

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET: REPORT 2013-2016

XI REFORM AIMS ANOTHER DARK CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Dharamshala, India — The Tibet Post International (TPI)¹ continued its efforts to report on the Chinese government's poor respect for, and abuse of, human rights in Tibet, that include arbitrary arrest or detention, torture, denial of freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of religion, freedom of movement and cultural assimilation, social discrimination, economic marginalization and environmental destruction and societal abuse. TPI learned that every aspect of Tibetan life is under siege and Tibetans have even fewer civil and political rights than Chinese people also ruled by the Communist Party the most concern.

The regime enforces its control over every aspect through the threat and use of arbitrary punishments, at times including severe violence. Any act deemed to threaten its rule normal to become a criminal offence. However TPI also believes its efforts have increasingly become a strong voice to its targeted international readership.² RSF ranked China (include Tibet) 176 out of the 180 countries on its Press Freedom Index 2015. Freedom House, in their annual 'Freedom in the World' report release in 2016,³ has placed Tibet as the second worst place in the world for political rights and civil liberties. Tibet was amongst the world's 12 worst countries, in 2015.⁴

TPI also learned that 'there are more foreign journalists in North Korea than Tibet,'⁵ making Tibet one of most difficult places. Tibetans in Tibet reported receiving official warnings after using their cell phones to exchange what the government deemed to be sensitive information. During the recent years' annual traditional ceremonies or festival almost all areas of Tibet, particularly the capital Lhasa, still remain under virtual martial law and today, just as in the past, China refuses to acknowledge its human rights abuses.

Since 2008, the Chinese government never stopped in trying by any means it can to keep Tibet in a state of isolation from the media. The head of the Communist Party in Tibet, Chen Quanguo, has ordered local authorities to step up surveillance of all means of communication, particularly mobile phones and the Internet, in order to maintain the public's interests and national security. The RSF TPI-mirror site seems impacting on its readership as it indicates positive signal in TPI web-stats. The TPI, which is blocked in China, is one of the sites due to be restored by RSF, BBC also reported.⁶

President Xi Jinping's commitment to "Ethnic Unity", "Economy Development" and "Social Stability" in Tibet under the banner of a "Maoist socialist paradise",⁷ nether seeks a peaceful solution nor a signal for a new reform of more openness. But there are fears that Xi is further strengthening an integral element of another "cultural revolution" project in Tibet. One must say Xi is revealing the true nature of a Communist dictatorship regime in Tibet, a similar sense of strategic inviolability characterized by the former leader Mao Zedong who known as one of the 20th century's greatest mass murderers.

1 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/about-us/about-us>

2 <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-31836330>

3 <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/china>

5 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/international/3803-north-korea-more-accessible-to-intl-journalists-than-tibet>

6 <http://www.bbc.com/news/technology-31836330>

Starting in 1949, Tibet was invaded by 35,000 Chinese troops who systematically raped, tortured and murdered an estimated 1.2 million⁷ Tibetans, one-fifth of the country's population. Since then over 6000 monasteries have been destroyed, and thousands of Tibetans have been imprisoned. According to different sources, it is estimated that up to 260,000 people died in prisons and labor camps between 1950 and 1984. Variety records show that between 1949 and 1979 the following deaths occurred under the Chinese rule:

173,221 Tibetans died after being tortured in prison.

156,758 Tibetans were executed by the Chinese.

432,705 Tibetans were killed while fighting Chinese occupation.

342,970 Tibetans have starved to death.

92,731 Tibetans were publicly tortured to death.

9,002 Tibetans committed suicide.

Kalsang Wangdu,⁸ a 18-year old monk from the Retsokha Aryaling monastery, self-immolated on February 29, 2016, near his monastery in Nyakrong County of Kham Province, eastern Tibet (Ch: Nyagrong in Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. This latest incident brought the total⁹ verified number of self-immolations in Tibet to 143 since February, 2009 and and of them 123 were reportedly passed-away while the status of the rest remains unknown or critically injured. Most of the Tibetan self-immolators have called for freedom of Tibetan people and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. The root causes of protest by Tibetans in Tibet against the Chinese communist regime, including self-immolations, stem from a wide range of factors such as, violent political repression, cultural assimilation, economic marginalisation, ethnic discrimination, nomadic displacement and environmental destruction.

Since Xi Jinping took office, many governmental and non-government organisations have reported an increase in political repression, serious human rights violations and restrictions on Human rights defenders, lawyers, journalists, writers and activists in China, Tibet and other regions.¹⁰ 2013 was Xi's first full year as the President of the People's Republic of China (PRC). During Xi's first year, the PRC released numerous human rights and reform documents for its second Universal Periodic Review and in its 3rd Plenum Decision. International community shocked by the Chinese government's praise of its human rights performance in 2014, in a white paper published in June 2015 and Reporters Without Borders has pointed out that the China continues to be one of the worst in the world¹¹ for persecuting journalists and bloggers and censoring the news. These human rights documents describe human rights successes and reforms that do not exist in the PRC and least of all in Tibet. China released these documents as 27 Tibetans committed self-immolation protests in Tibet demanding human rights and freedom and Xi fought against non-approved reform efforts.

In 2013, Tibetans staging peaceful protests against the mining operations were violently suppressed.¹¹ These Tibetans were protesting the loss of the rights the PRC claims to protect and as a result were subjected to further human rights abuses that the regime refuses to acknowledge. In 2013, Tibetans continued to be tortured, arrested for merely expressing their opinion, and sent to detention centers without due process.

7 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/outlook/opinions-and-columns/4533-genocide-in-the-20th-century-massacres-in-tibet-1966-76>

8 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4909-monk-burns-himself-to-death-calls-out-for-tibets-independence>

9 <http://www.tibetnewsonline.com/e-paper-2015/The-Tibet-Post-International-0000145.pdf>

10 <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/china/report-china/>

11 <https://rsf.org/en/news/china-dares-praise-its-own-human-rights-record>

12 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/3424-thousands-protest-against-chinese-mining-operation-in-tibet>

This report has recorded the details of 119¹³ Tibetans who were either arrested or sentenced in 2013; two Tibetans each received death sentence and suspended death sentence. A significant number of Tibetans were released from Re-education Through Labour camps in 2013. In the first two weeks of 2013, the PRC arrested fourteen senior monks at Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries and the Jokhang Temple for “political reeducation.”

In April 2013, the Party’s central committee issued a secret internal directive known as Document No. 9¹⁴ that prohibited speaking about Western constitutional democracy, promoting the universal value of human rights, promoting civic participation, and promoting media independence. These basic values were labeled as subversive and undermine the idea that Xi Jinping is serious about implementing re-form.

In accordance with the anti-reform rhetoric, “mass-line”^a policy was launched in Tibet in 2013. The Party Secretary for Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Chen Quanguo, recognized that there were two new battle fields in Tibet the CCP needed to control: traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, television, and journals; and the internet. The “mass-line” policy brought together various pre-existing and newly created mass propaganda and mass surveillance systems under a single policy. The effects of the “mass-line” policy were demonstrated in Diru (Ch: Biru) County in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region. From 8 September 2013 to 5 October 2013, in less than a month, some 18,000 Chinese cadres entered Diru to make Tibetans by the PRC’s flag next to their prayer flags. When Tibetans refused and protested, they were beaten, tortured upon with live ammunition, and arrested en masse. In September 2013, the PRC sent 60,000 cadres into TAR—approximately one cadre for every 50 people in TAR.

In 2014, despite the promised reforms, the human rights situation in Tibet was continuing to deteriorate. Tibetan prisoners are frequently subject to torture, beatings, and denial of medical care. In that year, an increasing number of Tibetans died because of their treatment in detention. For example, Tenzin Choedak had every bone in his feet broken before he was returned to his family on “medical parole.” He died two days later.

Reports continued of violations of civil and political rights, including the right to privacy and the expansion of the security state, economic social and cultural rights, including the resettlement of the nomads, the developments in the international community, including statements concerning the human rights situation in Tibet at the United Nations. According to the Tibetan Human Rights group (TCHRD)¹⁵, there were 2,110 known political prisoners in Tibet, including 137 Tibetans who were either detained or sentenced in 2014. Eleven Tibetans set themselves alight in 2014¹⁶, driven by driven by political repression, cultural assimilation, social discrimination, economic marginalization and environmental destruction.

When the world came out en-masse to celebrate the formal appointment of Xi as China's President by the National People's Congress in March 2013, they were taken by his failing "Four Comprehensives"¹⁷, which included promises of "Reform", fulfillment of "the Chinese Dream,"¹⁸ and "the great renewal of the Chinese nation."

13 <http://www.tchrd.org/tag/human-rights-situation-in-tibet/>

14 http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/20/world/asia/chinas-new-leadership-takes-hard-line-in-secret-memo.html?_r=0

15 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/exile/4413-prisoners-in-tibet-frequently-subjected-to-torture-tibetan-rights-group>

16 http://www.tibetnews.com/self-immolation/Detail_self_immolations-2009-2014.pdf

17 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-31622571>

18 <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21577063-chinas-new-leader-has-been-quick-to-consolidate-his-power-what-does-he-now-want-his>
a <http://clauderpi.blogspot.in/2013/12/wu-yingjie-massline-record-holder.html>

President Xi also followed the mantra of previous Chinese leaders who promised to eradicate corruption. However, none have approached the issue with as much urgency as President Xi who used it as a political tool and twisted anti-corruption probes to target peaceful activists, political dissidents, religious believers and minority groups, which he labeled as potential "threats" to social stability.

In a letter purportedly from Chinese communist party members called for Xi's resignation from all state and Party leadership positions, posted to state-linked Wujie News website on March 4, 2016. The letter further stated: "We also see the main goal of the anti-corruption campaign to be merely a power struggle."¹⁹ A few years later, independent media and social media served as a platform for debate after the prominent Chinese lawyers and Human rights defenders, sparked conversation over whether or not the president's anti-corruption fight was a political distraction rather than good governance. The debate showed that a large number of the population believed it was a political ploy.

The communist regime exerts pressure on the UN to deny accreditation to high-profile activists outside Tibet and China.²⁰ The victims of both Chinese and Tibetan stressed, saying that it is the responsibility of the international community to call upon the UNHRC for equal participation from human rights victims and demand more transparency in operations. There's a very clear signal that Chinese authorities regularly influence the UN to bar Chinese, Uyghur, Mongolian and Tibetan activists from attending the Human Rights Council sessions and despite a wide-spread crackdown since president Xi Jinping took office two years ago, there has been little objection to these people being labeled "separatists, terrorists or criminals."

One of the positive steps recently taken by the UN was recognition by the Committee Against Torture (CAT) of widespread torture and ill treatment of prisoners in China, is followed this with a call for broad legal reform. The panel of 10 independent experts²¹ highlighted particular concern over the Chinese government's reluctance to provide information on few Tibetan cases, each involving allegations of torture, deaths in custody, arbitrary detention and disappearances.

They also showed concern over allegations of deaths in custody as a result of torture or lack of medical care. They called for an independent investigation into a number of these cases including the death of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche²², a highly revered Tibetan Buddhist leader who died in a Chinese prison in July after his health deteriorated as a result of harsh prison conditions. His death sparked international condemnation and protests. A special memorial and tribute for late Rinpoche was held in front of the "Triumph of the Human Spirit" monument in Foley Square, New York City, in August, 2015, saying "Xi is responsible for the jail death of prominent Tibetan monk."²³

The people of Tibet also repeatedly urged the UNHRC and international community that they must review the cases of self-immolation in Tibet, examine the evidence of violence from 2008 and demand an end to arbitrary detentions and torture. They also appealed the international community that it should arrange for an independent, impartial, and fair fact-finding mission to Tibet to investigate what is happening on the ground, rather than rely on biased reports written by Chinese state officials.

19 <http://lhasadaily.com/news/20-china/827-open-letter-communist-party-members-urge-xi-s-resignation>

20 <http://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/china-softpower-rights/>

21 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4829-un-findings-on-torture-is-vindication-of-reports-says-rights-group>

22 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/international/4723-late-tibetan-monks-cousin-testifies-before-us-rights-committee>

23 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/exile/4701-sft-xi-is-responsible-for-the-jail-death-of-prominent-tibetan-monk>

One of the most tragic repercussions of Tibetan oppression is self-immolation. This shocking form of protest, which happens mostly within Tibet, symbolises the desperation and feeling of powerlessness felt by Tibetans. It has also caused many government representatives, activists, academics and editorialists to urge international institutions to put pressure on the Chinese government to provide justice to the heirs of the tragedy.

Tibet has recently witnessed the biggest wave of self-immolation protests in history. In 2012 alone, 35²⁴ Tibetans have set themselves on fire with the overwhelming majority of self-immolators residing within Tibet, almost exclusively in the regions of Amdo and Kham. Since 2009, 143 self-immolations²⁶ have occurred with Tibet and out of those 143, 124 have died. The remaining 19 are either critically injured or their status is unknown. Nearly all of these self-immolators have called on the Chinese government to allow the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibetans. Political protest by self-immolation followed the barbaric acts committed by the Chinese government in 2008, where Tibetans marked the anniversary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama leaving Lhasa, later mass demonstrations erupted into violence and more than 220 Tibetans were brutally killed and over 1,294 were seriously injured. Over 5,600 were arrested, 290 sentenced and more than 1,000 simply disappeared.

In 2015, many governments and parliaments across the world increasing condemnation of China's continued violation of international law, which as a result, led more and more issues involving Tibet to become issues of international concern. There is a total of 2081 Tibetan political prisoners,²⁵ including 967 monks and of them 68 were detained in 2015," according to the Tibetan rights group (TCHRD). China passed laws on national security and counter-terrorism in 2015 that appear to do little but provide China with a convenient pretext to continue violating human rights in China, particularly across the non-Chinese regions such as Tibet, Eastern Turkistan and Inner-Mongolia. Religious figures and other intellectuals were targeted for disappearance, detention, and, sometimes, death. Local Chinese police also detained monks and laypeople, and in many cases, the Chinese authorities used pretense to detain community leaders, who are frequently religious leaders. It also added that the trend of abusing human rights to silence dissent was frequently used in Tibet where solo protesters were quickly arrested and artists, poets, and intellectuals targeted for arrest. It further drew attention towards the accelerating environmental destruction and climate change taking place in Tibet. The rate of coal use in China²⁷ as a fuel is more than the rest of the other countries using coal put together, yet the regime during the COP 21 meet in Paris 2015 put forth resolutions for effective cutback of carbon emission only after 2030, until then Xi's government plans to look the other way.

In December 2015, China's rubber-stamp parliament approved a controversial counter-terrorism, drawing widespread criticisms from international community, particularly human rights organizations. Activists feel that the first counter terrorism law is targeted to further subdue troubled ethnic minority regions, especially Tibet and Eastern Turkistan. The law that is to take effect in January 2016 requires tech firms to hand over sensitive information to the government and also allows the PLA to get involved in anti-terrorism operations overseas. China further failed to implement any measures that contribute positively to the already degrading ecosystem which many experts say is "irreversible" by pursuing a policy of prioritising rhetoric over substance.

24 http://www.tibetnewsonline.com/self-immolation/Detail_self_immolations-2009-2014.pdf

25 <http://tibetnewsonline.com/statements/Annual-Tibet-report.pdf>

26 <http://tibetnewsonline.com/e-paper-2015/The-Tibet-Post-International-0000145.pdf>

27 <http://www.climatecentral.org/blogs/chinas-growing-coal-use-is-worlds-growing-problem-16999>

Ever since its colonial project was set in motion, the “Cultural Revolution”²⁸ has insisted that it seeks to colonize Tibet “peacefully”, indeed that its colonization of the country will not only not harm the Tibetan population, but that it was successful to be of benefit to millions of illegal Chinese settlers. The main reasons behind the dirty politics of why Xi is “calling for more educational campaigns to promote ethnic unity and a sense of belonging to the same Chinese nationality,” is that Tibetans would become real Chinese and must speak Mandarin²⁹, allowing coexistence with the Chinese settlers who would be happy and grateful for being colonized and civilized by the communist regime; and a secret, logistical and practical strategy to vanquish the Tibetan population from Tibet, a practice which threatens the very existence of Tibetan culture, religion and national identity.

Economic growth mostly benefits The Chinese settlers and businesses and workers, as most workers in Tibet mines are Chinese and the extraction takes place without regard to the local environment and areas of religious significance. Many parts of Tibet are vulnerable to earthquakes and highly volatile. Threats posed by this instability are exacerbated by mining and damming projects. In 2013 a landslide in the Gyama Valley³⁰ is a great example, which highlighted the fatal destruction of Tibet’s environment. In almost all areas in Tibet, Tibetans have frequently protested against Chinese government, where there are mining projects in Tibet, particularly in recent years. China has recently drilled a 7 km borehole, to reach and explore Tibet’s oil and natural gas resources, the scmp.com reported on Apr 7, 2014, saying China National Petroleum Corporation estimates the basin’s oil reserves at “10 billion tons.”³¹

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The impacts of mass immigration of Chinese into Tibet was and is a barbaric act with aim to destroy Tibet completely— a target for the worst excesses of the Chinese regime. Tibetan exiles claim 7.5 million³³ Chinese now live in Tibet overwhelming the six million Tibetans. These figures are unconfirmed, but recent Chinese figures suggest this trend is accurate. Mass murderer Mao Zedong killed an estimated 49-78 million people during China’s Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976. From Mao to Hu Jintao, one after another, the Chinese dictators have taken full control over the lives of their citizens. The similarities shared with previous dictators from Mao to Hu, Xi’s approach of declaring peaceful intentions for “Ethnic Unity and “Economy Development” behind which he sought to hide Mao’s “Marxism” inherited from “Sovietism”, a violent strategy of conquering and terrorizing the land of Tibet into pieces, adopting wholesale thenceforward, which continues to be the cornerstone of the repressive policy to the present.

28 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/outlook/opinions-and-columns/4695-xis-tibet-policy-is-nothing-new-but-an-old-colonial-war-against-tibet>

29 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/outlook/opinions-and-columns/3811-chinas-tibet-policy-continued-attempt-at-erasing-tibetan-language>

30 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/features/press-and-statements/3301-landslide-in-gyama-mine-tibet-natural-or-man-made>

31 <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1466600/china-drills-7km-borehole-roof-world>

32 http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-08/25/c_134554681.htm

33 <http://www.tibet.org/Activism/Rights/poptransfer.html>

In Tibet today, Tibetan writers, intellectuals, musicians, artists, environmentalists, health-workers, and religious figures are being arbitrary arrested, imprisoned and tortured by Chinese authorities for merely posting an article to a blog, writing an essay, editing a magazine, sending information by text message, or singing songs that express the suffering of the Tibetan people.

The popular Tibetan blogger and intellectual Druklo, more widely known by his pen name Shokjang, was sentenced a Tibetan writer and blogger to three years,⁴⁴ for writings allegedly engaging in splittist activities. The 32-year old Tibetan, who wrote under pen name 'Shokjang' has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment for leading "splittist movements" from 2008 and for writings allegedly engaging in splittist activities. Shokjang recently has written an eloquent letter from detention appealing against his three-year prison sentence.³⁵ The letter was circulated on Chinese social media, was handwritten in Tibetan and addressed to the Qinghai Higher People's Court. Before his sentence, he was arrested by Chinese police, on March 18, 2015, from a hotel in Rebkong County.

A latest report says a retired Tibetan doctor who is serving a 15-year sentence on false charges of 'espionage' is said to be seriously ill due to torture in prison and hospitalised again for emergency treatment,³⁶ to a military hospital in Lhasa. The 57-year-old Choedon was given 15-year imprisonment by the Intermediate People's Court in Lhasa on charges of allegedly leaking out secrets to the outside world during the peaceful protests in March 2008.

A well-known Tibetan political prisoner and outspoken Buddhist monk, Jigme Gyatso Guri currently serving five-year imprisonment, was admitted to a prison hospital in Lanzhou, the capital city of northwest China's Gansu province, sometime in early January, 2016 or at the end of February this year, sparking fears he may have been severely tortured while in jail.³⁷ The 50-year old monk, also known as Labrang Jigme, was found Jigme Guri guilty of "actions to split the nation," on September 5, 2014. Splittism is a charge used by the Chinese authorities against Tibetans who express their national identity or who challenge the repressive policies of the Chinese government in Tibet.

Recently China's tough new policy of abusing Tibetan people is sowing doubts and confusion in Tibet, where the authorities are trying to replace Buddhist temples and monasteries in Tibet with propaganda centers for the ruling Communist Party.³⁸ China has dispatched government agents into every village in Tibet as part of an unprecedented surveillance and 'political re-education' programme or 'patriotic re-education', that is increasingly over the past few years. An army of 21,000 officials scattered into small teams and set up in each of 5,541 villages in central Tibet alone, with agents in some cases moving into the homes of Tibetans. An article recently written in a fortnightly party magazine "Qiushi" Chen Quanguo, Beijing appointed Tibet's Communist Party boss, says Buddhist temples and monasteries in Tibet must become propaganda centers for the ruling Communist Party, where Buddhist monks must be seen by Beijing government as "friends." That's a bit of a tricky sell, given China's 66-year history of repression in Tibet, after destroying more than 6000 monasteries and temples and killing over 1.2 million out of total 6 Tibetans, including thousands of monks and nuns who were protesting against the unregenerate authoritarian state. The Tibetan people deserve no less. They are denied it. This is their freedom struggle. It is not built on hate, ideology, nationalism, religious bigotry, or even nostalgia for the past. It stems from the pursuit of justice and fairness, and for everything that is decent in this world.

The people of Tibet³⁹ are hoping that the international community, especially free world for a strong support to their cause when the communist regime raises issues around issues of Tibet,

because they believe it is nothing different than the free world willingly and wittingly committing itself to the traditional democratic principles. The Tibetan people just seek the restoration of their basic human rights, a return of political change, and the enjoyment of basic freedoms that have been denied.

China has made possessing photographs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan nation flag illegal in Tibet.⁴⁰ The six million Tibetans in Tibet are human beings. They are born free and equal in dignity and rights. But the Chinese government doesn't see or treat Tibetans as human beings like China often claimed. As the elected Tibetan political leader Dr Lobsang said in his March 10, 2013 address, Chinese policies in Tibet "could easily lead one to suspect that China wants Tibet but not the Tibetan people". Tibetans in Tibet who feel they have no dreams, no future, left believe self-immolation is the only available option. The messages that the self-immolators have left behind spell this out clearly. The many baseless allegations made by the Chinese authorities against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration serve only to hurt millions of Tibetan people,⁴¹ including those who have grown up under the current regime. The Chinese have no evidence, but continue to propagate misinformation via such state-controlled media as Xinhua - even since Xi Jinping's election to office and purported mission to fight corruption.

Not only human rights violations in Tibet, the environmental problems in Tibet are a concern for the rest of the world.⁴² The planet is our home and the Tibetan Plateau is its roof. The Tibetan Plateau needs to be protected, not just for Tibet but for the health and sustainability of the entire world. The Central Tibetan Administration urges world leaders gathering in Paris in December at the UN COP21 climate change summit to put Tibet on the global climate change agenda.

34 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4899-china-jails-tibetan-writer-for-3-years-over-2008-tibet-movements>

35 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4954-popular-tibetan-writer-asserts-his-innocence-in-letter-from-prison>

36 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4953-jailed-tibetan-health-worker-hospitalised-again-in-a-serious-condition>

37 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4930-tortured-outspoken-monk-of-tibet-jigme-guri-hospitalised>

38 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/outlook/opinions-and-columns/4513-is-china-wittingly-replacing-temples-in-tibet-with-propaganda-centers>

39 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/international/4937-tibetans-have-embraced-democracy-once-again-intl-observers>

40 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/news/tibet/4887-china-orders-tibetans-in-tibet-to-stop-displaying-dalai-lama-photos>

41 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/en/outlook/opinions-and-columns/3271-chinas-accusations-do-nothing-but-hurt-six-million-tibetans>

42 <http://www.thetibetpost.com/features/environment-and-health/4775-make-tibet-a-key-to-any-global-climate-change-meeting-senior-official>

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