



TIBET WATCH

བོད་གནས་ལྷ་ཞིབ་

# Uprising in Tibet

1 July – 30 September 2008

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## Tibet

Before the Chinese occupation in 1949, Tibet comprised of three provinces known as U-Tsang, Amdo and Kham. Tibet Watch uses the term Tibet to refer to these three areas. When the Chinese Government refers to 'Tibet', they mean the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), which was established in 1965. This comprises of what Tibetans call U-Tsang and some parts of Kham. The traditional Tibetan areas of Amdo and the rest of Kham were incorporated into the Chinese Provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, and Yunnan. Within these Chinese Provinces there are Tibetan areas divided into various Autonomous Prefectures subdivided into Counties or district level administrative areas.

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## Summary

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This report is a summary of information collected by Tibet Watch between July and September 2008. It contains first and second hand information on the aftermath of the protests that occurred in March and April this year. Although some of the information in this document relies on single sources Tibet Watch tries where possible, to corroborate information received. Information which is regarded as unreliable is not included. Some of the information in this report is based on news from Chinese government websites. These news items offer a glimpse into the ongoing trends in Tibet but often provide limited details.

The last three months, July-Sept 2008 have been marked by heightened security coinciding with the Olympic Games, staged in Beijing between 8 and 24 August. Evidence highlights increased surveillance and state control of monasteries, military build up and the intensification of patriotic re-education campaigns within the monastic and lay communities.

Obstacles to securing open and functioning telephone lines, which began to be reported after the protests were put down, have increased during the reported period. Phone lines have been reported as 'dead', phone numbers not recognised or calls intercepted with a Chinese automated voice speaking before the connections were made. The restrictions were especially noticeable during the Olympic Games. Currently there is a fear among Tibetans that phones are bugged. Due to the restrictions and the fear of surveillance it has been difficult to obtain information from Tibet. This has affected Tibet Watch's ability to receive updates on our previous reports.

While it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture of the situation in Tibet it is clear that monasteries are being targeted by authorities: heavy military presence at monastery compounds as well as ongoing patriotic education campaigns are reported throughout Tibet. New measures introduced in Kandze County reveal a determination to tightly control and systematically punish monasteries and nunneries where monks or nuns took part in protests.

As a clear reaction to the spring protests in which various segments of Tibetan society took part, the Chinese Government is implementing a programme of patriotic re-educations not just within monastic communities but among lay people as well. Government websites report extensive patriotic education campaigns in primary and middle schools in the TAR.

### What is patriotic re-education?

Originally launched in 1996 as a five year programme, patriotic re-education was intensified in 2006 under the new leadership of Zhang Qingli, TAR Communist Party Secretary. The campaigns are usually carried out in monasteries and nunneries which are regarded by authorities as the centres for 'separatist' activities.

The objectives of the programmes are to indoctrinate communist party ideology, distil loyalty to the party instead of religion and to coerce Tibetans to denounce the Dalai Lama.

It involves the sometimes months long studying of handbooks, such as "Law", "Crushing the separatists" or "Contemporary policies", often followed by an examination. The patriotic education campaigns can also involve coercion such as forcing monks and nuns to denounce the Dalai Lama both verbally or in writing. Failure to cooperate in patriotic re-education classes can result in the expulsion or detention.

## **CHAMDO TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE CH: QAMDO PREFECTURE/CHANGDU, TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION**

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### **LHORONG COUNTY (CH: LUOLONG)**

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#### **16 September**

A patriotic re-education campaign titled “Safe Monastery, Harmonious Monastery” was launched in Lhorong County.<sup>1</sup>

According to government news Lhorong County established a work team for the implementation of the Safe Monastery, Harmonious Monastery campaign. The work team aims to implement the campaign in each town and township of Lhorong County. The central theme of the ‘Safe Monastery, Harmonious Monastery’ campaign is to teach monks and nuns to love the ‘motherland’.

The Lhorong County Government selected Zituo Monastery as the first trial monastery to implement the “Safe Monastery, Harmonious Monastery” campaign. On 16 September a meeting was held and attended by the leaders of Lhorong County Committee, nuns and monks from Zituo monastery and residents.

The exact content of the campaign is not known.

## **KANDZE TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE CH: GANZI TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE, SICHUAN PROVINCE**

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### **KANDZE COUNTY (CH: GANZI)**

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#### **18 July**

A document<sup>2</sup> detailing new measures to deal with ‘subversive’ monasteries and nunneries was posted in Tibetan on a government information website on 18 July, based on an earlier article that appeared in the official Tibet Daily newspaper.<sup>3</sup>

The document titled “Serious decisions to be taken against monasteries and monks and nuns for undertaking turbulent activities “ lists various levels of punishment for monks or nuns who have taken part in protests, distributed flyers or raised the Tibetan flags.

Families of monks and nuns who confess to ‘minor’ crimes are to be responsible for their ‘re-education’; religious leaders accused of collaborating with foreign ‘splittist’ groups are to be publicly humiliated on state television.

*“A monk or nun charged with quite serious crimes will remain in custody until s/he cooperates by telling the truth, confessing their guilt and submitting a shuyig [self-criticising letter].*

Severe punishment is prescribed for monasteries considered to have led protests in March and April. At monasteries where between 10% and 30% of monks took part in protests “all religious activities at the monastery will be halted. Movements of monks will be closely monitored.

A translation of the new measures can be found in the Appendix of this report.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.cdxs.gov.cn/>

<sup>2</sup> “Serious decisions to be taken against monasteries and monks/nuns for undertaking turbulent activities”

<sup>3</sup> [www.ti.tibet.cn.com](http://www.ti.tibet.cn.com)

## **LITHANG COUNTY (CH: LITANG)**

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### **14 July**

Adak Kalgyam, the nephew of Runggye Adak<sup>4</sup> was sentenced on 14 July by the Dartsedo (Ch: Kangding) People's Court to five years imprisonment for the crime of "inciting splittism".

Adak Kalgyam, 27 years old, is the youngest of seven brothers. He is married with two young daughters and is from Kashul village in Lithang County. He had studied in Drepung monastery in South India for three years before returning to Tibet in 2001.

Kalgyam was arrested on 3 October 2007. A patriotic education campaign had been implemented in Lithang County following the arrest of Tibetan nomad, Runggye Adak in August 2007. The arrest had led to large-scale protests by nomads in the area. As part of the patriotic education programme, a meeting was called in Lithang County on 2 October. Local officials at the meeting had demanded that local Tibetans say that they were happy to live in Tibet. Adak Kalgyam refused to comply with the officials' demands and instead shouted: "Long live His Holiness" [the Dalai Lama] and "We want His Holiness to return to Tibet". The authorities attempted to arrest Kalgyam but were prevented by other Tibetans at the meeting. Kalgyam was arrested the following day.

From the time of his arrest Kalgyam's family were denied information on his whereabouts and access to him despite numerous requests from Lithang county police station. On 13 July 2008 his family was told that he was to be sentenced the following day by the Dartsedo People's Court. Up until the time of his sentencing, Kalgyam had had no access to a lawyer. His family was allowed to speak to him on 14 July, and Kalgyam told them that his health was normal but that he had been hospitalised for one month due to earlier maltreatment in prison. Kalgyam told his family that he had been subjected to solitary confinement in a dark cell on a number of occasions which had led him to faint sometimes. His family reported that marks from handcuffs were still visible.

### **10 September**

On 10 September Han Xueliang, the vice chief of the Bureau of Entry and Exit of Sichuan Provincial Police Station arrived in Lithang County. He investigated and examined local work on the entry and exit of domestic civilians, foreigners and illegal entry and exit.

Lithang County has been under heavy military surveillance since last year's large scale protests following Runggye Adak's arrest in August 2007.

## **KANLHO TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE**

### **CH: GANNAN TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE, GANSU PROVINCE**

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## **LABRANG (SANGCHU) COUNTY (CH: XIAHE)**

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### **7 August**

Four foreigners visiting Labrang monastery were banned from staying overnight in Labrang town. They were told by police guarding a checkpoint that "You came to see Olympic Game, but why do you want to go to Tibetan areas. You are not allowed to visit Tibetan areas. Please go to see the Games in Beijing".

### **8 August**

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<sup>4</sup> Runggye Adak, a Tibetan nomad disrupted a speech by officials at the Lithang Horse Race festival in August 2007, calling for the return of the Dalai Lama and the release of the Panchen Lama and Tenzin Deleg Rinpoche. Protests broke out in Lithang following Runggye Adak's arrest. He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment for "provocation to subvert state power".

Tight security was enforced in Tsoe city (Ch: Hezuo) from the beginning of the Olympic Games. Around 20-30 armed police patrolled the streets. Barricades of sacks filled with cement were built at the entrance and exits points of the three main streets of the town. Several surveillance cameras and rubber speed breakers were positioned at each checkpoint. The majority of the paramilitary personnel brought into the city were still present.

All residents in Tsoe city are required to obtain a travel permit from the police station if they want to leave the town. It is reported that officials from the local government frequently conduct patriotic re-education campaigns at Tsoe monastery.

### **12 August**

Websites such as Radio Free Asia and Voice of America which were previously accessible were reported blocked in Lanzhou City.

### **13 August**

On 13 August a horse race with deep rooted religious significance in Sangkhog township was called off by Sangchu county government just a day before it was scheduled to take place. The Panchen Thang Plain horse race ground is named after the Panchen Lama. Candidate horses are selected through careful religious ceremonies and villagers donate money for the preparation of the horse race in order to accumulate merit for reincarnation in the Shambhala realm. On average more than 10,000 Tibetans gather at Panchen Thang. The authorities did not give any reason for the cancellation. Local Tibetans speculated that the government was afraid that protests might break out during the horse race gathering.

### **13 September**

Background information: Jigme Gyatso recorded a video testimony detailing the torture he suffered in detention earlier this year. The video was posted on [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) on 5 September. Jigme Gyatso also gave a telephone interview to a foreign journalist on 12 September. Shortly after the interview Jigme Gyatso went into hiding.

On 13 September around 15 State Security Bureau (SSB) personnel raided the room of Jigme Gyatso, a monk from Labrang Monastery. Several police cars were seen at the monastery that night.

On 19 September the police returned and interrogated a number of monks at Labrang Monastery demanding to know the whereabouts of Jigme Gyatso.

On 20 September the police came to the home of Jigme Gyatso's parents asking for his whereabouts. They threatened his family members that if they do not reveal the whereabouts of Jigme Gyatso, he would get a heavier penalty upon his capture.

The whereabouts of Jigme Gyatso is unknown.

## **LHASA, TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION**

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### **4 September**

Patriotic education campaigns are launched in each primary and secondary school in Lhasa according to a government website. The aim of the initiative is to educate children about the events of 14 March protests in Lhasa and to 'encourage them to discriminate right from wrong'.<sup>5</sup>

## **LHOKA PREFECTURE**

### **CH: SHANNAN PREFECTURE, TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION**

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#### **CHONGGEY (CH: QIONGJIE) COUNTY**

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### **2 September**

Chonggye County launched a series of activities on the theme "Anti-splittism, defending Stability and Promoting Development" according to a government news report.<sup>6</sup>

## **MALHO TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE**

### **CH: HUANGNAN TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE, QINGHAI PROVINCE**

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#### **REBKONG COUNTY (CH: TONGREN)**

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### **4 August**

Military troops have been stationed in Nyima Town, the capital town of Machu County since 20 July. The army built trenches stacked with bags of sand. On 4 August, the number of troops increased and guns were seen in the trenches.

Checkpoints were set up where passers by were checked for ID cards. It is reported that if three or more people gather the police break them up.

### **4 August**

Groups of seven to eight armed personnel were seen marching on the streets of Rongpo Town.

#### **MARKHAM COUNTY (CH: MANGKANG)**

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### **9 September**

A government website reported that Hu Jiming, Vice Secretary of Chamdo prefecture government committee inspected the ongoing patriotic education campaign at Wooser (Ch: Weise) Monastery.<sup>7</sup> Hu Jiming praised the results achieved by the work team stationed in the monastery and called for the "continuation of patriotic education and law propagation to ensure the 'stability of the monastery'".

## **NAGCHU PREFECTURE**

### **CH: NAQU PREFECTURE, TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION**

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#### **DRIRU COUNTY (CH: BIRU)**

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### **16 September**

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<sup>5</sup> [http://info.tibet.cn/zt2008/lswmcs/cjdt/200809/t20080904\\_424361.htm](http://info.tibet.cn/zt2008/lswmcs/cjdt/200809/t20080904_424361.htm)

<sup>6</sup> URL: <http://www.chinatibetnews.com/xizang/shizheng>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.cdxs.gov.cn>

On 16 September the “Safe Driru County” work team inspected each town/township’s offices directly under the direction of the central county government. The work team propagated several laws such as the “Anti-separation Law”.<sup>8</sup>

## NGABA TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE CH: ABA TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS PREFECTURE, SICHUAN PROVINCE

### DZOGUE COUNTY (CH: RUANGGUI/ZOIGE)

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Choeyang Tashi, 31 was imprisoned for a year in July at Thangkor Township for allegedly taking part in protests on 16 March 2008. The process of the sentence was not open to public. His family members were not informed of the sentence by the government. He was imprisoned at Maowen Jail and family members are not allowed to see him.

Background:

On 16 March, 20 monks from Sogtsang Monastery, Thangkor township, started a protest at the monastery, later joined by lay Tibetans. Reportedly 200 people took part in the protest.

From 18 to 20 March, police arrested 34 Tibetans involved in the protest at their homes. After three months detention at Dzoge County Jail, 28 of them were released in the middle of June 2008.

The released detainees later said they were beaten with batons and electric batons at the beginning of their detention. They were only given small quantities of food to keep them from starvation. Family members were not allowed to visit them during their detention.

Upon their release the detainees had to sign a pledge letter from Dzoge County Police Station with the following points.

1. The person must get permission from **the** county police station if he goes out of Dzoge County. In the case of a monk, he has to first get permission from Democratic Management Committee (DMC) of his monastery. Once obtained he has to go to the township official and county police station for further permissions.
2. Pledge not to destroy social stability.
3. **Pledge not** to incite rebellion.

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Five Tibetans remain in detention. Family members are not allowed to see them.

- Thubten, age 24 (Monk)
- Tsultrim Jugnney (Monk)
- Tsultrim Gyamtso (Monk)
- Lobsang Nyima (Monk)
- Dadul age 42

### NGABA COUNTY (CH: ABA)

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#### 3 June

On 3 June a 16 year old monk Lobsang Tsultrim from Kirti Dhongri monastery, Merima town, committed suicide by hanging. He was found in his room by his brother. He was said to have been very unhappy about the patriotic re-education campaign conducted in his monastery.

#### August

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.xznqnews.com>



Restrictions on movement and communications intensified before and during the Olympics Games.

Dozens of Tibetans reported from outside Tibet that it was not possible to phone relatives in Ngaba County. A computerized message, stating "This number is not in service" was played in Chinese.

Restrictions on movements after 7 pm were applied to both monks and lay people. This restriction began on 1 August and had reportedly continued until the end of the Olympics.

The presence of military troops were increased in Ngaba town and its surroundings. It was reported in early August by residents that approximately 1000 armed military personnel were stationed in Ngaba town. Several check-points were built at the beginning and end of all the town's six main streets.

Heavy military buildup and police surveillance was observed at Kirti Monastery. It is reported that around 1000 armed military personnel were stationed around Kirti monastery in tents and dozens of surveillance cameras were installed on the monastery compounds. Because soldiers surrounded the monastery, religious practice was curtailed. Monks were told to report to the Democratic Management Committee (DMC) and fill in a form if they wished to go out of monastery.

#### **4 August**

Chinese military forces were stationed in Doltsig Township. According to local estimates the number of those forces lies in the thousands. The army was stationed on a large grassland, which serves as a pasture to nomads from two of the nearby villages.

The military carried out a large scale drilling exercise attended by local government officials.

#### **5 August**

A witness reports that 200 monks' robes were ordered from a local shop. The proprietor wondered if the customers were actually soldiers making a propaganda film as the customers all had very short military haircuts.

#### **9 August**

Around 4:30 pm local time, Sonam Wangmo, 22, from Lower Ngaba Sezo and Zgang yeying, 28, from Gyarong (Ch: Jiaronong) went to the local mobile phone shop to recharge their phones. They were shot with bullets at the end of the main road of Ngaba town. The former was hit with a bullet on her leg while the latter was hit on her hand.

The circumstances of the shooting are unclear. It is reported that the four of five rounds of shots came from a nearby building where military personnel were stationed. It was reported that a military personnel told the crowds who gathered after the incident, that the shooting was an accident.

#### **11 August**

On the 11 August, around 9 pm, two Tibetan brothers from Jaru town were arrested by the Public Security Bureau (PSB) from Ngaba County. The two brothers were identified as Jamphel aged 28 and Lama, aged 22. Both belong to the Terrangtsang family at Jaru town. Both Jamphel and Lama were arrested on suspicion of taking part in the demonstrations that occurred in Ngaba County in March.

#### **24 September**

The police were stationed at nine separate checkpoints around the perimeter of Kirti monastery with between ten and fifteen policemen at each checkpoint. On the evening of 24 September a monk went outside Kirti monastery to use the toilet. He was badly beaten by armed police who accused him of trespassing.

After the incident, the monk went to a restaurant run by Kirti Monastery where 30-50 monks were having dinner and told them what had happened to him. Two monks, outraged by what they had heard, went to the police station situated to the north of Kirti Monastery demanding an explanation. Chinese armed personnel at the station threatened the monks by firing live ammunition into the sky and into the ground in front of the monks. Later, police arrived at the restaurant and despite the absence of violence from the monks, the police beat the monks severely, using the butts of their rifles, spades and even meat choppers. Five monks had to be hospitalized due to the severity of their injuries. The hospitalized monks are: Lama Sotse; Rabgye; Tsang Choepel; Labchoek and Lophel. It is reported that Rabgye and Tsang Choepel had suffered particularly severe injuries after being attacked with spades and meat choppers.

The injured monks were taken to the civilian hospital in Ngaba town. On 26 September only Lama Sotse remained in the hospital. The whereabouts of the other four monks who were hospitalized are presently unknown.

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## **NYINGTRI PREFECTURE**

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### **CH: NINGCHI PREFECTURE, LHASA MUNICIPALITY, TAR**

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#### **DZAYUL COUNTY**

##### **18 August**

Penz Zong en, the party secretary of Dzayul County gave a patriotic education lecture to students of primary and middle schools in Dzayul County. Around 400 participants including officials, cadres, teachers and students took part. A new initiative was launched which strives to implement patriotic education classes at least twice every three months in primary and middle schools. Each school is requested to add the classes to their curriculum.<sup>9</sup>

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#### **NYINGTRI COUNTY (CH: NINGCHI)**

Flag poles were erected in the grounds of seven monasteries in Nyingtri County. An inspection team led by Cai Keyou, the vice party secretary of Nyingtri County conducted an inspection of eight monasteries including Bujiu monastery. According to a web report<sup>10</sup> the aim of flying the Chinese flag in monasteries is to strengthen the patriotic and lawful feelings in monks.<sup>11</sup>

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## **SHIGATSE PREFECTURE**

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### **CH: RIGAZI PREFECTURE, TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION**

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#### **KHANGMAR COUNTY (CH: KANGMA)**

##### **11 September**

On 11 September patriotic education classes themed on “Anti-splittism, defending Stability and Promote Development” were held for locals by retired cadres from Khangmar County who also performed a cultural performance.

According to a government news report the retired cadres “exposed the miserable life under the rule of serfdom system in old society by narrating their own experiences”.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.chinatibetnews.com>

<sup>10</sup> [http://chinatibetnews.com/xizang/linzhi/2008-09/17/content\\_153039.htm](http://chinatibetnews.com/xizang/linzhi/2008-09/17/content_153039.htm)

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.chinatibetnews.com/xizang>

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.chinatibetnews.com/xizang/shizheng/2008-09/11/content\\_150870.htm](http://www.chinatibetnews.com/xizang/shizheng/2008-09/11/content_150870.htm)

## APPENDIX

The settlement of "Serious decisions" to be taken against monasteries and monks/nuns for undertaking turbulent activities" - settled at the third conference of the Executive Committee of concerned region.

Prefectural head: Li Changping  
Kandze Autonomous Prefecture  
Date: 28/06/2008

### PART ONE [measures to be taken against individual monks and nuns]

In order to protect social stability, enforce socialist law and ensure the fundamental interests of the people, the following measures are to be taken against monasteries, monks and nuns who voice or distribute splittist slogans and fliers, fly "snow lion" [Tibetan national] flags, and who take part in illegal demonstration to incite splittism.

1. A monk/nun charged with a minor crime will – upon confessing his/her mistake, displaying a good attitude and signing a confession letter – become the responsibility of his/her family head, who will, when he/she has been taken home, undertake his/her re-education and take care of him/her.
2. A monk/nun charged with quite serious [medium] crimes will undergo serious re-education and will remain in custody until he/she co-operates by telling the truth, confessing their guilt and submitting a shuyig [self-criticising letter]. He/she must sincerely and voluntarily tell the truth.
3. A monk/nun with serious crime and attitude problem will be subjected to serious re-education. He/she will be warned and his/her religious rights will removed. He/she will be dismissed from his/her monastery.
4. Masterminds behind activities of splittism and disturbances, members of any of such underground organisation, anyone who led such disruptive activities will be severely punished accordingly to the law. In addition their religious rights will be removed completely by dismissing them from their monasteries. Removal of their religious rights will remain in effect even after dismissing them from the monasteries whereby they will not be allowed join any other monastery and if any monastery is found to have accepted such a monk/nun, the head of that monastery's Democratic Management Committee will be considered a supporter and protector of splittists and disruptive elements.

### PART TWO [measures to be taken against monasteries]

The following serious measures will be taken against monasteries which have been involved in turbulent activities.

5. Monasteries that had more than 10%-30% monks taking part in disturbances will be subjected to restrictions and searches. According to the constitution, suspected monks/nuns will be arrested and illegal belongings will be confiscated. All religious activities at the monastery will be halted. Movements of monks will be closely monitored.

6. [Government-appointed] Monastic Management Committee members of monasteries whose monks have taken part in turbulent activities, will be responsible for rectifying and reforming monks and nuns through serious re-education. If the matter is clearly apparent or if there are no suitable persons in the monastery, the local government will send specially appointed personnel to carry out the aforementioned activities. During the period of rectification and reformation, the monastery's financial management will be closed and religious activities halted.

7. A monk/nun who is found to be uncooperative with the work teams during the period of rectification and reformation (not registering, not surrendering photos, leaving the monastery without official permission, not reforming despite repeated re-education) will be completely dismissed from the monastery. After removing his/her religious rights, he/she will be sent home. His/her hut at the monastery will be destroyed.

A monk/nun who hasn't registered at the religious affairs office or who has come from outside [other regions] and whose rights are not clear or those who had been away from the monastery for a very long time, will be subject to dismissal from the monastery and their huts will be destroyed.

8. Monks/nuns from monasteries involved in turbulent activities will be required to re-register. The huts of those monks/nuns who show remorse will be provided with number plates [to identify them]. Monks and nuns who took part in turbulent activities and show no remorse will be dismissed from the monastery and a limitation will be set on the number of monks/nuns at the monastery according to the number of monks/nuns who took part in turbulent activities and those who were dismissed.

9. Those monks/nuns who are still determined to talk about splittism, who clearly intend to undertake further turbulent activities, who fail to respond properly to re-education and to new restrictions will be dismissed from the monastery.

### PART 3 [religious leaders and monastic management committees]

10. Monks/nuns whose suspected involvement in turbulent activities has not been confirmed must be thoroughly investigated by reincarnates [lamas], geshes [the equivalent of PhDs in Buddhist Philosophy, the highest ranking teachers] and Monastic Management Committees. If Monastic Management Committee members, reincarnates and geshes fail in their duty to properly investigate such cases, they will be given strict-re-education and will be examined for faults.

11. Monastic Management Committee Members, reincarnates, geshes whose stand is not clear or who are suspected of being double-faced will be warned and will be investigated in front of an assembly of monks/nuns. Such persons will be asked to provide written confessions. The accounts of the investigations of such persons and their confessions will be exposed on regional news and television.

12. Monastic Management Committee members, monks, reincarnates, and geshes involved in providing or revealing information or collaborating with foreign splittist groups, and facilitating and inciting turbulent activities, will be subjected to severe punishment. Their civil, political, governance, religious association rights will be removed. They will be not allowed to organise any religious activities. In case of reincarnates [lamas], their titles will be stripped, their power over monastic financial management will be terminated and an audit will be conducted to investigate their corruption and misuse of the monastic finance. This will be shown on the regional news and televisions.