hospital in Delhi on March 3. Kalsang Wangdu died while being taken to Sichuan's provincial capital for treatment.
- A young Tibetan monk, Jamyang Losel, set himself on fire on May 19, 2017, near the county hospital in Chentsa in Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai. He was immediately taken to a hospital in Xining, the provincial capital, but died there the same day. According to reports on social media, his body was not returned to his family. His is the latest self-immolation to date that we know about.

These self-immolations reveal the following concerns:

1. The Chinese government would have us believe that these self-immolators committed "terrorist acts in disguise," and/or were manipulated by external cults for their political ends. In fact, the Chinese government views self-immolations as threats to stability and security in a region that is unstable due to severe religious and cultural controls. Instead of acknowledging its role in prompting self-immolations, the Chinese government has criminalized the act and threatened to charge with murder anyone suspected of assisting or encouraging self-immolations. One prefecture (Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture) issued rules extending criminal penalties to family members, fellow villagers, and monasteries of self-immolators.
2. The Chinese government's response, more repression and more controls, has led to more antipathy from the people and more self-immolations. Why have these people chosen to self-immolate? The Dalai Lama describes them as "desperate acts by people seeking justice and

freedom.” Others view self-immolation as one of the few available forms of protest given the almost complete securitization of the Tibetan Plateau and the resulting difficulty of collective acts of resistance. Even small peaceful acts of defiance, such as having a picture of the Dalai Lama, can bring detention and disappearance.

## **Recommendations**

USCIRF has recommended that China be designated a “country of particular concern” (CPC) for its “systematic, ongoing, egregious” violations of the freedom of religion or belief. Chief among these violations is the Chinese government’s treatment of Tibetan Buddhists. USCIRF also recommends the following:

Congress should:

- Appropriate funds for programs supporting the Tibetan people, including Tibetan language broadcasts, to preserve their distinctive language, religion and culture in accordance with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002.

Congress and the Administration should:

- Swiftly pass, and the President sign, H.R. 1872/S.821, the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act, which would deny entry into the United States for Chinese government officials responsible for creating or administering restrictions on U.S. government officials, journalists, independent observers, and tourists seeking to travel to Tibetan areas. It is unacceptable the Chinese enjoy broad access to the United States while U.S. citizens’ access to Tibet is highly restricted. Mutual access and reciprocity is key to maintaining a viable relationship between the United States and China.
- Raise religious freedom concerns with Chinese officials at every appropriate opportunity, including in the U.S.-China Comprehensive Dialogue.
- Urge the Chinese government to allow the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet for a visit if he so desires, and permit an independent international investigation into the death of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche.
- Maintain contact with Chinese religious leaders and human rights activists.
- Make inquiries about and seek to meet with religious prisoners of conscience, including those detained for their religious freedom advocacy; work to secure their unconditional release; and press the Chinese government to abide by its commitments under the Convention against Torture.
- Urge the Chinese government to provide video graphic evidence of the well-being of the Panchen Lama.
- Press the Chinese government to restart the dialogue leading to a negotiated agreement on Tibet.

Congress should urge the Administration to:

- As mandated by the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, appoint a qualified and experienced individual to serve as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues at the U.S. Department of State and designate this position at the level of an Under Secretary of State.
- Designate China as a CPC with specific sanctions associated with the designation.

- Develop a list of Chinese officials subject to sanctions under the Global Magnitsky Act and the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act, and seek USCIRF's input for individuals to be sanctioned for their religious freedom violations.
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Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much, and let me publicly commend Leader Pelosi for recommending you to this position. We are honored to have you here.

And you mentioned the special coordinator and I want you to know that there is a bipartisan group of Congress who actually has appealed to the current administration to appoint somebody quickly because we think – we think it is important to have somebody in that office as soon as possible.

You know, you mentioned that the – that the Chinese government is officially atheist but has claimed the authority and the power to select the next Dalai Lama. In fact, as you mentioned, the government disappeared the Panchen Lama and then selected its own pick.

I think – I think it would be helpful to get on the record if you could discuss the reincarnation process, especially as it pertains to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, and the importance to Tibetan Buddhism of their lines of reincarnation, and if you could also discuss the Panchen Lama, whom I know you were advocating for in your role as USCIRF commissioner.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you for your question and the opportunity to answer your question.

The reincarnation system is unique to Tibetan Buddhism and it started with Gyalwa Karmapa, who recently visited here, and His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, is the highest Tibetan spiritual position leader and the next – the second one is His Holiness, Panchen Lama.

And His Holiness is the fourteenth in the line and the present Panchen Lama is the eleventh in the line of incarnations.

And so this reincarnation system is integral to Tibetan Buddhism – very important – because usually when one of them passes away, the other still is alive and is holding all the lineage teachings so that others will help to find the reincarnation of the next one and nurture him and educate him and pass on the teaching lineages.

Now, given the situation now, that His Holiness, the Dalai Lama could not pass on the lineage teachings through the present Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima.

And so I have adopted Gedhun Choekyi Nyima as my prisoner of conscience. Of course, in Tibet there are many. But he is the most prominent one.

And so as we all know the story that, you know, since, you know, a teenager, this is the only picture we have now. We don't know his current conditions, and at least I think the Government of China should do justice and provide us some, you know, videographic or, you know, evidence to show that he is still alive as they claim and he is being educated and he's living like any other normal human being.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. Well, you mentioned prisoner of conscience and, you know, as you know, at the inspiration of USCIRF and Amnesty International and Freedom Now and Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders, we have a prisoners of conscience campaign as part of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.



And so, you know, my prisoner of conscience has for many years been Nabeel Rajab, who is a prisoner of conscience in Bahrain. Unfortunately, he is currently in jail.

But I want to – I think today what I am – I think we need to elevate this issue of the Panchen Lama and I am going to join you in adopting the Panchen Lama as one of – as my prisoner of conscience that I am going to advocate for because I think it is important that we get an explanation as to where he is, whether he is doing well.

We don't even know if he is alive. We don't know anything about what's going on and I think – I think the Chinese government owes that to the Tibetan people and to anybody who cares about human rights.

So I will – I will join with you on that and we will raise our voices in a more consistent way asking for his whereabouts and an accounting for what has happened to him.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you very much for joining me adopting the Panchen Lama as your prisoner of conscience.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. You are very persuasive.

So, you know, in July 2016 the Chinese government launched a sweeping operation to demolish significant parts of Larung Gar Buddhist Institute, which is, you mentioned, is one of the largest Tibetan Buddhist institutes of learning in the world.

And the Chinese government has alleged that the demolition is for the purposes of construction and renovation. I mean, do you – I mean, do you believe that this is the Chinese government's goal in demolishing Larung Gar? And I think it would be helpful also for the record if you could explain the importance of rigorous study in Tibetan Buddhism and how the destruction of the Larung Gar Buddhist Institute and restrictions on Buddhist study affect religious freedom in Tibet.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you again. I do not believe that is the reason. I think Chinese, for political reasons, try to control everything that is Tibetan and they use – seems to use two tactics, to sinicize everything, including Tibetan Buddhism, and then use the security as a lame excuse to put more restrictions and including the destruction of the Larung Gar. And in Tibetan Buddhism, as you may know, that His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, often says that it comes from the Nalanda tradition of India, and His Holiness, as a matter of fact, has offered this prayer supplication to the 17 great professors of the Nalanda University and in our Tibetan monasteries we rigorously study the works composed by these great masters, such as Nagarjuna, Chandrakirti, Shantideva, Shantarakshita, and so on.

And so if you do not allow the opportunity to study Tibetan Buddhism, then it demands a blind faith, and His Holiness always encourages that – including lay Tibetans that we must study Buddhism so that based upon reasonings and convictions you should follow the Buddha, not just out of blind faith.

So what the Chinese have done, destroying Larung Gar and putting all the restrictions about studying Tibet, so they are turning everybody into blind faith

believers and as a matter of fact I think the Chinese policy has been self-defeating and it is not working.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. You know, you highlight in your testimony the Chinese government's indictment of Tashi Wangchuk for inciting splitism for which if convicted he could face up to 15 years in prison.

So he's an advocate for the Tibetan language and we have – when we visited Tibet, when Leader Pelosi led a trip that I had the privilege of being on a couple years ago, we talked about the importance of preserving the Tibetan language as a way to preserve the Tibetan culture. And I think it would be helpful if you could explain for the record, like, what is the importance of the Tibetan language and Tibetan Buddhism to the survival of Tibetans' distinctive identity?

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you again.

This is Tashi Wangchuk. Yes, he advocated for the preservation of Tibetan language. Tibetan language is, of course, very important to us Tibetans as part of our Tibetan identity.

But I think beyond that, Tibetan language today has global significance. As His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, has often said during the teachings, that today if you want to know the complete teachings of the Buddha, you know, the best resources are available in the Tibetan language.

In the Tibetan language we have preserved over 108 volumes of what we call the Buddhist Sutras. These are supposed to be the original teachings of the Buddha.

We have over 200-plus volumes of Indian commentaries on this teaching – shastras. We have thousands of written works from Tibetan masters on this.

So this rich collection all exists in the Tibetan language and I have been a translator for Tibetan into English, the Buddhism, for over 35 years, and I still continue to translate, because we want to make it available as much as to others' interest in this but at the same time we always emphasize that if you really want to know every nuance and everything, you have to learn Tibetan, because it is very hard to translate everything from Tibetan into English.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You know, one of the things that really bothered us when we visited Tibet was – was the fact that it became clear that the Chinese government seemed determined to kind of erase the culture as well as the language, as well as the traditions.

I mean, you know, they kept on pointing to the fact that they've made investments in infrastructure, which they have. I mean, there is – you know, I mean, better roads and, you know, better infrastructure, but at the price of basically erasing a culture and, you know, and while we very much hope that the Chinese government will change its point of view and we are going to continue to press them, we are very committed to protecting their culture and making sure that it exists forever and ever and ever – the language, the writings, you know, their traditions.

And one of the things I hope that you might think with us about is, you know, ways that we can play a role in that here in Washington.

You know, we have the Library of Congress here, which protects many collections and, you know, is a place where lots of different, you know, cultures

are on display and where writings are stored, that maybe the time has come for us to think about how we can better utilize this great institution that we have here in Washington as a way to work with the Tibetans in Tibet and Dharamsala and all over the country in being able to be a gathering point for some of that -- some of that culture and some of that history and some of those writings.

So I would hope maybe you can give us -- give some thought to that and maybe we can follow up with you on that.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you very much. I agree with all of your great ideas and one of the things I might add is now we have a number of Tibetans who are here as Tibetan Americans, including myself, and our generations here do not have opportunities really to study, you know, Tibetan language thoroughly as we did in India because the government of India has set up schools for us separately where Tibetan is taught from grade one all the way at school.

But here we don't have such institutional supportive facilities. Maybe through your help and the United States that we may be able to establish, you know, schools where Tibetan Americans can learn their language thoroughly.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, I think -- I think we can -- we should work on that. You know, let me ask you a question.

This is a question that I really can't get a satisfactory answer to and that is what is the Chinese government afraid of?

I mean, what is it about His Holiness that is so unnerving to those who are advocating this very restrictive policy? I mean, I have spent a lot of time with him. I mean, I've never heard him ever utter a negative word about anybody or anything. Totally committed to peace.

You know, he has advocated this third way, this -- that is not about separating Tibet into a separate country. He has talked about -- he has spoken reverentially about the Chinese people. I mean, I don't find anything he says to be threatening and he has been consistent in his views and in his teachings, you know, for as long as I -- you know, I have been studying him.

What is it that is so frightening about this man of peace, this -- you know, this holy man, you know, being able to exist in his homeland and practice his religion and his culture and his traditions along with those who follow him? What is the -- what is the -- why is this -- why does the Chinese government resist so strongly on this issue?

Mr. DORJEE. I will attempt to respond to that question. I don't know whether I will have a satisfying answer here. My belief is that what His Holiness stands for and who he is, everything His Holiness is, is just the opposite of what the Communist China stands for and that is really threatening.

I am an intercultural communication scholar. I have published many works in the peer-reviewed journal articles. I go and do presentations. One of the things that I realized is the perception issue that among the 35 so-called minorities of China, Tibetans are ethno-linguistically very distinctive.

So that distinctiveness, which is largely embedded in the Tibetan Buddhist culture, the culture of compassion and the culture of peace, is very threatening to the whole ideology of the Communist regime.

And so that is why I think they really need to go through some perception change because they have a very limited version. Everything Tibetan is very distinctive.

As much as they claim, Tibetans are Chinese. Tibet is part of China. But then that distinctiveness cannot be erased.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. DORJEE. Right. And so that is really threatening.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, what – you know, one of the things that we talked about when we visited some of the Chinese officials when we were in – a couple years ago with – led by Leader Pelosi was the fact that, you know, His Holiness has kind of led a movement of nonviolence and peace and he continues to be totally dedicated to that.

You know, at some point, if he's no longer here, you know, I am not so sure that, you know, that – you know, if nothing changes, whether or not, you know, there won't be some factions that will say hey, this hasn't worked, you know, and in essence cause the very instability that the Chinese government right now is fearful of, you know, if they – if they accept His Holiness.

Because I think what they are doing is – you know, if they are worried about stability, by their current policy what they are doing is encouraging instability in the long term, not stability.

Mr. DORJEE. I totally agree with you.

I think through engagement I think His Holiness, of course, always thinks about the whole universe, not only about Tibetans, and the Middle Way policy has been guided by his principles, where it is mutually beneficial for both China and Tibet.

And I also developed expertise in conflict resolution and I published a lot of articles in this area, too. And the Middle Way approach – non-violent approach – is, I think, the highest level, the best comprehensive approach to resolve issues, as you have rightly pointed out, to peacefully negotiate. It is mutually beneficial.

But at the same time, I believe that the Chinese leadership is lacking political willpower. Otherwise, the Tibet issue can be solved, you know, quite easily. They are just not willing to do that. They are waiting for His Holiness to pass away, making a big mistake.

His Holiness is the solution. It is not the problem, and they should change that perception.

Mr. MCGOVERN. And I agree with you. I mean, I think it is clear that the Chinese government is lacking the willpower to want to resolve this issue, believing that at some point it would just go away, or that people will get tired and will move on to something else.

And I don't believe that to be the case and I think we need to figure out ways that we can, you know, make that clear in a constructive way.

In your testimony you make recommendations for U.S. government action including funding programs that support the Tibetan people, advocating in support of prisoners of conscience – and I now have a new prisoner of conscience

that I am going to advocate for, the Panchen Lama – and enacting legislation, specifically the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act.

So I would just, finally, appreciate it if you could just discuss the significance of these actions, especially the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act and how that act will help to assess human rights and religious freedom conditions and the status of the Panchen Lama and other prisoners of conscience.

Mr. DORJEE. I, personally, attach much importance to the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act. You know, China has pretty much free access to the United States of America but we don't have the same access to Tibet.

And so China controls everything. It is very hard to even get basic information out of Tibet. And then if you try to get some information and provide it, then they claim that is not the right information.

Well, if that is not the right information, provide us the opportunity – access to Tibet – so that we will find the facts and evidence. Based upon that, we can provide information.

For example, as a Tibetan American, you know, I have many relatives in Tibet that I have never seen in my life and I have a personal reason, you know, to meet them before they die or I die.

But there is no such opportunity right now. Not only us Tibetans but anybody, my understanding is that, who wants to go to Tibet, it is not enough to get a visa to China. They must get a special permit to Tibet, and you have experienced a lot, you know –

Mr. MCGOVERN. It took us a long time. Well, it took many years for a congressional delegation to be allowed in there.

But Leader Pelosi was insistent when the Chinese leader came to visit Washington and I think that helped a great deal. I am not sure I would get another visa to go to Tibet. But nonetheless, it shouldn't be that hard.

Mr. DORJEE. I know even at the highest level diplomatic, you know, you had to go through so much to be able to visit Tibet. And as a commissioner, I would love to go to Tibet and find out about the Panchen Lama and the religious freedom conditions for myself.

I don't want to hear – listen to another person. I have eyes. I have ears. I can go and, you know, get information for myself. Let me in. Let any – anybody who are interested in Tibet to be able to come to Tibet.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, I feel hopeful that this year we may actually see some action in the House on the reciprocal – reciprocity bill because I think there is a growing bipartisan concern that we need to do something.

I will just close with this. I mean – I mean, our – I think – you know, for years, I think, politicians in the United States have all said the right things.

I mean, we have all kind of talked the talk and we have all said that repression against Tibetans is wrong. We all say that we honor His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. We all talk about the importance of religious freedom. But what has not been there is kind of our walking the walk.

I mean, any kind of concrete action to make it clear to the Chinese government that this is important to us. Because if we want – if we want to

encourage China to develop the willpower to resolve this issue, clearly, the words alone have not been enough.

I mean, I regret that, but it just hasn't. I mean, things are getting worse. They are not getting better. So I think that, you know, we need to be thinking of ways to impose a consequence for this repressive policy and I think this is one of the ways that we need to act and I look forward to working with you and others as we move forward.

But thank you for your very wonderful testimony and thank you for your service on USCIRF and for all that you do for human rights. Appreciate it. Thank you.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you very much for the opportunity.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you.

So now we will go to our next panel.

Arjia Rinpoche is a senior Buddhist lama and abbot and director of the Tibetan Mongolian Buddhist Cultural Center in Bloomington, Indiana, and he has studied – he studied for several years at the Monastery of the Panchen Lama and has trained with teachers including Dalai Lama.

He has – in 1998 he escaped into exile. He now lives in the United States and has set up two centers dedicated to the preservation of Buddhist teachings, art, culture within and outside Tibet and Mongolia.

Nyima Lhamo is a human rights advocate and niece of the late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a highly revered reincarnate lama and a prominent Tibetan prisoner of conscience who died in a Chinese prison in 2015.

And I am giving abbreviated biographies here because they all have great long biographies, but I had the pleasure of meeting her when I was in Dharamsala and I am happy to welcome her here.

And, finally, Todd Stein, who served from 2014 to 2017 as senior advisor to Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights Sarah Sewell, who served concurrently as Special Coordinator for Tibetan issues.

He helped coordinate U.S. policy in Tibet across the executive branch and was the main staff interlocutor with the Central Tibetan Administration.

Prior to joining the State Department, he was the director of government relations for the International Campaign for Tibet. He worked on Capitol Hill.

He is – you know, has a long career when it comes to human rights and we appreciate everybody for being here and we will begin with you.

Thank you so much for coming.

**STATEMENTS OF ARJIA RINPOCHE, DIRECTOR, TIBETAN MONGOLIAN BUDDHIST CULTURAL CENTER; NYIMA LHAMO, NIECE AND SPOKESWOMAN, FAMILY OF DECEASED MONK TENZIN DELEK RINPOCHE; TODD L. STEIN, FORMER SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CIVILIAN SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES**

## **STATEMENT OF ARJIA RINPOCHE, DIRECTOR, TIBETAN MONGOLIAN BUDDHIST CULTURAL CENTER**

Mr. RINPOCHE. First of all, thank you so much, Chairman, and good morning, everyone.

I am Arjia Lobsang Thubten, the former abbot of Kumbum Monastery in eastern Tibet. I was born in 1950 in a nomad's family, became a reincarnation, and ended up in Bloomington, Indiana, as a Hoosier monk now.

[Laughter.]

Thank you. I lived in a monastery most of my life in Tibet under Chinese law where I experienced everything happening in Tibet.

In 1998, due to issues with the Panchen Lama's reincarnation, I fled China and was granted the political asylum in the United States. Thank you for allowing me to share my – some thought about religious freedom and the policies in China.

In the 1950s and '60s, Chinese Communists denounced religion as a superstition, a poison, and a tool of feudalism. In a religious reform campaign, Chinese officials came to my monastery and they confiscated all property and arrested around 500 of nearly 3,000 resident monks including our abbot and everyone in charge. They forced monks to disrobe and sent them to a farm field or factories to be reformed through labor.

I was eight at that time when I was forcefully disrobed and sent to a Chinese school to re-born free from feudalism – forcefully reincarnated again.

And during the Cultural Revolution, religion was totally wiped out and monasteries in Tibet were destroyed. A few of them, ruins of them, were kept, but only as a negative example to educate the Red Guard and the people.

In the 1980s when Mr. Deng Xiaoping denied the Cultural Revolution, the dictatorship went away. In the Communist Party, conflict between the liberal reformers and the conservatives was quietly rising.

The reform and the opening policy improved the economy, and the cultural and the religious condition were eased, and the people hoped for change in China.

Many called for freedom and democracy. Others protest throughout China and the conservatives didn't like it.

In Tibet, demands for religious freedom and the return of His Holiness, Dalai Lama, became stronger day by day. After a series of protests in Lhasa in the mid-'80s, conservatives cracked down violently and declared the martial law in the Tibetan autonomous region.

In 1989, the students uprising in Tiananmen Square ended in the struggle between two factions of the party. Finally, conservatives won and the reformers lost power.

Currently, in contrast to China's improving economic condition, religious conditions are worsening. Religious practice is strictly controlled and the monasteries have almost become symbols and tourist attractions.

Regulations is especially tight for Tibetan Buddhists. They even control the process of recognizing reincarnations. To choose their own Panchen Lama,

the government reinstated an ancient Golden Urn method which they had long criticized as feudal and backward.

In my memoir, "Surviving the Dragon," I describe some of the details because I was there.

In 2007, China's State Administration for Religious Affairs issued Order Number Five called Measures on the Management of Reincarnation. This order limited the selection of reincarnated lamas and controls the entire selections.

Now the search for reincarnations requires government's permission first and the new lamas have to have a certificate of reincarnation.

So other official Order Number Eight issued in 2010 controls monasteries. It reduced the number of monks and nuns and seriously controlled monasteries' activities and finances.

Traditional ways of managing monasteries have been negatively affected by state controls. Even though the government – the Chinese government always emphasize separation between policy and the religion – church and state – in reality, religion must give in to political power and fully give up its freedom.

In recent years, the Centers of Buddhist Study opened the remote areas. They avoid attention by calling themselves camp institutes. People just mentioned that. Larung Gar is the one that became very popular with the students inside and outside of China.

Recently, the government noticed the growth and took control. They demolished the housing complexes and forced the monks and the students to leave.

To hide the truth, they send the religious teachers from the various camp institutes abroad to – for a lecture tour. This creates a false image of religious freedom to the world.

At home the masters and temples are afraid to speak against the government. All they can do is stay quiet and beg the monks to practice the patience and the forgiveness.

Control over religion became stricter with a policy called tighten inside and loosen outside. For visitors, monasteries appear normal. However, what visitors don't see are police vision within monastery – camera monitoring monks' activities and private thoughts.

When Mr. Xi Jinping became leader of China, he installed hope. His reorganization plans and the anti-corruption policies held great promise. Tibetans again hope for religious freedom and for His Holiness to return home.

On the internet, there is a quote attributed to Xi Jinping, saying Communist Party members can also study Buddhism and should learn from the Buddhists' great compassion.

It is hard to know if Xi actually said that. At least it is a sign that common folk still have some hope for Xi Jinping. This is the quote [holds up paper with quote].

China prides itself in 5,000 years of civilized history. Then why don't they learn from examples from their own wise emperors, who respect religion and practiced harmony?



Today's China shows friendship to the world and bravely want to be a world leader. Then why do they fear the return of the one Dalai Lama who long ago recognized the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China?

In conclusion, I hope Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission of the United States will conduct research and continue dialogue with the Chinese government. This effort could improve the current situation and also achieve genuine ethnic quality and religious freedom in China.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Rinpoche follows:]

## **PREPARED STATEMENT OF ARJIA RINPOCHE**

### **ARJIA RINPOCHE TESTIMONY FOR THE TOM LANTOS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION**

First of all, I would like to thank the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for giving me the opportunity to share my thoughts with you today.

My name is Arjia Lobsang Thubten. I am the former Abbot of Kumbum Monastery in Eastern Tibet. I was born in 1950 and lived most of my life on the Tibetan Plateau under Chinese control. In 1998, due to issues surrounding the reincarnation of the late Panchen Lama, I had to leave. It is a painful story to tell. Today, however, I will share only briefly about the past and will focus more on the religious policies of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

In the 1950s and 60s, the Chinese government prohibited the practice of all religions, saying that religion is opium that poisons people's minds, and is the product of feudal superstition. During the "Religious Reform" campaign, religion was criticized and denounced in meetings and gatherings at all levels. In my autobiography "Surviving the Dragon," I described some of these events in detail. At the time, the government sent Chinese officials into Kumbum Monastery, which was home to 3000 monks. Property belonging to the monastery and monks were either confiscated or forcibly transferred to collective ownership. About 500 monks and all the administrators, such as the abbot, the disciplinarian, the chanting master, and the scholars were arrested. Other monks were forced to disrobe and either sent to factories or farms to be reformed through labor.

When I was 8 years old, they wanted us to be "reborn, free from feudalism," so I was sent to a Chinese school to study Chinese. In those days, anyone showing the slightest sign of resistance or dissatisfaction would be regarded a "rebel." At that time, the government's "quelling of rebellion" practice in the Amdo region of Tibet was known for its cruelty. My birth place of Haiyan County was designated as a "County of Counterrevolutionaries," and many were arrested for "conspiring to rebel." Those not arrested were forcibly relocated to remote and isolated places depending on what social class they belonged to. My father, a brother-in-law, and a religious figure were all arrested at this time. My father died in prison.

During the Cultural Revolution, religion became even more a target for persecution. The campaign of "Breaking Four Olds," for instance, was one to eradicate religion altogether. Almost all of Tibet's monasteries were destroyed during this campaign. A very few ruined monasteries were kept only as a negative example to educate the masses on denouncing religion and feudalism.

When the Cultural Revolution ended the dictatorship went away too. At that time the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership split into two factions: the liberal reformers and the conservatives. Meanwhile, Chinese economy developed further toward a market based system. Many people started placing high hopes for change in China, but not the conservatives. Calls for democracy and freedom were frequent; protests and demonstrations of different sizes were taking place all over the country.

In Tibet, demands for religious freedom and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama became stronger day by day. Between September 1987 and March 1989, for example, there was a series of protests in Tibet. As a result, the conservatives in the Chinese government declared martial law in Tibet, carried out a violent crackdown and characterized the events as “a serious riot in Lhasa.”

In 1989, the student uprising in Tiananmen Square, a.k.a. “June 4 Massacre” led to the end of the internal struggle between the two factions of the CCP, with the conservatives winning. The leaders of the reformists either stepped down or were put under house arrest. In the 1990’s, at the 14<sup>th</sup> National Congress of CCP, Deng Xiaoping introduced a new policy to replace dictatorship called “Reform and Opening.” In this new system, leaders are appointed by the previous leadership and had limited terms.

In contrast to the improved economic situation, China’s religious policies became increasingly tighter and tighter. For example, on the issue of the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama’s reincarnation, the Chinese government insisted on using the so called “Gold Urn” method which had been long criticized as “feudal” and “backward.” In my memoir, I recorded some of the previously unknown details of the procedure, and showed that it was but an excuse by the Chinese authorities to instill their own version of the Panchen Lama. Meanwhile, the authorities made hints to appoint me as the tutor to their selection of the “11<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama,” perhaps because my uncle, Gyayak Rinpoche, was a tutor to the previous Panchen Lama. However, I chose not to betray my faith. I refused to cooperate with the Chinese Communist regime, and escaped from China. Eventually, I was granted political asylum in the United States.

Since 2000, the calls for religious freedom and protection of cultural heritage in Tibet are continuing. During the Olympics in 2008, Tibetans’ voices demanding change were the loudest. The Chinese authorities, as always, dealt with heavy hands which in turn led Tibetans in all three regions to resist the crackdown. More than one hundred people even set themselves ablaze to demand Tibetan freedom and to “let the Dalai Lama return.” The Chinese government, however, labeled everything as a plot on the part of the so called “separatist clique,” and blamed His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

During this period, Chinese government policies became more and more restrictive. For example, in 2007, China’s State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) issued its Order No. 5, called “Measures on Management of Reincarnation,” which limited the selection of reincarnated lamas, otherwise known as tulku. This order aimed to prohibit the “treasonous” and “separatist” tulku from being selected, and introduced a “Certificate of Reincarnation.” The certificate imposed control over spiritual leaders, throughout the whole Tibetan nation, and even planned to interfere in the selection of the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. Although the Chinese authorities have always insisted on the separation of policy and religion (church and state), in reality Chinese religious policy is far from separation of the two. Policies force religion to have no choice but to give in to political power and to fully give up its own freedom.

In 2010, SARA issued its Order No. 8 known as the “Measures for the Administration of Buddhist Monasteries” to push for further control over monasteries’ religious affairs and finances. For example, the Chinese government requires all monasteries to be registered. Starting new monasteries will not be allowed or approved. Old monasteries that were destroyed during political campaigns such as the “Great Leap Forward” and the Cultural Revolution, might be restored and reopened, but a strict approval process will be imposed. Even if approval is granted, there will be a limit on the number of monks and nuns and rigid control over all religious activities. Monks in monasteries will also be required to study policies on current affairs and patriotic materials. This, in essence, broke down the Tibetan tradition of administering monasteries through ethical discipline, and changed the fundamental nature of Tibetan religious institutions.

In recent years, practitioners in remote areas opened new Centers for Buddhist study. They avoided using the name “monastery,” and instead called themselves “camp institutes.” Because of this new name and style, they didn’t draw attention from the government. Some of

these institutes became increasingly influential and attracted more and more people from inside and outside China, who came there to study. Larung Gar Buddhist Academy was one such institution that avoided government scrutiny for a long time. Recently, the Chinese government noticed the growth of these centers in remote Tibetan areas and took control. They drastically limited the number of monks and followers, demolished the housing complexes and forced the monks to leave.

On the other hand, the government wants to present a different image to the outside world. They organize religious figures from these institutes and send them abroad on lecture tours to help create a false image of “religious freedom.” At home, the khenpos and masters are afraid to speak against the government. All they can do is beg the monks to practice patience and endure the oppression and humiliation. In short, the Chinese government, while it propagates “religious freedom” abroad, at home it practices strict control over all religious affairs, and is a typical example of “strict inside and loose outside” policy.

In fact, despite appearances, government control is still very strict. For visitors and tourists, especially foreigners, these details are not easily noticed. Instead, it appears that monasteries are opening normally, and religious activities are still going on. However, police stations are located within the monastery; Chinese officials and party cadres are sent to embed in monasteries; the phones are bugged and cameras are installed to monitor all activities of the monks and nuns. Of course, restrictions vary from place to place, but the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) is the most severely restricted. In the TAR, large numbers of monks are forced out of monasteries, religious events cannot be conducted normally, and pictures of the Dalai Lama cannot be displayed. Instead, the images of Chinese leaders are placed high up and the Communist Chinese flag is raised higher than the prayer flags. All in all, the situation is only worsening day by day.

Looking back at the decades, it is easy to see that policies on ethnic and religious affairs, the environmental issue on the plateau and the pollution of water resources are only worsening. Facts prove that past policies are not functioning properly.

When Xi Jinping was appointed leader of China, he instilled hope in the people. His pledge of honesty fostered trust. His reorganization plans and anti-corruption policies held great promise. Tibetans became hopeful for genuine “religious freedom.” Their dream for His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s return to Tibet was renewed.

Presently there is a widespread quote in the Chinese Internet sphere, attributed to Xi Jinping, saying “Communist Party members can also study Buddhism, and should learn from the Buddha’s great love and compassion.” Although the quote is even translated into Tibetan and is quite popular, it is hard to know whether or not Xi actually said it. At least it is a sign that the common folk still have some hope for Xi Jinping.

China prides itself in having five thousand years of civilized history. So why can they not learn to respect religion and practice harmony from their own wise historical Chinese emperors and kings? Why must they impose strict control over, even trample and ravage, religion? China’s population has grown to be number one in the world; they bravely want to be world leaders. While China can contain over a billion people, why is it unable to tolerate a Dalai Lama who long ago had already recognized the sovereignty of the People’s Republic of China?

In conclusion, I have hope that China’s liberal reformers will once again gain power and the situation will improve. In the meantime, I hope that human rights and religious commissions of the United State government will conduct research and continue the dialogue with the Chinese government. These efforts will not only improve the current situation, but could also achieve a genuine “ethnic equality” and “religious freedom” in China.

Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you.  
Ms. Lhamo.

**STATEMENT OF NYIMA LHAMO, NIECE AND SPOKESWOMAN,  
FAMILY OF DECEASED MONK TENZIN DELEK RINPOCHE**

[The following testimony was delivered through an interpreter.]

Ms. LHAMO. I would like to thank you for this opportunity and I would like to submit my full testimony for the record.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Without objection.

Ms. LHAMO. I came here with great hope and expectation. I left my family behind, including my six-year-old daughter and mother, and escaped Tibet to seek justice for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche.

My uncle, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, was a highly respected lama and community leader. In 2002, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was falsely accused and unlawfully detained by the Chinese authorities and sentenced to life in prison where he greatly suffered.

During the early years of his sentence, my uncle told my mom that he was beaten a lot by Chinese police and taunted by being told that if he is an incarnate lama he should show his magical powers.

However, he had no hard feelings and also told my mom not to be angry at them. He told her that he is innocent and it was important for her to fight for his justice. His only crime is that he respected His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and was his follower.

We appealed to the higher courts, including the Supreme People's Court, for a fair trial. But these efforts yielded no positive result.

Instead, my family and local Tibetans have been subject to harassment, discrimination, and many were arrested and sustained injuries from gunshots while peacefully demanding justice.

When we were informed that we could meet with Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, my mother and aunt left to see him. But after arriving in Chengdu where he was being held, the prison authorities kept postponing the visit for ten days until they were told about Rinpoche's death on July 12th.

With my mother and others, we protested against authorities for not allowing us to see and claim Rinpoche's body. Out of distress, my mother hit her head against the wall and shouted to see Rinpoche's medical reports to prove China's claims of a natural death. I attempted suicide by tying a scarf around my neck.

We were asked to submit our concerns in writing. We wrote, first, if Rinpoche died of natural causes, as stated by the authorities, we want the medical certificates.

Second, we requested them to preserve Rinpoche's body for 15 days in accordance with Chinese law.

Third, we want clear information on who ordered Rinpoche's cremation and the refusal of his body being returned to his family.

Fourth, we will not carry any further appeals or petitions against the authorities regarding Rinpoche's case if his body is handed over to our family for the final Buddhist rites.

Finally, if you do not meet us – our asks – we will consider it as though you have killed Rinpoche.

None of these asks were met. Moreover, the authorities cremated Rinpoche's body against the family's wishes and didn't even give us his ashes.

Shortly after the cremation of my uncle, my mother and I were detained and accused of leaking state secrets and told to expect a sentence of life in prison.

However, after a few days, we were told to sign a document noting the following conditions: one, no information on Tenzin Delek Rinpoche shall be shared in Tibet or with the outside world; two, no accusations shall be made against the Chinese authorities that Rinpoche was murdered by China; and three, no discussion on Rinpoche's death will take place at any public gathering or prayer.

We refused to sign these conditions, but after two days we were informed that our village leader had signed the conditions of our release on our behalf and that we should strictly follow his directions.

Following Rinpoche's death, the Chinese authorities aired false and distorted information on television, such as Tenzin Delek Rinpoche is a fake lama and a criminal.

My family and local Tibetans were not even allowed to offer traditional butter lamps or organize public prayers in memory of Rinpoche.

Finally, Rinpoche's belongings including his money were confiscated and we were told they would be burnt.

I heard about the United States' support for Tibet and His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. It brought me hope.

Therefore, I urge the United States government to seek an independent investigation into my uncle's death. I request you to ask – I request you to ask China the following questions: Why did they arrest Rinpoche, why did they kill him, and why didn't they return his body or even ashes?

I want to conclude by saying that Tibetans in Tibet have not given up their hope for freedom and return of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, to Tibet.

It is important for people who care about freedom and justice to stand for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche and Tibet.

As a Tibetan from Tibet, I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your support. It is difficult for me to express my uncle's case and my experiences in such a short amount of time. But this is what I am able to share today.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Lhamo follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF NYIMA LHAMO

### Nyima Lhamo Testimony for Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission

Good Morning Everyone!

My name is Nyima Lhamo, and I am the niece of the late Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, A Tibetan Buddhist master, who died mysteriously while in a Chinese prison. I would like to thank the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for giving me this opportunity to draw attention to the case of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche as well as the plight of my fellow Tibetans in Tibet at the United States Congress.

I come from a nomadic family from Lithang, Kham in eastern Tibet. I am 26 years old and am one of five siblings. I have a six-year old daughter and her name is Dawa Dolma. My uncle Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was a highly respected lama, both inside and outside of Tibet. He was known for his philanthropic work in Tibet, where he established schools, clinics, orphanages, old-age homes, and worked for the preservation of Tibetan culture and the conservation of Tibet's environment. I consider my uncle as my teacher who taught me the real meaning of being a Tibetan Buddhist, someone who always helped others in need and had no ill intentions toward others. When I heard the news of his arrest in 2002, I was only 12 years old. The first thing that came to my mind was that my uncle would be released soon since he had not committed any crime - however, I was wrong. Justice was not served in my uncle's case. He was falsely accused and unlawfully detained by the Chinese authorities, and sentenced to life in prison. Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche died on 12 July 2015 in Chengdu after 13 years of false imprisonment. We appealed for an independent and fair trial, we sought for medical parole and in 2010 - 40,000 Tibetans in Tibet signed a petition seeking his release. But these efforts have yielded no positive result; instead my family and local Tibetans have been subjected to harassment, discrimination, and many were arrested and sustained injuries from gunshots while demanding justice for my uncle following his death.

Growing up in Tibet, it was common to hear about such sad instances of Tibetan political prisoners dying in Chinese police custody and having justice for them denied. I know there are many other Tibetans who continue to face the same fate as my uncle. So with a lot of difficulties and hardship, I escaped Tibet but for a very important reason - to share the suffering of my late uncle, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, and that of other political prisoners in Tibet, who continue to suffer under the repressive Chinese rule. It is a wonderful feeling to be here and experience the freedom that I have always yearned for. I feel extremely happy to be in front of all of you and I am most grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. Today, I would like to emphasize on two points and my hope regarding my uncle Trulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's case.

My two points are of the circumstances regarding the lead up to, and the eventual death, of my uncle.

First, I would like to speak about the situation before my uncle's death. On 2 July 2015, ten days before Rinpoche's death, we were informed that we could meet with him. Hence my mother, Dolkar Lhamo and my aunt left immediately for Chengdu, where he was being held. However, after reaching Chengdu, the prison authorities kept postponing the visit for 10 days. At around 10pm on 12 July, they were informed of Rinpoche's death. I received a call from my mother saying that Rinpoche had passed away.

Immediately thereafter, I left for Chengdu. As soon as I reached Chengdu, my mother, my aunt, and I, alongside others, protested against the authorities for not allowing us to see and claim Rinpoche's body. We shouted, "You killed Rinpoche! If you didn't kill him, give us the medical certificates." Out of distress, my mother hit her head against the wall and shouted to see Rinpoche's medical report to prove China's claims of a natural death. We protested in front of the officials asking them, "If we belong to 'one nation,' as you claim, then why are we being treated differently? Why do you have two policies for the so-called 'one nation?'" Then I attempted suicide by tying scarf around my neck. Alarmed by our protest, the prison authorities let us into the prison office. Subsequently, they asked us to tell them our concerns. We gave them our concerns in writing; first, if Rinpoche died of natural causes, as stated by the authorities, we want the medical certificates that back this claim. Second, we requested them to preserve Rinpoche's body for 15 days in accordance with Chinese law. Third, we want clear information on who ordered Rinpoche's cremation and the refusal of his body being returned to his family. Finally, we will not carry any further appeals or petitions against the authorities regarding Rinpoche's case if his body is handed over to our family for the final Buddhist rites.

None of our concerns were addressed. Moreover, the authorities informed us that they would cremate Rinpoche's body at 7:00am the next day, against our wishes. For Tibetan Buddhists, if there is one thing more important than life, it is the Buddhist rites that should be carried out the moment immediately following one's death. However, my uncle was denied this opportunity.

Later, they let us in briefly to see Rinpoche's body. After seeing his body, I have six reasons to believe that my uncle was murdered in prison. First, the prison authorities did not allow my mother to meet Rinpoche and kept postponing the visit for 10 days. Second, they did not provide any medical documents or death certificate to corroborate the claim that Rinpoche died of a natural cause. Third, the government officials denied our request that Rinpoche's body be preserved for 15 days in accordance with the Chinese law. Fourth, the time of death cited by the authorities kept changing with one version stating that it occurred at 2pm and other at 4pm. Fifth, in violation of Chinese law, neither Rinpoche's body nor his ashes were returned to my family. Finally, when they let us see Rinpoche's body briefly, I noticed that his lips were black, and the monks who cleaned Rinpoche's body said his fingers and toenails were black, which raises suspicion of poisoning.

Shortly after the cremation of my uncle, my mother and I were detained and told that we had committed a serious crime. We were accused of leaking state secrets and told we should expect a sentence of life imprisonment. However, much to our surprise, after a few days, we were told to sign a document, noting the conditions of our release. The conditions included, 1. No information on Tenzin Delek Rinpoche shall be shared in Tibet. 2. No accusations shall be made against the Chinese authorities that Rinpoche was murdered by China and 3. No discussion on Rinpoche's death will take place at any public gatherings or to the outside world. We refused to sign these conditions. However, after two days, we were informed that the village leader had signed the conditions of our release on our behalf and that we should strictly follow his directions.

My second point is regarding the circumstances following Rinpoche's death, and the situation in Lithang now. After Rinpoche's death, the Chinese authorities continued to dishonor him in the following manners.

First, the Chinese authorities distributed pamphlets and aired false and distorted information on television, such as, Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche is a fake lama, a criminal, and that he was a threat to the so-called "social stability". Second, my family and local Tibetans were not even allowed to offer traditional butter lamp and organise public prayer in memory of Rinpoche. Third, the local authorities did not allow the building of a memorial stupa for Rinpoche. Fourth, I have also heard that authorities in Nyagchuka (Chinese: Yajiang) are attempting to manipulate the reincarnation of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, like the Chinese authorities did in the case of 11th Panchen Lama. Fifth, pictures of Rinpoche were banned in Lhathang. Finally, Rinpoche's belongings, including his money, were confiscated and we were told they would be burnt.

These are the two points I wanted to share with you today. I feel very lucky and happy to be speaking in front of all of you today. An opportunity like this, to speak freely, is a long cherished aspiration of every Tibetan inside Tibet. When I was in Tibet, whenever I heard news of the United States' support for Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai Lama, it brought me hope. With this hope, I fled Tibet leaving my family, including my six-year old daughter behind. I know my speaking here may jeopardize my family's safety in Tibet. Despite that, I am taking all the risks and speaking in front of you today with sincere hope, and appeal to the international community to prevail against the Chinese government to carry out a thorough investigation into the circumstances leading to the death of my uncle, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche.

Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's case is an example of Chinese Government's mistreatment of the Tibetan people. But the Tibetans in Tibet have not given up their hope for freedom and return of His Holiness Dalai Lama to Tibet. In this critical time, I believe it is important for United States of America to stand with Tibet. I sincerely hope that the voices of the Tibetan people are heard and justice is served.

I would also like to talk about the sad news about Liu Xiaobo. Liu Xiaobo's case shows that China has learned nothing from my uncle's unnecessary and tragic death. I appeal to you to step forward and ensure that Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's death is the last caused by China's cruel and inhumane torture. As fellow human beings, we are all morally obliged to ensure that China's treatment of Liu Xiaobo doesn't go unnoticed.

Last but not least, on behalf of Rinpoche, my family and his supporters, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, leaders of United States of America, international civil societies, and all the supporters for taking every possible action to highlight Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's case at the highest level to hold China accountable for the crime. I sincerely hope that you will continue to use every possible political and diplomatic instrument to raise the issue of Tibet.

I want to conclude by saying, though it is unfortunate and sad that Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche is no longer with us today, I strongly believe he will always live in our thoughts, our hope for freedom, our everyday struggle, and our love for Tibet.

Thank you again for this opportunity.



Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, thank you very much, and we appreciate you being here and we are deeply moved by your statement. And we know it is difficult but it is – I believe it is helpful. It is important, so thank you.

Mr. Stein.

**STATEMENT OF TODD L. STEIN, FORMER SENIOR ADVISOR TO  
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CIVILIAN SECURITY,  
DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND SPECIAL COORDINATOR  
FOR TIBETAN ISSUES**

Mr. STEIN. Thank you, Chairman McGovern. Thank you for the opportunity to speak today. This Commission and its predecessor over the years have given a lot of needed and welcome attention to Tibet, so I thank you for that.

I have submitted a written statement. I will shorten my remarks in the interest of time.

I concur with what the other witnesses have said about the state – appalling state of religious freedom in Tibet and I – and I identify with that.

The Chinese government treats Tibetan Buddhism not as a spiritual tradition to be respected but as a rival to be controlled. I would like to focus my remarks on the issue of reincarnation.

And it is a little bit daunting sitting next to one reincarnate lama and the niece of another. So I will let them be the experts on the process so I will – I will hone my remarks on the political and policy aspects of it and why the U.S. should care.

As mentioned, the Dalai Lama had his 82nd birthday last week. He seems to be in very good health. But each year brings us closer to the question of his succession and reincarnation.

Every analyst I have consulted assesses a high likelihood of violence and unrest if the Dalai Lama dies in exile absent some sort of negotiated arrangement on his succession.

The Dalai Lama represents Tibetans' hope for deliverance. His passing could unleash decades worth of anger and resentment. We could expect a brutal response from Chinese security forces.

This is an avoidable crisis. We know it is coming. There is time to find an off-ramp if the parties can summon the will and if the international community can prioritize it.

The Chinese government says it has the exclusive right to name the next Dalai Lama, as you mentioned. The Dalai Lama says that only he, in consultation with Tibetan Buddhist leaders and Tibetan people, can make that decision.

He has said he could reincarnate, emanate, not reincarnate – all of which have legitimate precedence in Tibetan Buddhism. China says it has to happen within the borders of the People's Republic of China.

The Dalai Lama has hinted that it would not happen there, as he would be re-born in freedom.

So we could see a two Dalai Lama problem – one appointed in Tibet by the Chinese government and another in exile, chosen per the Dalai Lama's wishes.

This would not be a good scenario. It would likely worsen relations between Tibetans and the Chinese who govern them and it would cause more friction between India and China.

Why does China take such a hard line? Because it seeks legitimacy to rule Tibet that it has failed to acquire over six decades of occupation.

It wants from the fifteenth Dalai Lama what it has not gotten from the fourteenth Dalai Lama, which is a statement that Tibet has been part of China since ancient times – a statement that would be historically inaccurate.

The stakes go beyond the confines of the Tibetan Plateau. The geography of the Tibetan Buddhists' world covers the Himalayan Belt, and that is parts of India, Nepal, Bhutan and Mongolia, and different sections of the Russian Federation.

China seeks to exert control over Tibetan Buddhism to extend its influence on its periphery. Moreover, India and China are engaged in a soft power competition for the perception of being the top benefactor of Buddhism – of global Buddhism.

So why should the United States care about the Dalai Lama's succession? Well, let me give you four reasons: one, our interest in stability, both regionally and internally within China; our interest in China becoming a stable and sustainable multi-ethnic nation where pluralism is valued and supported by the rule of law – basically, we don't want China to become a model for authoritarians elsewhere; our interest in limiting Chinese expansion in the region – anti-democratic Chinese expansion; and four, our interest in preserving the distinct religion, culture, and language of the Tibetan people, as you mentioned, Congressman.

Promoting religious freedom is a core foreign policy objective of the United States. Inherent in this principle is the right of Tibetan Buddhists to determine the individuals who guide and sustain their religion, especially through the traditional practice of reincarnation.

The optimum outcome here is one that avoids violence and unrest and where the choice of a spiritual successor is made with the genuine input of the Tibetan people consistent with their belief system and their right to religious liberty.

I offer the following recommendations.

Approach the Dalai Lama's succession as a matter of regional security, as well as a religious freedom issue.

Ensure that the aperture for assessing the risks of a clash over the Dalai Lama's succession include the geographic breadth of the Tibetan Buddhist world, as I mentioned.

Clearly state the position of the United States. And let me repeat what Tibet Coordinator Sarah Sewell testified before your Commission two years ago. She said "the basic and universally recognized right of religious freedom demands that any decision on the next Dalai Lama be reserved to the current Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people. That is the position of the United States."

The Trump administration should adopt and enunciate this position, and Congress should reinforce it through legislation.

Have a contingency plan in place, things like a pre-draft statement in advance of the Dalai Lama's death, drafted reactions to anticipated Chinese reactions after he dies, and a mechanism for like-minded coordination.

Engage with the Chinese on the benefits of finding a solution before he passes away – solution to the two Dalai Lama problem.

Urge China to refrain from making statements that would inflame the situation after he passes away.

Encourage track-two dialogues like between academics or lamas.

Engage with the Indian government.

Ensure that U.S. diplomats based in Beijing, Chengdu, Kathmandu, Ulaanbaatar, and New Delhi are tracking the political dimensions of Tibetan Buddhism and the Dalai Lama succession.

Encourage the Dalai Lama to be clear about his intentions. His friends in the international community can be more helpful with a roadmap based on his plans.

Provide the Dalai Lama platforms to communicate his message and continue to provide support to Tibetan communities in India and Nepal. They are the guarantors of an authentic Tibetan Buddhism, and you previously talked about the appropriations and budget issue.

Lastly, underlying all this, bring in like-minded governments in Europe and Asia into the game plan to maximize the effectiveness.

In summary, the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama could be an inflection point in the history of China and Tibet. We do not want it to trigger violence and instability. We want a positive outcome that can only come if Tibetan Buddhists are able to freely practice their religion and choose their leaders.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Stein follows:]

## **PREPARED STATEMENT OF TODD L. STEIN**

**Statement before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission  
U.S. House of Representatives**

**Tibet: Freedom of Religion**

**Todd L. Stein**

**Former Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy  
and Human Rights and Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues**

**July 12, 2017**

Chairman McGovern, Chairman Hultgren, Members of the Commission, thank you for the opportunity to speak today on this important topic. Over the years, this Commission and its predecessor have given welcome and needed attention to Tibet, not just on human rights and religious freedom, but on political issues and the Dalai Lama's quest for a durable solution.

I have closely followed Tibetan affairs for almost a decade. Most recently, I staffed the State Department's Office of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, serving as a senior advisor to

Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights Sarah Sewall, who served concurrently as Special Coordinator.

### Overview

Authorities in the People's Republic of China (PRC) -- both the government and the party -- impose severe restrictions on the religious freedom of the Tibetan people. These limitations are well documented by the State Department in its annual reports on International Religious Freedom, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and many non-governmental organizations.

The Chinese government treats Tibetan Buddhism not as a spiritual tradition to be respected but as a rival for fealty. As with any other entity it sees as a threat to party dominance, it treats Tibetan Buddhism with a heavy and intrusive hand.

When looking at Tibet, we should keep in mind the distinction between "freedom of religion" and "freedom of religious practice."

Chinese officials will show you monks in a monastery and say there is freedom of religion. But the monks may not be able to travel to further their spiritual education. Government-imposed travel restrictions, especially on monks and nuns, can have serious implications for the religion's vitality. Oral transmission of teachings from master to student is the life-blood of the religion. Severing this connection undermines the intellectual dynamism that is at the heart of Tibetan Buddhism.

Chinese tour guides will point to a Tibetan reciting mantras with a prayer wheel and say there is freedom of religion. But that Tibetan cannot display a photo of the Dalai Lama or publicly wish him a long life. In many areas, Tibetans can be punished for publicly venerating the Dalai Lama or possessing a photo of him. Cleaving the Dalai Lama, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, from the belief system rips at the heart of the religious, social and ethnic identity of the Tibetan people.

Chinese media will showcase a Tibetan lama presiding over a religious ceremony. But that lama may have been selected by an apparatchik over the wishes of the guardians of his lineage and not respected by his erstwhile followers. In 2007 the State Administration of Religious Affairs (SARA) set regulations requiring that reincarnate lamas be approved by the government. They provide that no foreign entity can have a role in a recognition and that reincarnations must happen inside China. There is now a government registry of approved lamas. The 14th Dalai Lama is not on the list.

In essence, China is creating a Potemkin village of Tibetan Buddhism, with glittering temples, fluttering prayer flags and "Living Buddhas" on state TV. But behind the facade, regulations and restrictions are undermining the architecture of this ancient and rich religion.

### Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama

I would like to focus on the issue of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and why it demands increased attention from U.S. policy-makers.

The Dalai Lama celebrated his 82nd birthday last week. While he is in good health, each year brings us closer to the question of his succession or reincarnation.

Every analyst I have consulted assesses a high likelihood of unrest and violence in Tibet if the 14th Dalai Lama dies in exile absent a negotiated arrangement on his succession. The Dalai Lama has represented Tibetans' hope for deliverance. His passing could unleash decades-worth of anger and resentment. We could expect a brutal response from Chinese security forces.

This is an avoidable crisis. We know it is coming. There is time to find an offramp, if the parties can summon the will, and if the international community can prioritize the search for a solution.

The Chinese government says it retains the exclusive right to select the next Dalai Lama and that his reincarnation can only happen inside the PRC. The Dalai Lama says that only he, in consultation with senior lamas, certain followers of Tibetan Buddhism, and the Tibetan public, can decide. He has said he could reincarnate as was done the 13 previous times. He could emanate, akin to transferring his spirit into an already living person. He could choose not to reincarnate if he finds the institution is no longer useful. All of these options are legitimate, with precedents, in Tibetan Buddhism. He has also said he could return as a woman and that he almost certainly would be reborn "in freedom," meaning outside the borders of the PRC.

The Chinese position is inflexible, the Dalai Lama's elastic. China calculates they can win the hearts and minds of Tibetans with economic inducements. They are betting that Tibetans can be peacefully cleaved from their core spiritual identity. You will find few observers who think they can win that bet.

Some have called this the "two Dalai Lama problem," with one in Tibet selected by China and the other in exile chosen per the 14th Dalai Lama's instructions. Such a scenario would likely worsen relations between Tibetans and the Chinese who govern them. It would likely exacerbate friction between China and India, assuming the latter continues to provide refuge to Tibetan exiles.

Why does China take such a hard line? Because it seeks legitimacy to rule Tibet that it has failed to acquire over six decades of occupation. It wants from the 15th Dalai Lama what the 14th cannot grant -- a statement, historically false, that Tibet has been part of China since ancient times.

The stakes go beyond the confines of the Tibetan plateau. The geography of the Tibetan Buddhist world encompasses the Himalayan belt -- Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and parts of India -- Mongolia, and three regions in the Russian Federation. China's actions to exert greater control over Tibetan Buddhism, including giving financial support to certain monasteries and factions, are a key component in its effort to extend influence on its periphery. Moreover, Buddhism is an element in the soft power competition between China and India, as each claims to be seen as the top benefactor of global Buddhism, sponsoring competing conferences and financing religious sites.

This issue is an example of the nexus between religious freedom and international security. Policy interventions on behalf of religious freedom are directly relevant to addressing challenges of stability.

#### United States interests

Why should the United States care about the Dalai Lama's succession? There are several U.S. interests at stake:

- Our interest in stability, both regionally and internally in China.
- Our interest in China becoming a stable and sustainable multi-ethnic nation where pluralism is valued and supported by the law, rather than suspect and smothered by an iron fist. We don't want China's behavior to serve as a model for other authoritarians ruling heterogeneous states.
- Our interest in limiting the anti-democratic Chinese government's expansion in the region.
- Our interest in preserving the distinct religion, culture and language of the Tibetan people. Promoting religious freedom is a core foreign policy objective of the United

States. Inherent in this principle is the right of Tibetan Buddhists to determine the individuals who guide and sustain their religion, especially through the traditional practice of reincarnation.

### Considerations

As policy-makers address this issue, a few considerations are worth bearing in mind:

- Unrest in Tibet could precede the Dalai Lama's death, if he becomes infirm and Tibetans see his return home as an impossibility. The desire to pass on near one's home is very important in Tibetan culture.
- There is a significant interregnum that occurs under the traditional process. The child is not recognized until age 3-5, and he does not achieve majority for another 13-15 years. The politics of a "two Dalai Lama problem" would play out over decades.
- In the case of the 11th Panchen Lama, the Chinese government allowed the Dalai Lama to have a role in the search for the reincarnation, providing an example that coordination is possible. The case is also illustrative of China's heavy hand, when coordination ceased and they disappeared the boy chosen by Dalai Lama and appointed their own.
- We should not assume a monolithic Chinese position. There are scholars in China who have warned of the dangers of a "two Dalai Lama problem." However, these voices are not allowed an airing in the current climate.

### Recommendations

The optimum outcome is one where the passing of the Dalai Lama does not result in violence and unrest and where the choice of a spiritual successor is made with the genuine input of the Tibetan people consistent with their belief system and their right to religious liberty. I offer a set of recommendations for policy-makers in the Executive Branch and Congress:

- **Approach the Dalai Lama's succession as a matter of regional security**, and address the religious freedom component not just as a values issue, but integral to the security problem and potential solutions.
- **Ensure that the aperture for assessing the risks of a clash over the Dalai Lama's succession include the geographic breadth of the Tibetan Buddhist world**, including India, Mongolia, Nepal and Bhutan, in addition to Tibetan areas of the PRC.
- **Clearly state the position of the United States**. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues Sarah Sewall testified before this Commission that "the basic and universally recognized right of religious freedom demands that any decision on the next Dalai Lama be reserved to the current Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people." The Trump Administration should adopt and enunciate this position, and Congress should reinforce it through legislation.
- **Have a contingency plan for the U.S. government in place**. Elements should include a pre-drafted statement to be issued upon the Dalai Lama's death; responses to anticipated Chinese statements and actions; a mechanism for coordination with relevant governments; and a list of key contacts in the Tibetan Buddhist community inside and outside of China with whom to engage.

- **Engage with China on the benefits of finding a solution to the "two Dalai Lama problem" before he dies and on the risks if they don't.** Urge Chinese officials to engage with the Dalai Lama or his representatives.
- **Urge China to refrain from making statements or taking actions that could inflame the situation following the Dalai Lama's death.**
- **Encourage track two dialogues** between academics and/or Tibetan Buddhist leaders from both inside and outside the PRC.
- **Engage the Indian government and other stakeholders in India to identify common interests and objectives.** No nation outside China has a larger stake in the "two Dalai Lama problem."
- **Ensure that U.S. diplomats based in Beijing, Chengdu, New Delhi, Kathmandu and Ulaanbaatar are aware of the political dimensions of Tibetan Buddhism** and specifically the issue of the Dalai Lama's succession and reincarnation, and include them in their reporting.
- **Encourage the Dalai Lama to be clear about his intentions.** His friends in the international community can be more helpful with a roadmap based on his plans.
- **Provide the Dalai Lama platforms to communicate his message,** and encourage like-minded governments in Europe and Asia to do the same. Elevating his stature is needed in the effort to encourage dialogue.
- **Continue to provide support to Tibetan communities in India and Nepal.** They are the guarantors of an authentic Tibetan Buddhism while it is being eroded within the PRC.

The effectiveness of these actions will be enhanced if the U.S. government coordinates with like-minded governments in Europe and Asia. Such coordination must be part of the game plan. Members of Congress can help by engaging your interlocutors in these countries on this issue.

In conclusion, the reincarnation/succession of the Dalai Lama could be an inflection point in the history of China and Tibet. We do not want it to trigger violence and instability. We have the luxury of knowing the event is coming. We can prepare and work to steer it away from a bad outcome. There will be no positive outcome that does not allow Tibetan Buddhists to be able to freely practice their religion.

Thank you.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you. Thank you all for your excellent testimony. This is all very, very helpful and I think it is important to have on the record.

Ms. Lhamo, let me – you had mentioned that you have spoken with many governments about what happened to your uncle.

Have governments been supportive of your call for an independent investigation into your uncle's death and have you sensed any progress on the issue?

And just – and if it were possible to conduct an independent investigation, who, in your view, should carry it out?

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. I have been able to speak to several governments and also meeting parliamentarians from this issue and several of them have responded positively, saying that you have basis for requesting this investigation.

Others have said that this is good but it will take time for it to materialize. And all of them seem to be positive in terms of supporting my request for investigation.

But I realize that in practical terms it will take time.

In terms of who could be it, I believe there could be independent investigations including from the United Nations, that could be done over his death.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Thank you.

Director Rinpoche, you know, in your testimony you mentioned that old monasteries that were – that were destroyed during political campaigns such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution might be restored and re-opened, although a strict approval process would be imposed.

In some countries, international campaigns to build religious institutions have had some success. Should the rebuilding of monasteries be called for by outside actors including human rights organizations, and should the U.S. government be out front and advocating for that as well?

Mr. RINPOCHE. Yes. So according to the situation, after the Cultural Revolution, because at that time the Chinese government had the gap of what we call the golden times, the monasteries and cultural – everything is kind of recovering and re-opening.

So now the situation is a little bit tighter and they made the rules and everything. Then my hope is maybe the Human Rights Commission, like here, may conduct the dialogues and the research and maybe workshop together and do more studies together.

Maybe that is very helpful, that is – I am thinking. So other than that, I don't have any particular thought.

Mr. MCGOVERN. What do you think about this idea of trying to get the – an institution like the Library of Congress more involved in protecting and preserving Tibetan culture? Is that something you would think would be a good idea?

Mr. RINPOCHE. That is really good. That is a wonderful idea. Let us continue to do that. Actually, in China, I just mentioned in my talk, then they also are making some kind of – create some false feeling for the religious freedom and



the preservation of Buddhism and also they have a institute and everything. They are doing something. But the difference is here if you do something the Tibetan people really are involved and they're doing something and help their self.

But in China, they're named by, you know, like Tibetan Institute or, you know, whatever the studies. But they're run by the men – Chinese authority.

So that is the difference, I guess. So that is why that is very helpful.

Mr. MCGOVERN. So maybe what might be helpful is that we kind of get a group – an informal group together, maybe go meet with the Librarian of Congress and have a conversation with her about what such an effort would look like and what we need to do to make it happen.

Mr. Stein, one of your suggested courses of action for the United States is to encourage track-two dialogues between academics and/or Tibetan Buddhist leaders from both inside and outside the PRC.

To what extent is that already taking place and how much communication is there amongst Buddhist leaders and scholars in China who have warned of the dangers of a two Dalai Lama problem?

Mr. STEIN. Thank you.

Just to add a little bit to your last question, there is an organization in Boston called the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center. I think I got the name right.

What they do is they partner with Chinese and Tibetan – a university in Chengdu, I think, on digitization of ancient Tibetan texts and what they do is they employ young Tibetans to do that, and that is funded in part by USAID and that is one of the programs that is under the chopping block in the President's budget. So here is an example where –

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. STEIN. – it is enhancing the study of the language and the religion. It employs Tibetan people and that is something that Congress can have a say.

On your question of track-two dialogues, it is hard. It has happened. There are organizations that have – NGOs that have sponsored such dialogues both in China and outside.

It is something that is very – it is very tender for the United States to be involved because, again, you know, it is the black hand type argument that you may want to avoid. But this is more in the realm of talking with people who know people.

We do have evidence that Tibetan academics have ruminated on the question of the two Dalai Lama problem. They have written about that – they have published. That was several years ago.

So the assessment is that that became too risky for them to do. And so if there are discussions about the problems, and we do know that they happen, they are not happening in an above-board – I am sorry, in a public way right now.

I think this is a question also for those who are in country – our diplomats – as they form their relationships and talk to their local interlocutors to try to encourage this sort of engagement.

But, again, their access to Tibetans and to Tibetan areas is very difficult, as you recognized in your legislation, which I fully support.

Mr. MCGOVERN. You know, when we were in – on that trip to Tibet a couple years ago led by Leader Pelosi, every meeting we had with every Chinese official, we began the meeting mentioning two things.

One is that we hold in high regard His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and two, we raised the issue of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche at every meeting, whether it was in Tibet or Beijing – at every meeting.

And, you know, and, quite frankly, I thought that when they let us into Tibet and we had some very candid conversations, that maybe that was a sign that there was some new thinking going on in the Chinese government, and it seems like we've gone backwards.

When we just recently came back from a bipartisan trip that Leader Pelosi again led, and Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner also was a co-leader of this trip, and we went to India.

We met with His Holiness in Dharamsala and, Ms. Lhamo, I had a chance to meet with you briefly there. But while we were in India we met with – in New Delhi and in Mumbai, with the American Chamber of Commerce in India, you know, who, obviously, the people at these events were very interested in continued trade and economic relations with India, with China, with the whole world.

And we raised, to them very directly, our view that the business community needs to be more vocal on these issues – that, you know, business – we have business interests, China has business interests.

I mean, we both benefit from trade and economic activity. But the fact that these issues of human rights, specifically with regard to Tibet, are very rarely if ever brought up in the context of business and we think that they ought to do that.

And I would just be curious to get your reaction to the question as to whether the international private sector has a role to play on behalf of the human rights and religious freedom of the Tibetan people. Open it to anybody here.

Mr. STEIN. Well, let me – let me start.

I think that, I mean, we can – I think we can all conceive that yes, that U.S. – there are arguments to be made for why U.S. business should care.

But I come back to sort of the theme that I addressed in my remarks, which is that the arguments that one makes on Tibet, to the extent that you can include a security argument –

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. STEIN. – and bring in U.S. national interests, I mean, you know, just my personal observation is that, look, the arguments for caring about Tibet from a human standpoint, from a value set, from religious freedom, from human rights are all valid.

But it may not be sufficient to get to that next level of policy-makers in the U.S. government, especially on the security side.

So talking about it in a different way, and if you can sort of posit what could happen in the future, again, this is a crisis that we know is coming, as one of instability that would be bad for – bad for markets, bad for trade connectivity. I

think you may have a greater chance of reaching into the business community there.

And I haven't explored it but academics are looking at things like the One Belt One Road and those sorts of lines of connectivity which go through the western parts of the PRC.

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. I concur with what the previous speaker mentioned and I also feel that the business community do have a role in looking at the human rights situation in Tibet because that has to be treated important and precious that human beings can have even while they do business. Therefore, I feel that this needs to be further looked into.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. No, I – again, and I appreciate the national security argument. I think that that may be a persuasive argument to try to appeal to not just the U.S. business community but the international business community to be more involved and we need to figure out how to do that and who the messenger is to be able to deliver that message effectively because I don't get the sense that it has sunk in yet because I don't feel the message is being delivered by the business community.

We said in India that, you know, I think – that there is no excuse not to know what is happening, and it is just – it is not just Tibet. It is – there are other aspects of China's human rights policy that are of concern.

People know. It's just they choose not to raise the issue, which makes you complicit. I mean, that is a very harsh way to put it, but it is the truth. I mean, we – and I don't see what the cost is to the American business community, or the international business community, to be raising these issues every chance they get.

China is still going to want to do business with them. But they need to know that if they don't want these issues being raised they got to deal with them.

You know, I am trying to think of, like, you know, out of the box you thinking ways to approach this issue and, you know, I mean, there are things that we can do here in the United States.

We talked about, you know, reciprocal – the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act. We have talked about funding for some of the programs that you mentioned that are very, very important.

When we were in Belgium we met with representatives from the European Union Parliament and talked about the importance of the Europeans stepping up to the plate, about maybe creating a group of friends, if you will, that would meet regularly and publicly on this issue.

There seemed to be some interest but nobody seems to want to take the lead on it. But we need to – we need to pursue that because there is – there is concern over there as well.

But let me just talk about the United Nations for a minute. I know that there is – resolutions have been passed but, you know, resolutions urging adherence to human rights principles, or – I don't think are in and of themselves enough and, you know, and passing a resolution that doesn't necessarily result in action to follow.

And we have been trying to think of things that we can ask the international community, and specifically the United Nations, things that we can do that help – that might help increase some of the attention on this issue and hopefully result in China maybe doing some re-thinking of some of these issues.

You know, I have been looking – I have been thinking about all these special rapporteurs that we have, right. We have a special rapporteur on cultural rights, right to education, enjoyment of sustainable environment, right to freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of peaceful assembly and association, enjoyment of highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, situation of human rights defenders, independence of judges and lawyers – you know, the impending right to self-determination.

There is all these special rapporteurs. I mean, would it be helpful or useful, I mean, to be – to be making the demand that these special rapporteurs have access to Tibet?

I mean, there are all these – you know, these great – you know, these people have these great titles to defend the very things we are all talking about, I mean, don't seem to be able to go there.

So, I mean, you know, is your way to elevate this issue or this – or the status of the Tibetan people through maybe asking formally that the U.N., you know, request that their special rapporteurs have an ability to go there?

I am just trying to think of new ways to get at this issue to indicate a seriousness and a commitment that this issue isn't going away – or any other ideas about how we might better utilize the United Nations.

Mr. STEIN. Well, I can start.

You are right. There are on the table many requests for access to China and Tibet. So I am thinking of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid is one –

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Mr. STEIN. – who has been asking for a long time. There are several of these special rapporteurs that have outstanding requests. It sits there, and China exerts such a powerful force in the U.N. system by virtue of their seat.

I remember last year the Dalai Lama went and spoke in Geneva and it was an example of the Chinese throwing their weight around to try to get the event cancelled. They did not. It went forward.

But they are not afraid to impose costs on others for things that they don't see. So the question is, you know, what, either within the U.N. system or the other members of the United Nations, you know, would impose costs for China's failure to respond on Tibet –

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. I guess –

Mr. STEIN. – just the central question you raised.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right.

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. I have had the opportunity to interact with officers at the United Nations and I believe that approaching the United Nations on the sort of traditions that you have is a very good idea.

That is because the United Nations is a pretty large organization. It has many issues to tackle. And therefore, constantly reminding it about an issue like the Tibetan people is essential.

And taking it through the part of the special rapporteurs is something that would really benefit the Tibetan people and I thank you for the suggestion.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Yes. I mean, I just – you know, I think, you know, part of what we need to figure out is, you know, what the specific ask is because, as I said, we met with some of the European Union parliamentarians. I mean, I think – I think everybody is – again, they are all sympathetic, all care about religious freedom, all say that they admire His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, all condemn the persecution.

But then, you know, I worry after we all leave the room and then that is it. So I think – you know, I mean, you know, if there is – if there is an action at the United Nations, you know, a demand that we could be making, I mean, that gives us an opportunity to work with some of our friends in Europe and other parts of the world to say, you ought to be pressuring your government to be asking for this as well. I mean, USCIRF should be able to have access to what is happening – to what is going on in Tibet.

So I think it is – I think there is a need to – you know, I mean, I think we need to figure out how to better utilize international institutions like the United Nations. You know, even if we are not successful, at least formulating an ask that gives people who are like-minded all around the world an opportunity to work with their – with their governments and I think that would be something we ought to.

You know, the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be held in the autumn of 2017 in Beijing. Does anybody here have any reason to expect any shifts in policy toward Tibet or Tibetans coming out of the 19th National Congress?

Any – I mean, barring, you know, the international community stepping this up more significantly, do we – do we expect anything new, based on what we know?

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. Before answering the question about the 19th Party Congress, I wanted to reflect on what you said about ask.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Sure.

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. And one thing that could happen is that the people in Tibet – Buddhists in China, to all have a desire to see His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

So if somehow the United Nations mechanism is used to, at the humanitarian level, at the personal level, at the spiritual level, to encourage China to receive His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, there and for His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and the people – the Tibetan people in Tibet to be able to see him, that would be something concrete that would happen.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I agree. I mean, I think he ought to be able to go home. Even only for a visit, he ought to be able to go home, and that would be – and I will tell you if China were to respond favorably to that, they would win

international applause and respect for showing maturity and the common sense and the decency to allow that to occur.

So I think that is a good suggestion and we need to figure out ways to – you know, to – you know, to pursue that. And, again, this Commission remains open to any ideas that anybody has about how we can better pressure our friends at the United Nations to step it up as well, because I agree with what Mr. Stein said. I mean, this is a national security issue as well as a moral issue and, you know, and I think if, you know, countries around the world are going to be afraid to speak up because they're afraid of China, then I think they lose moral authority on the issue of human rights. It is that simple. Don't talk about human rights if you are not going – if you don't mean it. And, you know, nothing is going to change if we just say nothing.

But anyway, 19th – anybody expect anything good to happen?

Mr. STEIN. Nothing before the Party Congress, certainly. But afterwards, it is a guessing game. I mean, His Holiness is the one who anticipates – is the most positive that there could be change coming out of it.

It's sort of a Nixon goes to China moment as in Xi, once he consolidates power, can address some of these festering issues.

You know, he puts a lot of stock in Xi's past and it is possible. I don't – I think – you know, I think there is a lot of pessimism about the Chinese leadership from what we have seen.

But perhaps once he has consolidated power there could be some reins to take different – opportunities to take different approaches on that.

Mr. RINPOCHE. I don't have any particular information but my hope is always keep optimism. Then maybe something is going to happen. In my testimony, I mentioned, you know, because the rumor, everybody says, that Mr. Xi Jinping is secretly a Tibetan Buddhist practitioner or whatever, something.

But I don't know how true is that. But everybody have a hope maybe after he is in full authority maybe there is – something going to happen. That is all our hope.

Other than that, I agree with all us and the Congress, you, and the U.S. making a very good effort and leading everything to talk about the human rights and the preservation of Buddhism and that is very thankful. My hope is in the future continue to do that.

Mr. MCGOVERN. I want to have the optimism of a Hoosier monk.

[Laughter.]

Mr. RINPOCHE. Thank you.

Ms. LHAMO [through an interpreter]. In terms of Xi Jinping at the 19th Party Congress, I can only say that the people in Tibet and elsewhere do have a hope that he might do something.

But whether that hope is fulfilled or not rests in the hands of Xi Jinping and that is something that we can only see.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Well, we could – we will – we will try to be hopeful. But I will just – I say this, if he were to – he were to do something positive, I mean, you know, I will be the first to applaud him and express my appreciation and respect for what I think is something that is the right thing to do.

And as I said, this – you know, the purpose of this hearing, this is not against China. This is not against the people of China.

You know, this is – this is about human rights and the Chinese government needs to understand that human rights is important. It still is important in the world and we are not going to – we are not going away.

Let me just close. I don't know if anyone has anything they want to add for the record before we close but I will give you this opportunity to –

Mr. STEIN. I think what you are positing is the pathway for Xi Jinping to earn a Nobel Prize and I think we would all like to see that for what it could represent.

Just one comment to follow up on on this idea of allowing the Dalai Lama to go back to Tibet. I think that is a very attractive ask and campaign coming out of it, I think.

But we don't know what the Dalai Lama's position is. Again, he has given up on politics and he does not weigh in for this. Maybe you had some consultations with him in Dharamsala.

But, you know, it is this sort of friction between the international community who wants to help Tibetans and wants to help the Dalai Lama, and he is the answer. He is the solution.

But he has taken himself kind of out of that space and delegated it, and so, you know, I think there's some work to be done with the Tibetans on their side.

Mr. MCGOVERN. Right. And I would expect if the Dalai Lama were able to go home it would be not about politics. It would be about, you know, kind of a spiritual visit more than – I know the Chinese would think of it very differently but I don't expect him to give a political speech, you know, and, you know, but whatever. I mean, I – but I hear you on that.

Any last words or – no? Any – so let me – let me also ask unanimous consent that we insert in the record testimony from Freedom House on this issue that they submitted here today as well as testimony from the International Campaign for Tibet.

And I would also like to add to the record published reports by Matthew Akester entitled, "Dangerous Truths: The Panchen Lama's 1962 Report and China's Broken Promise of Tibet and Autonomy."

And, again, I thank you all for being here. You know, with each, you know, hearing I feel more passionately about this issue and more invested in this issue, you know, and I – you know, we are going to – we are going to continue to try to encourage the Government of China and, hopefully, in constructive and positive ways, to reevaluate their policy.

I think if they were to do this, they would win international praise and it is the right thing to do.

But in the meantime, our heart aches for the Tibetan people, especially those who have fled persecution in China. When we were on this trip with Leader Pelosi and Mr. Sensenbrenner, we met with Tibetans in Nepal, who have a very difficult life. The government of Nepal ought to treat the Tibetans better. We are going to encourage them to do that. We met with many Tibetans in Dharamsala,

many who have taken very dangerous and treacherous journeys to get there. I mean, you know, those are the people that motivate us.

And so, I thank you for being here, and the hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:11 a.m., the Commission was adjourned.]

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## **APPENDIX**

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MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD



## **Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission**

### **Hearing Notice**

### **Tibet: Freedom of Religion**

**July 12, 2017**

**8:30 – 10:00 AM**

**2255 Rayburn House Office Building**

Please join the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission for a **hearing** on freedom of religion in Tibet, including attention to the politically fraught issue of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation.

Although Buddhism is one of five religions formally recognized by the Chinese state, the practice of Tibetan Buddhism is severely restricted by Chinese authorities. In the aftermath of a wave of protests across the Tibetan plateau in 2008, Communist Party leaders reinforced and expanded restrictive policies that were already fueling grievances. In the years since, Tibetan Buddhists have faced extensive controls on their religious life, including intrusive official presence in monasteries, pervasive surveillance, limits on travel and communications, and ideological reeducation campaigns. Religious expression and activism have been met with violent repression, imprisonment and torture. Conditions are especially difficult in the Tibet Autonomous Region, but controls have also been tightened in Tibetan areas of other provinces.

Tibetan Buddhism is distinguished by a centuries-long history of intertwined religious and political authority, represented in the figure of the Dalai Lama. Although the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, has lived in exile since 1959, and renounced his political role in 2011, Chinese authorities appear to fear his moral authority and legitimacy, and constantly vilify him. In light of the Dalai Lama's advancing age, now 82, the question of his reincarnation has become a major source of tension with the Chinese government, which claims the prerogative of selecting his successor.

Witnesses will describe the conditions of religious life for Tibetans, share their experiences with restrictions on religious freedom and related human rights,

analyze the potential political and strategic consequences of continued repression of Tibetans, and offer recommendations for U.S. government policy.

**Panel I**

- **Dr. Tenzin Dorjee**, Commissioner, United States Commission on International Religious Freedom

**Panel II**

- **Arjia Rinpoche**, Director, Tibetan Mongolian Buddhist Cultural Center
- **Nyima Lhamo**, Niece and Spokeswoman, Family of deceased monk Tenzin Delek Rinpoche
- **Todd Stein**, Former Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights and Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues

This hearing will be open to Members of Congress, congressional staff, the interested public, and the media. The hearing will be livestreamed via the Commission website, <https://humanrightscommission.house.gov/news/watch-live>. For any questions, please contact Kimberly Stanton at 202-225-3599 or [Kimberly.Stanton@mail.house.gov](mailto:Kimberly.Stanton@mail.house.gov) (for Mr. McGovern) or Jamie Staley at 202-226-1516 or [Jamie.Staley@mail.house.gov](mailto:Jamie.Staley@mail.house.gov) (for Mr. Hultgren).

Sincerely,

James P. McGovern, M.C.  
Co-Chair, TLHRC

Randy Hultgren, M.C.  
Co-Chair, TLHRC

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## Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission

### Witness Biographies

### Tibet: Freedom of Religion

#### Panel I



**Dr. Tenzin Dorjee** is a Commissioner for the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). He currently teaches as an Associate Professor at the Department of Human Communication Studies at California State University, Fullerton. Dr. Dorjee is a prominent translator who studied at Sera Jey Monastic University, South India, and the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, Dharamsala, India, and worked in the Translation and Research Bureau of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala for over 13 years. He is a published author of articles and translated works of Tibetan Buddhism and culture into English. He had the honor of translating for many preeminent Tibetan Buddhist professors including His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He served as Vice President and President of the Tibetan Association of Southern California (TASC) and has been involved in many other community-based committees. He has presented at many Tibetan institutes including the Tibet Policy Institute, Tibetan Children's Village, Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, and Tibetan Astro-Medical College in Dharamsala.

#### Panel II



**Arjia Rinpoche** is a senior Buddhist Lama and Abbot of Kumbum Monastery and director of the Tibetan Mongolian Buddhist Cultural Center in Bloomington, Indiana. He is the highest ranking official and one of the most prominent figures to have escaped from Tibet. Of Mongolian descent, Arjia Thubten Lobsang Rinpoche was born in 1950. At the age of two, he was recognized as the incarnation of the father of Lama Tsong Khapa, the great 13th century Buddhist reformer, and the throne holder and abbot of Kumbum Monastery. He studied for several years at Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in Shigatse, the monastery of the Panchen Lama, and has trained with lineage teachers such as the Dalai Lama and Gyayak Rinpoche. During the Cultural Revolution in Chinese controlled Tibet, Rinpoche was forced to attend Chinese schools, yet secretly continued to practice and study with his tutors. He was also forced to work in

labor camps for 16 years. Following the death of Mao Tse Tung, Rinpoche was reinstated as abbot of Kumbum Monastery and rose to prominence by working with the Chinese authorities, eventually becoming the Vice-chairman of the Buddhist Association of China. But in 1998 he escaped into exile as he felt he could no longer compromise his spiritual beliefs. Three years earlier China had abducted Gedhun Chokyi Nyima, a six year old boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama. Arjia Rinpoche was due to become the tutor of China's own appointed Panchen Lama, a position which Rinpoche felt would be disloyal to the Dalai Lama, the Buddhist religion and the Tibetan people. Arjia Rinpoche now lives in the U.S. and has set up two centers dedicated to the preservation of Buddhist teachings, art and culture within and outside of Tibet and Mongolia.



**Nyima Lhamo**, 26, is a human rights advocate and the niece of the late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a highly revered reincarnate lama and a prominent Tibetan prisoner of conscience who died in a Chinese prison in July 2015. As a result of Nyima Lhamo's public questioning of the cause of Tenzin Delek's death and demands for an investigation, she was arbitrarily detained by Chinese authorities, along with her mother Dolkar Lhamo. She subsequently fled Tibet to India, leaving behind her mother and 6-year-old daughter, to seek justice for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche. In September 2016, she participated in a side event at the 33rd session of the

Human Rights Council, briefed UN Special Procedures Offices and Diplomats, and visited several European countries to plead her case for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche. Nyima Lhamo's family has been harassed by the Chinese authorities, who threaten continued persecution of her family unless she stops her advocacy for the late Tenzin Delek Rinpoche. She is currently based in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India.



**Todd Stein** served from 2014 to 2017 as Senior Advisor to Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights Sarah Sewall, who served concurrently as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. He helped coordinate U.S. policy on Tibet across the Executive Branch, and was the main staff interlocutor with the Central Tibetan Administration. He also advised the Under Secretary on China and South and Central Asia, assisting in promoting priorities on countering violent extremism, human rights, refugees and human trafficking. Prior to joining the

State Department, Mr. Stein was Director of Government Relations for the International Campaign for Tibet, working with the U.S. Congress on legislation and appropriations and with Executive Branch agencies on Tibet policy and programs. On Capitol Hill, he served as Deputy Chief of Staff and Legislative Director for Congressman Tom Allen, foreign and military policy advisor to Senator Paul Simon, and policy analyst at the bipartisan Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus. Mr. Stein received degrees from the University of California at Davis in International Relations and Spanish.

## **Tibetan Buddhist Prisoners of Conscience\***

Submitted by Tenzin Dorjee

Commissioner

U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

\*This selected list of 487 prisoners of conscience, compiled on July 6, 2017, is from the Congressional-Executive Commission on China's database. The list of prisoners detained since March 2008 includes prisoners who currently are detained or imprisoned, detained and serving a life sentence, detained and presumed to be serving a life sentence, presumed to be imprisoned or detained, presumed detained and serving a life sentence, and presumed detained and presumed serving a life sentence.

<b>CECC record number</b>	<b>main name</b>	<b>detention status</b>	<b>sex</b>	<b>occupation</b>	<b>date of detention</b>	<b>province where imprisoned (or detained)</b>	<b>current (or last) prison, detention center, or site</b>	<b>current (or last) sentence (or time served): years</b>
2008-00114	Lodroe	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/10/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10
2010-00209	Dasher	DET	M		3/13/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10
2008-00678	Migmar Dondrub	DET	M		3/14/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	14
2009-00060	Gyaltsen	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15
2009-00061	Nyima Tashi	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13
2009-00062	Phuntsog	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13
2009-00065	Tenzin Buchung	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15
2009-00066	Tenzin Zoepa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13
2016-00016	Tenzin Lhamo	DET	F		3/16/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	10
2010-00223	Gyurme Trinle	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/18/2008	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	10
2009-00341	Thabkhe Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/22/2008	Gansu Province	Lanzhou (general location)	15
2008-00685	Sonam Dragpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2008/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10
2008-00688	Yeshe Choedron	DET	F	doctor, retired	2008/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	15
2008-00689	Sonam Tseten	DET	M		2008/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10

2010-00444	Konchog Nyima	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/11/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	20
2004-01637	Nyima Dragpa	DET	M	layperson?	4/19/2008	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	12
2009-00388	Ngawang Choenyi	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2008/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	15
2014-00112	Rigzin Tsering	DET	M	layperson	2008/04/dd	Gansu Province	Tianshui (general location)	12
2008-00284	Sonam Lhatso	DET	F	nun (Buddhist)	5/14/2008	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison?	10
2008-00218	Tenzin Gyephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/19/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12
2010-00518	Ngawang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/19/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12
2010-00429	Lhamo Kyab	DET	F	teacher, primary	2008/06/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	15
2009-00128	Konchog Tsephel	DET	M	Internet, Web site operator	2/26/2009	Gansu Province	Lanzhou? (general location)	15
2009-00126	Tashi	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/27/2009	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	
2010-00113	Tsewang Gyatso	DET	M	school, cook	3/11/2009	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	16
2010-00114	Pema Yeshe	DET	M		3/11/2009	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	19
2010-00431	Wangdu Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/2/2009	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13
2010-00445	Lobsang Choedar	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/25/2009	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	13
2010-00612	Sonam Bagdro	DET	M	business (unspec.)	2009/08/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15
2010-00198	Karma Samdrub	DET	M	art collector, environment alist	1/3/2010	Xinjiang Uyghur Auto. Region	Yanqi PSB Det. Ctr?	15
2012-00254	Yonten Gyatso	DET	M	monk, chant master; DMC director	10/18/2010	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	7
2014-00254	Kunga	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12
2014-00255	Pema	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12
2014-00256	Choeying Oezer	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11



2014-00257	Ngawang Yeshe	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11
2014-00258	Penpa	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11
2014-00259	Pema Gyalpo	DET	M		2011/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	8
2012-00296	Lobsang Tashi	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2011/11/dd	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	7
2012-00297	Thubdor	DET	M	layperson	2011/11/dd	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	7
2015-00261	Tashi Dargye	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13
2015-00262	Namgyal	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13
2015-00263	Paldor	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13
2015-00264	Sonam Dargye	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13
2015-00265	Choephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	12
2015-00266	Nyima	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	12
2015-00267	Kuntho	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	11
2015-00268	Orgyen Tsering	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	11
2015-00269	Sherab Zangpo	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	10
2015-00270	Trinle Dargye	DET	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	10
2012-00256	Lobsang Tenzin	DET	M	monk, trulku	2012/01/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	7
2012-00257	Tsewang Namgyal	DET	M	monk, geshe	2012/01/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	6
2012-00258	Trinle	DET	M	monk, manager	2012/01/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	10
2012-00259	Tashi Tobgyal	DET	M	monk, accountant	2012/01/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	6
2012-00208	Khedrub Gyatso	DET	M	monk, senior	2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	11

2012-00209	Sanggye	DET	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	10
2012-00210	Kalsang Jangsem	DET	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	9
2012-00298	Lobsang Tsultrim	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	11
2012-00299	Lobsang Jangchub	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	8
2012-00238	Tenzin Palsang	DET	M	monk, official	4/2/2012	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	6
2012-00243	Yarphel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2012	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	6
2012-00244	Namse	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2012	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	10
2012-00349	Lobsang Tsering	DET	M	herder	2012/08/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	10
2012-00275	Lobsang Jinpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	5
2012-00276	Tsultrim Kalsang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	10
2013-00068	Pema Dondrub	DET	M		10/23/2012	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	12
2013-00069	Kalsang Gyatso	DET	M		10/23/2012	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	11
2013-00070	Pema Tso	DET	F		10/23/2012	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	8
2013-00071	Lhamo Dondrub	DET	M		10/23/2012	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	7
2013-00064	Phagpa	DET	M	monk, former	2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining (general location)	13
2013-00291	Shawo Tashi	DET	M	artist, singer	2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	5
2008-00580	Washul Dortrug	DET	M	layperson	12/3/2012	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	10
2013-00012	Gedun Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/3/2012	Gansu Province	Lanzhou? (general location)	6
2013-00098	Lhamo Dorje	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	15

2013-00099	Kalsang Sonam	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	11
2013-00100	Tsezung Kyab	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu Province	Gansu (general location)	10
2013-00119	Jigme Thabkhe	DET	M		2012/12/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	5
2013-00121	Kalsang Dondrub	DET	M		2012/12/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	6
2013-00178	Jigme	DET	M	monk, writer	1/1/2013	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	5
2014-00250	Tseyang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Sichuan? (general location)	7
2013-00377	Tadrin	DET	M	monk, disciplinarian	4/24/2013	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	4
2013-00220	Lobsang Gedun	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/1/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10
2013-00274	Kalsang Yarphe	DET	M	artist, singer	7/14/2013	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	4
2013-00266	Sanggye Palden	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/23/2013	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	5
2010-00456	Dorje Dragtsal	DET	M	layperson	10/3/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	11
2013-00318	Tsultrim Gyaltzen	DET	M	writer, multiple styles or types	10/11/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	13
2013-00319	Yulgyal	DET	M	business owner (unspec.)	10/12/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10
2013-00327	Tenzin Rangdrol	DET	M	self-empl. business	10/18/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	5
2014-00046	Tobden	DET	M	herder / writer	10/28/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	5
2014-00047	Konchog Choephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/18/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	6
2014-00009	Trinle Tsekar	DET	M	artist, singer	11/20/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	9
2014-00024	Kalsang Choglang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/23/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	10
2014-00135	Rigsal	DET	M	head, village	11/24/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10

2014-00137	Ngangdrag	DET	M	head, village	11/24/2013	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10
2014-00010	Choekyab	DET	M		2013/11/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	13
2014-00141	Thardoe Gyaltzen	DET	M	monk, chant master	2013/12/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	18
2014-00070	Tsultrim Nyandrag	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/12/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	9
2013-00139	Choepa Gyal	DET	M		2013/mm/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	6
2013-00141	Namkha Jam	DET	M		2013/mm/dd	Qinghai Province	Dongchuan Prison	5
2013-00142	Chagthar	DET	M		2013/mm/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	4
2014-00340	Jamyang Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	7
2014-00341	Namgyal Wangchug	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5
2014-00021	Tashi Namgyal	DET	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00071	Tsultrim Palsang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00072	Lobsang Yeshe	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00073	Kalsang Jampa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00074	Kalsang Dorje	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00079	Asang	DET	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00080	Margong	DET	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00081	Jigme	DET	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00105	Lobsang Dargye	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00106	Lungtog Gyaltzen	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00162	Gedun Dragpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	

2014-00163	Choeying Kalden	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00142	Tsangyang Gyatso	DET	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	12
2014-00143	Tsewang	DET	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10
2014-00144	Atse	DET	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00145	Gyaltsen	DET	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00161	Ade	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00172	Lobsang Tenzin	DET	M	monk, lama	2014/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00167	Tendrag	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00168	Phurbu	DET	M	layperson	4/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00169	Tridul	DET	M	layperson	2014/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00170	Dadrag	DET	M	layperson	2014/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00231	Tenzin Lhundrub	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2014/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12
2015-00083	Lobsang Tenzin	DET	M	tour guide	2014/06/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10
2015-00025	Lobsang Trinle	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/26/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00026	Lobsang Lungrig	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/26/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00027	Zoepa	DET	M	student, university	12/27/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00080	Gedun Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Chengdu? (general location)	
2015-00158	Ngawang Gyaltsen	DET	M	monk, expelled	2/24/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00153	Gedun Phuntsog	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/8/2015	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	4
2009-00441	Jamyang Jinpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2015	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00243	Yonten Rabgyal	DET	M	layperson	3/13/2015	Qinghai Province	Chigdril PSB Det. Ctr?	

2013-00223	Namgyal Tsultrim	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00137	Lodroe Tenzin	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00138	Tsultrim Goje	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00139	Tsultrim Namgyal	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00140	Thabkhe Lhundrub	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00141	Jigme Tsultrim	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00142	Jigme Dragpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00159	Lobsang Kalsang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/17/2015	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	3
2010-00153	Drukar Gyal	DET	M	student, university	3/19/2015	Qinghai Province	Menyuan Prison	3
2015-00151	Lobsang Dawa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/20/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00098	Choephel Dawa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00148	Jigme Wanggyal	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00149	Choeying Choega	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00150	Dorje Dragpa	DET	M	layperson	3/28/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00157	Lobsang Jamyang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/17/2015	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	7
2015-00181	Tsewang Choephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/15/2015	Sichuan Province	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00201	Lhundrub	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/22/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Dingri PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00202	Rithar	DET	M		5/22/2015	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00204	Tenzin Zoepa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/28/2015	Gansu Province	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00214	Samten Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/4/2015	Gansu Province	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00215	Lobsang Tenzin	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/4/2015	Gansu Province	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?	

2015-00227	Jamyang	DET	M	monk, cham dancer	6/5/2015	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00228	Kalsang	DET	M	monk, cham dancer	6/5/2015	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00241	Tsering Dondrub	DET	M		6/20/2015	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00340	Choephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/10/2015	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	2
2012-00314	Tashi	DET	M	businessperson	2015/07/dd	Qinghai Province	Kyegudo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00299	Oekar Kyi	DET	F	herder	8/15/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00309	Lobsang Thubten	DET	M	layperson	8/18/2015	Sichuan Province	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.	
2015-00313	Dorje Drolma	DET	F	layperson	8/20/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00327	Lobsang Kalsang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/7/2015	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	3
2015-00332	Jampal Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/9/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	3
2015-00374	Lobsang	DET	M	layperson	9/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00375	Trinle	DET	M	layperson	9/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00328	Lobsang Dragpa	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	3
2015-00329	Lobsang	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba Prison? (Maowun)	3
2017-00009	Lobsang Sonam	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/11/2015	Sichuan Province	Mianyang Prison	6
2015-00330	Dekyi Drolma	DET	F	layperson	9/13/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00373	Lobsang Jamyang	DET	M	monk, novice	9/23/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2010-00156	Samdrub Gyatso	DET	M		2015/09/dd	Qinghai Province	Dashi PSB Det. Ctr.	
2016-00205	Kunsang	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref? (general location)	2
2016-00206	Palden Rigzin	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref? (general location)	2
2016-00207	Dragsang	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref? (general location)	2
2016-00208	Rabten	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref?	2

							(general location)	
2016-00209	Wanggon	DET	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref? (general location)	2
2015-00376	Tashi	DET	M	layperson	10/26/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.	
2008-00632	Tsultrim	DET	M	former monk	2015/10/dd	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	6
2012-00222	Lodroe	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/18/2015	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	9
2012-00261	Bonkho Kyi	DET	F	layperson	11/20/2015	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	7
2017-00028	Tsultrim	DET	M	former monk	11/25/2015	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	5
2015-00411	Jampa Sengge	DET	M	layperson	11/28/2015	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2017-00027	Lobsang Gephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/30/2015	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	12
2017-00026	Drugdra	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2015/11/dd	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	14
2015-00480	Tashi Dondrub	DET	M	layperson	12/19/2015	Sichuan Province	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2011-00422	Lobsang Khedrub	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2015/12/dd	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	13
2016-00212	Argya Gya	DET	M	former monk	2015/mm/dd	Sichuan Province	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	5
2016-00077	Tashi Wangchug	DET	M	business op., shop	1/27/2016	Qinghai Province	Yushu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	
2016-00065	Jamyang Dorje	DET	M	layperson	2/14/2016	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00039	Orgyen	DET	M	monk, geshe	2016/02/dd	Sichuan Province	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00040	Paga	DET	M	monk, abbot	2016/02/dd	Sichuan Province	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00080	Mangga	DET	F	layperson	3/1/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00085	Samdrub	DET	M	deputy head, village	3/30/2016	Qinghai Province	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.	



2016-00086	Lhadon	DET	F	layperson	3/30/2016	Qinghai Province	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.	
2016-00087	Rongsher	DET	M	layperson	3/30/2016	Qinghai Province	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.	
2016-00110	Lobsang Thubten	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/2/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00211	Jamyang Lodroe	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/14/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba pref. (general location)	
2016-00147	Jampa Geleg	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/16/2016	Sichuan Province	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	
2011-00401	Lobsang Dargye	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/23/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00176	Choesang Gyatso	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/29/2016	Qinghai Province	Mangra PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00167	Lobsang Tsering	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/7/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00308	Lodroe	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/14/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba pref. (general location)	
2016-00179	Lhachen Kyab	DET	M		6/24/2016	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00180	Jigje Deleg Gyatso	DET	M		6/24/2016	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00181	Rinchen Bum	DET	M		6/24/2016	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00182	Tashi Drolma	DET	F		6/24/2016	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00210	Konchog Drolma	DET	F	homemaker	7/14/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2016-00281	Gedun Dragpa	DET	M	monk, treasurer	8/24/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba pref. (general location)	
2016-00282	Lobsang Sherab	DET	M	monk, shopkeeper	8/24/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba pref. (general location)	
2016-00334	Sangdrag Kyab	DET	M	layperson	9/29/2016	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.	
2016-00354	Lobsang Tsultrim	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/17/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2004-01163	Tsegon Gyal	DET	M	former political prisoner	12/9/2016	Qinghai Province	Kangtsa PSB Det. Ctr.	
2017-00034	Jamyang Choephel	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/11/2016	Gansu Province	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.	
2017-00008	Tenpa	DET	M	layperson (former monk)	12/16/2016	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2017-00233	Lobsang Tsultrim	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/25/2017	Sichuan Province	Ngaba pref. (general location)	

2017-00232	Gonpo	DET	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/4/2017	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref. (general location)	
2012-00096	Kalsang Tsultrim	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00039	Namkha Gyaltzen	DET?	M		1/25/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)	
2012-00038	Tharpa	DET?	M	student (unspec.)	1/26/2012	Sichuan Province	Dzangthang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00060	Tsering Palden	DET?	M		2/5/2012	Qinghai Province	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00061	Tsering Zangpo	DET?	M		2/5/2012	Qinghai Province	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00063	Dorje	DET?	M		2/5/2012	Qinghai Province	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00073	Tashi Palden	DET?	M		2/11/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00285	Sonam Tenzin	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00185	Nyima Tsering	DET?	M	businessperson	2/23/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)	
2012-00184	Tenzin Thabkhe	DET?	M	teacher	2/25/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)	
2012-00183	Urgyen Tenzin	DET?	M	doctor (Tib. med.)	2/28/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr. (Gutsa)	
2012-00212	Jamyang Oezer	DET?	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00213	Dragpa	DET?	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00216	Konchog Dargye	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/02/dd	Qinghai Province	Haixi pref. (general location)	
2012-00074	Dawa Dorje	DET?	M	researcher	2012/02/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	
2012-00173	Lubum	DET?			2012/02/dd	Sichuan Province	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00174	Dragpa	DET?			2012/02/dd	Sichuan Province	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00175	Dawa	DET?			2012/02/dd	Sichuan Province	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00197	Khedrub Dorje	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/7/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00198	Karma Tharlam	DET?	M		3/10/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00199	Siga	DET?	M		3/10/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00200	Dzomlha Kar	DET?	M		3/10/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00201	Drugdrag	DET?	M		3/14/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00202	Tsegon	DET?	M		3/14/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00203	Yeshe Dorje	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00204	Sherab Palsang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00205	Pema Rigzin	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00206	Jang Rin	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00236	Tsultrim Rinchen	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00237	Lobsang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00190	Tashi Oezer	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00191	Tashi Phuntsog	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00127	Sanggyal Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00128	Kalsang Lodroe	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00129	Sonam	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00130	Tashi Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00192	Soga	DET?	M		3/24/2012	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00193	Sanggye	DET?	M		3/24/2012	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00109	Rigzin Dorje	DET?	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00110	Tashi	DET?	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Nyagrang PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00111	Tashi Tsering	DET?	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Sichuan Province	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00146	Migmar Kalsang	DET?			2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00147	Alo	DET?	M		2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00148	Lhagpa	DET?	F		2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00149	Jamyang Tashi	DET?			2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00150	Choezom	DET?	F		2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00151	Phurba Gyal	DET?	M		2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00152	Tsering Jigme	DET?			2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2012-00153	Rabten	DET?			2012/03/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2013-00242	Dorje	DET?	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	
2013-00244	Tseten Gyal	DET?	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Qinghai Province	Qinghai (general location)	
2012-00176	Nyandrag	DET?		school, director	4/2/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00177	Yama Tsering	DET?		school, director	4/2/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00288	Sonam Gonpo	DET?	M	businessperson	4/10/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00289	Khedrub	DET?	M		4/10/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00290	Sanggye Kalsang	DET?	M		4/10/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00186	Tsamchen	DET?	F	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00187	Tsenor	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00188	Tenzin Tsering	DET?		villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00219	Pema	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00133	Yeshe Choegyal	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00135	Wangchen	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00136	Wangdu	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00137	Lobsang Tsewang	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00138	Yeshe Jungne	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00139	Tagyal	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00140	Tenzin Tsonдру	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00141	Tengyal	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00142	Yonten	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00143	Tenzin Tsering	DET?	M		4/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00157	Ribo	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00158	Tenzin	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00159	Khyithar	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00160	Migyur	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00161	Gurnam	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00162	Kalsang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00163	Padgyal	DET?	M	layperson	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00165	Phurbu Tsering	DET?	M	layperson	2012/04/dd	Sichuan Province	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00293	Phurbu Namgyal	DET?	M	service, entertainment club	2012/04/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00178	Sanggye Dondrub	DET?		teacher	5/7/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00179	Jamyang	DET?		teacher	5/7/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00311	Lobsang Namgyal	DET?	M	writer, poet	5/12/2012	Sichuan Province	Chengdu (general location)	
2012-00234	Thubten Yeshe	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/23/2012	Qinghai Province	Gepasumdo (general location)	
2012-00226	Drolma Kyab	DET?	M		2012/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00227	Nyurgyog	DET?			2012/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00228	Khambe	DET?			2012/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00229	Tadrin Kyab	DET?	M		2012/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00230	Sangdrag	DET?	M		2012/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00224	Karma Rabten	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/5/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00253	Shonnu Palden	DET?	M	layperson	6/18/2012	Gansu Province	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00223	Lobsang Tsering	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/26/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00233	Kalsang Tenzin	DET?	M		7/4/2012	Sichuan Province	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00220	Tashi Dondrub	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00221	Kalsang Gyatso	DET?	M	monk, chant master	7/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00264	Ngawang	DET?	M		7/24/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00272	Chogtsal	DET?	M	artist, singer	7/29/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	
2012-00273	Konchog Yarphel	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/1/2012	Sichuan Province	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00231	Choephel	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/7/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00232	Sherab	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/7/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00262	Chechog	DET?		layperson	8/13/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00265	Lobsang Sanggye	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/14/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00247	Dawa	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00248	Atsong	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00249	Phuntsog Nyima	DET?		villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00250	Jamyang Wangmo	DET?	F	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00251	Kalsang Yudron	DET?	F	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00284	Lobsang Rabten	DET?	M	monk, DMC member	8/19/2012	Sichuan Province	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00280	Lobsang Palden	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/27/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00282	Jamyang Khyenko	DET?	M	layperson	8/28/2012	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00283	Kalsang Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/28/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00330	Lobsang Choephel	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/08/dd	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00277	Ngawang Monlam	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00287	Soyig	DET?	F	businesspers on	9/5/2012	Qinghai Province	Kyegudo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00315	Bode	DET?	F		9/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Yushu (general location)	
2012-00316	Sherab Dorje	DET?	M	student, university	9/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Yushu (general location)	
2012-00317	Yangzom	DET?	F	student (unspec.)	9/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Yushu (general location)	
2012-00292	Sogtrug Sherab	DET?	M	performer, actor & singer	9/20/2012	Qinghai Province	Yulgan PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00289	Tashi Choewang	DET?	M	student (unspec.)	10/6/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	
2013-00290	Sonam	DET?	M		10/6/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	
2012-00331	Tsondru	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00332	Tobden	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00333	Losal	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00306	Gyaltsen	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00307	Lobsang Tsunpa	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00308	Lhagyal	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00309	Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00310	Lhabum	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00300	Jigme Gyatso	DET?	M	monk, treasurer	10/17/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00301	Kalsang Gyatso	DET?	M	monk, accountant	10/17/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00302	Konchog Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/17/2012	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00311	Ludrub	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00312	Lobsang Drubsal	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00313	Lobsang Tharchin	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00319	Sozang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00320	Sonyi	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00321	Thagchoe	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00322	Wanggyal	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sichuan Province	Sersshul PSB Det. Ctr?	

2012-00323	Thabme	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00324	Phagdrol	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00325	Sherab	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00326	Dawa	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00327	Gonpo	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00328	Kyapo	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00329	Lobsang Phuntsog	DET?	M	layperson	10/20/2012	Sichuan Province	Sers hul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00211	Pema Tsewang	DET?	M	layperson	10/20/2012	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00348	Tashi Norbu	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/23/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00335	Jinpa Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/25/2012	Gansu Province	Gansu? (general location)	
2012-00341	Thubten Nyandrag	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/26/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00342	Tsewang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/26/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00343	Phurbu	DET?	M	layperson	10/26/2012	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00075	Gonpo Gyal	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/10/dd	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00303	Tashi Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/10/dd	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.	
2012-00346	Konchog Sonam	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/16/2012	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00101	Donnu	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/11/dd	Gansu Province	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00337	Tadrin Gyal	DET?	M		2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00338	Dondrub	DET?			2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00339	Chagda Gyal	DET?	M		2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2012-00340	Yarkho	DET?			2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00292	Sobum	DET?	M	layperson	2012/11/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00009	Sungrab Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	



2013-00010	Dragsang	DET?	M	monk, temple-keeper	12/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00011	Yeshe Zangpo	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/1/2012	Qinghai Province	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00023	Tashi Sonam	DET?	M		12/6/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00030	Tsondru	DET?	M	monk, official	12/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00031	Chagthab	DET?	M	lay tantric practitioner	12/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00032	Shawo	DET?	M	religious center (unspec.), head	12/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00033	Choedron	DET?	F	nun, disciplinarian	12/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00034	Rigshe	DET?	F	nun (Buddhist)	12/12/2012	Qinghai Province	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00055	Kalsang Samdrub	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/21/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00056	Nyima	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00057	Lhamo Dondrub	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00058	Dorje Dondrub	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00059	Kalsang Kyab	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00060	Kalsang Sonam	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00061	Kalsang Namdren	DET?	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00062	Sonam Kyi	DET?	F	layperson	12/24/2012	Gansu Province	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2013-00179	Yumkyab	DET?	M	artist, sculptor	2012/mm/dd	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	
2013-00162	Tsering Tagchen	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Gansu Province	Kanlho pref. (general location)	
2013-00163	Samten	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Gansu Province	Kanlho pref. (general location)	
2013-00164	Tashi Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Gansu Province	Kanlho pref. (general location)	
2013-00165	Tenphel Gyalpo	DET?	M	layperson	2013/01/dd	Gansu Province	Kanlho pref. (general location)	

2013-00166	Tensang	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Gansu Province	Kanlho pref. (general location)	
2014-00147	Lobsang Tsering	DET?	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00148	Dagyal	DET?	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00149	Karma	DET?		layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00150	Gyalhug	DET?	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00151	Sichoe	DET?		layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00152	Choedar	DET?	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00153	Jampa	DET?		layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00154	Gyalwa	DET?	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2010-00269	Dungphug	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/07/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00022	Dorje Rigzin	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00023	Sonam	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00016	Phuntsog Namgyal	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00017	Pema Tsultrim	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00018	Dorje Lodroe	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00019	Yungdrung	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00020	Tatob	DET?	M		1/3/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00057	Norgye	DET?	M	worker, day laborer	1/14/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa (general location)	
2014-00038	Geleg	DET?	M	monk, disciplinarian	1/18/2014	Qinghai Province	Pema PSB Det. Ctr?	

2014-00039	Tselha Kyab	DET?	M		1/18/2014	Qinghai Province	Pema PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00166	Lobsang Choejor	DET?	M	monk, senior	3/4/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00116	Kalsang Tsultrim	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00117	Thubten Palden	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00118	Norbu Dondrub	DET?	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00119	Monlam Gyatso	DET?	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00120	Tsering Tharpa	DET?	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00108	Budrag	DET?	M	layperson	3/14/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00159	Rinchen Wangdu	DET?	M	layperson	3/28/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00160	Phurtse	DET?	M	layperson	3/28/2014	Tibet [Xizang]	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00146	Khedrub	DET?	M	monk, abbot	4/13/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00155	Thubga	DET?	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00156	Gade	DET?	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00157	Kyamo	DET?	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00158	Jamyang	DET?	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Sichuan Province	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00183	Jampa Choephel	DET?	M	layperson	5/12/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00227	Sherkyab	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/9/2014	Sichuan Province	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.	
2014-00265	Wangdrag	DET?	M	head, village	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref? (general location)	
2014-00274	Kunga Sherab	DET?	M	layperson	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00276	Karma Rinchen	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00277	Taga	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00278	Kunga Tenzin	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00279	Dawa Tashi	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sersbul PSB Det. Ctr?	

2014-00280	Karma Tashi	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00281	Tashi Gonpo	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00282	Jamyang Sonam	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00283	Tashi	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00284	Tsering	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00285	Gyalug	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00286	Thubten Choephel	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00287	Pema Gyalo	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00288	Yonten Kyab	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00289	Lakyab	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00290	Wangchen	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00291	Tsogyal	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00292	Bugyal	DET?	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00293	Yangchen Lhamo	DET?	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00294	Tsekyab Wangmo	DET?	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00295	Yeshe Drolma	DET?	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00296	Yangchen Palmo	DET?	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00302	Dawa Lhamo	DET?	F	layperson	8/12/2014	Sichuan Province	Kardze pref. (general location)	
2014-00303	Dawa Tsomo	DET?	F	writer, blogger	8/23/2014	Qinghai Province	Dzatoe PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00304	Kunsang Lhamo	DET?	F	nun (Buddhist)	8/26/2014	Qinghai Province	Xining? (general location)	
2014-00311	Pagyal	DET?	M	layperson?	2014/08/dd	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00312	Tseko	DET?	M	layperson?	2014/08/dd	Sichuan Province	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?	
2014-00372	Dorje Rinchen	DET?	M	business (unspec.)	10/16/2014	Sichuan Province	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00036	Lokar	DET?	M		12/7/2014	Qinghai Province	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00037	Tashi	DET?	M		12/7/2014	Qinghai Province	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00038	Tsephel	DET?	M		12/7/2014	Qinghai Province	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00039	Tsekyab	DET?	M		12/7/2014	Qinghai Province	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?	

2015-00032	Samdrag	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Qinghai Province	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00033	Tenpa Gyal	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Qinghai Province	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00034	Nyatri	DET?	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Qinghai Province	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00021	Chime Dorje	DET?	M	herder	12/22/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00022	Chenpa	DET?	F	herder	12/22/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00023	Yime	DET?	M	herder	12/22/2014	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00239	Tsewang Dondrub	DET?	M		12/26/2014	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Dingri (general location)	
2015-00160	Sanggye Khar	DET?	M	herder	4/26/2015	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00161	Sonam Gyatso	DET?	M	herder	4/26/2015	Gansu Province	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00244	Jamyang	DET?	M	layperson	6/5/2015	Gansu Province	Machu PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00232	Tadrin Wanggyal	DET?	M	layperson	6/10/2015	Gansu Province	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00233	Trinle Gyatso	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/10/2015	Gansu Province	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00279	Choekyi	DET?	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/19/2015	Sichuan Province	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?	
2015-00259	Tashi Kyi	DET?	F	herder	7/2/2015	Sichuan Province	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?	
2004-00243	Wangdu	DET/life	M	NGO, health	3/14/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	
2010-00443	Jampal Wangchug	DET/life	M	monk, disciplinarian	4/11/2008	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Lhasa? (general location)	
2009-00340	Tsultrim Gyatso	DET/life	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/22/2008	Gansu Province	Lanzhou (general location)	
2010-00112	Sonam Gonpo	DET/life	M	school, cook	3/11/2009	Sichuan Province	Deyang Prison	
2015-00236	Kalkho	DET/life	M	service, restaurant	2015/05/dd	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	
2012-00266	Lobsang Konchog	DET/life?	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/17/2012	Sichuan Province	Sichuan (general location)	



**International Campaign for Tibet  
Statement Submitted for the Record**

**for the hearing**

**“Tibet: Freedom of Religion”**

**by the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission of the United  
States Congress**

**on July 12, 2017**

We thank the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission of the United States Congress for providing us the opportunity to submit this statement for the record on the state of freedom of religion in Tibet.

The International Campaign for Tibet would like to draw attention to the impact of a new set of laws promulgated by the People’s Republic of China on the practice of Tibetan Buddhism.

Among those are the 2015 Security Law (in force since in July 2015), the NGO Law (in force since January 2017), the 2016 Counter Terrorism Law (in force since January 2016), and the Cyber Security Law (in force since June 2017). With its ideological origins reflected in the notorious “Document No 9”<sup>1</sup> that became known in 2013, these laws represent the Communist Party’s will to gain maximum control over every aspect of societal activities.

In September 2016, China released a draft of revised religious affairs regulations that included the need for state approval of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnations and all religious activities, punishments for “religious citizens” who go abroad without authorization, the prohibition of online religious services, and the prohibition of running religious events in schools.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation>

The State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) announced in January 2017 that the newly revised Regulation on Religious Affairs would be released soon, but as of today, they have not been released.

### **Focus on “state security”, “religious extremism” and “terrorism” in the new draft religious regulations**

Consistent with the 2016 Counter Terrorism Law and the 2015 Security Law, the draft religious affairs regulations reflect the government’s intention to add and underline the ideas and notions of “state security,” “religious extremism,” and “terrorism” to the law, thereby linking religious activity directly to politically charged crimes. As in the 2016 Counter Terrorism law, neither “extremism,” nor “terrorism” are detailed in the law, and remain vague notions, offering the authorities vast discretionary powers to apply the terminology with regard to unwanted religious activity. “State security”, “religious extremism” and “terrorism” have been added to both the general provisions, as well as to specific rules of the law.

Thus, in conflating undefined “extremism” linked to religion to “terrorism” and “state security,” the regulations, as well as the Counter Terrorism Law, give scope for the penalization of almost any peaceful expression of Tibetan identity, acts of non-violent dissent, or criticism of ethnic or religious policies. In China’s political climate the exiled Dalai Lama has been accused of inciting terrorism through self-immolations, and even terror through his teachings, notably defined as “outside infiltration.” Referring to religious authorities living outside the People’s Republic of China such as the Dalai Lama, the revision stipulates “independence” from “foreign domination” as a precondition for any lawful operation of religious groups.

### **Chinese State approves Buddhist reincarnations**

Following the imposition of an order stating that reincarnate lamas must have permission from the government, the Chinese authorities launched a “Living Buddha” (*huo fo*, a Chinese term used to refer to reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism) authentication database in 2016. The Chinese state media said that the online registration system contains the profiles of 1,311 individuals approved by the state “as reincarnated Buddhas.” The authorities describe this as a protection against fraudulence, although it is undoubtedly part of their more systematic approach to control Tibetan Buddhism and to weaken the influence of Tibetan Buddhist masters, such as the Dalai Lama, or to coopt their influence among Tibetan Buddhists in an effort to support Communist Party rule. The system operates by issuing permits to those who can be recognized officially as reincarnate Tibetan lamas. The Chinese Buddhist Association now issues certificates to those approved by the Chinese government. Traditionally, Tibetan Buddhist masters have always led the process to identify, and to bestow legitimacy upon, reincarnations.

China’s broader efforts to control Tibet have been implemented by replacing loyalty to the Dalai Lama with allegiance to CCP policy, leading to fears of the evisceration of Tibetan national and religious identity. The tightening of control relating to reincarnation,

which is at the heart of Tibetan Buddhist belief, emerges from the official imperative to assert its ownership over the institution of the Dalai Lama and other prominent lineages.

The Dalai Lama has been on record saying that issues relating to his reincarnation are concerns of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and not of the Chinese government. In a formal statement concerning his reincarnation issued in 2011, the Dalai Lama said, *“...the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized”*. He added, *“It is particularly inappropriate for Chinese communists, who explicitly reject even the idea of past and future lives, let alone the concept of reincarnate Tulkus, to meddle in the system of reincarnation and especially the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas”*.

The theoretical underpinnings of hostility towards religion emerged in the late 1990s/early 2000s when it became clear through official statements that the CCP’s position was that because of its link to the Dalai Lama, religious belief in Tibet was inherently antagonistic not just to socialism but also to the Chinese state. The Party’s role in controlling Tibetan Buddhism has been emphasized by the top echelons of the CCP leadership. At a critical meeting setting policy on Tibet over the next decade, then President and Party Secretary Hu Jintao referred to the high political priority of guiding “Tibetan Buddhism to keep in line with the socialist society.”

Consequently, religious laws in the People’s Republic of China define the scope of state intervention and detail unlawful activities by religious practitioners and groups, rather than protecting space for lawful religious activity from state intervention. As a result, religious groups, religious schools, sites for religious activities and religious citizens shall not only “abide by the Constitution, laws, regulations and rules,” but they are also tasked with political goals and thus to “safeguard unification of the country, ethnic unity, religious harmony and social stability.”

For Tibet, this entails politicization and drastic state interference with religious activity. Tibetan Buddhism is to “support the socialist system and socialism with Chinese characteristics”, as stated by Xi Jinping<sup>2</sup>. During his visit to the town of Driru on August 4-5 (2016), Wu Yingjie, the new party secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region, declared that monasteries must “unswervingly” stand with the Chinese Communist Party in “struggling against the Dalai clique,” and that monks and nuns must follow the guidance of Xi Jinping in order to carry out their religious work. Wu warned that it was imperative for monks and nuns to become “politically reliable”. The CCP, which promotes atheism, requires monks and nuns to respect the Party above all other priorities. A harsh “rectification” drive that was launched in Driru in 2014 as part of the crackdown, stated that monasteries deemed ‘illegal’ will be torn down and Tibetans who possess

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<sup>2</sup> [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-04/23/c\\_135306131.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2016-04/23/c_135306131.htm)



images of the Dalai Lama or place traditional prayer (mani) stones will be severely punished.

In 2015, Tibet's then top Party official called for Chinese red flags to be displayed on all Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, in a statement made in Lhasa reported in the Chinese media. This followed a call for monasteries and nunneries to become centers for propaganda made by then Tibet Autonomous Region Party chief Chen Quanguo. This has led to a more pervasive and systematic approach to 'patriotic education' and a dramatic increase in work teams and Party cadres in rural and urban areas.

### **Shrinking space for Tibetan religious pilgrimage to India**

In December 2016 and January 2017, thousands of Tibetan pilgrims were compelled by the Chinese authorities to return to Tibet after travelling to India to attend the Kalachakra, a major teaching by the Dalai Lama in Bodh Gaya, a sacred Buddhist site in India. This follows systematic measures in Tibet to prevent them travelling out of the country at all, even though many had spent years obtaining passports for legal travel. The Chinese authorities had already tightened controls on Tibetans, in some areas going from house to house to confiscate people's passports, in October and November 2016.

One Tibetan woman was told she should return otherwise her government pension would be withdrawn. When she failed to take heed of the warning because attending the Kalachakra was a lifelong dream, she was told that her children would lose their jobs. A monk was told that if he did not go home he would not be able to return to his monastery; one of his relatives had to sign a paper to say that he was coming back. This has been the case with many pilgrims – family members have been required to sign papers stating that they will return, and the implication is that those relatives will face serious consequences if they do not.

In 2012, the Chinese authorities launched a major operation to detain Tibetans attending the last Kalachakra in Bodh Gaya, 'disappearing' many pilgrims for weeks or months on their return, and holding them for long periods for 're-education' in military camps and other facilities. In July 2014, when the Dalai Lama conferred another Kalachakra initiation in Ladakh, India, for the first time the religious teachings were described by the Chinese state as an incitement to 'hatred' and 'extremist action', consistent with the strident official language used to emphasize the new counter-terror drive. The authorities linked their attempts to prevent Tibetans from attending the Dalai Lama's teachings in exile with 'counter-terrorist' work in the 'frontline' border areas of Tibet, including Ngari (Chinese: Ali) in the Tibet Autonomous Region, which borders India.

Returning Tibetans, many of whom were elderly, were detained and compelled to undergo intensive 'patriotic education' sessions. Some were kept in prison or forced to do hard labor for longer periods, for instance if they were caught with photographs of the Dalai Lama or mementoes of the teaching. Those who possessed passports had their passports taken from them, and not returned.

## **Recommendations**

The International Campaign for Tibet, referring to international human rights standards, would like to offer the following recommendations to the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission:

- (1) To support the findings of the bipartisan House resolution H. Res. 337 of July 2015 and to call on the United States Government to fully implement sections 613(a) and 621(c) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 by strongly encouraging representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China and His Holiness the Dalai Lama to hold substantive dialogue, in keeping with the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 and without preconditions, in order to address Tibetan grievances and secure a negotiated agreement for the Tibetan people;
- (2) To ask the United States Government to consistently raise Tibetan human rights and political and religious freedom concerns at high-level bilateral meetings with Chinese officials;
- (3) To call on the United States Government to underscore that Chinese government interference in the Tibetan reincarnation process is a violation of the internationally recognized right to religious freedom and to highlight the fact that other countries besides China have long Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and that matters related to reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism are of keen interest to Tibetan Buddhist populations worldwide, including to Tibetan Americans;
- (4) To call for the immediate and unconditional release of Tibetan political prisoners, including Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama, who was taken into custody by the Chinese authorities and has been missing since 1995;
- (5) To support the call for the investigations into the mysterious death in prison of Tibetan Buddhist master Tenzin Delek Rinpoche.

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**Sarah Cook, Senior Research Analyst for East Asia, Freedom House,  
Statement Submitted for the Record**



**Testimony for the Record  
Submitted by Sarah Cook, Senior Research Analyst for East Asia  
to the  
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission  
“Tibet: Freedom of Religion”**

Co-Chairman Hultgren, Co-Chairman McGovern, distinguished members of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony for the record for your hearing on Tibet: Freedom of Religion.

Freedom House earlier this year released a report titled [The Battle for China’s Spirit: Religious Revival, Repression, and Resistance under Xi Jinping](#). Attached is the analysis from that report on conditions for [Tibetan Buddhists](#) in China.

I would like to highlight several concrete actions ([among many](#)) that Commission members might take to support religious freedom in Tibet:

- **Champion the imposition of entry and property sanctions on officials who have committed or been complicit in the abuse, torture, or persecution of religious believers.** Penalizing perpetrators through the blocking of visas and freezing of foreign-based assets is an effective way to ensure that these individuals face some measure of justice and to deter future abusers. This is especially important in countries like China and regions like Tibet, where impunity for severe violations is endemic. Under the [International Religious Freedom Act](#) (IRFA), for example, foreign government officials who have engaged in “particularly severe violations of religious freedom” and their spouses and children can be denied entry to the United States.
- **Ensure full and robust implementation of the [Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act](#)** signed into law in December 2016, which among many other mechanisms, expanded the IRFA to include additional Congressional reporting requirements which were initially due no later than June 24, 2017, and every 180 days thereafter.
- **Retain China’s designation as a country of particular concern (CPC) under the International Religious Freedom Act** and impose additional penalties available under the law. China has been designated as a CPC—a country which “engages in or tolerates systematic, ongoing and egregious violations of religious freedom.”

- **Highlight the cases of specific individuals imprisoned or persecuted for their faith.** Former political prisoners have consistently reported that when foreign officials raised their cases, their treatment in prison improved; in some instances they were even released after such interventions. Members of Congress should deliver floor speeches, issue press releases, and send open letters to Chinese officials about victims of religious persecution in China, including in Tibet, and adopt prisoners through the Lantos Commission's [Defending Freedoms Project](#).
- **Urge both state and local governments to promptly delay or cancel visits or exchanges to China,** in response to egregious incidents of religious persecution. This should include provinces like Sichuan and Qinghai, which are home to Tibetan prefectures and have been imposing increasing constraints on the practice of Tibetan Buddhism in recent years.
- **Support adequate and robust funding** for democracy, rights, and governance programming.

I commend the Lantos Commission for drawing attention to the ongoing persecution of Tibetan Buddhists and championing religious freedom in China.

**Freedom House, The Battle for China's Spirit: Religious Revival,  
Repression, and Resistance under Xi Jinping**

February 2017

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**Matthew Akester, Dangerous Truths: The Panchen Lama's 1962  
Report and China's Broken Promise of Tibetan Autonomy**

July 10, 2017

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