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TIBET "FROM ALL ANGLES": PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS, DEFENDING STRATEGIC ACCESS, AND CHALLENGING CHINA'S EXPORT OF CENSORSHIP GLOBALLY

HEARING

BEFORE THE

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS

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TIBET "FROM ALL ANGLES": PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS, DEFENDING STRATEGIC ACCESS, AND CHALLENGING CHINA'S EXPORT OF CENSORSHIP GLOBALLY

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2018

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION ON CHINA,
Washington, DC.

The hearing was convened, pursuant to notice, at 10:42 a.m., in Room 301, Russell Senate Office Building, Senator Marco Rubio, Chairman, presiding.

Also present: Representative Christopher Smith, Senator Steve Daines, and Representative Ted Lieu.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO, A U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA, CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Chairman RUBIO. This hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China will come to order. The title is "Tibet 'From All Angles': Protecting Human Rights, Defending Strategic Access, and Challenging China's Export of Censorship Globally."

We will have one panel today. It features Dhondup Wangchen, a Tibetan filmmaker and recently escaped political prisoner; Dr. Tenzin Dorjee, who is a Commissioner, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, also an associate professor at California State University at Fullerton; and Dr. Michael Green, senior vice president for Asia and Japan Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies. We thank you all for being here.

Without question, Tibet remains one of the most sensitive issues in U.S.-China relations. Conflict between Tibetan aspirations and Chinese policy is found within cultural, religious, and educational spheres.

As the Chinese government seeks to diminish or altogether eliminate aspects of Tibetan culture that it regards as threatening, the peaceful exercise of internationally recognized human rights is systematically suppressed. Inside the Tibet Autonomous Region and Tibetan Autonomous areas, Chinese officials have increased restrictions on the religious and cultural life of Tibetans over the past decade by implementing pervasive controls and restrictions on religious practice. This trend was highlighted in the Commission's most recent annual report.

Beginning in 2016, Chinese authorities targeted renowned centers of Buddhist learning for demolition and reportedly expelled

more than 4,800 Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns and subjected them to periods of "patriotic education" lasting from several weeks to six months. There are more than 500 cases of Tibetan political or religious prisoners currently in detention who are in this Commission's political prisoner database, a staggering figure that is far from exhaustive.

Access to Tibet for foreign journalists, nongovernmental organizations, and diplomats remains severely restricted. At the same time, the Chinese Communist Party's government exports its authoritarianism abroad, pressuring foreign academic institutions who invite the Dalai Lama to speak on campus, as well as businesses who mention his name or the Tibet Autonomous Region as a distinct region.

It is this dimension of global Chinese censorship which has thus thrust Tibet into the news in recent days. Every week, it seems another major international company is publicly, and in some cases shamelessly, apologizing to the PRC for some sort of misstep related to Tibet, the Dalai Lama, or otherwise sensitive issues.

Driven by their bottom line in China's vast market, many companies are increasingly prepared to toe Beijing's line. There is a certain grim irony to the Chinese government demanding that businesses apologize for social media posts on social media platforms that are actually blocked inside of China.

It is clear that the cost of doing business for foreign companies in China keeps getting steeper, and at the same time, there is little price to be paid in the west when companies engage in self-censorship to further their bottom line despite the fact that it is antithetical to the values that underpin our own society—the values, by the way, that allow these companies to even exist in the first place.

We will explore all of these topics during today's hearing, in addition to the future of the Dalai Lama's succession, China's efforts to control water resources and expand its military presence on the Tibetan plateau, and the impact on the broader U.S. strategic interests in human rights.

Before turning to our witnesses, I would be remiss if I did not underscore how pleased we are to welcome the Tibetan filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen to today's hearing. It is not often that we are able to welcome to the witness stand political prisoners whose cases the Commission has highlighted in our prisoner database, in letters to the administration, and on our social media.

Set against a backdrop of a different Olympic Games in Asia, it is fitting to recall that Mr. Wangchen's "crime" was the making of a short documentary film, "Leaving Fear Behind," in 2008, which was based on 108 interviews he conducted with Tibetans who expressed views on a range of issues from the Dalai Lama to the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Golog Jigme, Mr. Wangchen's assistant in producing the film, was among the witnesses at an April 2016 Commission hearing titled "China's Pervasive Use of Torture." He too was subsequently detained in 2008 for his work on the documentary, and during his detention, he was severely tortured.

Mr. Wangchen, we welcome you to America. We welcome you to safety and to freedom, and we stand with you in working toward

the day when the Tibetan people are afforded these same protections.

I now recognize Congressman Smith for his opening comments.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER SMITH, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY, COCHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Cochairman SMITH. Thank you very much, Chairman Rubio. And, again, thank you for your extraordinary leadership on this Commission.

This hearing, again, reminds us of the dire and worsening situation of the Tibetan people inside China. Along with you and my colleagues, I would very, very robustly like to welcome Dhondup Wangchen to the United States.

We're glad you're here and finally reunited with your family. What an unbelievable irony that at a time when China is buying Hollywood, and buying access, and buying companies to influence product, that a man who speaks so eloquently to another product—and that's repression—would find himself so horribly mistreated.

So we are so glad you are here, and as the Chairman said, you were one of the key focuses of this Commission for a very long time. So thank you for being here.

You are one in a long line of heroic dissidents and former prisoners of conscience who have testified before this Commission. The Chinese government may not like our efforts, and that is an understatement. They don't like a light being shone on their human rights abuses, but nothing good happens in the dark. We need to accelerate what we are doing to bring focus and scrutiny to their abuses.

We are looking today at Tibet from all angles, as a human rights issue, as a critical matter of diplomacy, and as a geostrategic concern. Too often human rights and human rights diplomacy are discounted or ignored as a secondary concern in bilateral relations. That has been a bipartisan failure by a number of White Houses and State Departments.

They are too often viewed as problems, and not of real interest to the United States. I believe that sells out the dissidents, and sells out the best and the bravest women and men in China and anywhere else where we practice that kind of subordination of human rights to other concerns.

It is abundantly clear that we are in direct link between China's domestic human rights problems and the security and the prosperity of the United States. There is a link.

The health of the U.S. economy and the environment, the safety of our food and drug supplies, the security of our investments and personal information in cyberspace, the academic freedom of our universities and the stability of the Pacific region will all depend on China complying with international law, allowing the free flow of news and information, complying with its WTO obligations, and protecting the basic rights of Chinese citizens, including the fundamental freedoms of religious expression, assembly, and association.

Losing sight of these facts leads to bad policy, bad diplomacy, and the needless juxtaposition of values and interests. It also sends

the wrong message to those in China standing courageously for greater freedom, human rights, and the rule of law.

There is the issue of corporate capitulation referenced by our distinguished Chairman. As Mercedes Benz pulled an advertisement on Instagram with the Dalai Lama and a quote, "Look at a situation from all angles and you will become more open." Like Delta and Marriott before it, Mercedes shamelessly apologized even though Instagram is blocked in China.

I remind my colleagues that back in 2006, I began a series of hearings where we had Google, Microsoft, Cisco and Yahoo. I had them take the stand and swear in. It was an eight-hour hearing. And they were not only censoring all things on their platforms, Google especially, but they were also aiding and abetting the propaganda of the Beijing dictatorship, all for profit—all for profit.

Now we see others following that terrible and dangerous precedent of years ago. It has been unabated, and now it's continuing even in a more shameless way toward Tibet.

The administration's national security strategy rightly identifies China's foreign influence operations as a strategic threat. It is imperative to counter China's global influence operations and efforts to export its authoritarian model, and globally.

I chair the Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights Committee. We are planning very shortly, within about a month, a hearing on the influence in Africa. We've had them before, but it is getting worse. The bad governance model of Beijing is being accepted by some, particularly dictatorships like Zimbabwe. So we need to bring a light there and compete with that influence that is being subjected, or imposed, I should say, on Africa.

As China increasingly flexes its economic muscle, the result will be more apologies, sadly, accommodation, and self-censorship.

Corporate America needs to get more of a backbone. It needs to stand for fundamental freedoms. Yes, make a profit, but do so in a way that does not violate human rights. And it is not just companies that have capitulated, but universities and Hollywood, and nongovernmental organizations, and even whole countries.

As China's Belt and Road Initiative expands, so will demands that countries be silent about human rights abuses, silent about religious persecution, and silent about the Chinese government's repeated failure to abide by its international obligations.

Where is the UN? I have raised it over and over again. The Human Rights Council, even at the Periodic Review it's a very short look and scrutinizing—Israel gets unbelievable focus at the United Nations on all things related to human rights; China, not even a slap on the wrist.

We should not be silent about the abuses faced by the Tibetan people and religious leaders. The China Commission's political prisoner database contains records on 600 known Tibetan political and religious prisoners. Forty-three percent of those detained are monks, nuns, and religious teachers. Almost all were imprisoned since 2008.

The Tibetan people have a right to practice their religion, preserve their wonderful culture, and speak their language. They have a right to do so without restriction or interference. The Chinese government, of course, does not agree. To them, their faith and cul-

ture are problems to be solved, not a heritage to be preserved and protected. To them, the Dalai Lama is an agitator and a revolutionary, not a world-renowned and respected voice for peace and harmony that we know him to be.

The Chinese government wants the Tibetan Buddhism that is attractive to tourists for photo ops, and not the one that is strongly embraced and revered by the Tibetan people. Allowing greater religious freedom is an essential part of dealing with the grievances of the Tibetan people, but China's answer is always the same: control, manage and repress, and incarcerate, and torture. It is counterproductive and it violates China's international obligations.

Finally, in our dealings with the Chinese government and officials, Members of Congress and the administration should affirm the peaceful desires of the Tibetan people for greater autonomy and freedom within China. We should stress that China's policies create needless grievances and their repression of Tibet only hurts China's international prestige. It brings dishonor—dishonor to Beijing.

We should demand open access to Tibet by journalists and diplomats, and we should raise the cases of prisoners of conscience with Chinese officials. U.S. leadership on these issues is critical because our allies in Europe and Asia can often be bullied by Chinese threats of economic boycotts. We must demonstrate that Tibet matters, human rights matter, that religious freedom matters to U.S.-China relations.

And, again, I want to thank Chairman Rubio who has been a stalwart in speaking out on behalf of human rights all over the world, including and especially in Tibet.

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you. Thank you for those kind comments. And thank you as well for your activism, and for your work on this Commission, and for being accommodating at the late start. We have all of these other issues going on.

So let's begin with our witness testimony.

Mr. Wangchen, we thank you for being here with us today, and we recognize you for any statement you have for the committee.

STATEMENT OF DHONDUP WANGCHEN, TIBETAN FILMMAKER AND RECENTLY ESCAPED POLITICAL PRISONER

Mr. WANGCHEN. [Formal Tibetan Greeting.] I am very pleased to be here—to be in the United States Congress—to be addressing you, the Members of Congress. I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all for your support for the Tibetan people.

I would like to begin by talking about the reason why I made the movie "Leaving Fear Behind." The Chinese authorities were launching a campaign of disinformation about what the Tibetan situation is, what Tibet is. They claim that there is religious freedom in Tibet, there is freedom of expression, etc. So I wanted to address all of these issues.

The reality is that today life in Tibet is being destroyed, the nomadic tradition of the majority of Tibetans is being destroyed. Tibetans are being forced to denounce His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and there is virtually no space for the Tibetan grievances to be addressed. Therefore, without being afraid of all of the risks that entails, we wanted to make this documentary to spread the true information about Tibet to the world.

As a result of making that documentary, the Chinese authorities detained and imprisoned me. During the imprisonment, I suffered physical torture as well as mental torture. Physically for days and nights, they would abuse me. Mentally, they would not allow me to sleep. They would not allow me to do anything that I wanted. They would even insert fear into me by putting a mask or a hood over me whenever they were taking me, handcuffing me, so that I didn't really know where they were taking me.

So then I was without any due process. I was sentenced to six years of imprisonment. They did not allow me to have my own lawyers. They did not follow the judicial process, in violation of their own constitution. And then they gave me the six years of imprisonment.

In prison, there was discrimination. Although as a political prisoner, they should have given me certain rights, they did not do that. They also did not allow me to have any connections with my family, etc. So, virtually, they did not give me any rights that they were giving even to other prisoners.

So, therefore, I confronted the prison authorities about the rights that a prisoner should be getting, that I should be getting. And that they did not allow me. As a result, I wrote a long petition to the international community about the situation inside the prison, about my situation, about what was happening there. And I sent this petition out in the hope that it would be spread in the international community.

However, the Chinese authorities confiscated that petition. As a result, I was sentenced to 84 days of solitary confinement.

Even when I was released, my release wasn't like any other prisoners. Normally, prisoners—when they are released at—when prisoners are released, they are released at 7:00 a.m., and then they are handed over to the family members. However, in my case, I was taken at 4:00 a.m. and was able to be at my family's home only at 4:00 p.m. after taking me different ways to the place.

Even after release, I was virtually in prison. My political rights were taken away for three years. Wherever I would like to go, it would be monitored and I had to seek permission from the authorities.

They would interrogate me, and one of the issues they would always raise with me is, you have made this movie, "Leaving Fear Behind," which has been internationally known. So if you confess your wrongdoing about that documentary, then we will help you with your family reunification.

And it wasn't just me alone that the Chinese authorities were tormenting. The people I—me, my friends, the place where I stayed, or wherever I went, those people would also be confronted, or would also be interrogated by the Chinese authorities.

I also know that the United States Government had appealed to the Chinese authorities about my case, but nothing came out of that thing. So eventually, ultimately, through the help of many people, despite the risk involved, despite having to pay a lot of expenses, I was able to escape.

I am in freedom now. However, there are many people like me who are political prisoners, who are under detention in China.

So I would like my testimony to be read—the full testimony to be on the record, but will read excerpts from it.

Cochairman SMITH. Without objection, so ordered.

And please proceed. Take as long as you would like.

[The prepared statement of Dhondup Wangchen appears in the appendix.]

Mr. WANGCHEN. I was born on October 17, 1974, to a family of Tibetan farmers in Bayen which is in the province we call Amdo. In today's administrative divisions, Bayen is in Tsoshar prefecture, Qinghai province, People's Republic of China.

I arrived in the USA on December 25, 2017, and it was the first time in many years that I felt safety and freedom. The reunion with my family in San Francisco was a wonderful moment that I had looked forward to in the past years with a mixture of anxious joy and the hesitation a man feels who was hindered from being the husband he ought to be for his loving wife, a man who was not given the chance to stand by with fatherly advice to his children in a world full of challenges, and a man denied being the son needed for his aging parents, tormented by the thought that they would not see each other again in their lifetime.

Growing up in the remote village of Khotse in Amdo, 2000 km east of Tibet's capital, Lhasa, I started the discovery of my people's history with little knowledge, but with an insatiable and juvenile curiosity about what life had to offer me.

Our family lived a simple life, right at the edge of the Tibetan plateau, bordering the Chinese mainland. I was aware of repression in the past. I had lost members on both my mother's and my father's sides of the family as a result of China's atrocities toward Tibetans.

However, it wasn't until I made my journey to Lhasa in the early 1990s as a young adult that I first saw, firsthand, resistance to China's occupation and political symbols such as the Tibetan national flag. In 1992, I witnessed monks from Ganden Monastery carry out a street protest in Lhasa. Some nuns also protested. I saw armed police and military forces quell the protest in a heavy-handed manner and detain the monks and nuns.

It was also in 1992 that I decided to go to India to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama and receive some education. At that time, there were many Tibetans escaping to India. However, I only stayed a year and returned to Tibet in 1993 where I was involved in activism such as helping former political prisoners.

I would like to acknowledge my cousin Jamyang Tsultrim who mentored me in my formative years and who is here at today's hearing.

In 1996, my good friend, Ganden monk Jigme Gyatso—a true Tibetan hero—was arrested on charges related to the 1992 protest. Jamyang Tsultrim was also arrested and they both served prison sentences. I was working in Jamyang's restaurant in Lhasa, which the authorities threatened to close down as it was the center of many of our activities.

I spent many years involved in various forms of activism and was detained several times. The longest that I was held in detention was for about 30 days in Lhasa in 2001, but I was never formally charged and was always released.

As the 2008 Olympic Games were fast approaching, and it was always being reported in state media, I told Jamyang Tsultrim—who had by then gone to Switzerland—that I wanted to do something that would have a big and long-term impact and that would reflect the true feelings and wishes of the Tibetan people. This was when we first started thinking about making a documentary film from inside Tibet that would later be known as "Leaving Fear Behind."

I set to work finding collaborators and traveling all over Tibet to interview ordinary Tibetans. We would record interviews in isolated places so as not to arouse suspicion, and we were always careful to ask whether the interviewees wanted to have their face shown on camera or not. We carried with us the DVDs of the ceremony which showed U.S. President George Bush awarding His Holiness the Dalai Lama the Congressional Gold Medal in October 2007. We showed this to many people who became very emotional upon seeing it.

Our final footage was taken in Xi'an on March 10, 2008, and handed over to a UK-born Tibetan who helped to ensure that it reached Zurich in Switzerland. We spent that day together unaware that protests had broken out in Lhasa the same day and would continue over the next days and months all over Tibet.

Even though I was aware that I was being followed and was under surveillance, it wasn't until March 26, 2008 that I was arrested and interrogated by secret police. I was not kept in a police station or prison but in a hotel, and my family was not informed of my whereabouts.

The torture started as soon as I was detained. I was forced to sit in the "tiger chair" for seven days and eight nights. I was given no food and was not allowed to fall asleep.

It wasn't long before I was back in detention after I was briefly released.

"Leaving Fear Behind" was by then released and distributed online just before the Olympics started in China.

Even though I did not know for sure, I was hopeful that everything had gone according to plan. I suspected that the authorities were building their case against me. I was often interrogated and told I had to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and that if I admitted my wrongdoings, I would be released. I always refused to do these things.

I was shown "Leaving Fear Behind" while in detention in December 2008, a few months before I was released. I will remember this moment forever. The interrogator wanted to know how I knew the people I had interviewed. And then they showed me the edited film and wanted me to confess.

For the first time I watched the film in a Chinese prison. While the interrogator continued to force me to confess my wrongdoings, I just enjoyed in my inside the train scene, the music and auspicious lyrics and felt immensely proud. I thought that even if I received a 10-year sentence, it would have been worth making the film. I felt happy for the interviewees who had taken great risks to appear in the film and we had promised them that the film would be seen by the outside world, and His Holiness the Dalai

Lama would know about the film as well. So I was happy that I had been able to keep that promise to the interviewees.

I remained in informal detention until I was tried and sentenced on December 28, 2009, to six years in prison for "subversion of state power." The case against me mentioned the projects I had been involved with, printing and distributing books, as well as making "Leaving Fear Behind."

During my time in various forms of labor detention, I had to do manual labor which differed depending on where I was. I had been made to do many different tasks such as peeling garlic or stitching military uniforms and was given only two meals a day, which was barely adequate. The day would start at around 6:30 a.m., and we had to work until 11:00 p.m. We never went outside and I was in constant pain with headaches and hurting arms. I always witnessed a difference in how prisoners and political prisoners were treated. When it came to Tibetan prisoners, we were never allowed to speak Tibetan to each other.

While in prison, I wrote many letters to my sister and my family members, and the prison authorities took them, saying they would be sent on. After release, I discovered that none of the letters had arrived. In March 2012, it was discovered that I tried to smuggle a letter to the outside world. This letter was a long appeal to the then Chinese President, Hu Jintao, and Premier Wen Jiabao outlining the corrupt prison system and the discrimination that Tibetan prisoners suffer. I was punished by being placed in solitary confinement for 84 days.

Following my release, I was always monitored closely and the police would contact me constantly. I did not feel free at all. I wanted to study and improve my Tibetan, and I wanted to work, but in those three and a half years I couldn't do anything. Feeling frustrated and increasingly isolated, I decided that it would be better to escape from the PRC, rather than stay under those circumstances without any freedom.

While in Tibet, I had information that the outside world, including the United States Government, was concerned about my situation. The Swiss, Dutch and the German governments were also concerned about me. The attention from outside from civil societies around the world, as well as from governments, definitely helped me. This was reflected, for example, in the way my prison inmates and the prison administration treated me. Though I suffered from being restricted in my communications with my relatives, to the extent that I was isolated from the outside world, I was less subject to arbitrary punishments and beatings.

I feel your support for cases like me and Tibet, in general, could be of greater effect if you regularly recall the ground reality in Tibet. There are thousands of Tibetans like me, actively involved in the struggle. Tibetans in Tibet are not victims but agents of change trying to explore and use every opportunity to fight for a better future. We need support and partnership from the outside world.

Every attempt for more freedom or democracy is oppressed by China. It is against the nature of this regime to tolerate freedom and democracy, be it in China, in Tibet and ultimately in the rest of the world.

I am not a politician, and my knowledge about the specifics of your legislative process is limited. My friends from the International Campaign for Tibet in Washington, D.C. explained the goal and important details of their recommendations to the Congress to me. I am happy to support these recommendations.

Actions taken by the U.S. Congress on Tibet send a strong message to the people in Tibet. However, the systematic suppression of free press and reporting from Tibet can only be fought with a systematic counterapproach. Therefore, the Congress should pass the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017.

I know that there is a U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues in the State Department who I would have liked to meet, but I am told no one has been appointed to this position as yet. And so I would like this position to be filled as soon as possible. I would also like you all to pass the resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the treatment of the Tibetan people should be an important factor in the conduct of United States relations with China.

I would like to ask the U.S. administration to raise Tibet in appropriate international fora, including the U.N. bodies.

Finally, I would like to urge China to release all Tibetan political prisoners, including the 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima.

My wish is that whatever measures you take, do it with the strongest possible conviction and in the most forceful and wise manner. As a Tibetan who has tried his best to give a voice to his fellow countrymen, I can assure you that Tibetans in Tibet have not given up.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you.

Dr. Dorjee.

STATEMENT OF TENZIN DORJEE, Ph.D., COMMISSIONER, U.S. COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (USCIRF) AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

Mr. DORJEE. My thanks to the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, and you, Senator Rubio and Representative Smith, cochairs of the Commission; and Representative Lieu and Senator Daines for today's hearing.

I ask that my written testimony be submitted for the record.

I am Tenzin Dorjee, a USCIRF Commissioner. I testify as a proud Tibetan American and Tibetan refugee.

I am joyful to be here with Dhondup Wangchen but saddened that he and his family had to flee Tibet to live in freedom. This is so because the Chinese government seeks total domination by forcing Tibetans to assimilate into the dominant Han culture, seeking to control Buddhism and restricting the teaching of the Tibetan language. The government seeks to advance its sinicization of religion, infusing all aspects of faith into a socialist mold with Chinese characteristics.

Tibet now is a police state because:

(1) The Chinese government implements oppressive restrictions in Tibet and Tibetan areas, including reeducation campaigns and extensive surveillance and intrusive presence of military and security forces. The government quickly suppresses any perceived religious dissent and imprisons and tortures those viewed as threats. While these policies are set in Beijing, Chen Quanguo perfected the surveillance state when he was Tibet's party Secretary. He now is Xinjiang's leader and doing the same thing there.

(2) The Chinese government believes the Dalai Lama threatens its control. Officials recognize his central importance to Tibetans. While the Dalai Lama seeks to achieve stability and coexistence between Tibetans and Chinese through the Middle Way, the government accuses him of blasphemy and splittism, targeting anyone suspected of separatist activities and participating in the Dalai clique.

Beijing seeks to diminish the Dalai Lama's international influence. For instance, after delivering a commencement address in 2017 at the University of California, San Diego, the Chinese Communist Party-controlled Global Times condemned the university for inviting him to speak, and threatened to withhold visas. Officially atheist, the Chinese government absurdly claims it can select the next Dalai Lama. Such a decision is reserved to the current Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people. If Sino-Tibetan issues do not get resolved, His Holiness has said that the next Dalai Lama will be born in freedom.

While the Dalai Lama hopes to return to Tibet, the Chinese government waits for his death outside China, viewing it as a key to resolving Sino-Tibetan issues. However, the consequences of his death in exile will be unimaginable to Tibetans. Some may resort to violence and others to self-immolation.

(3) The Chinese government enforces intrusive restrictions on public and private religious practice. This includes monitoring the training, assembly, selection, and education of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders. The government seeks to strike at Tibetan Buddhism's heart by targeting Larung Gar, one of the largest Tibetan Buddhist institutes. The destruction and micromanagement there and in Yachen Gar exemplifies Beijing's goal of eviscerating the teachings and study of Tibetan Buddhism so that it serves the Chinese Communist Party and government goals.

(4) The government imprisons subjects through sham trials and tortures prisoners of conscience to control Tibetan Buddhists. This includes the Panchen Lama. The Chinese government disappeared him more than two decades ago, then announced its own pick who most Tibetans will just reject. The government must provide videographic evidence of his whereabouts and well-being. I advocate for him in USCIRF's Religious Prisoners of Conscience Project.

The government detained Tashi Wangchuk in 2016, after he spoke to the New York Times on Tibetan language, education and culture. He was tried in January 2018. No verdict was issued then. He could face up to 15 years in prison. The Chinese government targeted him because it believes that Tibetan language acquisition impedes the sinicization of the education system and Tibetan assimilation into the majority culture.

Choekyi is a Tibetan monk imprisoned for his expressed loyalty to the Dalai Lama. He was sentenced to four years in prison for conducting separatist activities. His health has deteriorated in prison.

(5) At least 152 Tibetans have self-immolated since February 2009. Chinese authorities allege that self-immolators threaten stability and security by committing terrorist acts in disguise, and act to prevent information being disseminated about them by threatening family members with punishment and detaining and torturing those suspected of involvement.

(6) The long arm of China—the Chinese government has a long arm and a heavy hand in its quest to censor information and criticism about its actions in Tibet.

The Chinese government in 2017 warned countries like Botswana and India about the Dalai Lama's planned appearances and praises the government of Nepal—where about 20,000 Tibetans live, many in formal detention camps.

The Chinese government's actions pose serious concerns for democratic norms and institutions in the United States. Along with pressuring UC San Diego, it works closely with the Chinese Students and Scholars Association to pressure other universities. Some characterize the group as a tool of the government's foreign ministry. Chinese students with the CSSA harassed me in 2008 when I was a doctoral student at the University of California, Santa Barbara. About 100 tried to disrupt a Tibet event. I was standing along with a Tibetan flag when about 30 surrounded and screamed at me, calling me a terrorist and a bastard. I stood my ground nonviolently.

I also want to touch on Confucius Institutes in U.S. colleges and universities, and primary and secondary school classrooms. Its mandate is to promote cultural exchange through Chinese language and cultural instruction. A Chinese state organ selects the teachers and materials, thereby allowing it to promote Beijing's ideology and policy goals and soften its authoritarian image by helping shape public opinion.

Finally, as an academic, I am very concerned about the Chinese government's attempt to censor and pressure foreign publishers like Springer Nature and Cambridge University Press to block content. Thankfully, Cambridge reversed course after a backlash, but Springer Nature did not.

I end with these recommendations. Along with designating China a CPC for its violations of religious freedom, with specific sanctions associated with the designation, Congress should pass the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017. USCIRF thanks Senator Rubio for sponsoring this bill.

Send delegations to China, request to visit Tibet and advocate for prisoners of conscience and their families.

The United States Government should appoint a qualified individual to serve as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues at the State Department as mandated by the 2002 Tibetan Policy Act.

There should be sanctions against officials and agencies for participating in or being responsible for human rights abuses, including the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act and the Global Magnitsky Act.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify today.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dorjee appears in the appendix.]

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you so very much.

[Applause.]

Chairman RUBIO. Dr. Green.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. GREEN, Ph.D., SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT FOR ASIA AND JAPAN CHAIR, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CSIS)

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, Members of the Commission, thank you very much for inviting me and for your focus on this important issue.

It is an honor to appear on this podium with Tenzin Dorjee, and particularly with Dhondup Wangchen whose voice is, I think, the most important we'll hear. I hope to add to their comments by framing Tibet issues in the context of U.S. policy towards China, geopolitics, and our national interests. I would ask that my written comments be submitted for the record.

Those who argue that U.S. policy should somehow be distinguished from our values as a nation, I think, misunderstand both our interests and our history. I recently published a history of American strategy in Asia and made the argument with plenty of evidence that American statecraft has successfully prevented the rise of hostile hegemons in the Asia Pacific region, not just by force of arms or realpolitik, but by investing over the long term in democratic norms and open societies.

In Tibet, as in many other parts of Asia today, our consistent support for those same universal values will have an important impact on whether China uses its growing power for coercion and hegemonic control or finds ways to contribute to regional prosperity consistent with the needs and expectations of her people and her neighbors.

We have to recognize that the powerful aspirations of the Tibetan people for dignity, religious freedom, and cultural autonomy intersect with rising geopolitical tensions along the Himalayan Plateau. China's insecurity about this region is deeply rooted.

In 2008, China's central military commission ranked Tibet as the most critical sovereignty challenge to the country, ahead of Xinjiang and Taiwan. The flipside of this insecurity is expansionism. Beijing has made dramatic moves to assert strategic dominance over the Himalayan Plateau at the expense of rival India.

India and China together have 37 percent of the world's population, and only about 10 percent of the world's water supply. And they are both growing. China has begun damming rivers in the Himalayan Plateau and is poised to divert huge amounts of water away from India by damming rivers like the Brahmaputra into China. China has suspended agreements on sharing hydrological information and has defied international demands for transparency on their plans.

Beijing has also made moves to establish military dominance in areas contested with India, paralleling similar moves to militarize artificial islands in the South China Sea, but in this case, at an altitude of over 10,000 feet. Satellite photos have shown that the PLA is militarizing the area of Doklam with helipads, roads, and

hardened fortifications only dozens of meters from India's forward outpost.

When India tested a ballistic missile capable of hitting China recently, the official Chinese media—by the way, China already has the ability to hit India—called for a counterstrategy of expanding into the Indian Ocean.

So the Tibetans' struggle is occurring at the epicenter of China's aggressive attempt to consolidate and expand control of its periphery within the Indian and Eurasian continent.

Finally, the Tibetan people's aspirations are colliding with the greatest vulnerability of the Chinese Communist Party—that party's inability to accommodate the growing and legitimate spiritual and social demands of all of its 1.4 billion citizens. This includes the most senior figures in the Communist Party. We know, for example, that Li Peng—the premier who ordered the crackdown in Tiananmen—converted to Tibetan Buddhism in his old age. We hosted His Holiness the Dalai Lama at CSIS in 2007, and His Holiness put it this way; he said, when you are in your 80s, socialism with Chinese characteristics is not so useful.

The spiritual threat of religious freedom in China is something we have to recognize is a regime threat for the Chinese leadership. Driven by all of these insecurities, Beijing has chosen to turn away from dialogue with His Holiness's representatives on legitimate questions of religious and cultural autonomy; and instead, as you have heard, to try to break the will of the Tibetan people through a combination of repression, Hanization of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, massive economic infrastructure building, and political control of the succession to the 15th Dalai Lama.

Steady U.S. support for the Tibetan people is, therefore, morally and strategically imperative. If we turn a blind eye to coercion by China in any one part of Asia in order to win support by China in another, we will find we are on a slippery slope. It could be Tibet today. It could be Taiwan tomorrow. It could be Japan the next day.

U.S. support is also necessary to demonstrate to the Tibetan people that His Holiness was right to champion the so-called Middle Way of dialogue with Beijing within the context of China's own constitution, and that those long-suffering and brave people in Tibet and the surrounding regions do not have to choose either surrender or violence.

In addition, U.S. support is necessary—consistent U.S. support—to solidify solidarity around the world for Tibet. That solidarity faltered in 2009 when President Obama chose to hold off meeting with His Holiness in Washington. And in Europe and Australia and around the world, there was a palpable effect on what governments were willing to do in terms of taking risks vis-à-vis Beijing to support His Holiness.

The Trump administration has not yet fully stepped up to this reality, in my view. The administration's announcement of a free and open Indo-Pacific strategy strikes me as the right framing of how we bring our values to policy towards Asia. But as far as we know, this President is the first in two decades who has not raised Tibet in meetings with his counterparts. We don't know if the Secretary of State has.

The United States still does not have a Tibet Coordinator as required under legislation. I understand that the Secretary of State wants to have the Undersecretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights fulfill this role, which I think would be okay. But there is no nominee for that position. I looked on the website for that Undersecretary's office, and I searched the word "Tibet" and found eight references to Tibet being part of China. The ninth reference was to the human rights report two years ago. And that was about it.

The administration should support, in my view, the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017. As a scholar, as a former senior policymaker, I favor dialogue with China on all issues, including this one. In 2007 and 2008, I was involved in a dialogue at CSIS sanctioned by the Chinese government with Tibetan authorities about the situation in Tibet. That dialogue dried up. The Chinese side cut it off. I think we need leverage to pry open access and dialogue on Tibet and the legitimate rights of the Tibetan people.

There is, as I understand it, a Presidential waiver in the legislation. I think the administration can use this when Party officials from the Tibet Autonomous Region are ready for serious dialogue. But without some kind of pressure, I don't think we are going to get the Chinese side taking us seriously on this issue, in particular, as China closes off the region to journalists, scholars, officials, and tourists. Reciprocity is a critical part of American or any country's foreign policy strategy.

I would conclude by emphasizing that what I am describing and what I think U.S. policy is aiming at is achieving what Beijing itself has claimed to support in its own constitution and in prior dialogues with representatives of His Holiness, which is respect for the cultural, religious, and social rights of the Tibetan people. And to retreat from that support now would be to signal acceptance of the logic that Chinese power must be accommodated even when that power is used to reverse rules, norms, and understandings that are vital to peace, prosperity, and U.S. interests in this vital region of the world.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Green appears in the appendix.]

[Applause.]

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you all. I am going to yield my opening questions to Senator Daines.

Senator DAINES. Thank you, Chairman Rubio and Representative Smith. Thanks for your leadership too, on this important commission. I want to thank you for holding this hearing and thanks to the witnesses for coming before us and providing your perspective and expertise on this very important topic.

I spent about half a decade, a little more than half a decade living in China as an ex-pat, back in the 1990s working for Proctor & Gamble. I have led congressional delegation trips to China while I have been serving here in Washington, D.C. I've had the opportunity to travel across the country. In fact, in 2016 when I led the congressional delegation, Senators and Members of the House, we went to Ürümqi. We got to see the prominent Uyghur Muslim population as well.

Last year we were in Tibet. And we got to see firsthand the Buddhist monks and, importantly, how they have been preserving the culture and their religious heritage there. It has allowed me to see firsthand the human rights abuses and challenges that Chinese people face and the positive impact that an American presence can have in that country. In fact, our two youngest children—we have four children—our two youngest were born in Hong Kong back in the 1990s.

So I really see Asia as really part of my experiences. When I think about China and talk about it, it is not in some theoretical construct. It is something that we have lived and breathed, whether living there or with subsequent visits.

These travels have provided me the opportunity to raise critical issues impacting Tibet related to human rights, religious freedom, having access in Tibet, face-to-face dialogue with Chinese officials and leadership. In fact, just yesterday, yesterday afternoon, I had the opportunity to raise many of these issues directly with Ambassador Cui. He came to my office and we had a good conversation. While much work needs to be done, it is essential that individual Members of Congress and the U.S. Government as a whole continue to press China on addressing and reversing course on their ongoing human rights and religious freedom abuses.

A question for Dr. Dorjee—in your testimony, you focus significantly on the detention of prisoners of conscience. How can Members of Congress and the public at large best assist efforts to secure the release of prisoners or advocate on their behalf where they are detained in Tibet or elsewhere in China?

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you, Senator Daines, for the opportunity to respond to your question.

As commissioner on the USCIRF, we have our Prisoners of Conscience Project. So that tells you how much importance we give to freeing the prisoners of conscience.

And what Members of Congress could do, given the opportunity, if you could raise not only the individual cases of the prisoners of conscience, but also the policies and laws that have led to that. So that would be very helpful.

And to my understanding, when you use your bully pulpit to advocate for the prisoners of conscience, that makes a difference. Of course, China is not going to let every prisoner of conscience be free. But that being said, when we keep putting pressure on them, at least that makes a difference in their lives, maybe they might get a little breather through such influence.

And also, Members of Congress could adopt prisoners of conscience and especially in your case when you visit China and you're meeting with high officials, if you could raise the issues, that would also make a big difference.

Senator DAINES. Dr. Green, Dr. Dorjee just mentioned about making a difference. I have fond memories of our time when we were expats living in Guangzhou. We were able to see how the treatment of children in orphanages was improved because of the presence and interaction of Americans.

We would go there and visit on Saturdays. We would hold these babies that oftentimes were not receiving the human touch. And we noticed there was a built-in, almost, accountability, that an orphan-

age started getting cleaner and the care of these children improved because we were showing up on Saturdays to directly take care of these children and literally just to hold them.

I believe this principle can be applied more broadly as well. I have called on Secretary Tillerson and this administration to appoint the Special Coordinator for Tibet. I think that is an important step.

If there was a more substantial U.S. presence in Tibet, such as a U.S. embassy, a consulate, a special coordinator, what potential impacts would there be regarding the issues of religious freedom and human rights causes in Tibet?

Mr. GREEN. The question is excellent, Senator. Thank you.

I lived in Asia about six years, the same timeframe. In my case I was in Japan. I have similar fond memories, traveled extensively throughout China.

The crackdown you have heard about is happening as transparency is being closed. It is not just journalists or diplomats, it is scholars, American scholars of Tibet who are being denied access.

If we had a consulate in Lhasa, if we had a presence there, it would do a number of things. It would allow academic exchanges because that is a part of what our consulates do. It would allow officers from the U.S. State Department to monitor the cases of individual political detainees, to monitor trials. It would allow them to provide accurate reporting of what is happening to the Tibetan people.

And as I was mentioning in my testimony, with respect to a massive infrastructure program and military program in the Himalayan Plateau, that is destabilizing. That is fundamentally raising tensions. It is an area where we need presence and access not just because of the Tibetan people's aspirations, but because of the negatively spiraling geopolitics between China and India.

Senator DAINES. So in light of that, Dr. Green, what role do you think human rights would play within U.S. policy towards China as it relates to the broader issues of national security as well as these economic tensions?

Mr. GREEN. I come at this as a historian and a scholar, but also for five years I was the Special Assistant and Senior Director for Asia on President George W. Bush's NSC staff. And in 2007, President Bush told Hu Jintao—with whom he had a good relationship—he said, I have good news and bad news, which do you want first? And Hu Jintao had never been asked a question that way. He said I will take the good news. President Bush said, I am going to go to the Olympics. And then President Hu tried to end the meeting without the bad news. And the President said, wait a minute! You have to hear the other part. I am going to meet with His Holiness in the Congress and present him with the Congressional Gold Medal.

It is possible to be clear and consistent on human rights and democracy and have a productive relationship with Chinese counterparts. The key is to be consistent.

It was in that same timeframe that I was able to meet with Dai Bingguo, the state councilor. It was before the Olympics. The Chinese were very worried about their image. They worried about our election and they supported—the government supported this dia-

logue I mentioned on Tibet, mostly scholars, but with some participation from government. It was quite productive. When the Olympics ended, when our election happened, they dropped it.

So I think it is possible to have a clear voice on human rights. I think it is possible to have a dialogue with China on these issues. But we are going to have to find ways to leverage our relationship with China—to push them, frankly, to come to the table.

Senator DAINES. So in that regard, you highlight that it is readily apparent that China has moved away from dialogue with the Dalai Lama. What are the prospects for reengagement, in your opinion, between the PRC and the Dalai Lama? And are there ways the U.S. could be productive towards that end?

Mr. GREEN. It is harder now than it was in 2007 and 2008. I think part of that is because of the financial crisis which I think gave leaders in Beijing an overinflated sense of their own power and leverage.

Xi Jinping has a different approach to all of these issues. Civil society space is closing in China, including for U.S. companies, as you know. So it's a much harder operating environment, and the Chinese side has passed legislation, as you know, declaring they'll decide who the successor to the Dalai Lama will be.

So in diplomacy, when you put that many obstacles it's hard to restart. But I think it is possible.

Number one, President Trump, Members of Congress as well, but President Trump should clearly call on Xi Jinping in his meetings, even if it's done privately, to resume this dialogue.

Number two, we should be funding and supporting the Coordinator for Tibet. We should be reaching out as part of our diplomacy not just with China, but with Europe, with Japan, with Australia, Korea, and India to support this as well.

Senator DAINES. Alright. I am in extra innings right now. Just to wrap up, I had one last question for Dr. Dorjee. In your testimony you mentioned that—thank you, by the way, Dr. Green. You mentioned in your testimony that the European Parliament passed a resolution earlier last month in support of human rights activists in China and called for the immediate and unconditional release of targeted prisoners of conscience. What has been the reaction from the Chinese government on this resolution?

Mr. DORJEE. I don't know of any expressed reactions by the Chinese to this yet, but we can all guess that they are not really happy at all when we try to put pressure on them.

If you would allow me to just go back to the previous question you asked. One of the things many Members of Congress have tried to do—we should have an embassy in Tibet. That would really make a big difference, our physical presence in Tibet. That would also—because according to the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, an ambassador has to engage with human rights activists. And in my case, the Panchen Lama, prisoner of conscience, is very important. I do not know anything about him, but if you do have a presence there, an ambassador would at least find out reliable information about his well-being.

Senator DAINES. I think that gets back to—closing comment—engagement generally produces better outcomes.

Mr. DORJEE. Definitely.

Senator DAINES. An on-ground presence. We have seen that over and over again. That is why I support moving in that direction, certainly an embassy consulate there in Tibet.

So thank you.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you much.

Chairman RUBIO. And the time is fine because you took Senator Gardner's time and yours, so——

[Laughter.]

Chairman RUBIO. To the Cochairman.

Cochairman SMITH. Thank you so very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me just ask a few questions and I will put them out there, and please, whoever would like to take them on.

Mr. Wangchen, thank you for, again, your being here, your unbelievable courage. China's pervasive use of physical and psychological torture, including the tiger chair which, sadly, you have experienced, is well documented. It is barbaric and even the Special Rapporteur for Torture at the United Nations has chronicled as best they can in the past just how terrible China is when it comes to torture.

Yet when you google torture in China—and I have done it in Beijing at a café—you find everything that the Japanese did, and they did horrible things to the Chinese people, the Rape of Nanking and the use of rape and other terrible degrading actions, but also the use of torture. And you also get Gitmo and allegations of mistreatment there. Nothing about the U.N. Special Rapporteur—Manfred Nowak—his statements or any of that because it is all censored.

I mentioned earlier that in 2006 I had a series of hearings about the enabling of the propaganda organs of China. That goes equally, if not more so, for what they do to Tibet in painting a Potemkin village. And yet they continue to this day to be a part of that. As a matter of fact, much of their intellectual property has been ripped off since, and now we have other indigenous companies taking that over.

I would like you to, if you could, in more detail talk about what the Chinese dictatorship did to you physically and to your fellow prisoners, because very often we will hear about the tiger chair, we will hear about the beatings, the electric prods under the arms and at the genital areas. Until we really say, what does that mean? How does somebody like yourself cope with that while you are undergoing it and then after the fact?

I have written four laws called the Torture Victims Relief Act, the original and then three reauthorizations. From that I have learned about how the post-traumatic stress disorder suffered by many political and religious prisoners is off the charts—inability to sleep, flashbacks of memory. I am wondering how you cope with it now as well as during your horrible ordeal.

Second, the fawning of the world media over Kim Yo-jong, the sister of Kim Jong-un—she, as we know, heads up the propaganda and agitation department. As a matter of fact, the Wall Street Journal, I think, did a very good piece called "The Twisted Sister," called her the "twisted sister of Kim." In this room, Josh Rogin has written incisively about China. Fred Hiatt has done one superlative editorial after another that does not join the world press in fawning over the Chinese dictatorship.

I remember when Hu Jintao was here and infamously President Obama had a press conference with him. And when asked a good question about human rights, Obama defended Hu and said, Well, they have a different culture and over time things will change. No, they don't.

As Chairman Rubio—because he leads on human rights in so many places, including Cuba—dictatorships do not matriculate from barbaric behavior to peace and democracy and rule of law without a great deal of push and exposing. Yet our media so often just covers up what Xi Jinping and all of his predecessors have done. Xi Jinping right now—Mr. Green, you spoke to this—Professor Green, about things have changed. They've gotten worse, the NGO law as well as the law on religion. Xi wants to either control religion completely or eviscerate it. Of course when you talk about the Tibetan Buddhists and the passing, potentially, of the Dalai Lama and then they pick the next successor—which is outrageous. They are doing that with the Catholic Church as well—it is with bishops. If you could speak to that as well.

The media, its complicity by not exposing, except for some notable honorable mentions, like I mentioned. On the Olympics—I was there in the early 1990s. I met with Wei Jingsheng. He was briefly let out of prison to get Olympics 2000. They didn't get it. They called him back in and beat him almost to death because his high value political prisoner status did not buy them the Olympics in 2000. They got it in 2008.

Scott Flipse, Frank Wolf, and I—Scott works, of course, as part of our key staff. We went and we met with Ambassador Randt. We met with others. We brought this commission's database and said, Don't just raise it, become Johnny One Notes about, Release the prisoners!, because right now they are keeping dissidents away from Beijing, away from journalists, and of course that goes doubly so for the Tibetans who are incarcerated usually in place, there.

The question there is—you're right. We need that special envoy. There are other special envoys, including for combating anti-semitism. This administration has a reluctance to name special envoys. That's got to change.

But we do have some hope too. Maybe you want to speak to this as well. Senator Rubio, Senator Daines, and others worked so very hard to get Sam Brownback agreed to by the Senate as Ambassador at Large for Religious Freedom—Ambassador Brownback, when he was a Senator did H. Res. 483 on Tibet. He gets it. You read that resolution, you know without a shadow of a doubt—he gets it. Naming prisoners of conscience, Tibetan Buddhists who are being incarcerated and, of course, some of whom were killed—executed, and the importance of a robust response from the United States. So he's someone we all need to be—he was just confirmed, as you know—he needs to make this a priority, obviously, of the International Religious Freedom Office and do it right now. But we have a great friend there, and that's the reason for some hope.

So just a couple of thoughts, if you could respond to any of it. Again, starting with you, Mr. Wangchen. How do you cope with what you have been through?

Mr. WANGCHEN. Actually, I did not really have a choice not to be subject to such tortures. The Chinese authorities left me with no other choices.

In fact, one time they brought a recording to watch to me and wanted me to record something. They use a psychological tape saying that if you record a message—at that time my parents, my wife, my children were in India. And so they said if you say that because the Tibetan Youth Congress in India was posing a threat to my parents, my children, and my wife's life, I have to make this documentary. If I say that, they said I would be treated leniently. Otherwise, they said I had committed a very major crime and would be prosecuted.

Under such a situation we all are human beings, the same wherever we are. We all have pain. We have the same blood and the same flesh. So if under such a situation, if I were given a choice, I would have chosen to die rather than to suffer this. But I did not even have that choice.

So I could see that they were trying to use me to serve a broader political agenda that they had. They would even say at one time that I should say that my cousin, Jamyang Tsultrim, who is in Switzerland, that he was the one who instigated me to make that documentary.

Or they would say, whatever happens, they would always blame the Tibetans outside or His Holiness the Dalai Lama, etc. So that is what they were trying to do.

So in 2012, there were several self-immolations in Tibet. Then the Chinese authorities went to schools forcing the students to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama. But obviously, the Tibetan students, they could not do anything that was untruthful like that at all.

So these are some of the things that they were trying to do. So because of that, in the schools, the students protested saying that it was injustice. Therefore, many of the students were detained.

The TRANSLATOR. But he is saying that overall because of all of these factors, he was able to consider these as the Chinese tortured him, then to say that I need to overcome all of these.

Cochairman SMITH. One other thing very briefly to put on the table and that is the transfer of population, the Han transfer. I know the Dalai Lama has written about that.

Any insight you can give as to how they are displacing Tibetan Buddhists, indigenous people, by bringing others in. Back in 1987, I remember reading an op-ed by John Avedon in the Washington Post called The Rape of Tibet. And he talked about an issue that I had been working on since 1983, and that is forced abortion and coercive population control pursuant to the one child per couple policy which, obviously, applies to all people, but it is used with special telling effect as an act of genocide against the Uyghurs as well as against the Tibetan Buddhists. So any insight any of you might have on that.

If you kill the child because they happen to be Tibetan indigenous persons, that is a part of this transfer of population. They just don't exist. It is an insidious crime against humanity, obviously, but it very seldom gets any focus.

Mr. DORJEE. I would like to respond to something you raised in the second part of the question. As Commissioner of the USCIRF, I want to tell China that when the international community and the U.S. demand human rights in Tibet, we are doing that following international standards, universal human rights.

I am an intercultural communications scholar and we don't define human rights in terms of specific cultures. We are looking across cultures and we are using international standards to talk about that.

So China, if it wants to be a part of the global community, must learn to respect international standards. You cannot have a double standard here.

Another issue that you have raised is the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, which really concerns most of us. It has unimaginable consequences if His Holiness the Dalai Lama would pass away in exile. China thinks they have a perfect solution to this, because they only see the Dalai Lama as part of the problem although we have told them a thousand times—the Dalai Lama is the solution to the problem. Hello. Listen.

So, of course, they think they can do exactly like they did to the Panchen Lama. They will have another pick, fake out the traditional system and have another Dalai Lama. But China must know that if Sino-Tibetan issues do not get resolved, His Holiness the Dalai Lama will not be reborn in Tibet under their control. He will be reborn in freedom.

Why I say that is because in the 1980s I had the privilege to translate for the Dalai Lama. And when we were in Delhi (he was speaking at Delhi University), an Indian journalist asked whether he would be the last Dalai Lama and about the Tibet issue. His Holiness said then if Tibet issues do not get resolved, he would be reborn in a free country because it does not make any sense for the next Dalai Lama not to be able to continue the work and unfinished tasks of the previous Dalai Lama.

So China should know that they may be able to pick the next Dalai Lama, but not the real one. The real one will be born in a free country. So I want to send that message strongly.

Then the next one—there is already—Tibetans have become the minority in our own country. There are more Chinese there and the population transfer can really make the demographics shift.

I am a scholar in this matter where we talk about ethno-linguistic vitality. When the demographic shift changes, it is very hard at a certain point in time to be able to bring the balance back. So it is a very serious matter, as you already know that they not only bring more Chinese civilians to Tibet, but they also started to move the Tibetans en masse from the pasturelands into some concrete buildings somewhere, they build them up, and are changing the whole Tibetan culture in many different ways. So those are very serious matters, and I am sure my colleague Michael Green will have more things to say.

Mr. GREEN. If I may, Congressman, on that last point. Beijing appears confident that their law decreeing the next Dalai Lama will be determined by the Chinese Communist Party, will allow them to continue suppressing dissent in Tibet and ultimately win.

All indications from scholars who know this region, who've traveled there, are that the opposite will happen, that China will find itself with greater instability, greater violence, greater repression and human suffering. That's one of the many reasons why it's in our national interest to push for the PRC to deal with His Holiness because this is not going to get better—for China either.

Second point, on your question or your comment about the "twisted sister" in North Korea—I also found the U.S. press pretty—present company excluded—pretty fawning, and it was rather shocking when you know about what's happening in North Korea.

I, in that context, mention when I first started studying Asia in the 1980s, my professors and diplomats taught us that Asian values are different and that these kinds of authoritarian repressive regimes are culturally accepted. Then around the time I graduated, four major Asian countries democratized.

I think today within the academy, among scholars, and also within the State Department, for a new generation of diplomats, this is no longer a debate where the China hands are arguing with the human rights hands, really. I think the most qualified people we have on the China desk and in our embassy in Beijing want to move out on this issue.

They want to have a consulate in Lhasa. The problem is they do not have guidance from the top right now. And that's why the Tibet coordinator and pushing for the President to raise this issue are so important because the troops, our diplomats, are ready to take this on. They're not fighting it the way, perhaps, State Department officials might have 20 years ago.

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you.

Mr. Wangchen, let me begin by asking you, when you were in prison, were you aware of the international advocacy on your behalf? And if so, could you give us a sense of the impact that it may have had on you and on those who supported you?

Mr. WANGCHEN. I did not know that there was this widespread campaign on my behalf, internationally, when I was in prison. But I did know that there were people who were working—trying to work on my behalf.

Oftentimes, it was the Chinese authorities themselves who would come and tell me—why is there so much interest in your cause outside? So I want to say that from my own experience, any voice that is raised on behalf of political prisoners has a very positive impact even on their lives. I can say from my own experience that it is always good to raise voices on behalf of the political prisoners.

In terms of restrictions, I can say that when there was more interest, they would restrict my movement. They would monitor me more thoroughly. They would search my things more thoroughly, etc. But at the same time, I can say, from the attitude of the prison officials or from other prisoners, that their attitudes change when there is international interest in issues like mine.

Chairman RUBIO. Has your family back at home and those close to you, have they experienced any kind of official pressure since you departed?

Mr. WANGCHEN. I have heard that since I left there the Chinese authorities had visited my sisters and my friends interrogating them as to how I was able to go about escaping, who arranged all

of these things. I have 10 family members. None of us read and write, so therefore, the Chinese authorities made my sister sign some things, some documents, etc. And they have been wanting to know, sending Uyghurs to interrogate my family members many times.

Even my wife's family members have also been interrogated on this issue. So it is just not my side of the family, even my wife's family members have also been interrogated.

Chairman RUBIO. Dr. Dorjee, in your written testimony, you talked about your own experience of China's "long arm in academia." Could you tell us a little bit more about what you observed, specifically as it relates to the Chinese government's use of the Chinese Students and Scholars Association and the Confucius Institutes?

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you very much. First I would like to express my gratitude for your leadership and initiative in these matters.

I think we all know that in China and Tibet everything is controlled, micromanaged, and strategized. And we know that. That's why we are making these voices to make a difference there. But what is less known in the outside world is the Chinese long arm that is extending everywhere in the world and also in this country. As I reported in my testimony, in 2008, when I was one of the two Tibetan students at UC Santa Barbara, there was a Tibet event. Somehow I think it got reported to the Chinese consulate in Los Angeles—they must have organized this and brought about 100 Chinese international students.

Each of us were surrounded by about 30 of them. And they were screaming and yelling, and they brought this huge Chinese national flag. They wrapped me up because I had a Tibetan flag. And I said to them, Look, learn to respect my flag too. I respect your flag, but let's have a dialogue. But they wouldn't listen to that.

What was behind that was the Chinese Scholars and Students Association which exists at many universities. Also as I reported, Confucius Institutes in the classrooms, this is making a huge difference in our academic freedom as you know very well.

Another thing I want to add, if I may, is I just finished reading one of the most prominent Chinese dissidents—student leaders—Tiananmen Square, Chai Ling's "A Heart for Freedom." She was able to escape here and enjoy the freedom, but then what she realized was, after getting a good education at Harvard, at Princeton, when it came time for her to find a job, many companies would say, oops, you are very qualified. We are very sorry—because we have connections with China we cannot do it. So that is the invisible hand in many things happening here, and we really have to voice our concerns and make a change there.

Chairman RUBIO. And, again, what you are describing is the use of a student organization to basically oppress and hassle those who have views or point to facts that run contrary to the narrative that they seek to pursue. And it is one of the things that we are most interested in and we started last week by writing to all of the higher academic institutions, including one high school, by the way, in the state of Florida.

One of them has already canceled the contract, the University of West Florida. And we hope that the others will re-examine that ar-

rangement and ensure that at a minimum none of these activities are occurring in those institutions. I suspect that a number more will follow the lead of the University of West Florida, particularly after yesterday's testimony by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, about how they have been very interested and have been keeping a close eye on how the Confucius Institutes and the student organizations have been used in this country.

Dr. Green, I wanted to ask you because you've talked about the State Department. And you said that the people in the trenches on the ground level are all ready to go on this and other issues. But you also said they needed direction from the top. From that, we are going to have a hearing tomorrow on a nominee, that will oversee this portfolio to the State Department, currently acting in that capacity.

I think it is relevant to ask, What is the perception of the State Department, not the China desk in particular, but just the general leadership over the broader portfolio in the Asia Pacific region; what is the perception and/or the reality of what they prioritize? Is this a pro-engagement direction at the expense of human rights and all of the sorts of issues we have talked about here today?

In essence, is it one of those "we can't raise these issues up because we want to be able to work with them on these other issues, and this irritates them" things, or is it neglect? Basically, they just haven't paid attention to it. How would you describe in the most honest terms possible what the direction of that area of the State Department is today as a general matter?

Mr. GREEN. As I said earlier, Senator, I think that the generation of Foreign Service Officers who now lead the East Asian Bureau and play some of the most prominent roles in our embassies embrace the values component of our diplomacy. And there are Foreign Service Officers who stand in the rain for eight hours outside of courtrooms in Guangzhou to let the Chinese authorities know that we are watching the trial of a dissident, for example. And they are dedicated and they take personal risk.

The problem they have is governments in the region don't view them as empowered right now. We don't have a confirmed Assistant Secretary. We don't have a Tibet Coordinator. Until we have those confirmed people in office, then the diplomats in the trenches are not going to be seen as empowered by the administration and the Congress.

So getting someone in the State Department confirmed in the Assistant Secretary slot, in the Tibet Coordinator slot, the Undersecretary slot will be critical, key embassies like Korea. The view right now in the region is that the State Department is not a major player, and I think they are ready to be, and we need to empower them.

Chairman RUBIO. Just to be clear, not just putting someone in those positions, but the right person because the wrong person would also de-emphasize. For example, let's say that someone at the State Department was helping a major American corporation write an apology for having mentioned the issue of Tibet; that would not be the kind of people we want to see involved in this.

Mr. GREEN. I am a friend and enthusiastic supporter of the candidate, the nominee to be Assistant Secretary. But I am certainly hoping, Senator, that you are going to ask some hard questions.

For example, the administration has put forward the Free and Open Indo-Pacific concept. The words "free and open" to me suggest that our values are going to be a critical part of our diplomacy. I hope that in the hearings those dimensions of our foreign policy are emphasized.

I hear rumors—I don't know if they're true—that within the State Department there is some guidance to not use the words "free and open," but simply to call it our Indo-Pacific Strategy. Words matter.

So I think that you and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have an important—if I may say so—an important role in using these hearings to answer those questions and get nominees to put on the record not only their priorities but the actions they are going to take.

The candidate for—the nominee for Assistant Secretary is not responsible for nominating or appointing the Undersecretary who would, I assume, be the Tibet Coordinator. But that's an appropriate forum to push the administration, I think.

Chairman RUBIO. My final question, and then the Cochairman is going to wrap up. He has a couple more questions.

The term "community of common destiny"—are you familiar with its use repeatedly in recent times by the Chinese Communist Party in international fora? Have you heard that terminology?

Mr. GREEN. I have heard that and other similar phrases.

Chairman RUBIO. And basically, that phraseology, by the way, has been rejected by a number of countries. Vietnam stands out as one, India another, on different occasions, as being part of a communiqué, as an effort not just to change the dynamic of international politics, but the rhetoric of it.

And it is an effort—I use this forum to point that out—it is an effort to change the rhetoric and language and the terminology to basically argue towards a world in which the values that we are talking about here—democracy, freedom, human rights—are de-emphasized. Even alliances are de-emphasized.

And we enter some new order that involves "partnerships," and judging human rights by a different standard and non-interference. It's the same concept that you see when they have an Internet Freedom Conference by one of the leading oppressive governments in the world against Internet freedom. So I only raise that because terminology matters. And you see it used repeatedly as a weapon in the case of Tibet, but others also.

Just rhetorically, is it your experience that on this particular issue regarding Tibet, but on the broader issue of China's government trying to reorder global affairs, that we need to keep a close eye on the use of language, of the words being used because they are certainly trying to replace what human rights and self-determination means?

By the way, it is not just limited to Tibet. Many of us were deeply disappointed to see the recent decisions by the Vatican, allowing for the first time in human history, certainly in the history of the Church, for its leadership to be appointed by—certainly the modern

church. I imagine you can go back to the 1500s and we had some pretty bad appointments—but certainly the modern world.

So language matters. And the words that are being used, we need to—because they do not mean the same thing.

Mr. GREEN. I could not agree with you more, Senator. I have written about this as an academic and in policy terms.

Xi Jinping tried to convince the Obama administration to endorse a concept called the New Model of Great Power Relations, that to avoid conflict, U.S. and China had to have a condominium as major powers. And in this formulation, Japan, India, Korea, Australia, democracies were second-tier powers.

Senior people in the Obama administration embraced this. The Chinese then tried to get the Trump White House to support what they called a Global Strategic Partnership, same rhetorical device to suggest that China and the U.S. would arbitrate issues, no values—Japan, India, these other powers were secondary.

One of the things I find compelling about the administration's Free and Open Indo-Pacific concept is a complete rebuttal of that, by design, well received in India, Japan and Australia. So the words matter a lot. We are not always attentive to them, but within Asia when this idea of a new model of U.S.-China relations as great powers started to get currency with some senior officials in Washington, it had a major effect on how Japan, Korea, Australia, Vietnam viewed our staying power and our commitment to our values.

So I couldn't agree with you more, and I think it is an important area for the Congress to pay attention to.

Chairman RUBIO. My favorite line in any hearing, "I couldn't agree with you more." I love that.

[Laughter.]

Chairman RUBIO. Thank you.

Cochairman SMITH. Thank you, Chairman Rubio.

And thank you for your answers to all of our questions earlier. I do have just a couple of final questions.

One, when is the world, in your opinion, going to get more aggressive with regard to—I mean, two Nobel Peace Prizes, obviously, the Dalai Lama and Liu Xiaobo, he dies, does not get the medical attention that he needed. And, of course, the Dalai Lama got the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

Liu Xiaobo's wife is doing terribly and we have made requests, demands, every other kind of admonishment to the dictatorship to let her come here, or at least treat her with respect. And it's a microcosm of what they do every single day in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet as well as in other places in China throughout the mainland.

So my question is, I am worried about this administration not being as focused. I mean the last administration dropped the ball in a major way. Previous administrations have dropped the ball.

Bill Clinton, who criticized President Bush, the first one, and talked about coddling dictatorship, then coddled like nobody else before had coddled dictatorship, including bringing in the operational commander of Tiananmen Square—and gave him a 19-gun salute at the White House which I continue to believe was out-

rageous. He should have been sent to The Hague for prosecution for crimes against humanity, rather than been given those honors.

So we seem to be "past is prologue," on the verge of repeating many of those same mistakes unless there is a game changer. I note with some gratitude, real gratitude, that Secretary Tillerson named China as a Tier-3 Country pursuant to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. I wrote that law, so I've watched that very carefully. We tried repeatedly to get previous administrations to do it, not just as an automatic downgrade which happened once during Obama.

And it is also a CPC country because of its religious persecution. But both of those laws—and it hasn't happened on trafficking—have a consequence action, a penalty phase. We need to see penalties. Our civil rights laws work better because there are real tangible predictable consequences when others, colleges, for example, commit to them. So you might want to speak to that.

Finally, on the Confucius Institutes, I have asked the Government Accountability Office to do a huge study on what their influence is, what the parameters are of their existence—there are 118 of them at least, three in my state of New Jersey—and what kind of baggage they carry in terms of their soft power. They are here to influence. It's a way of getting some additional money for colleges and universities in the United States. And they may even think it is prestigious.

But if you're part of a propaganda long arm, what good are you really doing? And this administration, the Trump administration talks about reciprocity. Where is the reciprocity for us to have unfettered access to the Chinese venues or campuses, to be able to speak boldly about human rights and religious freedom and all the other? They have to pull their punches, obviously, when they are in-country. So if you want to speak to that as well.

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am the—if I may?

Professor Tenzin Dorjee will also have experiences as a scholar. I am a professor at Georgetown University with the Confucius Institutes. We do not have one at Georgetown. We are a pretty well-endowed major university. Some of our sister Jesuit colleges and universities do. When I visited and asked about it, the teachers are all very different. Some of the teachers sort of laugh off instructions from Beijing to teach certain things about Taiwan or Tibet. Others faithfully follow Beijing's instructions.

My general view on this one is that there should be much more scrutiny. But ultimately, as an academic, I think universities have to police themselves. And there are ways to have these institutes, but they have to have an agreement with complete academic freedom, and they have to be monitored by faculty. And that has not happened in many cases.

Cochairman SMITH. Can any of them teach about the Dalai Lama, for example?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I think the curriculum should be approved by the faculty at these universities. And there should probably be committees on the faculty with China scholars or outside advisors that take a look at the curriculum. But in principle, the demand for learning Mandarin is enormous. And there are not enough dollars in a lot of schools to fulfill that. So I don't have a problem tak-

ing the money and the instructors. I think universities have to be responsible for ensuring academic freedom, checking the curriculum, the kinds of things that I think many faculty would like to do. If you empower the faculty in the process, they will put pressure on their own administrations.

Cochairman SMITH. But if I am a college university president—one of their prime missions is to find spigots of funds.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Cochairman SMITH. It is counterproductive from that perspective to be monitoring closely the exclusion of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhism and the terrible atrocities committed against Tibetan Buddhists as well as every other human rights abuse. You just bypass it, it never comes up, and you talk about a great culture, which China is. It has been for centuries. The people are unbelievable.

But you still get this very Potemkin village perspective about what's going on in China. And I find that with Members of Congress. They go on a trip, and they are shown the sights in a way that—and we say, Raise human rights issues! Get our database from the China Commission and bring up names!

And you'll appreciate this. When Frank Wolf and I and Scott Flipse were in Beijing, Condoleezza Rice was on her way in, and all the talk was, What venues will they go to watch? I said, heck—I love the Olympics. I love sports. Hopefully we all do, but not at the exclusion of—Get prisoners out! Here is a golden opportunity to do so.

Our database, when we compared it to what they had at the embassy and at the State Department, theirs was paltry. One of the Foreign Service Officers said, You've got a much better one than we have. It shouldn't be that way. They're the State Department. They are there engaging every single day.

So I am very worried about who is in the classroom monitoring curriculum. It could be a barebones curriculum and doesn't get into depth. And yet, the Dalai Lama—and when, God forbid, they pick the next Dalai Lama, will there be at the Confucius Institutes—what an atrocity that is! They have no right to do that.

Mr. GREEN. This is a complicated issue, and it is a problem. On some campuses, not mine, Chinese Student Associations are using the vogue language and accusing Tibetans of micro-aggression and things like that. There are Chinese Student Associations that are watching students in the classroom and universities.

We have a problem that, particularly professors who are not tenured, who have to publish, if they are doing research on China, especially on Tibet or Xinjiang, they can't publish anything risky or they won't get a visa. And so there is a lot of self-censorship—the access to China, generally, not just the Tibet Autonomous Region, is harder. It's very hard for scholars, including people like me who have some background in policy, to get visas because the United Front Department is scrutinizing which institutions' university professors are safe.

So we have a major problem in terms of reciprocity and in terms of influences here. But I do have faith in our higher education institutions. I do think that with the right focus, university presidents, faculties, are going to address this. They're going to have to.

Cochairman SMITH. Well, we are hoping our GAO report will expose what is good and bad and ugly about all of this.

I would just point out after I worked on Chen Guangcheng's case—we had four hearings about him—he phoned in, you might recall. And what a great human rights defender he is, was there, and continues to be. I couldn't get a visa for eight years. And I only got one several months back because I was going to NYU Shanghai campus to give a speech. It would have been harder for them to deny that one in plain light than what they were doing before that.

So if they can do that to a Member of Congress—we asked the administration to step in. They did, thankfully. The Speaker of the House, John Boehner, wrote a letter to the Ambassador and said, What are you doing? He's Chairman of our Human Rights Committee on the Foreign Affairs Committee and he's Cochair and Chair—depending on the year—of the China Commission. And yet, they denied it. And if they can do that—with the visibility of a Member of Congress—how much easier is it to say, to an academic or anyone else, you do not get to come. So I think we really have to be far more aggressive in holding the Chinese to account.

I know that the focus has been largely on how we mitigate the danger of North Korea and get China to finally play a role that is constructive rather than ambivalent or worse, but that cannot preclude a human rights focus because the victims are every day, and they are proliferating. They are getting far worse, particularly with these new laws on NGOs, as you pointed out, the tightening space and the new law on sinicization of religion which is even worse than what it has been.

So thank you all. Unless you have any final comments before we conclude.

Mr. DORJEE. Thank you very much for the opportunity. I was meaning to say this before, but somehow I got caught up in responding to the questions like a student. I really very much appreciate the Congressional-Executive Commission on China for all the great work you have done, especially the database you have on the prisoners of conscience. That is very helpful to us.

The last thing I want to say is that all of us, the United States, private companies, especially China—probably the Dalai Lama would say this—we should look at situations from all angles and we will all become more open to international standards and do the right thing.

Thank you very much.

Cochairman SMITH. Thank you.

You know, I would just conclude with this too, as well.

Even though I chair this commission, when it came up for a vote in the House, I voted no. You know why? For years a group of us wanted to say that most-favored-nation status had to have human rights linkage. You don't have an unfettered exchange of goods and services without first—no labor rights, for example, in China, all the other barbaric human rights abuses they are committing, including torture, which our distinguished witness spoke about earlier and endured.

If you want to trade, trade with conditionality. Well, this commission was created as part of a reversal of what we thought was going to be an executive order with teeth by Bill Clinton, and it

was patterned after the Helsinki Commission on Security Cooperation in Europe, of which I also serve as Chair and Cochair.

So it's a great idea, but it was done with a piece of legislation to give a talking point to those who wanted to trade in an unfettered way with China without any kind of human rights conditionality, which I found to be appalling.

We lost. We had the votes, frankly, to take away or limit MFN. I joined with Nancy Pelosi and David Bonior and others. I was the Republican lead. And Bill Clinton jumped in the gap and said, I'll do an executive order. He put all of these human rights conditionalties in the executive order, which we applauded, and then realized it was a ruse.

Within one year, he took his executive order and ripped it in half. On a Friday afternoon when everyone was leaving and the Chinese took—that was May 1994—took the measure of our country and its commitment to human rights and said, they don't mean it. Profits trump human rights.

We've been trying to reclaim that ground ever since. My hope is that this President will do it. He has done it on trafficking, and that was a good first step. But there is far more that he has to do. The special envoy is a no-brainer. He should name him immediately so that individual can start doing their good work.

It's been years of catch-up, and we lost it in May of 1994 when he delinked it. We had the votes in the House and Senate. It was totally bipartisan to either limit or take away conditions for real most-favored-nation status. Now it's permanent. We don't even do an annual review.

So I say all of this because bad policy coming out of the United States Congress, but especially the executive branch, has disadvantaged religious and political prisoners and made life worse.

I was so glad when you said earlier that the picture of the Dalai Lama and President Bush inspired hope and tears among people. That's an encouragement. It means that what happens here might have some impact on the ground in places like Lhasa. But we need to do far more.

Again, working with Chairman Rubio, who is a tremendous chairman, we are doing our level best. And we are going to continue. Your insights today really help us to know how to proceed. So thank you so very much.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:31 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X

PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DHONDUP WANGCHEN

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

I am very grateful for this opportunity to testify before the Congressional-Executive Commission on China on my experiences in Tibet under the Chinese authorities.

My name is Dhondup Wangchen. I was born on October 17, 1974 to a family of Tibetan farmers in Bayen which is in the province we call Amdo. In today's administrative divisions, Bayen is in Tsoshar prefecture, Qinghai province, People's Republic of China.

I arrived in the USA on December 25, 2017 and it was the first time in many years that I felt safety and freedom. The reunion with my family in San Francisco was a wonderful moment that I had looked forward to in the past years, with a mixture of anxious joy and the hesitation a man feels who was hindered from being the husband he ought to be for his loving wife; a man who was not given the chance to stand by with fatherly advice to his children in a world full of challenges, and a man denied being the son needed for his aging parents, tormented by the thought that they wouldn't see each other again in their lifetime.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank every individual and organization who has helped to bring me back to my loved ones and who supported me since I was arrested in March 2008.

Early Activism

Growing up in the remote village of Khotse in Amdo, 2000 km east of Tibet's capital, Lhasa, I started the discovery of my people's history with little knowledge but with an insatiable and juvenile curiosity about what life had to offer me.

Our family lived a simple life right on the edge of the Tibetan plateau, bordering the Chinese mainland. I was aware of repression in the past. I had lost members on both my mother's and my father's sides of the family as a result of China's atrocities towards Tibetans. However, it wasn't until I made my journey to Lhasa in the early 1990s as a young adult, that I saw first hand resistance to China's occupation and political symbols such as the Tibetan national flag. In 1992 when I was 18, I witnessed monks from Ganden Monastery carry out a street protest in Lhasa; some nuns also protested. I saw armed police and military forces quell the protest in a heavy handed manner and detain the monks and nuns.

It was also in 1992 that I decided to go to India to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama and receive some education. At that time, there were many Tibetans escaping to India. However, I only stayed a year and returned to Tibet in 1993 where I was involved in activism such as helping former political prisoners. I would like to acknowledge my cousin Jamyang Tsultrim who mentored me in my formative years and who is here at today's hearing.

In 1996, my good friend, Ganden monk Jigme Gyatso—a true Tibetan hero—was arrested on charges related to the 1992 protest. Jamyang Tsultrim was also arrested and they both served prison sentences. I was working in Jamyang Tsultrim's restaurant in Lhasa, which the authorities threatened to close down as it was the centre of many of our activities.

I spent many years involved in various forms of activism and was detained several times. The longest that I was held in detention for was for about 30 days in Lhasa in 2003, but I was never formally charged and was always released.

Jamyang Tsultrim fled to exile in 2002, but we kept in close touch and continued to plan and carry out underground activities. We had started a project in 2001 to print and distribute books to Tibetans all over Tibet for free, books related to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's teachings, Tibetan politics, history and the Dalai Lama's Middle Way Policy. The books we printed were both in Tibetan and Chinese.

By 2004, we were printing books in Xining and Lanzhou, sometimes printing as many as 10,000 copies at a time. Among those who joined me printing and distributing the books was a monk from Labrang Monastery, Jigme Gyatso (known as Golog Jigme), who I first came to know in 2006 and who would become my helper when making the movie "Leaving Fear Behind". This was our first collaboration, but many people were involved whose names I can't reveal for safety reasons.

Making "Leaving Fear Behind"

As the 2008 Olympic Games were fast approaching and it was always being reported in state media, I told Jamyang Tsultrim that I wanted to do something that

would have a big and long-term impact and that would reflect the true feelings and wishes of the Tibetan people. This was when we first started thinking about making a documentary film from inside Tibet that would later be known as "Leaving Fear Behind."

I set to work finding collaborators and traveling all over Tibet to interview ordinary Tibetans. Thanks to our activism in the past, we had many contacts and trusted friends we could work with. We would record interviews in isolated places so as not to arouse suspicion and we were always careful to ask whether the interviewees wanted to have their face shown on camera or not. We carried with us DVDs of the ceremony which showed U.S. President George Bush awarding His Holiness the Dalai Lama the Congressional Gold Medal in October 2007—we showed this to many people who became very emotional upon seeing it.

My helpers, including Golog Jigme, and I traveled for several months in the cold winter of 2007 recording interviews and sent our footage to Zurich in several batches via trusted friends. Interview after interview, village after village, we recorded a never-ending stream of untold stories of past atrocities, complaints against the current discrimination of Tibetans, their frustration and anger about the hypocrisy of the Olympic Games and finally their fervent wish to see the Dalai Lama back in Tibet. More people than we could manage lined up to tell their story and witness their unbroken will to fight for truth and the right to express their free will. Looking back, I wonder why we hadn't foreseen that their longing for freedom would explode a few months later, in the most forceful uprising Tibet had seen since 1959.

Our final footage was taken in Xi'an on March 10, 2008 and handed over to a UK-born Tibetan who helped to ensure that it reached Zurich. We spent that day together unaware that protests had broken out in Lhasa the same day and would continue over the next days and months all over Tibet.

Detention

Even though I was aware that I was being followed and was under surveillance, it wasn't until March 26, 2008 that I was arrested and interrogated by secret police. I was not kept in a police station or prison, but in a hotel and my family was not informed of my whereabouts. The torture started as soon as I was detained. I was forced to sit in the "tiger chair." For seven days and eight nights I was given no food and was not allowed to fall asleep.

On July 13, 2008, I was able to escape from this detention for 24 hours only. In a phone call with Jamyang Tsultrim I learned that they had received all the footage and were in the process of finishing editing the film. It wasn't long before I was back in detention. "Leaving Fear Behind" was released and distributed online just before the Olympic Games started in August 2008 by the non-profit Filming for Tibet, registered in Zurich. Even though I didn't know for sure, I was hopeful that everything had gone according to plan. I suspected that the authorities were building their case against me. I was often interrogated and told I had to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and that if I admitted my wrongdoings I would be released. I always refused to do these things.

I was shown "Leaving Fear Behind" while I was in detention in December 2008, a few months after it had been released. I will remember this moment forever. The interrogator wanted to know how I knew the people I had interviewed. And then he showed me the edited film and wanted me to confess. For the first time, I watched "Leaving Fear Behind," in a Chinese prison! While the interrogator continued to force me to confess my wrongdoings, I just enjoyed in my inside the train scene, the music with the auspicious lyric and felt immensely proud.

I thought that even if I received a 10-year sentence it would have been worth making the film. I felt happy for the interviewees who had taken great risks to appear in the film, and we had promised them that the film would be seen by the outside world and His Holiness would know about the film as well. So I was happy that I had been able to keep that promise to the interviewees.

In July 2009, I received a visit from Li Dunyong, a Chinese human rights lawyer from Beijing who had been appointed by my sister to represent me. Another lawyer, Chang Boyang, also came to visit me later and I told them about the maltreatment of political prisoners and about how I had been placed in solitary confinement for 85 days. Even though according to law, I should have had access to a translator, none was made available and I had to communicate with the lawyers in Chinese even though it's not my first language and my Chinese isn't very good. A few days after I had spoken to the lawyers, outside authorities came to speak to me in prison and asked me many questions about the lawyers and why they wanted to represent me. The authorities had told the lawyers appointed by my family that they weren't allowed to defend me and they were pressured and threatened to have their licenses revoked. The authorities told me that I wasn't allowed to have my own lawyers and

had to accept the lawyers that they had appointed. Even though I told them clearly that I didn't want their lawyers, in reality I had no choice. The authorities then lied to my sister and told her that I had refused all legal representation.

Sentencing and Imprisonment

I remained in informal detention until I was tried and sentenced on December 28, 2009 to 6 years in prison for "subversion of state power." The case against me mentioned the projects I had been involved with: printing and distributing books as well making "Leaving Fear Behind."

During my time in various forms of detention, I had to do manual labor which differed depending on where I was. I had been made to do many different tasks such as peeling garlic or stitching military uniforms and was given only two meals a day, which were barely adequate. The day would start at around 6:30 a.m. and we had to work until 11 p.m., we never went outside and I was in constant pain with headaches and hurting arms. I always witnessed a difference in how prisoners and political prisoners were treated. When it came to Tibetan prisoners, we were never allowed to speak Tibetan to each other.

On April 6, 2010, I was transferred to Xichuan prison, a labor camp which operates as an industrial manufacturer under the name of "Qinghai Xifa Water and Electricity Equipment Manufacture Installment Limited Liability Company." My physical condition declined here and I contracted hepatitis B. Even though doctors did visit prisoners regularly, apart from draining blood from me many times, I never received a diagnosis or any medical treatment. My family members sent me some medicines, but it was only after my release from prison in 2014 that I received proper treatment and was able to spend 15 days in the hospital.

While in prison, I wrote many letters to my sister and family members and the prison authorities took them, saying they would be sent on. After release, I discovered that none of the letters had arrived. In March 2012, it was discovered that I tried to smuggle a letter to the outside world. This letter was a long appeal to then Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, outlining the corrupt prison system and the discrimination that Tibetan prisoners suffer. I was punished by being placed in solitary confinement for 84 days.

In August 2012, I was transferred from Xichuan labor camp to Qinghai Provincial Women's Prison, the main prison for women. Conditions there were an improvement on Xichuan.

Release

I was released from prison on June 5, 2014 very early, at around 4 a.m. Unexpectedly, I was suddenly taken somewhere—to what looked like another prison. I was worried as I thought I was being transferred to another prison and not being released. There were lots of police and authorities there from Labrang; they said they wanted to take me to Labrang, but I told them I wanted to go to Khotse. It all took a long time and I didn't get to my sister's home in Khotse until late afternoon that day.

Following the release I was always monitored closely and the police would contact me on my phone constantly. I didn't feel free at all as I was not allowed to contact or meet my friends. Even those friends who were in touch with me or visited me would be harassed by authorities. I wanted to study and improve my Tibetan and I wanted to work, but in those three and a half years I couldn't do anything. Feeling frustrated and increasingly isolated, I decided that it would be better to escape from the PRC rather than stay there under those circumstances without any freedom.

With the help of Jamyang Tsultrim, I made a plan to escape unnoticed from the authorities. It was a long and risky journey to safety, but it was worth it when I arrived in San Francisco on December 25, 2017 and was reunited with my family.

While in Tibet, I had some information that the outside world, including the United States Government, was concerned about my situation. The Swiss, Dutch and the German governments were also concerned about me. The attention from outside, from civil societies around the world, as well as from governments, definitely helped me. This was reflected for example in the way my prison inmates and the prison administration treated me. Though I suffered from being restricted in my communications with my relatives, to the extent that I was isolated from the outside world, I was less subject to arbitrary punishments and beatings.

I feel your support for cases like me and Tibet in general could be of greater effect if we regularly recall the ground reality.

1. There are thousands of Tibetans like me, actively involved in the struggle. Tibetans in Tibet are not victims but agents of change trying to explore and use every opportunity to fight for a better future. We need support and partnership from the outside world.

2. Every attempt for more freedom or democracy is oppressed by China. It is against the nature of this regime to tolerate freedom and democracy, be it in China, in Tibet and ultimately in the rest of the world.

I am very aware about the support the United States Congress and Administration has given to the Tibetan cause, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people in the past. I know that there is the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues in the State Department, who I would have liked to meet. But I am told no one has been appointed to this position as yet. I am also informed about some important legislation on Tibet that was introduced in Congress, including the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act.

I am not a politician and my knowledge about the specifics of your legislative process is limited. My friends from International Campaign for Tibet in Washington explained the goal and some important details of their recommendations to Congress to me. I am happy to support these recommendations:

- Actions taken by the U.S. Congress on Tibet send a strong message to the people in Tibet. However, the systematic suppression of a free press and reporting from Tibet can only be fought with a systematic counterapproach. Therefore, Congress should pass the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017;
- Pass the resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the treatment of the Tibetan people should be an important factor in the conduct of United States relations with the People's Republic of China.
- Ask the U.S. Administration to raise Tibet in appropriate international fora, including U.N. bodies;
- Urge China to release Tibetan political prisoners, including the 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima.

My wish is that whatever measures you take, that you do it with the strongest possible conviction and in the most forceful and wise manner.

As a Tibetan, who tried his best to give a voice to his fellow countrymen, I can assure you the Tibetans in Tibet have not given up.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all sincerely.

Thank you.

Dhondup Wangchen

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TENZIN DORJEE

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

Thank you to the Co-Chairs of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC), Senator Marco Rubio (R–FL) and Representative Christopher Smith (R–NJ), for holding today's hearing, Tibet "From all Angles." 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.

Today's hearing comes at a crucial time for the people of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. The plight of the following individuals helps underscore why:

- Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the Panchen Lama, is one of the world's longest-held prisoners of conscience. Chinese government authorities kidnapped the then six-year-old boy and his family on May 18, 1995. They have not been heard from since.
- Tashi Wangchuk, a Tibetan language advocate accused of separatism, faced a one-day sham trial in January 2018 and could be sentenced to up to 15 years in prison.
- Choekyi, a Tibetan monk, is in failing health as he serves a four-year sentence, imprisoned for celebrating the Dalai Lama's birthday.

These three Tibetans are prisoners of conscience whom the Chinese government ruthlessly has detained. The appendix to my testimony lists many others.

I am full of joy that Dhondup Wangchen is with us today. He managed to escape China where he was a prisoner of conscience. He had been imprisoned, experiencing both hard labor and solitary confinement, and then placed under police surveillance after his release more than three years ago. The Chinese government targeted him for making a documentary, "Leaving Fear Behind." In this documentary, Tibetans told the truth about living under Chinese rule, their love for the Dalai Lama, and their view that the 2008 Beijing Olympics would not help improve their lives.

However, I am deeply saddened that the only way he and his family can live in safety and freedom was for them to have escaped Tibet. This is the case because the Chinese government ruthlessly seeks total domination in Tibet. The government forces Tibetans to assimilate into the dominant Han culture, seeks to control Buddhism, and restricts the teaching of the Tibetan language. The government views any efforts to preserve the Tibetan religion, language, and culture (that would help ensure the continuation of the Tibetan people) as antithetical to this effort and the government's goal of advancing its so-called "sinicization" of religion. Through this strategy, the government seeks to turn all aspects of faith into a socialist mold infused with "Chinese characteristics." This strategy reinforces the government's existing and pervasive policies that, over time, have turned Tibet into a police state. My fellow Commissioner, Father Thomas J. Reese, S.J., spoke about the plight of Tibetan Buddhists under Chinese government repression during his testimony before the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission on February 6, 2018 on "Preventing Mass Atrocities I."

I testify today as a proud Tibetan American and a refugee from Tibet, whom my parents smuggled out as an infant. Like tens of thousands of other Tibetans, we were forced to flee Tibet due to the Chinese Communist People's Liberation Army's brutal invasion of Tibet beginning in 1950 and the repression that has followed ever since.

In my testimony, I make six points to highlight the violations the Chinese government has committed to repress religious freedom in Tibet and take over my homeland. I also make recommendations on what the U.S. government can do to address the Chinese government's violations of the Tibetan people's religious freedom and other human rights. I also highlight in my testimony cases of prisoners of conscience to shine a light on both their situations and the increasingly dire conditions of Tibetan Buddhists in China.

1. **The Chinese government implements countless oppressive restrictions in Tibet, which they justify as the means to counter the "three evil forces of separatism, extremism and terrorism."**

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. He has remained true to his word.

The Chinese government implements restrictions in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, but also has 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; limiting travel both domestically and internationally; and the intrusive presence of the military and security forces. The government also quickly suppresses any perceived religious dissent, including through firing at unarmed people.

While these policies are set at the highest levels in Beijing, Chen Quanguo perfected the surveillance state as a way to maintain stability when he was Tibet's Party Secretary. He developed a grid management system throughout Tibet that extended security operations to the grassroots level to fight the "Dalai clique." (In early 2017, Chen Quanguo became the new leader in Xinjiang, where he is implementing an intensive securitization program that mirrors his efforts in Tibet.) His replacement in Tibet, Wu Yingjie, has been linked to previous crackdowns in Tibet, and has called for continued struggle against "the Dalai Lama clique."

These high-tech and other efforts followed the Chinese government's brutal crushing of protests between 1987 and 1989 and the implementation of additional restrictions 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.

2. **The Chinese government views His Holiness the Dalai Lama as a threat to its control because officials recognize his central importance to the Tibetan people. Devotion to the Dalai Lama is a core tenet for many Tibetan Buddhists.**

The Dalai Lama, who fled Tibet in 1959, 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. This policy seeks to peacefully and non-

violently 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 President of the Central Tibetan Administration in exile. They accuse the Dalai Lama of blasphemy and splittism and refer to him as a "wolf in monk's robes."

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. Despite these harsh measures, Tibetan Buddhists continue to revere the Dalai Lama as their spiritual leader and take great risks to find ways to express their devotion.

Beijing continually seeks to diminish the Dalai Lama's international influence, issuing threats to other countries, including the United States. For instance, after the Dalai Lama delivered a commencement speech in June 2017 at the University of California, San Diego, the Chinese Communist Party-controlled "Global Times" condemned the university and its chancellor for inviting him to speak, saying he must "bear the consequences," and threatened that visas would be withheld from the chancellor as would future exchanges with the university. I focus more on the long arm of China later in my testimony.

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. It is alarming to imagine a scenario in which there could be two Dalai Lamas, one named by China and the other recognized by Tibetans.

However, the Chinese government does not have the authority to name the next Dalai Lama or other reincarnated religious leaders of Tibet. China cannot control the real reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. Such a decision is reserved to the current Dalai Lama, Tibetan Buddhist leaders, and the Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama has reiterated that it is for the Tibetan people to determine whether the institution of the Dalai Lama is still relevant or if he should be the last Dalai Lama. If there is another Dalai Lama, he has said that the next one will be born in freedom, not under Chinese control, and that each Dalai Lama has reincarnated to fulfill the unfinished works of his predecessor.

While the Dalai Lama hopes to return to Tibet in his lifetime, the Chinese government is waiting for him to die outside of China, and views his death as key to resolving Sino-Tibetan issues. However, the consequences of the Dalai Lama passing away in exile will be unimaginable to Tibetans both inside and outside of Tibet. Given such uncertainty, it is conceivable that some Tibetans may resort to violence that could further undermine stability and security in the region, and others would be driven to self-immolate.

3. **The Chinese government imposes intrusive restrictions on public and private religious practice.**

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.

Rigorous study and practice are very important to 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, which is one of the largest Tibetan Buddhist institutes in the world and is located in Sichuan Province. The destruction and micromanagement at Larung Gar, as well as at Yachen Gar, exemplifies Beijing's two goals: eviscerating the teachings and study of Tibetan Buddhism that are integral to the practice and traditions of the faith; and reshaping them to adapt Tibetan Buddhism to socialist society and serve the goals of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese government.

Larung Gar was home to more than 10,000 monks, nuns, laypeople, and students of Buddhism from all over the world. While cadres since October 2011 have been stationed in all monasteries in the Tibet Autonomous Region, west of Larung Gar, and have taken over the management committee of each monastery, the government's actions in Larung Gar are unprecedented in scope.

In July 2016, the government launched a sweeping operation, demolishing significant parts of this institute, with local officials referring to the project as "construction" or "renovation." Thousands of monastics, laypeople, and students were 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" and have been prohibited from returning.

The demolition order also included language governing ideology and future religious activities at Larung Gar and gave government officials—who are largely Han Chinese, not Tibetan—greater control and oversight of the institute, including direct control over laypeople. The order also mandated the separation of the monastery from the institute, running counter to the Tibetan tradition of one blended encampment with both religious and lay education.

According to reports from Human Rights Watch, in January 2018, 200 Communist Party cadres and lay officials reportedly took over the management, finances, security, admissions, and choice of textbooks at Larung Gar. The individuals in charge of this pervasive new management system will limit the number allowed to stay there; establish a "grid management" system; subject residents and visitors to "real-name registration"; and require monks to have red tags, nuns yellow tags, and lay devotees green tags for identification. According to an official document Human Rights Watch reviewed, 40 percent of teaching at Larung Gar reportedly now must consist of classes in politics and other non-religious subjects; a criterion for accepting students will be their support for "Chinese culture, the Chinese Communist Party, and socialism with "Chinese characteristics;" the goal of study will include to "honor and support the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system" and train monks who "defend the unification of the Motherland, uphold national unity and patriotic religion and abide by their vows." In addition, monks and nuns who are from areas other than Sichuan Province will be prohibited from applying to Larung Gar.

Also located in Sichuan Province, Yachen Gar had a population of about 10,000 people, mostly nuns, before expulsions began in April 2016. By September 2016, about 1,000 nuns had been expelled, and 200 dwellings had been demolished. In August 2017, authorities issued instructions to remove 3,500 homes belonging to monks and nuns to allow for the construction of a series of roads within Yachen Gar. Monks and nuns were ordered to register their identity cards and sign and give thumb prints to a document to certify how long they had lived at Yachen Gar. The document committed residents to returning to their native regions of Tibet, never returning to Yachen Gar after leaving, and advised not to express any disagreement with these actions.

Family members of nuns reportedly were threatened with punishment if the nuns did not return to their place of household registration. 2,000 more nuns and monks reportedly were ordered expelled, along with the demolition of 2,000 more dwellings, by the end of 2017.

4. **Detaining religious prisoners of conscience is a tool the Chinese government uses to control Tibetan Buddhists.**

The Chinese government detains, subjects to sham trials, imprisons and tortures religious prisoners of conscience. Please see the appendix for a selected list of Tibetan religious prisoners of conscience extracted from the Congressional-Executive Commission on China's list of prisoners of conscience.

I here focus on several prisoners, beginning with the Panchen Lama, who holds the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism; and Tashi Wangchuk, an advocate for the Tibetan language, which is 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. I also will highlight the case of Choekyi, a Tibetan monk imprisoned for his devotion to the Dalai Lama.

The Chinese government fears Tashi Wangchuk as much as it does the Panchen Lama, who holds the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism. The Chinese government seeks to silence 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 into the dominant ethnic Han culture of Tibetans, who already face pressure from economic changes and a Chinese government fearful of ethnic and religious separatism.

The Panchen Lama: Gedhun Choekyi Nyima is now one of the world's longest-held prisoners of conscience. After the death of the 10th Panchen Lama, His Holiness the Dalai Lama chose Gedhun on May 15, 1995 to be the 11th Panchen Lama,

the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism. Three days after his selection, 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 reject the government's selection.

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 parents and that his brothers and sisters are either working or at university. They must provide videographic evidence for these claims.

The Chinese government, while officially atheist, believes it has the authority to replace the Panchen Lama with its own selection, as it does the 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 any of the reincarnated religious leaders of Tibet.

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. He 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 went on trial on January 4, 2018. The trial closed without a verdict being announced. He could face up to 15 years in prison if found guilty.

Tashi Wangchuk called on Tibetans to protect their culture and focused on the need for bilingual education and Tibetan language instruction across the Tibetan regions of China. According to the Dalai Lama, Tibetan language preservation is crucially important because the complete teachings of Buddha, especially philosophy, science of mind and emotions, and metaphysics, are best preserved in the Tibetan language.

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 areas ordered monasteries to end these classes, although Tibetan can still be taught to young monks.

The estimated literacy rate in Tibet among Tibetans in China currently has fallen well below 20 percent, and continues to decline, as the Chinese government actively discourages its teaching, and does not use the Tibetan language in government offices, thereby violating, according to Tashi Wangchuk, the Chinese constitution. In 2012, officials largely eliminated Tibetan as a language of instruction in primary and secondary schools and ordered the use of Chinese instead. Many Tibetan teachers were laid off, and new Chinese textbooks were introduced that did not include detailed information on Tibetan history or culture.

Choekyi, a Tibetan monk, is another prisoner of conscience, punished because of his expressed fidelity to the Dalai Lama; Chinese authorities since 2008 have punished displays of loyalty to the Dalai Lama. Choekyi was arrested in 2015 and sentenced to four years in prison in Sichuan for conducting "separatist activities" and wearing a shirt with Tibetan text that called for celebrating the Dalai Lama's 80th birthday. His health has deteriorated in prison where he reportedly is in critical condition after he was tortured and forced to perform hard labor, although he was in poor health prior to entering prison, suffering from kidney problems, jaundice and other conditions. Family members have very limited visitation privileges and are not allowed to bring him food or medicine.

The European Parliament on January 18, 2018 passed a resolution in support of human rights activists in China, including Tashi Wangchuk and Choekyi. The resolution calls for their immediate and unconditional release; expresses its deep concern "at the arrest and continued detention of Tashi Wangchuk, as well as his lim-

ited right to counsel, the lack of evidence against him and the irregularities in the criminal investigation"; and urges the Chinese government to allow Choekyi's "relatives and the lawyers of his choice to visit him and, in particular, to provide him with adequate medical care."

I here highlight two other Tibetan religious prisoners of conscience who 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 due to his horrendous mistreatment.
- Tenzin Delek Rinpoche: Chinese authorities arrested Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a prominent Tibetan religious leader, in April 2002, accusing him of being involved in a 2002 bomb attack, and charging him with separatism and terrorism. He initially was given a death sentence, contingent on good behavior, with a two-year reprieve. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and then subsequently to 20 years in prison. However, before his death in prison in 2015, he described to family members the torture he had endured, including repeated beatings. The government had denied his family's request that he be granted medical 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 that his body be turned over to them. In 2016, Tenzin Delek's niece, Nyima Lhamo, fled China to seek justice.

5. **At least 152 Tibetans have self-immolated since February 2009:**

According to the International Campaign for Tibet, 124 are men and 28 are women; 121 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 two were nuns from Mame Dechen Chokorling nunnery in Ngaba. Many of these protestors supported the Dalai Lama and freedom for Tibet.

Chinese authorities in Tibet seek to prevent the dissemination, especially outside of Tibet, of information about self-immolations. Instead of acknowledging its role in prompting self-immolation, the government threatens family members with collective punishment, detains those suspected of sharing information, and harshly sentences and tortures those suspected of being involved. Because of these brutal measures, self-immolations recently have become less frequent.

The Chinese government would have the world believe that self-immolators commit "terrorist acts in disguise," and/or were manipulated by external cults for their political ends. In fact, the government views self-immolations as threats to stability and security. The 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 in Tibetan areas 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.

According to the International Campaign for Tibet, protestors who self-immolated in 2017 include:

- Konpe, a young Tibetan man of about 30, set fire to himself on December 23, 2017. He died in Ngaba close to the site of the first self-immolation in Tibet eight years ago. The police immediately took him away, and he reportedly died the next day.
- Tenga, a popular Tibetan monk in his sixties, self-immolated on November 26, 2017 in Kardze, in the eastern Tibetan area of Kham. He had worked as a volunteer teacher. He reportedly called for freedom for Tibet as he was burning. Armed police reportedly arrived quickly and took away his body. Some sources reported that there was an immediate area lockdown, with internet communications blocked.
- A young Tibetan monk, Jamyang Losel, set himself on fire on May 19, 2017, 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 social media reports, his body was not returned to his family.

- A Tibetan teenager, Chagdor Kyab, reportedly self-immolated on May 2, 2017 in Bora in Gansu, the Tibetan area of Amdo. His whereabouts are unknown, as is whether he still is alive. After setting himself on fire near Bora monastery, this 16-year-old protester reportedly shouted, "Tibet wants freedom" and "Let His Holiness the Dalai Lama come back to Tibet" while he burned.

6. **The Long Arm of China:**

The Chinese government attempts to control the discussion of sensitive topics and censor information and criticism about its actions in Tibet. The government also seeks to intimidate critics of its repressive policies. These pervasive efforts are not confined to the geographic limits of Tibet or China. Rather, the Chinese government aggressively seeks to shape public opinion, controlling the narrative worldwide, including in the United States, through intimidation, pressure, harassment, and fear, in its quest to create a positive view of China. For example, the Chinese government in 2017 issued stern warnings to countries like Botswana and India about the Dalai Lama's planned appearances; in the former case, the Dalai Lama ultimately canceled the trip due to exhaustion, and in the latter, his visit to disputed border areas of Arunachal Pradesh state underscored regional tensions.

China's long arm and heavy hand are especially evident in Nepal where about 20,000 Tibetans reside. Leader Nancy Pelosi (D–CA) and a Congressional delegation visited Tibetans in Nepal last summer. Under pressure from the Chinese government, the Nepalese government has canceled or limited many Tibetan gatherings, including those commemorating the Dalai Lama's birthday, and forcibly returned some Tibetans to China. The Nepalese government has installed heightened security measures on the border to limit the historical migration of Tibetans into Nepal. Tibetans living in Nepal also face limitations on getting refugee certificates, drivers licenses, employment, and exit visas to leave Nepal. Many of them live in former detention camps and without documentation, cannot go to school, and have difficulty finding work. Monks reportedly are prohibited from publicly criticizing China, participating in Tibetan independence activities, displaying the Dalai Lama's picture, or celebrating his birthday. Chinese secret police reportedly organize patrols in Nepal. The country's foreign Minister, Mahendra Bahadur Pandey, assured Chinese officials on an official visit that Nepal would "never allow any forces to use Nepali territory to engage in anti-China activity."

China's long arm and heavy hand pose serious concerns for democratic norms and institutions in the United States. I earlier cited the Chinese government's pressure on the University of California, San Diego, for inviting the Dalai Lama to deliver the commencement address.

Other examples of the Chinese government's aggressive efforts at U.S. educational institutions include:

- International Students: A minority of Chinese students in the United States have worked closely with the Chinese government, through the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA), to further its agenda of control by promoting a pro-China agenda and seeking to limit anti-Chinese speech on Western campuses. Some have characterized the group as a "tool of the government's foreign ministry." This group helped lead the opposition to the Dalai Lama's speech at the University of California. A May 2017 New York Times article noted how the group at Duke University was accused of inciting a harassment campaign in 2008 against a Chinese student who tried to mediate between sides in a Tibet protest; and that in rare instances members of the group have been accused of spying.

  I personally have experienced and witnessed the Chinese government's use of CSSA to promote a pro-China agenda. In 2008, when I was a doctoral student at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), over a hundred international Chinese students tried to disrupt a peaceful event about Tibet that the Santa Barbara Friends of Tibet had organized. They carried huge Chinese flags and posters picturing the feudal system of old Tibet, probably given to them by the Chinese Consulate in Los Angeles, and shouted denunciations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I was standing alone with a Tibetan flag at one corner when about thirty Chinese students encircled me. They screamed at me and hurled epithets at me, calling me a "terrorist" and "bastard." I stood my ground nonviolently and tried to engage them in dialogue and challenged their verbal attacks and biased views on Tibet and His Holiness. Another Tibetan student, Tenzin Sherab, had a similar experience. About thirty Chinese students also encircled and screamed at Dr. José Cabezón, the Dalai Lama Chair in the Department of Religion at UCSB.

- Confucius Institutes: There are 110 Confucius Institutes (largely in colleges and universities) and 501 Confucius Classrooms (in primary and secondary schools) in the United States. Their mandate is to promote cultural exchange through instruction in the Chinese language and culture. A Chinese state organ (Hanban) selects the teachers and materials, thereby allowing them to promote the ideology and policy goals of the Chinese government. Critics have raised concerns that this arrangement helps Beijing soften its authoritarian image and that cooperating universities and classrooms unwittingly help the Chinese government promote censorship abroad, while undermining human rights and academic freedom by helping to shape public opinion on key political and human rights issues such as Tibet. The National Association of Scholars issued a report in April 2017 noting reasons for concern, with universities making "improper concessions that jeopardize academic freedom and institutional autonomy."

RECOMMENDATIONS

As I end my testimony with some recommendations, I would like to acknowledge the coming Losar Festival in honor of the Tibetan New Year, which begins this Friday, February 16. The start of every new year offers us the opportunity to reflect and, with respect to Tibet, consider how U.S. policy can help advance freedom of religion and belief and related human rights for the Tibetan people and others throughout China. USCIRF repeatedly 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, with specific sanctions associated with the designation. Chief among these violations is the Chinese government's treatment of Tibetan Buddhists. USCIRF also recommends the following:

Congress should:

- Cosponsor and approve the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017 (H.R. 1872/S. 821). sponsored in the House by Representatives James McGovern (D–MA) and Randy Hultgren (R 09IL) and in the Senate by Senators Marco Rubio (R–FL) and Tammy Baldwin (D–WI).

  This bill would deny entry into the United States to 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 that 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.
- Send regular Congressional delegations focused on religious freedom and related human rights to China and request to visit Tibet, and advocate on behalf of individual prisoners of conscience and persons whom the Chinese government has detained or disappeared, as well as their family members.
- 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.
- Adopt and advocate on behalf of Tibetan prisoners of conscience to draw attention to their cases, their ill treatment, and their families and loved ones.

The U.S. government should:

- Appoint a qualified and experienced individual to serve as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues at the U.S. Department of State, as mandated by the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002.
- Use targeted tools against specific officials and agencies identified as having participated in or being responsible for human rights abuses, including particularly severe violations of religious freedom; these tools include the "specially designated nationals" list maintained by the U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control, visa denials under section 604(a) of IRFA and the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act, and asset freezes under the Global Magnitsky Act.
- Urge the Chinese government to provide videographic evidence of the well-being of the Panchen Lama.
- Press the Chinese government to restart the dialogue leading to a negotiated agreement on Tibet and allow the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet for a visit if he so desires.
- Press for at the highest levels and work to secure the unconditional release of prisoners of conscience and religious freedom advocates, and press the Chinese government to treat prisoners humanely and allow them access to family, human rights monitors, lawyers, and adequate medical care from independent health care professionals, and the ability to practice their faith.

- Press the Chinese government to abide by its commitments under the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and also independently investigate reports of torture among individuals detained or imprisoned.

APPENDIX—TIBETAN BUDDHIST PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

* This selected list of 475 prisoners of conscience, compiled on February 8, 2018, is from the Congressional-Executive Commission on China's database.

The list of prisoners detained since March 2008 includes prisoners who currently are (1) detained or imprisoned, (2) detained and serving a life sentence, (3) detained and presumed to be serving a life sentence, (4) presumed to be imprisoned or detained, (5) presumed detained and serving a life sentence, and (6) presumed detained and presumed serving a life sentence.

APPENDIX
Tibetan Buddhist Prisoners of Conscience

CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2008-00114	DET	Lodroe	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/10/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00218	DET	Tenzin Gyephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/19/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00284	DET	Sonam Lhatso	F	nun (Buddhist)	5/14/2008	Mianyang Prison?	10	Sichuan Province
2004-00243	DET/life	Wangdu	M	NGO, health	3/14/2008	TAR Prison (Drapchi)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2004-01637	DET	Nyima Dragpa	M	layperson?	4/19/2008	Deyang Prison	12	Sichuan Province
2008-00678	DET	Migmar Dondrub	M		3/14/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	14	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00685	DET	Sonam Dragpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	2008/03/dd	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00688	DET	Yeshe Choedron	F	doctor, retired	2008/03/dd	TAR Prison (Drapchi)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00689	DET	Sonam Tseten	M		2008/03/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00060	DET	Gyaltsen	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00061	DET	Nyima Tashi	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00062	DET	Phuntsog	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00065	DET	Tenzin Buchung	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00066	DET	Tenzin Zoepa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/15/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2009-00126	DET	Tashi	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/27/2009	Deyang Prison		Sichuan Province
2009-00128	DET	Konchog Tsephel	M	Internet, Web site operator	2/26/2009	Lanzhou? (general location)	15	Gansu Province
2009-00340	DET/life	Tsultrim Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/22/2008	Lanzhou (general location)		Gansu Province
2009-00341	DET	Thabkhe Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/22/2008	Lanzhou (general location)	15	Gansu Province
2009-00388	DET	Ngawang Choenyi	M	monk (Buddhist)	2008/04/dd	Lhasa? (general location)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00112	DET/life	Sonam Gonpo	M	school, cook	3/11/2009	Deyang Prison		Sichuan Province
2010-00113	DET	Tsewang Gyatso	M	school, cook	3/11/2009	Deyang Prison	16	Sichuan Province
2010-00114	DET	Pema Yeshe	M		3/11/2009	Deyang Prison	19	Sichuan Province
2010-00153	DET	Drukar Gyal	M	student, university	3/19/2015	Menyuan Prison	3	Qinghai Province
2010-00198	DET	Karma Samdrub	M	art collector, environmentalist	1/3/2010	Yanqi PSB Det. Ctr?	15	Xinjiang Uyghur Auto. Region
2010-00209	DET	Dasher	M		3/13/2008	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00223	DET	Gyurme Trinle	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/18/2008	Deyang Prison	10	Sichuan Province
2010-00269	DET?	Dungphug	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00429	DET	Lhamo Kyab	F	teacher, primary	2008/06/dd	Lhasa (general location)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00431	DET	Wangdu Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/2/2009	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00443	DET/life	Jampal Wangchug	M	monk, disciplinarian	4/11/2008	Lhasa? (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00444	DET	Konchog Nyima	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/11/2008	Lhasa? (general location)	20	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00445	DET	Lobsang Choedar	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/25/2009	Mianyang Prison	13	Sichuan Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2010-00518	DET	Ngawang	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/19/2008	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2010-00612	DET	Sonam Bagdro	M	business (unspec.)	2009/08/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	15	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00038	DET?	Tharpa	M	student (unspec.)	1/26/2012	Dzamthang PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00039	DET?	Namkha Gyaltsen	M		1/25/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00060	DET?	Tsering Palden	M		2/5/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00061	DET?	Tsering Zangpo	M		2/5/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00063	DET?	Dorje	M		2/5/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00073	DET?	Tashi Palden	M		2/11/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00074	DET?	Dawa Dorje	M	researcher	2012/02/dd	Lhasa? (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00096	DET?	Kalsang Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/15/2012	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00109	DET?	Rigzin Dorje	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00110	DET?	Tashi	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00111	DET?	Tashi Tsering	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00127	DET?	Sanggyal Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00128	DET?	Kalsang Lodroe	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00129	DET?	Sonam	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00130	DET?	Tashi Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00133	DET?	Yeshe Choegyal	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00135	DET?	Wangchen	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00136	DET?	Wangdu	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00137	DET?	Lobsang Tsewang	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00138	DET?	Yeshe Jungne	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00139	DET?	Tagyal	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00140	DET?	Tenzin Tsondru	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00141	DET?	Tengyal	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00142	DET?	Yonten	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00143	DET?	Tenzin Tsering	M		4/15/2012	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00146	DET?	Migmar Kalsang			2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00147	DET?	Alo	M		2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2012-00148	DET?	Lhagpa	F		2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00149	DET?	Jamyang Tashi			2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00150	DET?	Choezom	F		2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00151	DET?	Phurba Gyal	M		2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00152	DET?	Tsering Jigme			2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00153	DET?	Rabten			2012/03/dd	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00157	DET?	Ribo	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00158	DET?	Tenzin	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00159	DET?	Khyithar	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00160	DET?	Migyur	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00161	DET?	Gurnam	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00162	DET?	Kalsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00163	DET?	Padgyal	M	layperson	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00165	DET?	Phurbu Tsering	M	layperson	2012/04/dd	Dege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00173	DET?	Luburn			2012/02/dd	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00174	DET?	Dragpa			2012/02/dd	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00175	DET?	Dawa			2012/02/dd	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00176	DET?	Nyandrag		school, director	4/2/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00177	DET?	Yama Tsering		school, director	4/2/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00178	DET?	Sanggye Dondrub		teacher	5/7/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00179	DET?	Jamyang		teacher	5/7/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00183	DET?	Urgyen Tenzin	M	doctor (Tib. med.)	2/28/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr. (Gutsa)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00184	DET?	Tenzin Thabkhe	M	teacher	2/25/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00185	DET?	Nyima Tsering	M	businessperson	2/23/2012	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr? (Gutsa)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00186	DET?	Tsamchen	F	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00187	DET?	Tsenor	M	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00188	DET?	Tenzin Tsering		villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00190	DET?	Tashi Oezer	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00191	DET?	Tashi Phuntsog	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/23/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2012-00192	DET?	Soga	M		3/24/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00193	DET?	Sanggye	M		3/24/2012	Nyagrong PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00197	DET?	Khedrub Dorje	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/7/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00198	DET?	Karma Tharlam	M		3/10/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00199	DET?	Siga	M		3/10/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00200	DET?	Dzomlha Kar	M		3/10/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00201	DET?	Drugdrag	M		3/14/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00202	DET?	Tsegon	M		3/14/2012	Driru PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00203	DET?	Yeshe Dorje	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00204	DET?	Sherab Palsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00205	DET?	Pema Rigzin	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00206	DET?	Jang Rin	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00208	DET	Khedrub Gyatso	M	monk, senior	2012/02/dd	Qinghai (general location)	11	Qinghai Province
2012-00209	DET	Sanggye	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai (general location)	10	Qinghai Province
2012-00210	DET	Kalsang Jangsem	M		2012/02/dd	Qinghai (general location)	9	Qinghai Province
2012-00212	DET?	Jamyang Oezer	M		2012/02/dd	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00213	DET?	Dragpa	M		2012/02/dd	Delingha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00216	DET?	Konchog Dargye	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/02/dd	Haixi pref. (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00219	DET?	Pema	M	villager (unspec.)	4/14/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2012-00220	DET?	Tashi Dondrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/14/2012	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00221	DET?	Kalsang Gyatso	M	monk, chant master	7/14/2012	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00223	DET?	Lobsang Tsering	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/26/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00224	DET?	Karma Rabten	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/5/2012	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00226	DET?	Drolma Kyab	M		2012/05/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00227	DET?	Nyurgyog			2012/05/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00228	DET?	Khambe			2012/05/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00229	DET?	Tadrin Kyab	M		2012/05/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00230	DET?	Sangdrag	M		2012/05/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00231	DET?	Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/7/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province

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2012-00232	DET?	Sherab	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/7/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00233	DET?	Kalsang Tenzin	M		7/4/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2012-00234	DET?	Thubten Yeshe	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/23/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00236	DET?	Tsultrim Rinchen	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00237	DET?	Lobsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2012	Gepasumdo (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00238	DET	Tenzin Palsang	M	monk, official	4/2/2012	Sichuan? (general location)	6	Sichuan Province
2012-00243	DET	Yarphel	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2012	Sichuan (general location)	6	Sichuan Province
2012-00244	DET	Namse	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2012	Sichuan (general location)	10	Sichuan Province
2012-00247	DET?	Dawa	M	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00248	DET?	Atsong	M	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00249	DET?	Phuntsog Nyima		villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00250	DET?	Jamyang Wangmo	F	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00251	DET?	Kalsang Yudron	F	villager (unspec.)	8/15/2012	Markham PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00254	DET	Yonten Gyatso	M	monk, chant master; DMC director	10/18/2011	Mianyang Prison	7	Sichuan Province
2012-00256	DET	Lobsang Tenzin	M	monk, trulku	2012/01/dd	Sichuan? (general location)	7	Sichuan Province
2012-00258	DET	Trinle	M	monk; manager	2012/01/dd	Sichuan? (general location)	10	Sichuan Province
2012-00262	DET?	Chechog		layperson	8/13/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00264	DET?	Ngawang	M		7/24/2012	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00265	DET?	Lobsang Sanggye	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/14/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00266	DET/life?	Lobsang Konchog	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/17/2012	Sichuan (general location)		Sichuan Province
2012-00272	DET?	Chogtsal	M	artist, singer	7/29/2012	Lhasa? (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00273	DET?	Konchog Yarphel	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/1/2012	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00277	DET?	Ngawang Monlam	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/1/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00280	DET?	Lobsang Palden	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/27/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00282	DET?	Jamyang Khyenko	M	layperson	8/28/2012	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00283	DET?	Kalsang Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/28/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00284	DET?	Lobsang Rabten	M	monk, DMC member	8/19/2012	Barkham PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00285	DET?	Sonam Tenzin	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/16/2012	Tridu PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00287	DET?	Soyig	F	businessperson	9/5/2012	Kyegudo PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province

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2012-00288	DET?	Sonam Gonpo	M	businessperson	4/10/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00289	DET?	Khedrub	M		4/10/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00290	DET?	Sanggye Kalsang	M		4/10/2012	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00292	DET?	Sogtrug Sherab	M	performer, actor & singer	9/20/2012	Yulgan PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00293	DET?	Phurbu Namgyal	M	service, entertainment club	2012/04/dd	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00296	DET	Lobsang Tashi	M	monk (Buddhist)	2011/11/dd	Mianyang Prison	7	Sichuan Province
2012-00297	DET	Thubdor	M	layperson	2011/11/dd	Mianyang Prison	7	Sichuan Province
2012-00298	DET	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/03/dd	Sichuan (general location)	11	Sichuan Province
2012-00299	DET	Lobsang Jangchub	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/03/dd	Sichuan (general location)	8	Sichuan Province
2012-00300	DET?	Jigme Gyatso	M	monk, treasurer	10/17/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00301	DET?	Kalsang Gyatso	M	monk, accountant	10/17/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Gansu Province
2012-00302	DET?	Konchog Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/17/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00303	DET?	Tashi Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/10/dd	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Gansu Province
2012-00306	DET?	Gyaltsen	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00307	DET?	Lobsang Tsunpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00308	DET?	Lhagyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00309	DET?	Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00310	DET?	Lhabum	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00311	DET?	Ludrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00312	DET?	Lobsang Drubsal	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00313	DET?	Lobsang Tharchin	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/18/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00315	DET?	Bode	F		9/12/2012	Yushu (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00316	DET?	Sherab Dorje	M	student, university	9/12/2012	Yushu (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00317	DET?	Yangzom	F	student (unspec.)	9/12/2012	Yushu (general location)		Qinghai Province
2012-00319	DET?	Sozang	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00320	DET?	Sonyi	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00321	DET?	Thagchoe	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00322	DET?	Wanggyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/19/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00323	DET?	Thabme	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00324	DET?	Phagdrol	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province

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2012-00325	DET?	Sherab	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00326	DET?	Dawa	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00327	DET?	Gonpo	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00328	DET?	Kyapo	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00329	DET?	Lobsang Phuntsog	M	layperson	10/20/2012	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00330	DET?	Lobsang Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/08/dd	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00331	DET?	Tsondru	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00332	DET?	Tobden	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00333	DET?	Losal	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/15/2012	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2012-00335	DET?	Jinpa Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/25/2012	Gansu? (general location)		Gansu Province
2012-00337	DET?	Tadrin Gyal	M		2012/11/dd	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00338	DET?	Dondrub			2012/11/dd	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00339	DET?	Chagda Gyal	M		2012/11/dd	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00340	DET?	Yarkho			2012/11/dd	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00341	DET?	Thubten Nyandrag	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/26/2012	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00342	DET?	Tsewang	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/26/2012	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00343	DET?	Phurbu	M	layperson	10/26/2012	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2008-00580	DET	Washul Dortrug	M	layperson	12/3/2012	Qinghai (general location)	10	Qinghai Province
2012-00346	DET?	Konchog Sonam	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/16/2012	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2012-00348	DET?	Tashi Norbu	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/23/2012	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00349	DET	Lobsang Tsering	M	herder	2012/08/dd	Sichuan (general location)	10	Sichuan Province
2013-00009	DET?	Sungrab Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/1/2012	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00010	DET?	Dragsang	M	monk, temple-keeper	12/1/2012	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00011	DET?	Yeshe Zangpo	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/1/2012	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00012	DET	Gedun Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/3/2012	Lanzhou? (general location)	6	Gansu Province
2013-00023	DET?	Tashi Sonam	M		12/6/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00030	DET?	Tsondru	M	monk, official	12/12/2012	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00031	DET?	Chagthab	M	lay tantric practitioner	12/12/2012	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00032	DET?	Shawo	M	religious center (unspec.), head	12/12/2012	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province

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2013-00033	DET?	Choedron	F	nun, disciplinarian	12/12/2012	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00034	DET?	Rigshe	F	nun (Buddhist)	12/12/2012	Tsekhog PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00055	DET?	Kalsang Samdrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/21/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00056	DET?	Nyima	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00057	DET?	Lhamo Dondrub	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00058	DET?	Dorje Dondrub	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00059	DET?	Kalsang Kyab	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00060	DET?	Kalsang Sonam	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00061	DET?	Kalsang Namdren	M	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00062	DET?	Sonam Kyi	F	layperson	12/24/2012	Luchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00064	DET	Phagpa	M	monk, former	2012/11/dd	Xining (general location)	13	Qinghai Province
2013-00068	DET	Pema Dondrub	M		10/23/2012	Gansu (general location)	12	Gansu Province
2013-00069	DET	Kalsang Gyatso	M		10/23/2012	Gansu (general location)	11	Gansu Province
2013-00070	DET	Pema Tso	F		10/23/2012	Gansu (general location)	8	Gansu Province
2013-00071	DET	Lhamo Dondrub	M		10/23/2012	Gansu (general location)	7	Gansu Province
2013-00075	DET?	Gonpo Gyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	2012/10/dd	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Gansu Province
2013-00098	DET	Lhamo Dorje	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu (general location)	15	Gansu Province
2013-00099	DET	Kalsang Sonam	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu (general location)	11	Gansu Province
2013-00100	DET	Tsezung Kyab	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/12/dd	Gansu (general location)	10	Gansu Province
2013-00101	DET?	Donnu	M	villager (unspec.)	2012/11/dd	Tsoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00121	DET	Kalsang Dondrub	M		2012/12/dd	Xining? (general location)	6	Qinghai Province
2013-00139	DET	Choepa Gyal	M		2013/mm/dd	Xining? (general location)	6	Qinghai Province
2013-00141	DET	Namkha Jam	M		2013/mm/dd	Dongchuan Prison	5	Qinghai Province
2013-00162	DET?	Tsering Tagchen	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Kanlho pref. (general location)		Gansu Province
2013-00163	DET?	Samten	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Kanlho pref. (general location)		Gansu Province
2013-00164	DET?	Tashi Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Kanlho pref. (general location)		Gansu Province
2013-00165	DET?	Tenphel Gyalpo	M	layperson	2013/01/dd	Kanlho pref. (general location)		Gansu Province
2013-00166	DET?	Tensang	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/01/dd	Kanlho pref. (general location)		Gansu Province
2013-00179	DET?	Yumkyab	M	artist, sculptor	2012/mm/dd	Xining? (general location)		Qinghai Province

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2013-00211	DET?	Pema Tsewang	M	layperson	10/20/2012	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2013-00220	DET	Lobsang Gedun	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/1/2013	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00242	DET?	Dorje	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Qinghai (general location)		Qinghai Province
2013-00244	DET?	Tseten Gyal	M	layperson	2012/03/dd	Qinghai (general location)		Qinghai Province
2013-00266	DET	Sanggye Palden	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/23/2013	Mianyang Prison	5	Sichuan Province
2013-00289	DET?	Tashi Choewang	M	student (unspec.)	10/6/2012	Lhasa? (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00290	DET?	Sonam	M		10/6/2012	Lhasa? (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00292	DET?	Sobum	M	layperson	2012/11/dd	Xining PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2013-00311	DET?	Lobsang Namgyal	M	writer, poet	5/12/2012	Chengdu (general location)		Sichuan Province
2010-00456	DET	Dorje Dragtsal	M	layperson	10/3/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	11	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00318	DET	Tsultrim Gyaltsen	M	writer, multiple styles or types	10/11/2013	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00319	DET	Yulgyal	M	business owner (unspec.)	10/12/2013	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00327	DET	Tenzin Rangdrol	M	self-empl. business	10/18/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	5	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00016	DET?	Phuntsog Namgyal	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00017	DET?	Pema Tsultrim	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00018	DET?	Dorje Lodroe	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00019	DET?	Yungdrung	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00020	DET?	Tatob	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00021	DET?	Tashi Namgyal	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00022	DET?	Dorje Rigzin	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00023	DET?	Sonam	M		1/3/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00024	DET	Kalsang Choglang	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/23/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00038	DET?	Geleg	M	monk, disciplinarian	1/18/2014	Pema PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2014-00039	DET?	Tselha Kyab	M		1/18/2014	Pema PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2014-00046	DET	Tobden	M	herder / writer	10/28/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	5	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00047	DET	Konchog Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/18/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	6	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00057	DET?	Norgye	M	worker, day laborer	1/14/2014	Lhasa (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00070	DET	Tsultrim Nyandrag	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/12/dd	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	9	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00071	DET	Tsultrim Palsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region

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2014-00072	DET	Lobsang Yeshe	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00073	DET	Kalsang Jampa	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00074	DET	Kalsang Dorje	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/2/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00079	DET	Asang	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00080	DET	Margong	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00081	DET	Jigme	M	layperson	2/3/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00105	DET	Lobsang Dargye	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00106	DET	Lungtog Gyaltsen	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00108	DET?	Budrag	M	layperson	3/14/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00112	DET	Rigzin Tsering	M	layperson	2008/04/dd	Tianshui (general location)	12	Gansu Province
2014-00116	DET?	Kalsang Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00117	DET?	Thubten Palden	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00118	DET?	Norbu Dondrub	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00119	DET?	Monlam Gyatso	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00120	DET?	Tsering Tharpa	M	layperson	3/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00135	DET	Rigsal	M	head, village	11/24/2013	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00137	DET	Ngangdrag	M	head, village	11/24/2013	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00141	DET	Thardoe Gyaltsen	M	monk, chant master	2013/12/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	18	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00142	DET	Tsangyang Gyatso	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Qushui Prison (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00143	DET	Tsewang	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00144	DET	Atse	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00145	DET	Gyaltsen	M	monk, chant master	3/17/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00146	DET?	Khedrub	M	monk, abbot	4/13/2014	Chamdo Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00147	DET?	Lobsang Tsering	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00148	DET?	Dagyal	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00149	DET?	Karma		layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00150	DET?	Gyalhug	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00151	DET?	Sichoe		layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00152	DET?	Choedar	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region

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2014-00153	DET?	Jampa		layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00154	DET?	Gyalwa	M	layperson	2013/07/dd	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00155	DET?	Thubga	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00156	DET?	Gade	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00157	DET?	Kyamo	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00158	DET?	Jamyang	M	head, village	4/21/2014	Palyul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00159	DET?	Rinchen Wangdu	M	layperson	3/28/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00160	DET?	Phurtse	M	layperson	3/28/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00161	DET	Ade	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00162	DET	Gedun Dragpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00163	DET	Choeying Kalden	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/16/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00166	DET?	Lobsang Choejor	M	monk, senior	3/4/2014	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00167	DET	Tendrag	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00168	DET	Phurbu	M	layperson	4/6/2014	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00169	DET	Tridul	M	layperson	2014/04/dd	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00170	DET	Dadrag	M	layperson	2014/04/dd	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00172	DET	Lobsang Tenzin	M	monk, lama	2014/03/dd	Pashoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00183	DET?	Jampa Choephel	M	layperson	5/12/2014	Chamdo PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00227	DET?	Sherkyab	M	monk (Buddhist)	7/9/2014	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2014-00231	DET	Tenzin Lhundrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	2014/05/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00250	DET	Tseyang	M	monk (Buddhist)	2013/03/dd	Sichuan? (general location)	7	Sichuan Province
2014-00254	DET	Kunga	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00255	DET	Pema	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	12	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00256	DET	Choeying Oezer	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00257	DET	Ngawang Yeshe	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00258	DET	Penpa	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	11	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00259	DET	Pema Gyalpo	M		2011/04/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	8	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00265	DET?	Wangdrag	M	head, village	8/12/2014	Kardze pref? (general location)		Sichuan Province
2014-00274	DET?	Kunga Sherab	M	layperson	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2014-00276	DET?	Karma Rinchen	M	monk (Buddhist)	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00277	DET?	Taga	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00278	DET?	Kunga Tenzin	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00279	DET?	Dawa Tashi	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00280	DET?	Karma Tashi	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00281	DET?	Tashi Gonpo	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00282	DET?	Jamyang Sonam	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00283	DET?	Tashi	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00284	DET?	Tsering	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00285	DET?	Gyalug	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00286	DET?	Thubten Choephel	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00287	DET?	Pema Gyalo	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00288	DET?	Yonten Kyab	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00289	DET?	Lakyab	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00290	DET?	Wangchen	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00291	DET?	Tsogyal	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00292	DET?	Bugyal	M	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00293	DET?	Yangchen Lhamo	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00294	DET?	Tsekyab Wangmo	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00295	DET?	Yeshe Drolma	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00296	DET?	Yangchen Palmo	F	layperson?	8/12/2014	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00302	DET?	Dawa Lhamo	F	layperson	8/12/2014	Kardze pref. (general location)		Sichuan Province
2014-00303	DET?	Dawa Tsomo	F	writer, blogger	8/23/2014	Dzatoe PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2014-00304	DET?	Kunsang Lhamo	F	nun (Buddhist)	8/26/2014	Xining? (general location)		Qinghai Province
2014-00311	DET?	Pagyal	M	layperson?	2014/08/dd	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00312	DET?	Tseko	M	layperson?	2014/08/dd	Sershul PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2014-00340	DET	Jamyang Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/2/2014	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	7	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00341	DET	Namgyal Wangchug	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/2/2014	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	5	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00372	DET?	Dorje Rinchen	M	business (unspec.)	10/16/2014	Serthar PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province

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2015-00021	DET?	Chime Dorje	M	herder	12/22/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00022	DET?	Chenpa	F	herder	12/22/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00023	DET?	Yime	M	herder	12/22/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00025	DET?	Lobsang Trinle	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/26/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00026	DET?	Lobsang Lungrig	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/26/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00027	DET?	Zoepa	M	student, university	12/27/2014	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00032	DET?	Samdrag	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00033	DET?	Tenpa Gyal	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00034	DET?	Nyatri	M	villager (unspec.)	12/15/2014	Gade PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00036	DET?	Lokar	M		12/7/2014	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00037	DET?	Tashi	M		12/7/2014	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00038	DET?	Tsephel	M		12/7/2014	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00039	DET?	Tsekyab	M		12/7/2014	Darlag PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00080	DET	Gedun Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/10/2015	Chengdu? (general location)		Sichuan Province
2015-00083	DET	Lobsang Tenzin	M	tour guide	2014/06/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2013-00223	DET?	Namgyal Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00137	DET?	Lodroe Tenzin	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00138	DET?	Tsultrim Goje	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00139	DET?	Tsultrim Namgyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00140	DET?	Thabkhe Lhundrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00141	DET?	Jigme Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00142	DET?	Jigme Dragpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/14/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2012-00098	DET	Choephel Dawa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00148	DET?	Jigme Wanggyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00149	DET?	Choeying Choega	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/28/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00150	DET?	Dorje Dragpa	M	layperson	3/28/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00151	DET?	Lobsang Dawa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/20/2015	Sog PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00153	DET	Gedun Phuntsog	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/8/2015	Mianyang Prison	4	Sichuan Province
2015-00157	DET	Lobsang Jamyang	M	monk (Buddhist)	4/17/2015	Sichuan (general location)	7	Sichuan Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2015-00158	DET	Ngawang Gyaltsen	M	monk, expelled	2/24/2015	Nagchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00159	DET	Lobsang Kalsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/17/2015	Mianyang Prison	3	Sichuan Province
2015-00160	DET?	Sanggye Khar	M	herder	4/26/2015	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00161	DET?	Sonam Gyatso	M	herder	4/26/2015	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00181	DET?	Tsewang Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/15/2015	Tawu PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00201	DET?	Lhundrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/22/2015	Dingri PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00202	DET?	Rithar	M		5/22/2015	Lhasa PSB Det. Ctr?		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00204	DET	Tenzin Zoepa	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/28/2015	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00214	DET	Samten Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/4/2015	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00215	DET	Lobsang Tenzin	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/4/2015	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00232	DET?	Tadrin Wanggyal	M	layperson	6/10/2015	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00233	DET?	Trinle Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/10/2015	Chone PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00236	DET/life	Kalkho	M	service, restaurant	2015/05/dd	Qushui Prison? (Chushur)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00239	DET?	Tsewang Dondrub	M		12/26/2014	Dingri (general location)		Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2015-00241	DET?	Tsering Dondrub	M		6/20/2015	Rebgong PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00243	DET	Yonten Rabgyal	M	layperson	3/13/2015	Chigdril PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00244	DET?	Jamyang	M	layperson	6/5/2015	Machu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00259	DET?	Tashi Kyi	F	herder	7/2/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2012-00314	DET	Tashi	M	businessperson	2015/07/dd	Kyegudo PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2015-00261	DET	Tashi Dargye	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13	Sichuan Province
2015-00262	DET	Namgyal	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13	Sichuan Province
2015-00263	DET	Paldor	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13	Sichuan Province
2015-00264	DET	Sonam Dargye	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	13	Sichuan Province
2015-00265	DET	Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	12	Sichuan Province
2015-00266	DET	Nyima	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	12	Sichuan Province
2015-00267	DET	Kuntho	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	11	Sichuan Province
2015-00268	DET	Orgyen Tsering	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	11	Sichuan Province
2015-00269	DET	Sherab Zangpo	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	10	Sichuan Province
2015-00270	DET	Trinle Dargye	M	layperson	1/23/2012	Kardze Pref. Prison (Xinduqiao)	10	Sichuan Province
2015-00279	DET	Choekyi	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/19/2015	Mianyang Prison	4	Sichuan Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2009-00441	DET?	Jamyang Jinpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	3/13/2015	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr?		Gansu Province
2015-00299	DET?	Oekar Kyi	F	herder	8/15/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00309	DET	Lobsang Thubten	M	layperson	8/18/2015	Lithang PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2015-00313	DET?	Dorje Drolma	F	layperson	8/20/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00327	DET	Lobsang Kalsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/7/2015	Deyang Prison	3	Sichuan Province
2015-00328	DET	Lobsang Dragpa	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/10/2015	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	3	Sichuan Province
2015-00329	DET	Lobsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/10/2015	Ngaba Prison? (Maowun)	3	Sichuan Province
2015-00330	DET?	Dekyi Drolma	F	layperson	9/13/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00332	DET	Jampal Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/9/2015	Ngaba Prison (Maowun)	3	Sichuan Province
2015-00373	DET	Lobsang Jamyang	M	monk, novice	9/23/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00374	DET	Lobsang	M	layperson	9/10/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00375	DET	Trinle	M	layperson	9/10/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00376	DET	Tashi	M	layperson	10/26/2015	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2010-00156	DET	Samdrub Gyatso	M		2015/09/dd	Dashi PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2015-00411	DET	Jampa Sengge	M	layperson	11/28/2015	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2015-00480	DET	Tashi Dondrub	M	layperson	12/19/2015	Dzoege PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00016	DET	Tenzin Lhamo	F		3/16/2008	Lhasa (general location)	10	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2016-00039	DET	Orgyen	M	monk, geshe	2016/02/dd	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00040	DET	Paga	M	monk, abbot	2016/02/dd	Draggo PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00065	DET	Jamyang Dorje	M	layperson	2/14/2016	Kardze PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00080	DET	Mangga	F	layperson	3/1/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00085	DET	Samdrub	M	deputy head, village	3/30/2016	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2016-00086	DET	Lhadon	F	layperson	3/30/2016	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2016-00087	DET	Rongsher	M	layperson	3/30/2016	Matoe PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2016-00110	DET	Lobsang Thubten	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/2/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00147	DET	Jampa Geleg	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/16/2016	Kardze Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.		Sichuan Province
2016-00167	DET	Lobsang Tsering	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/7/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00176	DET	Choesang Gyatso	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/29/2016	Mangra PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2016-00179	DET	Lhachen Kyab	M		6/24/2016	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province

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CECC record number	detention status	main name	sex	occupation	date of detention	current (or last) prison, detention center, or site	current (or last) sentence (or time served): years	province where imprisoned (or detained)
2016-00180	DET	Jigje Deleg Gyatso	M		6/24/2016	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2016-00181	DET	Rinchen Bum	M		6/24/2016	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2016-00182	DET	Tashi Drolma	F		6/24/2016	Chabcha PSB Det. Ctr?		Qinghai Province
2016-00205	DET	Kunsang	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Kardze pref? (general location)	2	Sichuan Province
2016-00206	DET	Palden Rigzin	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Kardze pref? (general location)	2	Sichuan Province
2016-00207	DET	Dragsang	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Kardze pref? (general location)	2	Sichuan Province
2016-00208	DET	Rabten	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Kardze pref? (general location)	2	Sichuan Province
2016-00209	DET	Wanggon	M	villager (unspec.)	10/10/2015	Kardze pref? (general location)	2	Sichuan Province
2016-00210	DET	Konchog Drolma	F	homemaker	7/14/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2011-00401	DET	Lobsang Dargye	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/23/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2016-00211	DET	Jamyang Lodroe	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/14/2016	Ngaba pref. (general location)	3	Sichuan Province
2012-00222	DET	Lodroe	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/18/2015	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	9	Sichuan Province
2016-00212	DET	Argya Gya	M	former monk	2015/mm/dd	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	5	Sichuan Province
2016-00281	DET	Gedun Dragpa	M	monk, treasurer	8/24/2016	Ngaba pref. (general location)	5	Sichuan Province
2016-00282	DET	Lobsang Sherab	M	monk, shopkeeper	8/24/2016	Ngaba pref. (general location)	4	Sichuan Province
2016-00308	DET	Lodroe	M	monk (Buddhist)	6/14/2016	Ngaba pref. (general location)		Sichuan Province
2016-00334	DET	Sangdrag Kyab	M	layperson	9/29/2016	Sangchu PSB Det. Ctr.		Gansu Province
2016-00354	DET	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	10/17/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2017-00008	DET	Tenpa	M	layperson (former monk)	12/16/2016	Ngaba PSB Det. Ctr?		Sichuan Province
2017-00009	DET	Lobsang Sonam	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/11/2015	Mianyang Prison	6	Sichuan Province
2011-00422	DET	Lobsang Khedrub	M	monk (Buddhist)	2015/12/dd	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	13	Sichuan Province
2017-00026	DET	Drugdra	M	monk (Buddhist)	2015/11/dd	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	14	Sichuan Province
2017-00027	DET	Lobsang Gephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	11/30/2015	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	12	Sichuan Province
2012-00261	DET	Bonkho Kyi	F	layperson	11/20/2015	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	7	Sichuan Province
2008-00632	DET	Tsultrim	M	former monk	2015/10/dd	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	6	Sichuan Province

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2017-00028	DET	Tsultrim	M	former monk	11/25/2015	Lunggu county prison (Wenchuan)	5	Sichuan Province
2004-01163	DET	Tsegon Gyal	M	former political prisoner	12/9/2016	Kangtsa PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2017-00034	DET	Jamyang Choephel	M	monk (Buddhist)	12/11/2016	Machu PSB Det. Ctr.		Gansu Province
2017-00232	DET	Gonpo	M	monk (Buddhist)	5/4/2017	Kardze pref. (general location)		Sichuan Province
2017-00233	DET	Lobsang Tsultrim	M	monk (Buddhist)	2/25/2017	Ngaba pref. (general location)		Sichuan Province
2018-00029	DET	Gyakyab	M		12/24/2017	Barkham (general location)		Sichuan Province
2016-00077	DET	Tashi Wangchug	M	business op., shop	1/27/2016	Yushu Pref. PSB Det. Ctr.		Qinghai Province
2012-00276	DET	Tsultrim Kalsang	M	monk (Buddhist)	9/1/2012	Xining? (general location)	10	Qinghai Province
2014-00009	DET	Trinle Tsekar	M	artist, singer	11/20/2013	Lhasa? (general location)	9	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region
2014-00010	DET	Choekyab	M		2013/11/dd	Lhasa? (general location)	13	Tibet [Xizang] Auto. Region

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. GREEN

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

TIBET, GEOPOLITICS, AND U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS

I welcome the opportunity to appear before the Commission to address the geopolitical context of U.S. policy on Tibet. Those who argue that U.S. "policy" should somehow be distinguished from our "values" as a nation display a fundamental misunderstanding of our national interests and our own history. As I argued in a recent book on U.S. strategy since the birth of our Republic, American statecraft has successfully prevented the rise of hostile hegemonic powers in Asia not by force of arms or realpolitik alone, but also by investing in democratic norms and open societies. In Tibet, as in many other parts of Asia today, our consistent support for those same universal norms will have an important impact on whether China uses its growing power for coercion and hegemonic control, or finds ways to contribute to regional prosperity consistent with the needs and expectations of her people and her neighbors.

The powerful aspirations of the Tibetan people for dignity, religious freedom, and cultural autonomy intersect with rising geopolitical tensions along the Himalayan plateau. China's insecurity about this region is deeply rooted. Britain intrigued against Russia in Tibet as part of the "Great Game" at the turn of the 20th century. Some historians argue that the iconic Tibetan flag was inspired by Japanese spies fomenting anti-Chinese nationalism and offering Japan's own "rising sun" flag as a model. The first CIA agent killed in the line of duty died smuggling guns and money to Tibet. In 2008 China's Central Military Commission ranked Tibet as the most critical sovereignty challenge, ahead of Xinjiang and Taiwan.

The flipside of insecurity is expansionism and Beijing has made dramatic moves to assert strategic dominance over the Himalayan plateau at the expense of rival India. India and China have 37% of the world's population but only 10% of the world's water supply, with India and much of the rest of South and Southeast Asia relying on the Brahmaputra and other rivers flowing from the Himalayas. Beijing has already completed two of three water transfer programs diverting billions of cubic meters of river waters yearly into China. The highly controversial third leg of that plan is designed to divert waters from the Tibetan plateau into China. Beijing suspended agreements on hydrological information sharing with India in 2017 and has refused international demands for transparency on plans for damming rivers in and around the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Beijing has also made moves to establish military dominance in areas contested with India—paralleling similar moves to militarize artificial islands in the South China Sea, but in this case at an altitude of over 10,000 feet. Satellite photos have revealed PLA militarization of Doklam, with new helipads, roads, and hardened fortifications only dozens of meters from the Indian Army's forward outpost. When India tested a ballistic missile capable of hitting China's coastal cities in January (a capability China already has against India), the official Chinese media called for the PLA navy to expand into the Indian Ocean to outflank Indian forces. The Tibetans' struggle is thus occurring at the epicenter of China's aggressive attempt to consolidate and expand control of its periphery within the Eurasian continent.

Finally, the Tibetan people's aspirations are colliding with the greatest vulnerability of the Chinese Communist Party—that party's inability to accommodate the growing and legitimate spiritual and social demands of all its 1.4 billion citizens. This includes the most senior figures in the Communist Party. We know, for example, that Li Peng, the premier who ordered the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, converted to Tibetan Buddhism in his old age. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama put it in an address at CSIS in 2007, "when you're 80 years old, socialism with Chinese characteristics is not so useful!"

Driven by these insecurities, Beijing has chosen to turn away from dialogue with His Holiness on legitimate questions of religious and cultural autonomy and instead to try to break the will of the Tibetan people through a combination of repression, Hanization of the Tibet Autonomous Region, massive economic infrastructure investment, and political control of the succession to the 15th Dalai Lama.

Steady U.S. support for the Tibetan people is therefore both morally and strategically imperative. U.S. support is necessary to demonstrate that we will not turn a blind eye to coercion by China in any one part of Asia in order to win China's support in another. Because if it is Tibet today, it could be Taiwan tomorrow, or even Japan. U.S. support is also necessary to demonstrate to the Tibetan people that His Holiness was right to champion the "Middle Way" of dialogue with Beijing within the context of China's own constitution and that those brave and long-suffering people do not have to choose either surrender or violent revolution. In addition, U.S.

support is necessary to reinforce solidarity behind Tibet in the broader democratic world, which faltered in 2009—particularly in Europe—when President Obama chose not to meet His Holiness in Washington. And, finally, U.S. support is necessary because China's closing of Tibet to the outside world is exacerbating geopolitical tensions with India that will have ramifications for Asian stability writ large.

The Trump administration has not fully stepped up to this reality. The administration's announcement of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" strategy certainly points to the right framing of how to incorporate our values in regional policies. However, this is the first President in two decades who has chosen not to raise Tibet in meetings with his Chinese counterparts, at least as far as we know. Finally, the United States still does not have a Tibet Coordinator as required under legislation. I understand that Secretary Tillerson responded to Senator Corker's letter on this subject by explaining that the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights would be double-hatted to fulfill the role as coordinator, but no one has been nominated for that post and a search on the Under Secretary's home page for "Tibet" produces multiple hits noting that Tibet is part of China and a few references to the last human rights report, but little else.

The administration should also support the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2017. CSIS hosted some of the party officials from the TAR to discuss the situation in Tibet in 2008 and I found it useful. If necessary, a Presidential waiver can be used to accommodate officials interested in genuine dialogue on Tibet in the future, but the legislation is necessary to help blunt Beijing's effort to close off Lhasa and the surrounding region to outside journalists, scholars, officials and tourists. Reciprocity of access is a fundamental principle of stable international relations.

I would conclude by emphasizing that U.S. policy has been aimed at achieving what Beijing itself has claimed to support in its own constitution and in prior dialogues with representatives of His Holiness—respect for the cultural, religious, and social rights of the Tibetan people. To retreat from that now would be to signal acceptance of the logic that Chinese power must be accommodated, even when that power is used to reverse rules, norms, and understandings that have contributed to peace, prosperity and U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific for many decades.

Thank you.

Michael J. Green

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MARCO RUBIO, A U.S. SENATOR FROM FLORIDA; CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

Good morning.

This is a hearing of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China. The title of this hearing is "Tibet 'From All Angles': Protecting Human Rights, Defending Strategic Access, and Challenging China's Export of Censorship Globally."

We will have one panel testifying today. The panel will feature:

Dhondup Wangchen: Tibetan filmmaker and recently escaped political prisoner;

Dr. Tenzin Dorjee: Commissioner, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) and Associate Professor, California State University, Fullerton;

Dr. Michael J. Green, Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Thank you all for being here.

Without question, Tibet remains one of the most sensitive issues in U.S.-China relations. Conflict between Tibetan aspirations and Chinese policy is found within cultural, religious, and educational spheres. As the Chinese government seeks to diminish or altogether eliminate aspects of Tibetan culture that it regards as threatening, the peaceful exercise of internationally recognized human rights is systematically suppressed.

Inside the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and Tibetan autonomous areas, Chinese officials have increased restrictions on the religious and cultural life of Tibetans over the past decade by implementing pervasive controls and restriction on religious practice, a trend which was highlighted in the Commission's most recent Annual Report.

Beginning in 2016, Chinese authorities targeted renowned centers of Buddhist learning for demolition and reportedly expelled more than 4,800 Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns and subjected them to periods of "patriotic education" lasting from several weeks to six months.

There are more than 500 cases of Tibetan political or religious prisoners currently in detention who are in the CECC's Political Prisoner Database—a staggering figure that is far from exhaustive.

Access to Tibet for foreign journalists, NGOs and diplomats remains severely restricted.

At the same time, the Chinese government exports its authoritarianism abroad, pressuring foreign academic institutions who invite the Dalai Lama to speak on campus as well as businesses who mention his name or the Tibet Autonomous Region as a distinct region.

It is this dimension of global Chinese censorship which has thrust Tibet into the news in recent days. Every week it seems another major international company is publicly, and in some cases shamelessly, apologizing to the PRC for some sort of misstep related to Tibet, the Dalai Lama or some otherwise "sensitive" issue. Driven by their bottom line and China's vast market, many companies are increasingly prepared to toe Beijing's line.

There is a certain grim irony to the Chinese government demanding that businesses apologize for social media posts on social media platforms that are blocked inside China.

It is clear that the cost of doing business in China keeps getting steeper. At the same time, there is little price to be paid in the West when companies engage in self-censorship to further their bottom line despite the fact that it is antithetical to the values that underpin our own society.

We will explore all of these topics during today's hearing in addition to the future of the Dalai Lama's succession, China's efforts to control water resources and expand its military presence on the Tibetan plateau, and the impact on broader U.S. strategic interests and human rights.

Before turning to our witness testimony, I would be remiss if I did not underscore how pleased we are to welcome Tibetan filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen to today's hearing. It's not often that we're able to welcome to the witness stand political prisoners whose cases the Commission has highlighted in our prisoner database, in letters to the administration, and on social media.

Set against the backdrop of a different Olympic Games in Asia, it is fitting to recall that Mr. Wangchen's "crime" was making the short documentary film "Leaving Fear Behind" in 2008 which was based on 108 interviews he conducted with Tibetans who expressed views on a range of issues, from the Dalai Lama to the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Golog Jigme, Mr. Wangchen's assistant in producing the film was among the witnesses at an April 2016 Commission hearing titled, "China's Pervasive Use of Torture." He, too, was subsequently detained in 2008 for his work on the documentary and during his detention, severely tortured.

Mr. Wangchen: We welcome you to America, to safety and freedom, and we stand with you in working toward the day when the Tibetan people are afforded these same protections.

Please join me in welcoming our witnesses Mr. Dhondup Wangchen, Tibetan filmmaker and recently escaped political prisoner, Dr. Tenzin Dorjee, Commissioner, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) and Associate Professor, California State University, Fullerton, and Dr. Michael J. Green, Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES P. MCGOVERN, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM MASSACHUSETTS

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

I thank the Congressional-Executive Committee on China for convening this critically important hearing on the eve of the anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan uprising, in which 87,000 Tibetans were killed, arrested or deported to labor camps, and which led His Holiness the Dalai Lama to flee to India along with tens of thousands of other Tibetans. I appreciate the opportunity to provide a statement for the record.

I admire the courage and perseverance of the Tibetan people. I have stood in solidarity with them for years in their struggle to exercise their basic human rights—to speak and teach their language, protect their culture, control their land and water, travel within and outside their country, and worship as they choose.

Dhondup Wangchen embodies that struggle. I join my colleagues in welcoming him to Washington and to the halls of Congress.

But as the Dalai Lama ages, and as China doubles down on its deeply authoritarian practices, I worry that time is running out to make sure that Tibetans will be able to live their lives as they wish.

China has a terrible human rights record. Whatever hope once existed that China would become more open, more ruled by law and more democratic as it became wealthier, has faded over the years—especially under the rule of President Xi Jinping.

As Xi Jinping consolidated his power during last October's Communist Party Congress, he laid out a vision of China in which every aspect of life—economic, political, cultural and religious—will be under the control of the Communist Party, an authoritarian vision that does not bode well for minority populations like the Tibetans, who see the world through a different lens.

One of my great frustrations as a Member of Congress has been the unwillingness of the United States Government, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, to impose any real consequences for China's bad human rights behavior.

I understand there are trade-offs in foreign policy. But I see nothing to suggest that going easy on China's human rights record has worked. Instead, the overall human rights situation is getting worse: human rights lawyers detained, held in secret and incommunicado; the enforced disappearance of critics from Hong Kong; a cyber security law that strangles online freedom; the highest number of executions in the world. The barbaric denial of adequate health care and the death in custody of Liu Xiaobo.

At the same time, the repression of the Tibetan people has deepened. Tibetans are confronted with an intrusive official presence in monasteries, pervasive surveillance, limits on travel and communications and ideological re-education campaigns.

Last year demolitions were carried out at Larung Gar, the famous Tibetan Buddhist center of learning, and thousands of monks and nuns were expelled. We now know that draconian new controls have been imposed there—party cadres are taking over management, finances, security, admissions, and even the choice of textbooks.

As of last August, 69 monks, nuns or Tibetan reincarnate teachers were known to be serving sentences in Chinese prisons. I fear the real number is much higher.

And the Chinese government continues to claim the prerogative to decide who will succeed the Dalai Lama—a mind-boggling conceit for a government that is officially atheist.

This is not the first time the Chinese government has interfered in the identification and installation of reincarnated leaders of Tibetan Buddhism. In 1995, the government arbitrarily detained the 11th Panchen Lama, then a six-year-old boy, and installed its own candidate for the job.

I see no evidence that things are getting better for the Tibetan people, and so it is critically important that Congress speak out in support of Tibetan rights. Hearings like this one, and those held last year by the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, which I co-chair, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, say to China that we are paying attention.

But it is not enough. The many meetings we have all had with courageous Tibetans, our solidarity with their plight, our appreciation for His Holiness, are not enough.

China needs to face real consequences for its actions in Tibet. And that means we in Congress need to step up the pressure.

To start, Congress must pass the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act, the bill I introduced in the House last session, along with a bipartisan group of Members, and that Senators Rubio and Baldwin are leading in the Senate. This bill imposes consequences for restrictions on travel to areas in China where ethnic Tibetans live.

The rationale is simple. The basis of diplomatic law is mutual access and reciprocity. But while the Chinese enjoy broad access to the United States, the same is not true for U.S. diplomats, journalists or tourists going to Tibet—including Tibetan-Americans trying to visit their country of origin.

This is simply unacceptable. If China wants its citizens and officials to travel freely in the U.S., Americans must be able to travel freely in China, including Tibet.

Under the Reciprocal Access Act, no senior leader responsible for designing or implementing travel restrictions to Tibetan areas would be eligible to enter the United States. Allowing travel to Tibet is only one step China needs to take; there are others.

China should permit His Holiness the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet for a visit if he so desires. He has that right, and he must have that opportunity before it is too late.

As Members of Congress we must insist that the administration name a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, a statutory position.

We must support the robust use of the Global Magnitsky Act to hold accountable Chinese officials responsible for human rights abuses. The December decision to sanction Gao Yan for his involvement in the arbitrary detention, torture, and death of human rights activist Cao Shunli was a good first step. It should be the first of many.

We must redouble our efforts to secure the release of Tibetan prisoners of conscience. It is time to insist that American businesses do their part to protect the human rights of Tibetans and all the people of China. To not speak out in the face of abuse is to be complicit.

Changing Chinese behavior will not be easy. But it is time to walk the walk. The alternative risks the lives and well-being of millions of Tibetans.

Thank you.

Witness Biographies

FEBRUARY 14, 2018

Dhondup Wangchen, Tibetan filmmaker and recently escaped political prisoner

Dhondup Wangchen is a Tibetan filmmaker and former political prisoner, who arrived to freedom and safety in the United States on December 25, 2017 to be reunited with his wife and four children. Mr. Wangchen was detained by Chinese authorities in March 2008 on charges related to a 25-minute documentary titled "Leaving Fear Behind." The film was based on 108 interviews that Wangchen conducted over five months, and included candid conversations with Tibetans who expressed views on a range of issues, from the Dalai Lama and the 2008 Beijing Olympics to the human rights situation in Tibetan areas. In July 2009, Dhondup Wangchen was charged with "inciting separatism" and subsequently sentenced to six years imprisonment where he endured harsh treatment including solitary confinement and manual labor. Wangchen was released in July 2014 after completing his sentence but remained under strict surveillance. Dhondup Wangchen has been honored by Amnesty International and the Committee to Protect Journalists awarded him the International Press Freedom Award in 2012. Mr. Wangchen's case was a priority for the United States government. The U.S. State Department raised his case at the U.S.-China Human Rights Dialogue in 2016.

Tenzin Dorjee, Ph.D., Commissioner, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) and Associate Professor, California State University, Fullerton

Tenzin Dorjee is a Commissioner on the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, appointed by House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi. Dr. Dorjee also is an Associate Professor at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). Dr. Dorjee was selected as the 2017 Distinguished Faculty Marshal for the College of Communications, CSUF. He has authored and co-authored articles on Tibetan culture, identity, nonviolence, and middle-way approaches to conflict resolution, including the Sino-Tibetan conflict, intercultural and intergroup communication competence, and intergenerational communication context. He has presented at many international and national communications conventions. He also has translated works of Tibetan Buddhism and culture into English. He has had the honor of translating for the Dalai Lama in India and North America, as well as for many preeminent Tibetan Buddhist professors.

Michael J. Green, Ph.D., Senior Vice President for Asia and Japan Chair, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Michael J. Green is senior vice president for Asia and Japan Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and director of Asian Studies at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He served on the staff of the National Security Council (NSC) from 2001 through 2005, first as director for Asian Affairs with responsibility for Japan, Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, and then as special assistant to the president for national security affairs and senior director for Asia, with responsibility for East Asia and South Asia. Before joining the NSC staff, he was a senior fellow for East Asian Security at the Council on Foreign Relations, director of the Edwin O. Reischauer Center and the Foreign Policy Institute and assistant professor at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, research staff member at the Institute for Defense Analyses, and senior adviser on Asia in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. He also worked in Japan on the staff of a member of the National Diet. Dr. Green has authored numerous books and articles on East Asian security, including most recently, "By More Than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific Since 1783" (Columbia University Press, 2017) https://www.bymorethanprovidence.com/.

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