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Tibet: 81 Political Prisoners Held in Drapchi Prison, Lhasa

Introduction

Since 1987, thousands of Tibetans, many of them monks and nuns, have been arrested in Lhasa and other Tibetan cities for taking part in demonstrations in support of independence.¹ Many have been released after months of *incommunicado* detention in appalling conditions; others have been tried and sentenced on charges of counterrevolution. The Chinese government has never provided figures on the number of Tibetan political prisoners nor lists of those arrested for participating in demonstrations or advocating independence, nor has it allowed regular access to prisons in the region by international human rights or humanitarian organizations.

The lack of information makes an official list of 81 political prisoners from Drapchi (Grwa-bzhi) Prison, one of the main prisons in Lhasa, particularly significant. The name, age, place of birth, occupation or workplace and length of sentence, recorded for most of those prisoners, was copied in late September 1989 from an official People's Republic of China document.² These details provide important insights into who gets arrested and how severely the Chinese authorities punish dissent.

Of the named prisoners, at least 52 are known to have been sentenced between January 1989 and April 1990; the terms ranged from two to 19 years, with the exception of one death sentence and two possible life terms. In cases where accusations are recorded, all but ten of the prisoners, including the youngest, a 14-year-old boy, were charged with non-violent offenses.

The Drapchi prison complex is only one of several Tibetan prisons, detention centers and labor camps housing political prisoners. In the Lhasa area alone there are at least three other major detention centers, with others located in more remote areas. Small local prisons, scattered throughout Tibet, may or may not house political prisoners.³ Detainees not yet tried may be held in police stations. Political offenders, as well as other prisoners, may also be administratively detained without benefit of trial or sentence for up to three years' "re-education through labor."

There is some confusion as to whether Drapchi refers to a single prison or a complex. According to

¹The largest demonstrations took place in September-October 1987; March 5, 1988; December 10, 1988; and March 5-7, 1989. For further details on the demonstrations and on the arrests which followed, see Asia Watch, *Human Rights in Tibet*, February 1988 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1988); Asia Watch, *Evading Scrutiny*, July 1988 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1988); Asia Watch, *Merciless Repression*, May 1990 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990).

² The list was made available to Asia Watch by the London-based Tibet Information Network (TIN).

³*Human Rights in Tibet*, pp.31-32.

one Asia Watch source, Drapchi is composed of five parts. He said that one part, Seta (the word means fourth part), is for those against whom the charges are most serious; most of those whose names are known outside Tibet are detained there. Most of the monks on the list below are in Seta, as is Yulo Dawa Tsering, the first prisoner on the list. Another division, Logye, translates as "hard labor prison." Prisoners from Logye, according to this source, are often spotted in Lhasa digging ditches or working on construction projects. Sayeb, yet another division, is a secret military prison; the Asia Watch source said no one is permitted to visit any of its inmates who are held in isolation. Tibetans working for the Chinese government who join the independence movement are considered particularly dangerous, he said, and often are assigned to Sayeb. The word "Drapchi", the source said, is used to refer not only to the whole complex but also to one specific division which functions as both detention center and prison. Uta Du, the fifth part, does not appear to have any special characteristics. Each division has a separate women's area. The prison population reported for Drapchi, 800 men and 20-30 women, may refer to the Setu division.

In a recent statement⁴, the Drapchi Prison Governor, Yin Xingwen, stated that there were 56 political prisoners in Drapchi and 63 in labor reform camps elsewhere, but the Drapchi total is clearly low and the second figure is likely to be as well.

The list of prisoners from Drapchi is dramatic evidence of China's official policy toward the Tibetan "separatist" movement as reiterated on July 29, 1990 by Jiang Zemin, secretary-general of the Chinese Communist Party. Jiang, during one of the rare visits by a party leader to Tibet since the founding of the People's Republic, ordered a "tough new crackdown on the pro-independence movement in Tibet."⁵ He stressed in a speech to local leaders the need "to stabilize the situation" and to crack down on separatists "at home and abroad [who are] creating disturbances and violating social order."⁶

Several measures have been taken since the lifting of martial law on May 1, 1990⁷ which indicate that strict controls remain very much in place. A hardliner, Gyantsen Norbu, became Governor of Tibet after Dorje Tsering resigned on May 20. An intensive program of so-called "population screening" - a euphemism for night-time house searches and arrests of pro-independence activists - was initiated by the authorities on June 2, 1990. By September, massive deployments of People's Armed Police equipped with tripod-mounted machine guns, were stationed on rooftops throughout the Tibetan section of Lhasa. In a further effort to facilitate monitoring of would-be demonstrators, the Barkhor, the historic pilgrimage route encircling the Jokhang (Jo-khang) Temple, was dramatically altered.

Religious freedoms continue to be curtailed. Three weeks after the lifting of martial law, new regulations forbade any political or religious assembly without prior government approval. Monks and nuns continue to be subjected to official "screening" procedures, designed to "remold" the stance of those supporting independence. Monasteries and convents within the Lhasa area continue to be decimated by enforced expulsions. Of the 81 prisoners listed below, 47 are nuns or monks.

Recommendations

Asia Watch believes that all prisoners on the list arrested for non-violent activities should be

⁴Reuters, November 18, 1990.

⁵Reuters, July 29, 1990.

⁶Xinhua in Reuters, July 29, 1990.

⁷Martial law was imposed on March 8, 1989 following the demonstrations in Lhasa on March 5-7.

immediately and unconditionally released. It calls on the Chinese to make public a list of all prisoners detained for political offenses in Tibet and to permit access by neutral observers to trials in Tibet.

Asia Watch notes that the Chinese authorities have, on two recent occasions, allowed foreign diplomats to visit Drapchi, and on one of these occasions to meet Yulo Dawa Tsering, the first prisoner on the list. If Chinese authorities wish to demonstrate their ongoing commitment to curbing human rights abuses, they must allow regular access to prisons and detainees by independent international humanitarian organizations and human rights monitors.

The Prisoner List

A word is in order on Tibetan names. Family names are rarely used in Tibet and the relatively small pool of names makes repetition not uncommon and, in the absence of further distinguishing information, precise identification difficult. In addition, monks and nuns have both lay names, i.e. those given at birth; and names adopted at the time they entered monasteries and nunneries. Either one or the other may be used for purposes of identification. Phonetic transcription compounds the problem because of the lack of uniformity in rendering sounds into written form, whether Chinese or Western. The problem is so complex that it is at times difficult to work backwards from the Chinese or Western language transcription of names available to Asia Watch to the original written Tibetan form. It is the latter which is most useful for making more precise prisoner identification.

Additional information to that included on the Drapchi prison register is supplied in italics.

1. YULO DAWA TSERING (G.yu-lo Zla-ba tshe-ring), 62; born in Tagtse Dzong (Stag-rtse rdzong); employed by a local branch of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; sentenced to ten years.

Yulo Dawa Tsering, a senior monk from Ganden (Dga'-ldan) monastery, was arrested in December 1987 but not sentenced until January 19, 1989 by the Intermediate People's Court of Lhasa. Information available at the time indicated a 14-year sentence. The charges stemmed from strong remarks in favor of Tibetan independence allegedly made to a visiting Italian, Dr. Stefano Dallari, who videotaped the conversation. Thubten Tsering (No.45) was videotaped at the same time.

According to a March 1988 Radio Lhasa broadcast, "...on the afternoon of July 26, 1987, (the two monks) spread reactionary views, such as Tibetan independence, to foreign reactionary elements who came to Tibet as tourists and viciously vilified the policies adopted by the Chinese Communist Party and the people's government." Both monks were charged under Article 102(2) of China's Criminal Law for spreading "counterrevolutionary propaganda." According to Xinhua (September 21, 1989), Yulo Dawa Tsering had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1959 but released under an amnesty twenty years later. During a November 1990 visit to Tibet, diplomats from four Scandinavian countries met him in Drapchi prison. According to their report, he appeared in fairly good health and was able to walk across the prison courtyard to meet them.

2. NGAWANG PHULCHUNG⁸ (Ngag-dbang phul-byung), 34; born in Toelung Dechen (Stod-lung bde-chen); resident of Drepung ('Bras-spungs) Monastery; sentenced to 19 years.

⁸Ngawang Phulchung was identified in the appendix to *Evading Scrutiny* as No.4 Ngawang Buchung. Other prisoners listed on the PRC document may have been referred to by other names in previous Asia Watch reports: *Punishment Season*, March 1990 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990); Asia Watch, *Repression in China Since June 4, 1989*, September 1990 (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1990); *Human Rights in Tibet*; *Evading Scrutiny* and/or *Merciless Repression*. We consider the present identifications correct.

Ngawang Phulchung was tried and given a harsh prison sentence, including nine years' deprivation of political rights, at a mass public meeting in Lhasa on November 30, 1989. Radio Lhasa (November 30, 1989) described him as "one of the main culprits and a principal member of the counterrevolutionary clique who committed the crimes of organizing and joining a counterrevolutionary clique, spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda and inflammatory delusion, and practicing espionage..." The group was founded in January 1988. Nine other monks from Drepung, Lhasa's largest monastery, were sentenced at the same time. (Nos.3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13.) All were originally arrested in September 1987 and charged with "disseminating counterrevolutionary propaganda."⁹

3. **NGAWANG OESER¹⁰** (Ngag-dbang 'od-zer), 22; lay name Jamyang ('Jam-dbyangs); born in Dranang (Grwa-nang); resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to 17 years.

The charges against Ngawang Oeser, who in addition to his prison term was deprived of his political rights for five years, were, with the exception of the espionage charge, the same as those against Ngawang Phulchung (No.2). Both men, along with another five of those sentenced, were among the 21 monks who began the wave of Tibetan unrest on September 27, 1987. All were released in January 1988 after signing confessions admitting to "political crimes" and acknowledging Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

⁹Xinhua, in Reuters, December 12, 1989. Most of the Tibetans arrested at the time of the demonstrations in September and October 1987 were subsequently released.

¹⁰Previously referred to by Asia Watch as Ngawang Osel.

4. JAMPEL CHANGCHUB¹¹ ('Jam-dpal byang-chub), lay name Yugyal (Yul-rgyal), 32; born in Toelung; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to 19 years.

Jampel Changchub, who was deprived of his political rights for an undisclosed period, was described by Radio Lhasa (November 30, 1989) as "one of the main culprits" in the case of the ten Drepung monks (No.2).

5. NGAWANG GYALTSEN (Ngag-dbang rgyal-mtshan), lay name Ngoegyan (Dngos-rgyan), 36; born in Toelung; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to 17 years.

Ngawang Gyaltsen, named as an "accessory offender" in the case of the ten monks from Drepung Monastery (No.2), was charged with "actively participating in criminal activities, engaging in espionage and illegally crossing the national border." He is possibly the same person as the one who was implicated along with Tenzin Phuntsog (No.50) for sending information about the violence in Lhasa out of the country.

6. NGAWANG RIGZIN¹² (Ngag-dbang rig-'dzin), 29; born in Phenpo Lhundrup Dzong ('Phan-po Lhun-grub rdzong); resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to nine years.

Ngawang Rigzin, described as an "accessory offender" in the case of the ten Drepung monks (No.2), was deprived of his political rights for three years in addition to his prison sentence. He is one of six (No.5, 7, 8, 9 and 11) from the so-called counterrevolutionary clique accused of joining the organization and of "collecting intelligence according to foreign demand and printing and distributing reactionary leaflets." The monks allegedly also "viciously slandered the people's democratic dictatorship." An Asia Watch source reported that the leaflets referred to were consistently non-violent in content and were mostly confined to reports on Tibetan dissident activity.

7. JAMPEL MONLAM ('Jam-dpal smon-lam), lay name Dradul (Dgra-'dul), 26; born in Tsal Gungthang (Tshal Gung-thang); resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to five years.

Jampel Monlam, described as an "accessory offender" (No.6), was deprived of his political rights for two years.

8. NGAWANG KUNGA¹³ (Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'), lay name Dorje Trinley (Rdo-rje 'phrin-las), 26; born in Medro (Me-gro); resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to five years.

Ngawang Kunga, another "accessory offender" (No.6), was deprived of his political rights for two years.

9. JAMPEL LOSEL ('Jam-dpal blo-gsal), 27; born in Tagtse; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to ten years.

Jampel Losel also was named an "accessory offender" (No.6).

10. NGAWANG TENRAB (Ngag-dbang bstan-rab), 33; born in Tagtse; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to seven years.

Ngawang Tenrab reportedly participated in demonstrations and put up independence posters.

¹¹Referred to as Jampel Chunjor in *Merciless Repression*.

¹²Referred to as Ngawang Rinchen in *Evading Scrutiny and Merciless Repression*.

¹³Referred to as Ngawang Gongar in *Merciless Repression*.

11. JAMPEL TSERING ('Jam-dpal tshe-ring), 21; born in Medro; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to seven years.

Jampel Tsering, another "accessory offender" in the Drepung monk case (No.6), was deprived of his political rights for two years.

12. NGAWANG PEKAR (Ngag-dbang pad-dkar), 29; born in Toelun; a resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to eight years.

Ngawang Pekar was arrested in March 1989 for reportedly trying to escape to India because he allegedly put up posters and participated in demonstrations.

13. KALSANG THUTOB¹⁴ (Skal-bzang mthu-stobs), 46, born in Toelung; resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to 18 years.

Kalsang Thutob is another alleged "main culprit" in the Drepung monk case who, in addition to the charges cited above (No.2), allegedly crossed the national border illegally. In addition to his harsh sentence, Kalsang Thutob was deprived of political rights for an undisclosed period.

14. LOBSANG TSULTRIM (Blo-bzang tshul-khrims), 75; born in Nagchu (Nag-chu); a resident of Drepung Monastery; sentenced to six years.

Lobsang Tsultrim reportedly was arrested in April 1990 for failure to reform.

15. YESHE DRADUL (Ye-shes dgra-'dul), 24; born in Gongkar Dzong (Gong-dkar rdzong); monk at Sungrab Ling (Gsung-rab gling); sentenced to five years.

Yeshe Dradul reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

16. YESHE PALJOR (Ye-shes dpal-'byor), 23; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Sungrab Ling; sentenced to three years.

Yeshe Paljor reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

17. YESHE NGAWANG (Ye-shes ngag-dbang), 22; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Sungrab Ling; sentenced to five years.

Yeshe Ngawang reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

18. TSULTRIM CHAMPA (Tshul-khrims byams-pa), 25; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Sungrab Ling; sentenced to three years.

Tsultrim Champa reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

19. CHIME TSERING ('Chi-med tshe-ring), 20; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Sungrab Ling; sentenced to two years.

Chime Tsering reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

¹⁴Referred to as Ke(a)lsang Dudu in *Punishment Season* and as Kalsang Dhondrup in *Merciless Repression*.

20. **YESHE TSERING** (Ye-shes tshe-ring), 23; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Sungrab Ling; sentenced to four years.

Yeshe Tsering reportedly was sentenced for involvement in the March 1989 demonstrations.

21. **KHYENTSE LEGDRUB** (Mkhyen-brtse legs-grub), lay name Phurbu Tsering (Phur-bu tshe-ring), 27; born in Gongkar Dzong; monk at Namrab Dagdra (Rnam-rab Dwags-grwa); sentenced to three years.

22. **NGAWANG RANGDROL** (Ngag-dbang rang-sgrol), 20; born in Nakartse Dzong (Sna-dkar-rtse rdzong); monk at Samye (Bsam-yas); sentenced to three years.

Ngawang Rangdrol reportedly has been imprisoned since July 1989 for allegedly writing "Tibetan Independence" on the wall of a teahouse.

23. **TENPA WANGDRAG** (Bstan-pa dbang-grags), 46; born in Nedong Dzong (Sne-gdong rdzong); monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to 15 years.

Tenpa Wangdrag reportedly was arrested on July 3, 1988 for involvement in the March 1988 demonstrations.

24. **LOBSANG YESHE** (Blo-bzang ye-shes), 26; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to twelve years.

25. **LOBSANG CHOEJOR**¹⁵ (Blo-bzang chos-'byor), 32; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to nine years.

Lobsang Choejor reportedly was arrested for involvement in the December 10, 1988 demonstration in Lhasa.

26. **LOBSANG PALDEN** (Blo-bzang dpal-ldan), 32; born in Chamdo Pasho (Chab-mdo Dpa'-shod); monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to ten years.

Lobsang Palden reportedly was arrested for involvement in the December 10, 1988 demonstration in Lhasa.

27. **DRAGPA TSULTRIM** (Grags-pa tshul-khrims), 41; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to eight years.

Dragpa Tsultrim reportedly was arrested for involvement in the December 10, 1988 demonstration in Lhasa.

28. **LOBSANG TASHI** (Blo-bzang bkra-shis), lay name Chungdag (Chung-bdag), 28; born in Tagtse; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to seven years.

Lobsang Tashi, who in addition to his prison sentence, was deprived of his political rights for two years, has been a monk at Ganden since the age of 21, and "became deputy director of the monastery's Democratic

¹⁵The list of arrested Tibetans published in *Evading Scrutiny* included a Lobsang Choejor from Sera Monastery, arrested on March 5, 1988 following a major demonstration and incarcerated in Sangyip (Gsang-yib) Prison. Since many of those arrested in connection with that protest were later released, it is possible that both references are to a single person. On the other hand, the references may be to two individuals.

*Management Committee and a council member of the Buddhist Association of China's Tibet branch. During the riot in 1987, he tried to stir up trouble and instigated lamas at the monastery to parade on the street."*¹⁶

29. TENZIN TSULTRIM (Bstan-'dzin tshul-khrims), 26; born in Tagtse; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to five years.

Tenzin Tsultrim reportedly was arrested for involvement in the December 10, 1988 demonstration in Lhasa.

30. DRAGPA TENGYE (Grags-pa bstan-rgyas), 26; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to four years.

Dragpa Tengye reportedly was arrested for involvement in the December 10, 1988 demonstration in Lhasa.

31. LHUNDRUP GANDEN (Lhun-grub dga'-ldan), lay name Tashi (Bkra-shis), 22; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentence increased to nine years for shouting slogans.

Lhundrup Ganden reportedly was arrested for involvement in either the March 5 or December 10, 1988 demonstration and sentenced originally to a three-year prison term. The shouting of slogans for which his sentence was increased reportedly took place in prison.

32. TASHI TSERING (Bkra-shis Tshe-ring), 55; born in Area No.3, Shigatse (Gzhis-ka-rtse); member of the local branch of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; sentenced to seven years.

Tashi Tsering was arrested on November 28, 1989 and charged with "counterrevolutionary propaganda" and "inflammatory delusion." On November 29, 1989, Radio Lhasa described his case: "For a long time (Tashi Tsering) has been slack in remolding his ideology, showing great discontent against the party and about the reality. He wrote a total of 73 slogans and leaflets supporting independence for Tibet this year, and put them into complaint letter boxes at the central airport of the prefecture...the general office of the CPPCC prefectural committee and the head office of the Shigatse City Party Committee. These slogans and leaflets, venomously slandering the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, reflected his very reactionary thinking. They have had extremely bad influence among the public and have seriously undermined political stability and unity..." Tashi Tsering has been removed from his official position.

33. LOBSANG TENZIN (Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin), 25; born in Lhasa city; student at Tibet University; sentenced to be executed after two years.

Lobsang Tenzin, the "principal culprit" charged with the murder of Yuan Shisheng, an armed police force (wujing) officer, in the course of the violence that followed the major demonstration in Lhasa on March 5, 1988, was sentenced on January 19, 1989 as were three others charged (No.34-36). His two-year reprieve reportedly ended on the second anniversary of the alleged crime. According to a Radio Lhasa broadcast (April 19, 1988) he and his accomplices were arrested on April 16, 1988. "They were repeatedly interrogated by public security personnel. In addition, public security personnel conducted various internal interrogations and external investigations, thus obtaining a host of facts..." A Renmin Ribao article reported all four were arrested on April 14. It is possible they were detained on April 14 and formally arrested on April 16.

In late May 1988, Asia Watch contacted the Chinese Embassy and wrote to China's Minister of Justice requesting permission to send observers to the men's trials. On June 3, the Embassy denied the request, stating that the matter was "purely China's internal affair in which no foreign country has the right to interfere." One

¹⁶Xinhua September 21, 1989. Lobsang Tashi is referred to as Chungdag in the cited article.

session of the trial, on the morning of January 9, 1989, was described in the Tibetan exile press. During the session the defendants reportedly were asked to admit their guilt; the proceedings broke down after they refused and began making allegations of mistreatment during their imprisonment. As the Radio Lhasa broadcast makes clear, however, their guilt was already considered established, thus the trial was only a public formality.

In March 1990, the Chinese Embassy in Washington, D.C. denied that Lobsang Tenzin was about to be executed. According to an Asia Watch source, there are indications that because of the widespread publicity that has attended his case, he may be secretly executed or made to die in prison. At present, Lobsang Tenzin reportedly is held incommunicado in a small, wet cell. His hands and feet are said to be chained; he is denied essential medication and his health has badly deteriorated as a result of repeated beatings, harsh prison conditions and rheumatic illness.

34. SONAM WANGDU,¹⁷ (Bsod-nams dbang-'du), also known as Shungden (Gzhung-ldan), 36; born in Lhasa city; private businessman; sentenced to seven years.

A Xinhua dispatch reported that Sonam Wangdu was charged as Lobsang Tenzin's (No.33) accomplice and given a life sentence.

35. GYALTSEN CHOEPHEL (Rgyal-mtshan chos-'phel), 22; born in Lhasa city; private businessman city; sentenced to 15 years.

Gyaltzen Choephel was implicated in the murder of the armed police force officer described in No.33.

36. TSERING DHONDRUP (Tshe-ring don-grub), 30; born in Lhasa city; student at the Academy of Tibetan Buddhism; sentenced to ten years.

Tsering Dhondrup was implicated in the murder of the armed police force officer described in No.33.

37. TAMDRIN (Rta-mgrin), 24; born in Medro; monk at Ganden Monastery; sentenced to five years.

Tamdrin was arrested for participation in the March 1988 demonstration. He was placed on trial with Nos.33-36, and sentenced at the same time. 22 other Tibetans were sentenced that same day, January 19, 1989.

¹⁷Referred to as Sonam Wangdu in *Punishment Season*.

38. **CHAMPA CHOEPHEL**¹⁸ (Byams-pa chos-'phel), lay name Bagdro (Bag-gro), 22; born in Tagtse; sentenced to three years.

Champa Choephel was arrested for participation in the March 1988 demonstration (See No.37 for details).

39. **DHONDRUP DORJE**¹⁹ (Don-grub rdo-rje), 45; born in Lhasa city; driver for the hat and shoe factory; sentenced to five years.

According to Radio Lhasa, Dhondrup Dorje, arrested in March 1989, was "sentenced on the charge of counterrevolutionary propaganda and inflammatory delusion", on November 30, 1989 at the same time as the Drepung monks (Nos.2-9, 11 and 13). In addition to his prison sentence, he was deprived of his political rights for two years. "With a counterrevolutionary motive, this culprit mimeographed and attempted to distribute reactionary leaflets to slander the People's Democratic Dictatorship and the socialist system." Dhondrup Dorje was first arrested on October 15, 1987 for alleged involvement in the October 1, 1989 pro-independence demonstration. He spent nine months in Gutsa (Dgu-rtsa) Prison during which time he reportedly was regularly beaten, leaving him partially deaf. He also reportedly was chained hand and foot for three months in a cell he shared with 30 others.

40. **GYALTSEN OESER**²⁰ (Rgyal-mtshan 'od-zer), lay name Dawa (Zla-ba), 23; born in Chushul Dzong (Chu-shul rdzong); monk at Rato (Rwa-stod) Monastery; sentenced to four years.

According to a Xinhua report (September 13, 1989), Gyaltzen Oeser and Gyaltzen Choedrag (No.41) "hung a Tibetan independence flag in the monastery, took part in disturbances and shouted reactionary slogans." Tibet Daily reported that Gyaltzen Oeser allegedly inscribed the banner with the "reactionary" phrases: "Tibet is independent. This is its national flag. Do not remove." In addition to his prison sentence, Gyaltzen Oeser was deprived of his political rights for one year.

41. **GYALTSEN CHOEDRAG**²¹ (Rgyal-mtshan chos-grags), lay name Nangkar (Snang-dkar), 25; born in Chushul Dzong (Chu-shul rdzong); monk at Rato (Rwa-stod) Monastery; sentenced to three years.

Gyaltzen Choedrag was sentenced with Gyaltzen Oeser (No.40). In addition to his prison term, he was deprived of his political rights for one year.

42. **LHUNDRUP JINPA** (Lhun-grub sbyin-pa), also known as Dawa Wangdu (Zla-ba dbang-'du), lay name Dawa (Zla-ba), 25; born in Phenpo Lhundrup Dzong; monk at the Jokhang; sentenced to five years.

Lhundrup Jinpa, reportedly arrested in February or April 1989, was sentenced for his alleged participation in demonstrations and for putting up pro-independence posters.

¹⁸Referred to as Pakto in *Merciless Repression*.

¹⁹Dhondrup Dorje is No.150 in *Evading Scrutiny*.

²⁰Referred to as Dagpa or Dawa in *Merciless Repression* and Dagwa in *Punishment Season*.

²¹Referred to as Namkha in *Merciless Repression* and Namga in *Punishment Season*.

43. NGAWANG CHAMTSUL²² (Ngag-dbang byams-tshul), lay name Loyak (Lo-yag), 30; born in Phenpo Lhundrup Dzong; caretaker monk at the Potala; sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Radio Lhasa (December 7, 1989) described Ngawang Chamtsul as "a culprit who had committed the crimes of counterrevolutionary propaganda and inflammatory delusion and espionage." The Lhasa Intermediate Court, at a mass rally on December 6, 1989, imposed the sentence, including five years' deprivation of political rights, under Articles 102, 97 and 52 of the Criminal Law. According to the report, the court ruled that (Ngawang Chamtsul), "out of a counterrevolutionary motive, actively collected intelligence for the enemy abroad, instigated the masses to hinder the enforcement of state laws and regulations, and jeopardized national unity."

44. TSERING (Tshe-ring), 48; born in the Minyak (Mi-nyag) region of Kham (Khams); formerly a monk at Sera (Se-ra) Monastery; now a carpenter; sentenced to seven years.

Tsering reportedly was convicted on October 5, 1989 for shouting slogans during a demonstration on March 5, 1988 and for demonstrating on Dec 10, 1988.

45. THUBTEN TSERING (Thub-bstan tshe-ring), 64; born in Nagchu; treasurer at Sera Monastery; sentenced to six years.

Thubten Tsering was sentenced for the same offenses as Yulo Dawa Tsering (No.1). In contrast to him, Thubten Tsering's arrest and sentencing dates are unclear.

46. NGAWANG TENZIN (Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin), lay name Nyima (Nyi-ma), 21; born in Toelung; monk at Kyormolung (Skyor-mo-lung) Monastery; sentenced to eight years.

47. NGAWANG TSULTRIM²³ (Ngag-dbang tshul-khrims), lay name Penba (Spen-pa), 24; born in Toelung; monk at Kyormolung Monastery; sentenced to six years.

48. NGAWANG SHENYEN (Ngag-dbang bshes-gnyen), lay name Phun Dorje (Phun rdo-rje), 25; born in Toelung; monk at Kyormolung Monastery; sentenced to six years.

49. NGAWANG RABSANG (Ngag-dbang rab-bzang), lay name Norbu (Nor-bu), 18; born in Toelung; monk at Kyormolung Monastery; sentenced to three years.

50. TENZIN PHUNTSOG (Bstan-'dzin phun-tshogs), 36; born in Lhasa city; monk at Sera Monastery; sentenced to five years.

*Tenzin Phuntsog and Ngodrup (No.51) were sentenced on September 12, 1989.²⁴ In addition to his prison sentence, Tenzin Phuntsog was deprived of his political rights for one year. Both men allegedly provided information on events in Tibet to agents of the Dalai Lama. According to *Radio Lhasa* (August 23, 1989), "The cases of (Tenzin Phuntsog) and (Ngodrup) clearly show people that the Lhasa riots were by no means nationality and religious issues and had nothing to do with democracy, freedom and human rights. In fact, these riots were premeditated political criminal activities plotted by separatists at home and abroad with the aim of splitting the motherland."*

A September 13, 1989 broadcast further alleged that "while visiting relatives in India... from October

²²Referred to as Loye in *Punishment Season*.

²³A number of demonstrators named Penba have been arrested in Tibet. (See Nos.72, 235 and 256 in *Evading Scrutiny*.) Ngawang Tsultrim may be one of these or he may be the person with the same name arrested after the March 1989 demonstrations. Then again Ngawang Tsultrim may be none of these.

²⁴*Xinhua*, September 13, 1989.

1986 till October 1988, culprit (Tenzin Phuntsog) called on the Ministry of Security of the Dalai clique twice to accept special assignments...Culprit (Ngodrup) visited relatives in India in November [1987]. Before returning home, he (also) accepted a mission...(Tenzin Phuntsog and Ngodrup) sent what they obtained to the Ministry of Security of the Dalai clique through foreigners. These two persons' criminal offenses, which impaired China's national security, constituted the crime of espionage... As secret agent (Tenzin Phuntsog) sincerely confessed his crimes and made contributions to the investigation into the case, he was given leniency.

Tenzin Phuntsog allegedly colluded with Ngawang Gyaltsen, who may be the same Drepung monk as No.5. However, there is a discrepancy between the sentences noted for Ngawang Gyaltsen on the official list and in a Xinhua report (September 13, 1989). While it is conceivable there are two Ngawang Gyaltsens, it is more likely the five-year sentence reported by Xinhua referred only to Tenzin Phuntsog's prison term. His reported repentance could have earned him the lighter sentence.

51. NGODRUP (Dngos-grub), also known as Ngodrup Gyaltsen (Dngos-grub rgyal-mtshan), 37; born in Lhasa city; member of the local branch of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; sentenced to ten years.

Ngodrup, sentenced for the same offenses as Tenzin Phuntsog (No.50), was deprived of his political rights for four years.

52. TENPA PHULCHUNG²⁵ (Bstan-pa phul-byung), 47; born in Lhasa city; accountant at a shoe factory cooperative; sentenced to seven years.

According to Asia Watch sources, Tenpa Phulchung was arrested on December 22, 1987 for possessing posters advocating Tibetan independence.

53. THUBTEN NAMDROL²⁶ (Thub-bstan rnam-sgrol), 63; born in Dagpo Gyatsha Dzong (Dwags-po Rgya-tsha rdzong); monk at Dala Lupuk (Brag-lha klu-phug); sentenced to nine years.

According to an Asia Watch source, Thubten Namdrol, referred to as caretaker of the youth temple at the Jokhang, was arrested on Dec. 14, 1987. The confusion about Thubten Namdrol's affiliation is related to the fact that Dala Lupuk monks, reportedly accused of suspicious illegal contacts with foreigners, are under the administrative jurisdiction of the Jokhang. In addition, the name Dala Lupuk is given in a variety of ways in Tibetan and thus in various non-Tibetan renderings.

54. TSERING NGODRUP (Tshe-ring dngos-grub), 59; born in Lhuntse Dzong (Lhun-rtse rdzong) in Lhoka (Lho-kha), worker at a quarry co-operative; sentenced to 12 years.

According to a Xinhua report, Tsering Ngodrup, who in addition to his harsh sentence, was deprived of his political rights for four years, "incited young people to sing reactionary Tibetan independence songs and to participate in the (March 5, 1989) disturbances." He reportedly also wrote about the spirit of the Tibetans to the Tibetan exile authorities. A Radio Lhasa account (September 13, 1989) reported Tsering Ngodrup was among a group of Tibetans, including Kalsang (No.58), Dawa (No.71) and Pasang (No.73), sentenced on September 12, 1989 for "playing active roles in the March 5, 1989 Lhasa riots." All four allegedly "chanted reactionary slogans advocating Tibetan independence, delivered speeches stirring up separatist emotion, induced young people to sing reactionary songs, wantonly robbed, destroyed and set on fire public and private properties, and beat up public security officers and other people. In doing so they ran utterly rampant, seriously disrupting social order

²⁵Referred to as Tenpa Phuljung, No.154, in *Evading Scrutiny*.

²⁶Referred to as Thupten Namdol, No.145, in *Evading Scrutiny*.

and upsetting stability and unity in Lhasa."

55. **TSERING DORJE**²⁷ (Tshe-ring rdo-rje), 27; born in Lhasa city; employed at the granary office, sentenced to three years.

Tsering Dorje was among a group of 27 Tibetans sentenced on January 19, 1989. According to Asia Watch sources, he was arrested on the night of September 28 or 29, 1987; released; then re-arrested.

56. **DAWA** (Zla-ba), 27; born in Chushul; nomad; sentenced to three years.

57. **TENZIN** (Bstan-'dzin), 18; born in Lhasa; sentenced to five years.

58. **KALSANG** (Skal-bzang), 24; born in Lhasa; carpenter; sentenced to four years.

For details of charges against Kalsang, who was sentenced by the Chengguan District Court, see Tsering Ngodrup (No.54).

59. **DRADUL** (Dgra-'dul), 23; born in Lhasa; discharged from the army; sentenced to 16 years.

²⁷Tsering Dorje appears to be No.52 in *Evading Scrutiny*.

60. DORJE²⁸ (Rdo-rje), 26; born in Lhasa Shol; mason; sentenced to four years.

*Dorje and Dawa Tsering (No.64) were sentenced on September 28, 1989 for allegedly chanting "reactionary" slogans and throwing stones at police officials and public buildings during violent demonstrations in Lhasa on March 8, 1989.*²⁹

61. CHOEDEN (Chos-Idan), 28; born in Dranang Dzong; farmer; sentenced to two years.

62. TENZIN WANGYAL (Bstan-'dzin dbang-rgyal), 22; born in Lhasa; unemployed; sentenced to two years.

63. PENPA TSERING³⁰ (Spen-pa tshe-ring), 22; born in Lhasa; mason; sentenced to ten years.

According to a Tibet Information Network copy of the final court judgement, Penpa Tsering was convicted for setting a Public Transport Property vehicle on fire during a demonstration on the afternoon of October 1, 1987. Of those involved in the incident, he allegedly was the chief instigator and primary criminal. He was sentenced on June 19, 1988, but his term started from the date of his arrest, October 16, 1987.

64. DAWA TSERING (Zla-ba tshe-ring), 20; born in Lhasa; unemployed; sentenced to four years.

Dawa Tsering was sentenced for the same crimes as Dorje (No.60).

65. MIGMAR TSERING³¹ (Mig-dmar tshe-ring), 18; born in Lhasa; student; (Migmar Tsering's term of imprisonment is illegibly copied from the official PRC list).

Migmar Tsering and Lhakpa Tsering (No.66) were two of five students from Lhasa's No. 1 Middle School who "ganged up together to illegally establish a counterrevolutionary organization, The Young Lions with the aim of carrying out counterrevolutionary activities."³² The youths wrote and printed a large number of reactionary propaganda materials and produced banners marked with lions of the snowy mountains, the symbol of Tibetan independence, which they then posted in many streets, temples and in the school. They vilified the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, plotting to undermine the unity of the motherland and nationality solidarity. They also preached Tibetan independence. This counter-revolutionary organization was cracked down upon by our public security organ on November 4, 1989. To consolidate our proletarian dictatorship and severely punish counterrevolutionary elements who are guilty of the crime of splitting the motherland, the Lhasa City Public Security Bureau, with the approval of the Lhasa City People's Procuratorate, arrested the five..."

66. LHAKPA TSERING³³ (Lhag-pa tshe-ring), 14; born in Lhasa; student; sentenced to two years. *For details on Lhakpa Tsering's arrest and sentence, see Migmar Tsering (No.65).*

67. DAWA CHUNG DAG (Zla-ba chung-bdag), 17; born in Lhasa; carpenter; sentenced to eight years.

²⁸Dorje may be No.185 in *Evading Scrutiny*.

²⁹*Tibet Daily*, October 5, 1989.

³⁰Previously referred to as Tenpa Tsering.

³¹Referred to as Mina Tsering in *Punishment Season*.

³²*Radio Lhasa*, December 8, 1989.

³³Referred to as Zhonglaba Tsering in *Punishment Season*.

68. SONAM TOBGYAL (Bsod-nams stobs-rgyal), 24; born in Lhasa; painter (?); sentenced to five years.

69. PENPA (Spen-pa), 24; born in Lhasa; painter (?); sentenced to three years.

Penpa was sentenced on July 29, 1989 for his participation in the March 5, 1989 protests. His sentence, which included one year's deprivation of political rights, was made public on August 5. A Xinhua account (August 6, 1989) reported that "Criminal (Penpa) actively participated in various tumultuous counterrevolutionary activities. He took the lead in shouting reactionary slogans, waving the 'banner of the snow mountains and lions' and willfully destroying public property."

70. PHURBU TSERING (Phur-bu tshe-ring), 25; born in Lhasa; painter (?); sentenced to three years.

71. DAWA (Zla-ba), 25; born in Lhasa; mason; sentenced to eight years.

For details of the charges against Dawa, who was sentenced by the Chengguan District Court, see Tsering Ngodrup (No.54).

72. THUBTEN GYURME (Thub-bstan 'gyur-med), 18; born in Lhasa; unemployed; sentenced to three years.

73. PASANG (Pa-sangs) 21; born in Lhasa; construction worker; sentenced to 15 years.

For details of the charges against Pasang, who was sentenced by the Lhasa Intermediate Court, see Tsering Ngodrup (No.54). According to a September 13 Lhasa Radio account, Pasang was sentenced to life in prison and deprivation of political rights.

74. PUMO CHUNG DAG (Bu-mo chung-bdag); born in Lhasa; merchant; sentenced to five years.

Pumo Chungdag is a female prisoner.

75. PUMO NGAWANG YUDRON (Bu-mo Ngag-dbang g.yu-sgron), 37; born in Lhasa; merchant; sentenced to seven years.

Pumo Ngawang Yudron is a female prisoner.

76. TANE JIGME SANGPO (Rta-nag 'Jigs-med bzang-po), previously imprisoned in 1984, has had his sentence increased to a cumulative total of 19 years because of shouting slogans in 1989.

Tane Jigme Sangpo reportedly was imprisoned from 1960 to 1963 and again from 1969 to 1971. He was re-arrested in September 1983, apparently for shouting slogans criticizing Deng Xiaoping. He was imprisoned again in 1984.

77. TAMDIN SITHAR³⁴ (Rra-mgrin Sri-mthar), of the Kunsang-tse (Kun-bzang-rtse) family; sentenced to 12 years.

Tamdin Sithar reportedly was imprisoned from 1971-75 for underground activities; then re-arrested on August 26, 1983 and sentenced in August or September 1984. According to an Asia Watch source, Tamdin Sithar

³⁴Tamdin Sithar is referred to in *Human Rights in Tibet* as the member of the Kunsang-tse family who has been under arrest since September 1985. There is some discrepancy in information between what was originally reported and what is reported on the Drapchi prisoner list.

is 33 years old, and prior to his arrest was a middle school teacher. He reportedly was accused of being a spy for the Dalai Lama, a charge that indicated he had probably had in his possession printed political materials from Dharamsala, the seat of the Tibetan government-in-exile.

78-81. Four otherwise unidentified nuns.

News From Asia Watch is a publication of Asia Watch, an independent organization that monitors and promotes human rights throughout Asia. The Chairman is Jack Greenberg. The Vice-Chairs are Orville Schell and Nadine Strossen. The Executive Director is Sidney Jones. The Washington Director is Mike Jendrzeczyk. Asia Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, which includes Africa Watch, Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch, Middle East Watch and the Fund for Free Expression.