



Rukhag 3

The Nuns of Drapchi Prison

Tibet Information Network
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西藏信息網



by Steven D. Marshall

Rukhag 3

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By Steven D. Marshall

Tibet Information Network
London 2000

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Layout: Matthew Ward
Cover design: Gabriella Nonino

ISBN: 0-9532011-5-5

Printed in Cheltenham, England
Published by Tibet Information Network (TIN), September 2000

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About the author

Steven Marshall spent much of his early life in New Orleans before shifting focus to Asia. His first visit to China came in 1981. Beginning in 1986 he travelled in Tibetan areas and spent part of every year in Tibet from then until 1996. He was one of the few foreigners who witnessed the imposition of law in Lhasa in March 1989. He has been involved in the preparation of several reports on Tibetan subjects and he and Susette Cooke were co-authors in 1997 of the CD-ROM "Tibet Outside the TAR", an extensive survey of the Tibetan autonomous areas which lie outside the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). He was also the author of "**Hostile Elements - A Study of Political Imprisonment in Tibet: 1987-1998**", published by Tibet Information Network in March 1999 (180 pages. ISBN: 0-9532011-3-9).

Acknowledgements

Author's acknowledgements: This report on the nuns who over the past decade have been political prisoners in Drapchi Prison would not have been possible without the extraordinary contribution of all those Tibetans who, often at considerable personal risk, have helped maintain a steady flow of reliable information from inside Tibet on prisoners and prison conditions there. Many of them cannot be named but some can - the nuns whose cogent testimonies make up the bulk of this report. With their unstinting and clear-sighted help TIN has been able to piece together their story, not just relating to the Drapchi protests of May 1998 and their aftermath but to the preceding years as well. The sisterhood which they honour even under the most adverse conditions, their preference for calling attention to the suffering of their cell mates rather than their own, and memories so well attuned to remembering vital details about their comrades, speak in ways that no report will ever match. Particular recognition is due to the TIN staff who worked with them - TIN's senior researcher in Dharamsala and his two Tibetan assistants - who between them conducted the most detailed and exhaustive series of interviews they have ever undertaken in order to check and double-check every detail. Many thanks, too, to the fine and steadfast team in TIN's London office, especially Jane Caple for her cool and steady hand in helping move this project through its final stages, and Kate Saunders for her boundless energy and support.

TIN would like to endorse Steven Marshall's acknowledgement of the crucial role played in the preparation of this report both by the nuns themselves and by those Tibetans who, for the safety of themselves and their families, cannot be named. Many thanks too to TIN's researchers in Nepal as well as India, who play a major role in helping ensure that TIN's Tibetan Prisoner Database is as accurate and up-to-date as possible. But TIN's main debt is once again to Steve himself, the creator and custodian of the Database and author of this report and its predecessor, "Hostile Elements". It is Steve's vision, dedication and phenomenal capacity for sustained hard work that has made this report possible.

Finally, the gratitude of all of us at TIN for the financial support we have received over the past year - from the Quicksilver Fund of the Tides Foundation, from the Heron Foundation and the Gere Foundation; from the Department for International Development Cooperation in the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its Swedish counterpart SIDA; from the Swedish Amnesty Fund, the Staples Trust, the Ruben & Elisabeth Rausing Trust, the Barrow Cadbury Trust and the National Endowment for Democracy; and from a number of other generous individual donors, amongst whom we would particularly like to mention Mr and Mrs U. Fruchtmann, David Lacey and an anonymous benefactor in The Netherlands, but there were many other donations from both Europe and the United States, for all of which we are extremely grateful.

Table of Contents

1.	Introduction	1
	Deaths in detention of prisoners in <i>rukhang</i> (Unit) 3	2
	<i>Rukhang 3</i> and <i>Rukhang 5</i> in Drapchi prison	2
2.	Female political prisoners at Drapchi: the buildup of Unit 3	5
A.	1990: creation of Unit 3	5
B.	Emergence of precedents: protest and punishment	8
	i. 1987 - 1991: male political prisoner protests at Drapchi and Sitru	8
	ii. early protests in Unit 3: <i>Losar</i> 1992 and June 1993	10
C.	Rising numbers, martial discipline, Unit 3 partition, and hunger strikes	13
	i. 1994: PAP introduce military-style drills	13
	ii. August 1995: partition of Unit 3	16
	Chart 2: Female political prisoners in Drapchi: 1989 to 2000	17
	iii. first arrivals in “new <i>rukhang 3</i> ”; more exercises	18
	iv. April 1996: hunger strike among the “old” inmates	20
	v. switching cell blocks: old is new, new is old	23
	vi. <i>Losar</i> 1997: hunger strike in “new <i>rukhang 3</i> ”	24
3.	Unit 3 and the Drapchi protests of May 1998	26
A.	1 May 1998: International Labour Day	28
B.	4 May 1998: International Youth Day	33
C.	aftermath of May 1998	40
	i. “new <i>rukhang 3</i> ”: exposure, death, solitary, sentence extensions	40
	(1) standing in the summer sun; the deaths of five nuns	40
	(2) formal, but non-lethal, consequences	46
	List 8a: “New <i>rukhang 3</i> ” prisoners placed into solitary after Drapchi protest of 1 May 1998 (16)	47
	ii. “old <i>rukhang 3</i> ”: rough interrogation; solitary, sentence extensions	49
	iii. halting communication: lock-down, suspension of visiting rights	51
	iv. destruction of sentencing documents	54
	v. release: counter-revolution, state security, political rights	56
4.	Conclusion	59
5.	Appendices	61
	Prisoner lists and charts	61
	Status Codes used for TIN prisoner lists	62

Chart 1: Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000	63
List 1: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3 as of March 1992 (25) ...	64
List 2: Drapchi Prison: Unit 3 nuns given sentence extensions for recording audiocassette in June 1993 (14)	65
List 3: Female political prisoners known or believed held in Drapchi Prison's "old <i>rukhang 3</i> " as of April 1996 (82)	66
List 4: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new <i>rukhang 3</i> " as of February 1997 (80)	69
List 5: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3, released before May 1998 (61)	72
List 6: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "old <i>rukhang 3</i> " as of May 1998 (57)	74
List 7: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new <i>rukhang 3</i> " as of May 1998 (70)	76
List 8b: Female Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (25 prisoners as of August 2000)	78
List 8c: Male Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (10 prisoners as of August 2000)	79
List 9: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison as of August 2000 (32)	80
List 10: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison Unit 3 after 1987 (189)	81

6. Images 97

A. Nuns and nunneries 97

Death in Drapchi "new <i>rukhang 3</i> " on 7 June 1998	98
Image 1: Drugkyi Pema (Dekyi Yangzom), Rangjung Nunnery	98
Image 2: Tashi Lhamo (Yudron), Jewo Thekchogling Nunnery	98
Image 3: Lobsang Wangmo (Tsamchoe Drolkar), Nego Tong Nunnery	98
Image 4: Tsultrim Zangmo (Choekyi), Shar Bumpa Nunnery	98
Extended sentences, currently detained in Drapchi "old <i>rukhang 3</i>	99
Image 5: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog), Garu Nunnery (before current imprisonment) ...	99
Image 6: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog), Garu Nunnery (in Drapchi, c. 1995)	99
Image 7: Gyaltzen Drolkar (Dawa), Garu Nunnery (before imprisonment)	99
Image 8: Tenzin Thubten (Dawa Yangkyi), Mechungri Nunnery (while imprisoned) ...	99
Release from Unit 3, flight into exile	100
Image 9: Choeying Gyaltzen (Chime Yangchen), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 10: Ngawang Lamdrol (Pasang Lhamo), Garu Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 11: Choeying Kunsang (Tsewang Drolma), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 12: Lobsang Choezin (Saldron), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 13: Chubsang Nunnery, on Lhasa's northern fringe, late 1993	101
Image 14: Garu Nunnery, in a valley of north Lhasa, 1988	102

Image 15: Gyabdrag Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	103
Image 16a: Mechungri Nunnery, overlooking the Sangyib area of northeast Lhasa, 1996	104
Image 16b: Mechungri Nunnery, overlooking northeast Lhasa from above Sangyib, late 1993	105
Image 17: Nakar Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	106
Image 18: Shar Bumpa Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	107
Image 19: Shugsib Nunnery, southwest of Lhasa in Chushur County, 1994	108
B. Drapchi Prison	109
Image 20: Drapchi Prison, early 2000, viewed from the north	110
Image 21: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the north	111
Image 22: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the east	112
Image 23: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north	113
Image 24: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	114
Image 25: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the east	115
Image 26: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north ...	116
Image 27: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	117
Image 28: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north	118
Image 29: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	119
C. Other Lhasa prisons	120
Image 30: Lhasa Prison (formerly Utritru), early 2000, viewed from the northwest	121
Image 31: Utritru Prison (later Lhasa Prison), late 1993, viewed from the east	122
Image 32: new prison, mid 1997, viewed from the northwest	123
Image 33: Sitru Prison (TAR Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the southeast	124
Image 34: Trisam Re-education Through Labour Centre, late 1993, viewed from the west	125
Image 35: Gutsa Prison (Lhasa <i>Shi</i> Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the north	126

1. Introduction

In June 1998 five nuns died in Tibet's Number One prison, Drapchi, after five weeks of severe maltreatment. The nuns are reported to have committed suicide together by hanging or choking themselves to death in a storeroom within their cell block. All the nuns were close comrades in their twenties who had been imprisoned for peaceful protests. None of them had long periods left to serve; had they survived, the last to complete her sentence would have been released in February this year.

The deaths of the five nuns can be seen as a culmination of the harsh treatment administered over the past decade to the group of female political prisoners held in Drapchi's "*rukhang* (unit) 3". "*Rukhang 3: The Nuns of Drapchi Prison*" provides the most comprehensive documentation so far of a pattern of resistance and repression over an unbroken period of eight years beginning in 1992 and continuing into 1999 inside the two sections of Unit 3, where all inmates are female and most are political prisoners. First-hand accounts gathered by TIN give new information on the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the five nuns following the May 1998 prison protests and provide new and unprecedented detail on previous acts of dissent within the prison and their consequences.

This information has emerged despite the extreme measures taken by the Chinese authorities to prevent news about the situation inside Drapchi reaching the outside world. The measures taken within Drapchi to isolate prisoners following the May 1998 prison protests were not only punitive; they were also intended to obstruct the flow of information. Prisoners were sequestered within their cells for more than a year and were not allowed visitors for many months following the protests, while surveillance measures within cells ensured that communication between cell-mates was minimal. It is an indication of the official determination to block all avenues of communication that details of the May 1998 prison protests and their consequences are still emerging from Tibet more than two years after they occurred.

The consequences of the acts of individual and collective resistance documented in this report demonstrate an official propensity to apply extraordinarily harsh levels of abuse on a recurrent basis. This pattern has affected nearly every political prisoner held in Unit 3. The application of extreme abuse and sentence extensions in the post-1987 period in Drapchi emerge as methods both to punish an individual offender, and to create a deterrent for a wider constituency, both inside and outside the prison.

Severe instances of maltreatment are not carried out by unruly personnel ignoring their training or the professional leadership of their supervisors. Pema Butri, the chief official [Tibet: *tutrang*; Ch: *duizhang*] in charge of Unit 3, has emerged as a leader of sessions of maltreatment, as a participant in them and as an example to her subordinates. Police and security personnel, who are trained in the delivery of martial-style kicks and punches to a body's most vulnerable zones, frequently single out the heads and kidney areas of prisoners for particular attack during beatings. Electric batons are utilised not only to control prisoners, but to torture those under restraint. Sense organs, such as tongue and ears, body cavities and sexual areas, especially on females, have been routine points of application for electric shocks.

Beatings have often been administered in order to increase the likelihood of serious injury or permanent disability. Sometimes physical beatings are carried out in full view of other prisoners, serving as punishment to others as well as the offender. As one of the nuns held in Drapchi from 1994 until the end of 1998 told TIN:

“If they came to beat one of your friends, it felt worse than if they beat you. There wasn't a single day without such an incident. If one of us suffered, then the others would shout, and in this way trouble would arise.”¹

The accounts contained in this report reveal the sense of comradeship among the nuns of Unit 3. This report would not have been possible without the sense of solidarity and attention to detail which is evident among the nuns from Drapchi who have arrived in exile.

Deaths in detention of prisoners in *rukhang* (Unit) 3

The Drapchi prison population increased dramatically during the wave of pro-independence protests in Lhasa between 1987 and 1989. The first female political prisoners to be admitted to Drapchi during this period arrived in March 1989, following the imposition of martial law in the city. When Unit 3 was created a year later, there were 20 female political prisoners. Four years later the number had surged past 160 and Unit 3 had been split into “new” and “old” sections. By May 1998, female political prisoners had decreased to under 130. About 100 have been released upon sentence expiry since May 1998, leaving 32 - three laywomen and 29 nuns - currently serving sentences for political crime in Drapchi. Of those 32, TIN records show that two were detained in 1997, none in 1998 and one in 1999.

TIN reported last year that the rate of death from abuse for female political prisoners in Drapchi was about one in 20 (“Hostile Elements: A Study of Political Imprisonment in Tibet 1987 - 1998” by Steven D Marshall, March 1999). Eight deaths among 164 prisoners whose records were considered sufficiently complete and reliable formed the basis of that ratio. Current analysis has resolved questions associated with a number of other records, and has indicated that one of the deaths, that of Choekyi Wangmo, did not occur. TIN's records were then revised on the basis of seven deaths for about 190 prisoners, giving a rate of death for female political prisoners at Drapchi as a direct result of abuse of one in 27. If the ratio is statistically predictive, it suggests that at least one of the women remaining in Unit 3 will die following maltreatment.

It is not yet possible to establish conclusively whether the deaths of the five nuns in June 1998 whose cases are documented in this report arose solely from the extreme levels of physical abuse that had continued until the day before their death. All of the nuns had endured individual periods of interrogation, beating, and electric shocks following protests that had occurred at the prison a month before. In a departure from usual procedures, their bodies were cremated rather than being returned to relatives, ensuring that no definitive determination of the cause of death could become available.

In addition to the five nuns, the deaths of three monks and a criminal prisoner can be attributed to the harsh response of Drapchi's security personnel. Some reports indicate that a tenth fatality may have occurred, but details remain inconclusive and confirmation of the report becomes less likely as time passes. Eleven prisoners - five nuns and six monks - are so far known to have received extensions to their prison terms as punishment for alleged involvement in the protests. The extensions range in length from 18 months to six years; the average is three years nine months.

***Rukhag 3* and *Rukhag 5* in Drapchi prison**

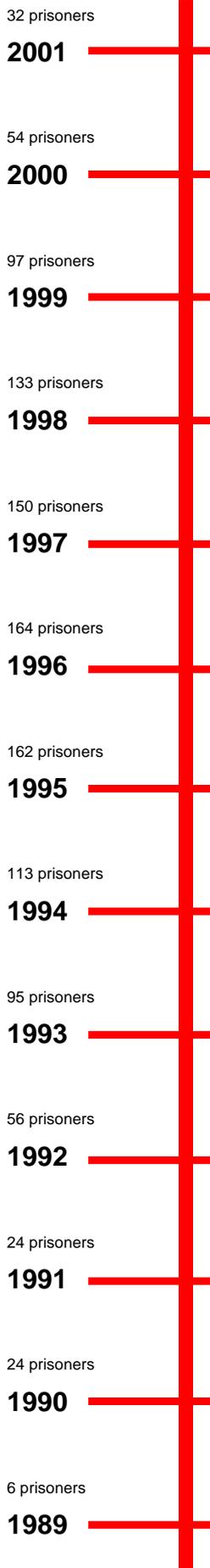
Prisoners refer to the two sections of Unit 3 as “old *rukhang 3*” and “new *rukhang 3*”, designations which indicate seniority of residents, but not the age of the buildings. The newer (larger) of the two adjacent structures was under construction by early 1995 and was occupied later that year. After a protest by female political prisoners in the spring of 1996, the longer-serving, “old”, prisoners were shifted from the older to the newer block. The older (smaller) of the two buildings was then filled with nuns who were mostly recent arrivals at Drapchi. When the inmates were made to switch buildings, the names they had

previously applied to the blocks travelled along with the inmates. TIN recognises that referring to the newer building as “old *rukhang 3*” and the older block as “new *rukhang 3*” is confusing. Because the references are in ubiquitous use by the prisoners, TIN will use them in an effort to remain consistent with existing reports.

While recently received information allows TIN to provide an unusually detailed account of the comparative circumstances in the “new” and “old” branches of Unit 3, the same cannot yet be done in reference to Unit 5, where most male political prisoners are held. This report will not attempt to explicate parallel events of dissent and their consequences that occurred in the male political prisoner blocks. Although the men, mostly monks, outnumber female prisoners by almost two to one, TIN has received less detail about them. Like the nuns, their unit was subdivided by early 1996. Like the nuns, the men were kept under a lock-down regimen for more than a year after the May 1998 protests.² Detailed accounts of such experiences travel only with difficulty and risk, but it is certain that more information will emerge of the incidents and consequences of protest in Unit 5.

Unit 3: 1989 - 2000

annual prisoner totals indicate female political prisoners held in Unit 3 during any portion of a year



August 2000 - by late summer, sentence expiry reduces the number remaining in Unit 3 to 32; 14 are in "old *rukhang 3*", 18 in "new *rukhang 3*". About 100 releases due to sentence expiry took place since May 1998. Average sentence for those currently in "old *rukhang 3*" is now more than 11 years. In "new *rukhang 3*" it is just under seven years.

July 1999 - lock-down reportedly ends in Units 3 and 5, but some restrictions may have lasted beyond summer 1999.
first half 1999 - Unit 3 remains under complete lock-down; cells are under audiovideo surveillance. Visiting rights resumed in gradual stages and is restored for all nuns by early summer.

August 1998 - Pema Butri oversees destruction of reading and writing materials, as well as sentencing documents
June 1998 - "new *rukhang 3*" nuns stand in sun from 3 to 6 June; five die on 7 June (Tsultrim Zangmo, Drugkyi Pema, Khedron Yonten, Tashi Lhamo, Lobsang Wangmo). Visiting rights suspended; nuns under lock-down the rest of year.

May 1998 - political prisoners in Unit 3 number over 120. Prison protests at flag raisings on 1 and 4 May; 16 from "new *rukhang 3*", three from "old *rukhang 3*" put in solitary. Nearly all nuns severely beaten; Pema Butri beats Ngawang Sangdrol, Ngawang Choezom, Choekyi Wangmo and others. Five prison extensions, including Ngawang Sangdrol's third.

February 1997 - on the third day of Tibetan New Year, *Losar*, three inmates of "new *rukhang 3*" perform pro-Chinese songs. Two political prisoners, Nyima and Jamdrol, drown them out with Tibetan songs. When they are beaten and put into solitary, more than 70 women go on hunger strike. The strike is broken after five days; the two nuns remain in solitary for nearly two years, until December 1998.

May 1996 - the inmates of the old and new blocks are switched. The newer block is called "old *rukhang 3*" after the more senior inmates held; the older block is called "new *rukhang 3*" for the new arrivals inside.

April 1996 - inmates of the older block don't stand when Party members visit a workshop. PAP personnel later beat nuns on pretext of improperly folded blankets; a hunger strike is launched by nearly 90 women to protest beatings and solitary for Ngawang Sangdrol, Phuntsog Pema and Norzin Wangmo. Ngawang Sangdrol receives sentence extension to 17 years.

August onward 1995 - female political prisoners, including the 60 new arrivals, spend several months enduring military-style drills and related abuse.

end of July 1995 - 60 female political prisoners transferred from Gutsa and become first occupants in the new block.

January 1995 - an additional block for Unit 3 female political inmates is under construction, adjacent to the older block.

late 1994 - Gyaltzen Kalsang, detained in June 1993, is released on medical parole and dies at home the following February. She had suffered badly following military-style exercises.

after June 1994 - PAP initiate a programme of all-day military-style drills, called "exercise", for female political prisoners, involving extended periods of exertion, immobility and exposure to elements. Beatings and collapse are common.

June 1993 - nuns record songs and personal messages on an audiocassette smuggled out of the prison. All 14 are given sentence extensions ranging from five to nine years; extended sentences range from eight to 17 years. Phuntsog Nyidrol's extension was the longest; Ngawang Sangdrol, then age 16, received a six year extension. Eleven of the nuns would still remain in Drapchi in 2000.

March 1992 - the first day of Tibetan New Year (*Losar*), 5 March, is also the anniversary of major demonstrations in Lhasa in 1988 and 1989. Officials order female political prisoners to change from Tibetan clothing, which prisoners are permitted to wear for the new year, into new prison uniforms. When they refuse, PAP beat all of them (about 25). The abuse continued through the three day lunar observance and is followed by solitary confinement and more beating.

no arrivals of new female political prisoners to Drapchi known in 1991; no major incidents for female prisoners reported

end of 1990 - from six political prisoners in 1987, the combined number of males and females exceeds 100.

May 1990 - martial law in Lhasa is lifted after 14 months.

early 1990 - Unit 3, for female political prisoners, and Unit 5 for males are created in Drapchi.

October 1989 - Phuntsog Nyidrol of Mechungri is detained and becomes the second nun at Drapchi.

September 1989 - Shugsib nun Rinchen Choenyi is detained; she will be the first post-1987 nun at Drapchi.

March 1989 - martial law is declared in Lhasa at midnight on 7 March. A week later, lay woman Chungdag is detained; she becomes Drapchi's first post-1987 female political prisoner.

2. Female political prisoners at Drapchi: the buildup of Unit 3

A. 1990: creation of Unit 3

The Lhasa pro-independence protests in 1987 - 89, led mainly by young monks and nuns, marked a new wave of dissent in Tibet. In response to this sudden upsurge in political protest activity, the authorities took steps to deal with the increased number of political prisoners - the largely male political prisoner population in Drapchi was approaching 100 by early 1990. Two new units (cell blocks) were set up within Drapchi prison: Unit 3 [Tib: *rukhang* 3] for female political prisoners and Unit 5 [Tib: *rukhang* 5] for males. Lessons of the late 1980s, when laypeople did not initiate political demonstrations but were quick to join them, had convinced the authorities of the importance of erecting an intra-prison political quarantine against “counter-revolutionary propaganda” and those who spread it. It was not enough to keep dissidents and protestors off the street by jailing them; it was also necessary to separate them from ordinary criminal prisoners. One of China’s aims of incarceration is to reform criminal behaviour, an objective that is not easily achieved when the crime is holding beliefs not sanctioned by Party and state. The overcrowded, stressful conditions of a prison environment could favour the spread of anti-Chinese and Tibetan nationalist sentiment. By late 1990, political prisoners in Drapchi numbered about 120, with females accounting for 24, according to TIN records.

[see Images 21, 22, 24 and 25: [Drapchi Prison in 1993](#)]

Only the first of the principal pro-independence protests that erupted in the period from 27 September 1987 to 5 March 1989 was not suppressed with widespread beating and lethal force³. Other protests, all of which involved the participation of large numbers of laypeople, erupted on 1 October 1987, 5 March 1988, 10 December 1988, and 5 March 1989. Reliable information on the number of those who died, were injured or imprisoned has never been established, but conservative analysis of the 5 March 1989 event alone, the largest and most deadly of the demonstrations, put the civilian death toll between 50 and 80. The demonstration quickly developed into rioting, but continued in a subdued manner into the third day, 7 March. It was not until that afternoon that a warning was circulated that anyone on the street would soon be shot on sight. After the streets cleared, it was announced on the evening television news that martial law would be imposed in Lhasa at midnight that night. Lhasa remained under martial law until 1 May 1990.

Women detained for political protest were not sent to Drapchi, then classified as a reform through labour centre [Ch: *laogai*]⁴, until March 1989. Most were nuns who were held without legal process for a few months and then released. Those who were sentenced were dealt with by a “re-education through labour administration committee” outside the judicial system and given terms of administrative detention [Ch: *laojiao*]. On 15 March 1989, Chungdag, a laywoman in her early thirties and a resident of the Barkor area in Lhasa, was detained and eventually sentenced to seven years at Drapchi. According to TIN records, she was the first female political prisoner to arrive at Drapchi following the unrest in 1987. She was released before her sentence expired in November 1994, as China struggled to improve its human rights image as part of an attempt to become a founding member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). (Beijing failed in its bid to become a founder member of the

organisation, which came into being a month later at midnight 31 December 1994.) A housewife in her mid-forties, Ngawang Yudron, detained two weeks after Chungdag and sentenced to six years at Drapchi, became the second female political prisoner at Drapchi in this period.

Even in the tightly controlled and traumatic environment of military rule, small groups of Tibetans from nunneries in the Lhasa area remained defiant. Nearly 30 nuns are known to have been detained for staging protests or putting up posters while martial law was in force.⁵ All but a few served prison sentences. The first group, from Chubsang nunnery on the northern fringe of Lhasa, was detained in early September 1989, and punished by administrative sentences of two or three years. Some of the nuns were held at Gutsa Prison, a locality-based name for the Lhasa City (Ch: *Shi*) Public Security Bureau (PSB) Detention Centre⁶, situated about six kilometres east of central Lhasa. Some of those who received three year sentences would finish their terms at Trisam Prison, an informal Tibetan name for the TAR Re-education Through Labour Center, located about 14 kilometres west of the city centre. Trisam became operational as a *laojiao* in 1992.⁷

[see Image 35: Gutsa PSB Detention Centre]

[see Image 34: Trisam Re-education Through Labour Centre]

Only three weeks later a group of nuns from Shugsib nunnery, in the hills of Chushur county southwest of Lhasa, demonstrated in the Barkor. All of them received administrative sentences to Trisam except Rinchen Choenyi, who was sentenced to seven years at Drapchi. According to TIN's records, she became the third female political prisoner – and the first nun – at Drapchi during the current period of political unrest which began in 1987. Three weeks later, in mid-October 1989, a group from Mechungri Nunnery, on a mountainside overlooking northeast Lhasa, staged another protest. Four of the nuns were sent to Trisam and two were imprisoned at Drapchi with longer sentences. One, Phuntsog Pema, was released in 1997 but the other, Phuntsog Nyidrol, remains in Drapchi serving a sentence that was extended to 17 years in 1993. Phuntsog Nyidrol was the fourth female political prisoner, and the second nun, to arrive at Drapchi since 1987. She has been in prison longer than any other female Tibetan political prisoner. With her release scheduled for 2006, there is only one female political prisoner due for release after her, Ngawang Sangdrol.

[see Images 16a, 16b: Mechungri Nunnery]

[see Image 19: Shugsib Nunnery]

Military rule in Lhasa was lifted after nearly 14 months, on International Labour Day, 1 May 1990. Drapchi's Unit 3 and Unit 5 had been established shortly before that. As the authorities had hoped, the wave of protest quietened down somewhat – but only for the duration of 1991. From then until 1995, protest would remain generally vigorous, but with significantly altered patterns of participation. Intense media coverage across China had made the March 1989 events in Lhasa and the imposition of martial law into a national example of the danger inherent in a popular challenge to the authority of Party and state, even before the suppression of student protestors in Tiananmen Square three months later. Especially in Lhasa, there would be no more demonstrations led by monks and nuns, with large-scale lay participation. Some incidents of protest with popular support continued, but these were in smaller, more remote towns, and are not known to have entailed death, bloodshed or imprisonment on a scale anything like the earlier demonstrations in Lhasa.

Throughout the early and mid-1990s, monks and nuns would continue to stage small, fleeting protest demonstrations, or put up posters in their monasteries and nunneries – or on the walls and gates of government or Party compounds. On some occasions leaflets were prepared and distributed. Nearly always the message was of allegiance to the Dalai Lama, a call for

independence, and an exhortation that Chinese people should return to the places from which they came. Perhaps revealing the influence of international focus on the Tibetan cause, calls for improved human rights and environmental protection began to appear. Demonstrations remained peaceful - harm to participants was almost unheard of and property damage unusual and relatively minor. When property damage did occur, it was usually in the context of a conflict that would develop when a contingent of local police and officials arrived at a monastery or nunnery to implement the latest crackdown or political education campaign.⁸ For ordinary protest actions, sentences of three to five years at Drapchi, under charges of “inciting counter-revolution”, became routine. Those suspected of having been a “principal culprit” would receive sentences of seven to eight years or longer.

B. Emergence of precedents: protest and punishment

i. 1987 - 1991: male political prisoner protests at Drapchi and Sitru

Sealing political prisoners within Units 3 and 5 and attempting to reform them with political re-education had minimal success. Their influence on the wider body of inmates was constrained but core beliefs went unreformed, even if expressions of them were generally restrained. Political protest occurred at Drapchi soon after the arrival of the first political prisoners detained during the unrest of the late 1980s, with the first known instance occurring among the men of Unit 5 in December 1990, who by then numbered more than 90. Lhagpa Tsering, a middle school student detained at age 17 in October 1989, while martial law was in force, had been charged along with four other students of “ganging up together to establish a counter-revolutionary organisation”.⁹ They had created the “Snow Lion Youth Organization” and set about printing leaflets, posters, and making replicas of the Tibetan flag. Lhagpa, sentenced to three years, died in custody on 15 December 1990, following beating and torture. When the male political prisoners staged a protest that same day, People’s Armed Police (PAP) troops were summoned and the inmates beaten. One of the prisoners, Sonam Wangdu, reportedly required hospitalisation. Visitors on the next scheduled visiting day were reportedly given an unusual offering of tea and food along with the suggestion that they shouldn’t speak about the swollen faces and bruises they saw.¹⁰ Sonam Wangdu would be released on medical parole, a paraplegic, in 1993; he died in March 1999.¹¹

Thus, as early as 1990, the Drapchi authorities had demonstrated the capacity to inflict heavy beatings on an entire group of prisoners as a means of discouraging and punishing those who continued to exhibit the defiance which had earned them prison sentences in the first place.

Extensions to sentences could be applied as well. Tanag Jigme Zangpo, a school teacher whose third imprisonment for counter-revolution began in 1983 when he was 57, had already received two extensions to that sentence by early 1992, both for carefully timed solo protests in Drapchi. According to the 1983 verdict, his initial 15 year sentence had also been earned for solitary expressions of dissent, chief among them that he “openly pasted a personally written wall-poster on a wall in the southern part of Tsug Lhakhang [Jokhang Temple] criticising the leadership of our country”. The sentencing document revealed the heightened significance attached to a pattern of defiance rather than a single instance of this behaviour with the statement that Jigme Zangpo “has previously served prison terms on the guilt of counter-revolutionary crimes, [but] has never seriously re-considered his past crimes”.¹² The judgement stated that:

“Even after the defendant was arrested, he continued to propagate and support reactionary views; openly raised reactionary slogans; sang the Tibetan national anthem; and on top of this, continued to claim that he will struggle for ‘Tibetan independence’.”

Jigme Zangpo's first sentence extension of five years was handed down on 30 November 1988, more than a year after an incident on 5 October 1987. Prisoners had learned of the mass demonstrations in central Lhasa, only two kilometres south of Drapchi. Jigme Zangpo, reportedly in an effort to support those protests, staged his own protest which is described as follows in the official sentencing document:

“On the morning of 5 October 1987 the defendant Jigme Zangpo shouted reactionary slogans, timing his act when the prisoners were gathering to be fed. Running from behind the rows of prisoners, he read out the following reactionary slogans from a poster he was holding out: ‘Tibetan Independence’; ‘The Chinese Communist Party is Suppressing Tibet’; ‘The Communist Chinese Occupation Army Should Go Back’.”¹³

The verdict statement noted that he had not yet completed his term, but found that he had again “violated and opposed the socialist democratic system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its territorial integrity in an attempt to split the motherland”. The second extension was delivered more promptly, only four months after the protest compared to the 14 month delay that had occurred before his first sentence extension was imposed. On 6 December 1991, while a Swiss delegation, including the ambassador to China, was visiting Drapchi, Jigme Zangpo shouted political slogans from within his cell. The visitors heard the shouting. Afterwards Jigme Zangpo was beaten and placed in solitary confinement.¹⁴ The court's verdict reveals official exasperation as well as determination to increase punishment until opposition was checked:

“The court, therefore, finds that the defendant Jigme Zangpo has always had the objective to follow the reactionary path by steadfastly spreading and inciting counter-revolutionary propaganda. By raising reactionary slogans such as, ‘Tibetan independence’ and ‘Communist Chinese occupation forces quit Tibet’, the defendant has been found to be a dangerous counter-revolutionary person.”¹⁵

The ruling provides an insight into the more serious threat to officialdom implied by such seemingly minor or obscure challenges to authority:

“Moreover, he has been found guilty of serious crime by his continued opposition to the socialist democratic system; [by his opposition to] the dictatorship of the proletariat; [by having] considered socialism as an enemy; and [by having] attempted to eliminate the unity of the nationalities and the motherland.”¹⁶

The severity of Jigme Zangpo’s punishment for individual expressions which would have been considered innocuous by less apprehensive administrations, underscores the importance the Chinese authorities place on silencing dissent if ideological reform cannot actually be achieved. Jigme Zangpo has now accrued a 28 year sentence, the last portion of which was imposed when he was age 66, setting a precedent understood by other prisoners.¹⁷

Although Jigme Zangpo’s 1988 sentence extension for his October 1987 protest was the first known to have been imposed at Drapchi for an internal political protest in the current period of dissent and unrest, six more political prisoners who had earned sentence extensions would join the ranks at Drapchi on 28 September 1991. On 20 May 1991, three days before the 40th anniversary of the signing of the “17 Point Agreement”¹⁸, at a time when Lhasa was exceptionally tense and had been placed under a security alert, a group of at least 12 male political prisoners at Sitru Prison in northeast Lhasa¹⁹ handed prison officials a petition arguing that the 17 Point Agreement, a document of key historical significance used by the Chinese authorities to legitimise their claim over Tibet, had been forcibly imposed on Tibet and was invalid. All the protestors, who were serving three year administrative sentences at the time of their protest, were beaten and held in solitary confinement for three weeks. Ten are known to have received sentence extensions ranging from one to six years. Four men who received extensions of one year or one and a half years were later transferred to Trisam to complete their terms. The other six who received four to six year extensions were sent to Drapchi. All are believed to have been released after sentence expiry.²⁰

[see Image 33: Sitru PSB Detention Centre]

ii. early protests in Unit 3: *Losar* 1992 and June 1993

Female political prisoners encountered official violence on a unit-wide scale during Tibetan New Year (Tib: *Losar*)²¹ in 1992. The first day of a three-day festival linked to the lunar calendar that year was 5 March - a date that happened to be the third anniversary of the Lhasa demonstrations in 1989 which ended with the imposition of martial law. It was also the fourth anniversary of a demonstration in 1988 that culminated in People's Armed Police (PAP) troops storming the Jokhang Temple in the heart of Lhasa. Normally at *Losar*, Tibetan prisoners were permitted to engage in a minimal level of celebration, shedding prison uniforms in favour of traditional Tibetan dress, and enjoying seasonal foods brought by relatives. In 1992 prison officials arrived in Unit 3 and ordered the women to change into new prison uniforms instead. Rinchen Choenyi from Shugsib nunnery, Drapchi's first nun in the post-1987, period, described the uniform as follows:

"The prison officers came to the cell, at an unusual time, with some clothes that had yellow lines, a suit, a blue suit with yellow lines over the shoulder and along the legs. They came on the fifth of March with these clothes because on that same day, earlier in 1989, the fifth of March 1989, the Tibetans held a big demonstration in Lhasa. So, to make us angry, they gave us these clothes."²²

Interpreting the command as an intentional provocation, and resenting the rescinding of one of the few concessions afforded them in prison life, the inmates refused to change into the uniforms. PAP officers were summoned; the women were punched, kicked, shocked with electric batons, and beaten with the buckle ends of military belts. Rinchen Choenyi, who suffered a broken leg in the battering, later told TIN:

"There were five army [PAP] people beating each nun. We could not feel, during the beating we could not see clearly, our heads were covered in blood. This was the worst experience in my seven years of imprisonment."²³

That assessment would be echoed in another account given by Chungdag, Drapchi's first female political prisoner detained in the current period, and one of those beaten during *Losar* 1992. After the New Year beating she was taken to nearby Utritru Prison²⁴ and put into solitary confinement for several days. When a prison official confronted her, she protested against the harsh treatment, arguing that it was excessive and unjustified since the women had "not stolen from anybody or killed anyone". After ordering for her to be handcuffed, the official beat her and struck her face and body with an electric shock baton until she lost consciousness. She was revived, given some medication, then returned to solitary confinement for 11 more days. She summed up the episode as "beyond anyone's imagination".²⁵

According to Rinchen Choenyi, 23 female political prisoners had arrived at Drapchi by 1992.²⁶ The tally accords closely with TIN records, which indicate that three laywomen and 22 nuns were being held in Drapchi by *Losar* 1992. Their average age at detention was 23; average sentence was about five years and two months.

[see List 1: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3 as of March 1992]

While the statements of women who experienced the beating in 1992 indicate the traumatic nature of the experience, it clearly did not succeed in subduing the spirits of all the inmates. In June 1993, 14 nuns, a quarter of the increasing population of female political prisoners in Drapchi at that time, made an unprecedented effort to convey a message of hope over despair beyond the confines of Unit 3. The nuns managed to make a tape-recording of individual songs and brief statements. The tape was smuggled out of prison and a copy obtained by TIN. Each nun, taking pains to portray herself as being in good spirits

despite the harsh conditions of prison life, dedicated a song or poem to her family and friends. Adapting her sentiments to a traditional east Tibetan poem likening the Dalai Lama to the water sustaining fish in a lake, one of the nuns was straightforward:

Our food is like pig food,
we are beaten and treated brutally.
But this will never change
the Tibetan people's perseverance.
It will remain unfaltering."²⁷

Another was pensive, merging her thoughts with the vista beyond the window of her cell:

Looking from the window,
Seeing nothing but the sky
And the clouds that float in the sky,
Which I wish were my parents

We, the captured friends in spirit,
We might be the ones to fetch the jewel.
No matter how hard we are beaten
Our linked arms cannot be separated.

The cloud from the east
Is not a patch that is sewn,
And the time will come when the sun
From beneath the clouds shall appear."²⁸

After the prison authorities discovered the nuns' enterprise, all of the women were given sentence extensions in October 1993. Extensions of five to nine years were added to their original sentences, which ranged from three to nine years. Resultant sentence totals ranged from eight to 17 years, with Phuntsog Nyidrol of Mechungri nunnery then holding the longest term. Her status as a leading figure in her nunnery, where she was a chant mistress, may have increased the gravity of her offence in the eyes of the Chinese authorities. As mentioned above, her current sentence expiry date of 2006 currently renders her the second-to-last female political prisoner scheduled to leave Drapchi. Only Ngawang Sangdrol, whose sentence was raised from three to nine years in 1993, will be imprisoned for a longer term. Her term has been increased twice since then, once in 1996 and again in 1998, and is currently reported to be 21 years. The other 12 nuns and their resultant sentences were as follows: Gyaltzen Choezom (9 yrs), Gyaltzen Drolkar (12 yrs), Jigme Yangchen (12 yrs), Lhundrup Zangmo (9 yrs), Namdrol Lhamo (12 yrs), Ngawang Choekyi (13 yrs), Ngawang Choezom (11 yrs), Ngawang Lochoe (10 yrs), Ngawang Tsamdrol (10 yrs), Palden Choedron (8 yrs), Rigzin Choenyi (12 yrs) and Tenzin Thubten (14 yrs).

[see List 2: Unit 3 nuns given sentence extensions for recording audiocassette in June 1993]

[see Images 5 and 6: Ngawang Sangdrol]

[see Image 7: Gyaltzen Drolkar]

[see Image 8: Tenzin Thubten]

Palden Choedron of Shugsib Nunnery, the first of the group to be released when her sentence expired in October 1998, was detained a few months later as she tried to flee Tibet. She is reportedly serving a three year administrative sentence at Trisam. Gyaltzen Choezom of Garu Nunnery and Lhundrub Zangmo of Mechungri were released in 1999 at the end of their terms, but not before they were involved in one more protest, the Unit 3 hunger strike of April 1996. The other 11 nuns currently remain incarcerated in Drapchi's "old *rukhaq 3*".

C. Rising numbers, martial discipline, Unit 3 partition, and hunger strikes

i. 1994: PAP introduce military-style drills

Throughout the first half of the 1990s, female political prisoner numbers continued to rise rapidly. At the beginning of 1995 there were just over 100 women imprisoned for political offences in Drapchi, four times as many as three years earlier when the 25 inmates of Unit 3 were beaten at the time of Tibetan New Year. The prison authorities sought new methods to assert their authority and pressure the women to reform. A number of reports have reached TIN over the past years describing debilitating sessions of military-style drill supervised by the prison's garrison of PAP. The demands of the drill instructors proved extremely difficult, at times impossible, for weakened prisoners to fulfill. Rinchen Choenyi explains the deceptive simplicity of the format:

“At the time of this exercise the prisoners should act exactly like the soldiers who guide them. If they are not able to exactly copy the movements then they are beaten badly.”²⁹

Most accounts of the injurious routine focus on the period following 1995, but an account by Mechungri nun Trinley Choedron, detained for demonstrating in 1992, held in Unit 3 and released in 1996, asserts that the sessions began in 1994:

“[A]fter some time, the People's Armed Police came and then they said they were going to teach us military drills. During the drills, they would beat us a lot, much more than when we were first beaten at the time of interrogation. In winter we had to work, but in summer, starting from around the fourth Tibetan month until the ninth Tibetan month [approximately June through November], we had to undergo this drilling. It started sometime in 1994. [...] One has to get up at six o'clock in the morning, then run three rounds, but that's not considered a part of this drill. You are then given breakfast, and then you start to drill. I think it starts at around 7:00 and goes until 12:00 in the morning. Then at 12:00 you eat your lunch, then you have some free time. Then it starts again at 2:00 o'clock, mid-day, and from then, there is no definite time. Sometimes it finishes at around dusk. Sometimes it goes until 2:00 o'clock in the morning, the next morning.”³⁰

All the reports of the military-style drills share certain characteristics: alternation between extended periods of exertion and periods of enforced motionlessness, usually in conjunction with exposure to sun, rain, or cold. One former prisoner provides more detail about the sessions as they were first carried out:

“We had to stand upright and they would put a newspaper under our arms [...]. They would then pull our hands up, and at that time, if we couldn't stand straight and still, then they would beat us. Sometimes, they would come from behind and kick us on the backs of our legs, and then at that time we would definitely fall, or falter, and when we did so, we would be beaten again. Sometimes we would have to stand in the sunshine for about two hours, very [straight], with a book on our head. We were not allowed to let the book fall. And then, sometimes, if it was hailing, they would ask us to lift our faces up towards the sky until the hail stopped. At times, somebody would faint or fall. But even if we called for help, they would not come and help, and no one would be allowed to help the person who had fallen. Sometimes they would beat up one or two prisoners so badly, and because they are PAP, they are trained to hit so hard that sometimes the person would be smashed against a wall, sometimes even throwing up blood, but

still they wouldn't help. During the drills we really had to run like hell. Even if we had bought a fairly strong pair of shoes, they didn't last longer than about five days."³¹

Weakness, sickness and injury were generally not accepted as reasons to miss a session:

"Nuns would carry those who had been beaten unconscious or who had fallen down during the drill to their beds at the end of the sessions. There would be no medical help. The next day, the PAP would call those sick nuns out of their beds, and they would be forced to do the drill again."³²

Norzin Wangmo, a Shugsib nun detained in December 1993 for demonstrating in the Lhasa Barkor who was transferred from Gutsa to Drapchi with a five year sentence in September 1994, describes PAP refinements to this "exercise" as follows:

"Starting in the 15th day of the fourth Tibetan month [early summer] to the 12th Tibetan month [late winter], they made us exercise. They would make us run for a long distance and then chase us on bikes. They said it was for our health, but in fact this was a punishment. We understood this. We are not stupid. They would punish us in this way. [The exertion] would make most of us fall unconscious. Everyone running would fall on the ground, our bodies would frequently be swollen and bloated, but they would come and make us stand and then beat us. They would brutally punish us. If we needed to urinate we were not allowed to ask to go to the toilet for two hours and even if we had stomach pains we were not allowed to ask. We were living in pain. They would force us to stand outside in the sun, rain and snow. When it was raining hard, they would leave us in the rain. When the sun was shining brightly, they would leave us in the sun for a long time. We were already so weak because they only gave us cabbage and hot water."³³

She also highlighted PAP ability to utilize nature's elements to intensify discomfort or pain:

"[When] it hailed they would put it in our mouths and the blood vessels were in pain. When the sun was shining they would make us stand up for two hours or more, with arms stretched out under the sun, and balance books on our arms and head, and we wouldn't be able to move. This would go on for a long time and our bodies would frequently become swollen and painful. Then they would hit us in the face, and check whether or not the blood vessels were swollen. Once the blood vessels were swollen, we couldn't bend our arms if we wanted to. Then, they would beat us and leave us in the sun. I was so weak and I bled two times."³⁴

Another account by a woman detained in 1993, sentenced for helping to distribute pro-independence leaflets, and held in "old *rukhang 3*", describes the sessions in similar terms:

"The soldiers [PAP] also tortured us by teaching us exercise. They told foreign visitors to Tibet³⁵ that they were teaching exercises to the political prisoners to make them healthy. Actually it was not for our health but to torture us in a more sophisticated way by calling it an exercise for our health. If we failed to follow exactly according to what the soldiers were doing during the drills they would start beating us with bamboo sticks and with their heavy belts. They punished political prisoners by forcing them to sit erect in the sun on a hot day for many hours, which frequently made them bleed from the nose and mouth in large amounts. Sometimes they would fall to the ground unconscious. [...] We were never allowed to help [and if we tried] they threatened to beat us."³⁶

The death of 25 year old Garu nun Gyaltzen Kelsang has been linked to this military-style routine in its early days. She was detained in June 1993 and sentenced to an unusually short two year sentence, and collapsed at the end of 1994 after a session

of military drills. According to a report by one of the nuns who demonstrated with her but was released without sentencing, Gyaltzen Kalsang was then hospitalised suffering from paralysis in her legs. She was released on medical parole into the custody of her family and died in February 1995.³⁷

“Exercises” may have been instituted earlier in Unit 3 than they were in the men’s political prisoner unit, and PAP expectations of the women seem to have been no less severe than the demands on the men. Drepung monk Phuntsog Gonpo was released from Drapchi in September 1996 after completing his five year sentence. Referring to his own experience with martial drills, he told TIN:

“From 1992 to 1995, prisoners had to exercise only in the early morning - jogging or walking around within the compound. But from 1995 onwards the exercises started to be more severe, and they taught many new exercises. [...] Almost throughout the whole of 1996 we had to go to exercise from nine to twelve, and then lunch break, and then from two to six.”³⁸

The intensification of military-style drills after 1995 also appeared to apply to the female political prisoner population of Drapchi, which reached a peak at this time.

ii. August 1995: partition of Unit 3

TIN records indicate that nearly 460 Tibetan political prisoners (male and female) who served their sentences at Drapchi were detained during at least some portion of 1996. Not all were detained during the entire year, nor were all detained at any single point during the year, but it is clear that the number of political prisoners at Drapchi reached a peak in 1996. The total number of political prisoners who served sentences at Drapchi and who were detained during any portion of 1995 or 1997 was approximately 440 and 430 respectively, indicating that levels had risen to near-peak levels by 1995 and remained so into 1997. From then on, numbers declined dramatically.

[see Chart 1: Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000]

More than a quarter (28 per cent) of all the female political prisoners TIN documents as having been imprisoned in Drapchi were detained in the first quarter of 1995.³⁹ Of the 53 women detained in that period, all were nuns; 43 were taken into custody in February. The most politically active nuns at that time tended to come from two particular nunneries: Gyabdrag (19 detentions) and Shar Bumpa (seven), which are located in the Phenpo district of Lhundrub County. That surge of political protest and detention would propel the events at Drapchi in the years that followed.

[see Image 15: Gyabdrag Nunnery]

[see Image 18: Shar Bumpa Nunnery]

Drapchi authorities had constructed two new cell blocks to cope with the escalating political prisoner population, one for females and another for males. In the late summer of 1995, a singularly large transfer of approximately 60 female political prisoners was made from Gutsa to Drapchi.⁴⁰ The shift had been delayed for months as construction of the new cell block was completed. These women would become the first inmates of the new block, located adjacent and to the south of the older block. A new male cell block was located in the same manner with respect to the older section of Unit 5.

[see Images 20 and 23: Drapchi Prison]

The female political prisoner population at Drapchi had been approximately 100 before the new intake arrived from Gutsa. With the arrival of about 60 more, the numbers in Drapchi reached a plateau which would be maintained into 1996 before a steady decline began in 1997.

[see Chart 2 following]

Female political prisoners in Drapchi: 1989 to 2000

based on TIN data for "hard records" current in 08/2000

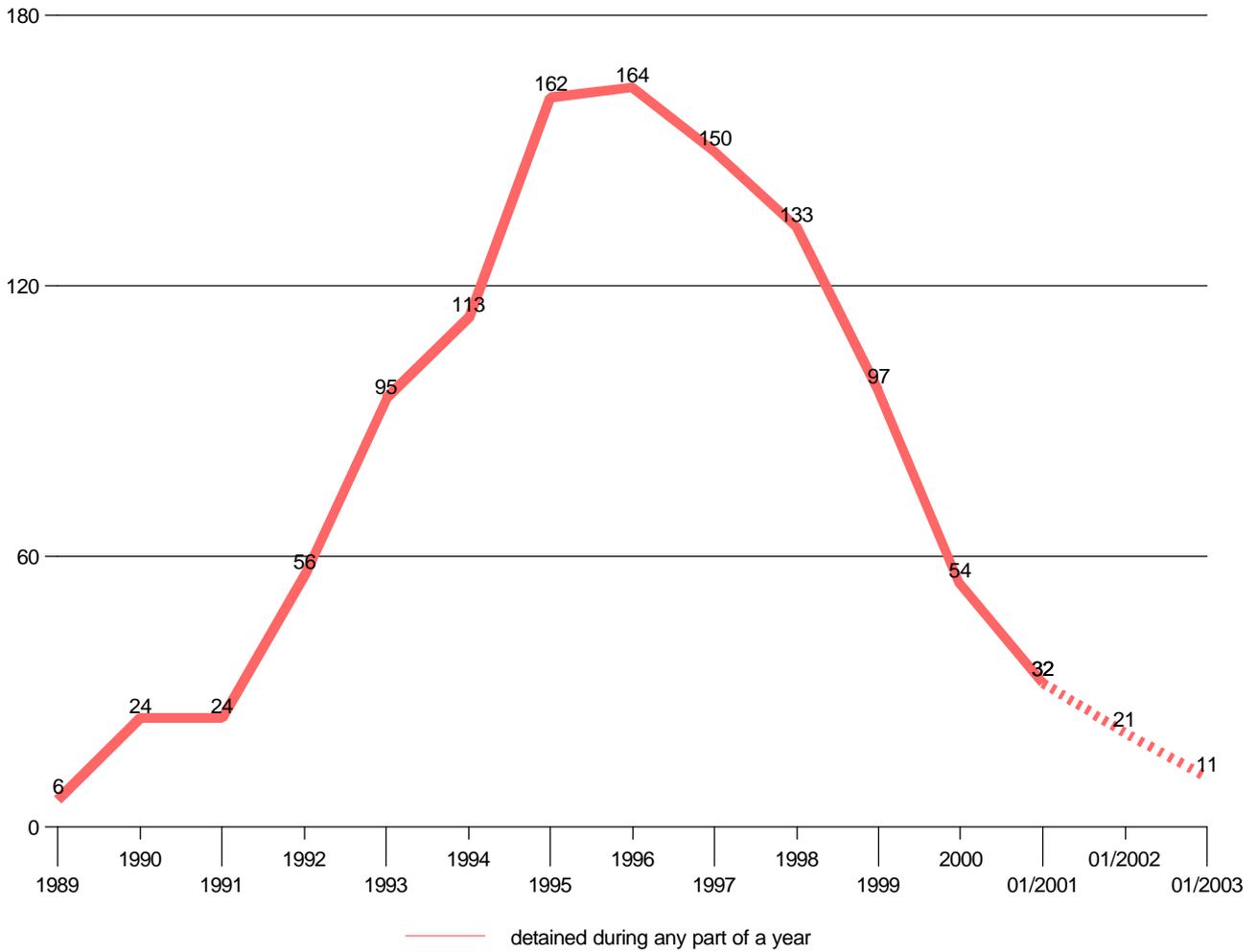


Chart 2: Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000

iii. first arrivals in “new *rukhang 3*”; more exercises

An account provided to TIN by Choeying Gyaltzen, one of the nuns transferred from Gutsa to Drapchi early in 1995, before the group of 60, explains that the additional block was under construction when she arrived but that it was not brought into service until later in the year, when the large group arrived from Gutsa:

“[W]hen I arrived in Drapchi [the *rukhang*] was not yet divided. There was only *rukhang 3*. New construction was in progress. Later, many nuns were transferred to Drapchi and then there was a division into old and new, within *rukhang 3*.”⁴¹

When the first inmates were moved into “the new line of *rukhang 3*”, as she referred to it, some of the more basic features had yet to be provided. One of the initial occupants in the new block comments on the level of readiness of the new construction:

“At that time there was no toilet in the line of the new third *rukhang*. We had to go in the evening to empty the toilet bucket, which was brought to us each day, in the toilets of old *rukhang 3*.”⁴²

[see Image 9: Choeying Gyaltzen]

The quality and level of completion of amenities in the new block were little more than an inconvenience compared to other hardships faced by the new arrivals. More established political prisoners in the “old” block had already become acquainted with the “exercise” system, and the programmed harm it inflicted, but the newcomers to Unit 3, most of whom had become sick, weak and atrophied during long months at Gutsa, were ill-prepared to fulfill PAP commands.

New accounts received by TIN are the most comprehensive so far and provide considerable detail on the experiences of the group who first occupied the new block in Unit 3. Following their transfer, reportedly on 31 July 1995, the first full day at Drapchi was *Bayi Day*, Chinese for “August First” - marking the foundation of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA)⁴³ on 1 August 1949. This significant anniversary would be the day the women were introduced to military “exercise” in 1995. One of them, Choeying Kunsang of Shar Bumpa Nunnery, detained in February 1995 for demonstrating in the Barkor in Lhasa, explained:

“We were kept standing for a whole day from morning to evening. At lunch time we were allowed to go to the toilet once. We got watery blisters [on our scalp] from the sun. We had to keep papers under our armpits and between our knees. [They told us] ‘You didn’t do any work in Gutsa, so your nerves have stiffened and contracted. You have to be made to stand up in order to make your body function again.’ Those who were weak fell down, because [some of] our blood had been extracted before this. If someone fell down near you, you were not allowed to help her. If we lifted another person, we were both beaten. They said that we were faking [collapse]. They put glasses of water on our heads. Also, when some of the weaker nuns collapsed, they bound planks to their legs [from foot to hip] in order to make them stand up. They said that they had to make them [stand] properly.”⁴⁴

Sessions of this nature continued for three months until November, when PAP drill instructors began teaching a new set of “exercises”. But because the instructions were barked out only in Chinese, and most of the women had rural backgrounds and minimal education, they didn’t speak Chinese and couldn’t comprehend the commands. Failure to understand was punished, sometimes with beating, shocks from an electric baton, or blows from a military belt. On one occasion when PAP

directors became exasperated, the entire group was forced to run for an extended period in loosened soil, “where flowers are grown”. Exhausted and expecting more over-exertion, the women reported to the following day’s session wearing lighter clothing. Instead, water was sprinkled on a concrete slab and they were forced to stand barefoot and motionless on the frigid surface.

In January, about five months after they had arrived at Drapchi, they were told that a “competition” would be staged later that month between Drapchi prisoners and those at Lhasa Prison, formerly known to Tibetans as Utritru (Ch: *wuzhidui*), a kilometre east of Drapchi. Inmates would be expected to know and perform the drills precisely. Part of the performance would be chanting a four-syllable Chinese slogan in cadence with the exercises. Initially they chanted the words as demanded, but were soon alerted that the slogan affirmed that a prisoner had recognized her criminality, was working to reform her behaviour, and had resolved to rejoin society as a “new person”. Outraged, the women, as a group, ceased shouting the slogan as suddenly as they had begun.

The PAP supervisors were furious, accusing the women of having lied when they claimed not to know Chinese. They forced the inmates to start running and threatened that they would not be permitted to stop until they resumed the chant. Insisting there was no crime to reform, the women refused to relent. One of the women told TIN:

“They punished us in many ways for not shouting their slogans. We were made to stand on cement floors with water, they placed bricks on our feet, they made us run. They questioned and beat each of us individually. Although they did all this, no one shouted their slogans.”⁴⁵

After that, female political prisoners had their year split between work in Drapchi’s wool sheds, part of the prison’s Tibetan carpet enterprise, and performing military-style drills. Summer is the season for wool work; winter is reserved for martial exercise. Claims continue to be made by released prisoners that the regimen was one of the most debilitating features of prison life. Choekyi Wangmo, a Shar Bumpa nun released in December 1999 after completing a sentence extended for participating in the May 1998 protests, is reported to be in precarious health partly because of the harm she suffered as a result of the “exercises”. Choeying Kunsang offers her own assessment:

“Most of the beatings and punishments of the prisoners are related to the exercises. The exercises are the worst rule in the prison. You enter the prison healthy and you leave the prison with all sorts of ailments.”⁴⁶

iv. April 1996: hunger strike among the “old” inmates

As the months of military-style drill wore on, and the “competition” at Utritru passed, the new arrivals were put to work processing wool. They remained in the newer of the two blocks comprising Unit 3. During those initial months of partition, the inmates adopted the predictable convention of calling the older structure “old *rukhang* 3”, and the newer block “new *rukhang* 3”. It was not until after a hunger strike erupted in spring 1996 amongst the more senior prisoners, still living in the older building, and less than a year after the “new” nuns had arrived, that the swap of building names and inmates would occur. The incident, its suppression, and its aftermath would contribute further to the series of precedents that would reappear with vigour in May 1998.

Although TIN has previously reported the crackdown in April 1996 on Unit 3, significant new information has become available which clarifies the sequence of events and indicates that a visit by Party dignitaries may have set them in motion. At first the incident was portrayed as being focused upon the tidiness of the nuns’ quarters and the failure of Garu nun Ngawang Sangdrol to rise to her feet when a prison official entered the room where she worked. As more detail became available, TIN reported that the complaints of wrinkled bedding had been used as a pretext for applying pressure on the prisoners to comply with key requirements of Patriotic Education: to denounce the Dalai Lama, accept the Chinese-appointed Panchen Lama⁴⁷, and acknowledge that Tibet has long been an inalienable part of the Chinese motherland. Other reports have shown that similar work on ideology was underway in Unit 5 around the same time, and that consequences there proved grim as well.⁴⁸

Nuns fleeing into exile earlier this year report that on “1 March 1996”, which is almost certainly a Tibetan date equivalent to 18 April in the Western calendar, a delegation of the Tibet Communist Party including Tenzin and Pasang, deputy Party secretaries, and a third leader identified as “Phangme Konchog Pemo”, visited the older block of Unit 3 at Drapchi. Choeying Gyaltsen of Shar Bumpa Nunnery, detained in June 1994, was present during the visit. She told TIN:

“When they came they told us to stand up and pay respect to the visitors. We told them that we were not able to stand up and so we did not. We were doing wool work at the time. Then they told us that our cells were not clean, and they called the army [PAP] and mistreated us. They told us that we hadn’t kept our blankets on the beds made up properly. That time they took each of us out of the cells and the army [PAP] beat us badly.”⁴⁹

Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Pema, one of the Mechungri nuns detained along with Phuntsog Nyidrol in 1989, were blamed by prison officials for having instigated what they interpreted as a show of disrespect for the Party cadres, and for the collective defiance which officials believed was symbolised by imperfectly folded quilts. The two nuns countered the accusations, insisting they were responsible for their own actions and had not urged anyone else to do likewise. Unsatisfied, officials ordered both women to be beaten and removed to solitary confinement cells, where they would remain for more than six months.⁵⁰

Another considerably more detailed account of the events had been provided to TIN in 1997 by another political prisoner, also present in Unit 3’s older block as of 1996. Dates are reasonably consistent, but the account does not mention the Party visitors, instead emphasising political education and the role of wrinkled bedding as a pretext for severe physical abuse. According to this account, on 20 April (two days after the Party visit mentioned in the account above) the inmates were

summoned to a meeting and informed they must affirm their acceptance of China's appointment of a Panchen Lama. According to the former prisoner, who is now in exile, some "raised their voices", declaring, "The Dalai Lama is the all-knowing one and never commits any mistakes in choosing the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. We say that we can only accept the Dalai Lama's recognition."⁵¹ After this episode the women in the block were subjected to daily inspections of their cells and were told their blankets and quilts hadn't been made up neatly enough, a finding which the inmates believed was linked to their refusal to accept Chinese views on the Panchen Lama. They were warned that if their housekeeping didn't improve, the PAP would begin cell inspections and "teach" them how to make up their beds properly.

On 24 April 1996, the prisoner-leaders of Unit 3's older section, including Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Pema, were summoned to meet a unit leader who accused them of having failed to ensure that the women made up their bedding to the proper standards. He began to kick and hit them, reportedly singling out Ngawang Sangdrol for particular maltreatment. Other inmates of the block, hearing the outcry, rushed from their work stations to the site of the beating and appealed for the abuse to stop, insisting that those being maltreated did not bear responsibility for imperfect housekeeping. Their pleas irritated the official, who enlisted other staff to assist him in the maltreatment of the two nuns. As the beating grew in severity, the onlookers became frantic and began to "shout and raise slogans against their torture", according to the account received by TIN. Further angered, the official summoned PAP and members of the supervisory staff [*guanzhaoke*] to help suppress the prisoners. The contingent arrived, fully armed and wearing helmets, and removed Ngawang Sangdrol, Phuntsog Pema and Norzin Wangmo to solitary confinement cells.⁵² According to this account, Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Pema would remain in solitary for six and a half months. Ngawang Sangdrol would be taken to the Lhasa People's Intermediate Court the following July to receive her second prison extension, reportedly eight years, raising her sentence to 17 years.⁵³

Inmates were told that PAP cell inspections would commence when the unit leader and a group of PAP arrived in the older block the next day. One of the former prisoners explains:

"The soldiers [PAP] were carrying bamboo sticks and belts in their hands and they started checking our beds which were quite tidy. The *duizhang* [unit leader] pointed out the bed and the soldiers checked everything and started beating the female prisoners with their belts and bamboo sticks. Many of us were mercilessly beaten."⁵⁴

Cell inspections by PAP justified by charges of wrinkled blankets and untidy beds, followed by apparently random beatings continued until 30 April. On that day the women in "old *rukhang* 3" resolved to initiate a hunger strike protesting the punitive violence. One of those involved reported that the support included "about 87 political prisoners doing that hunger strike, only from our *rukhang*".⁵⁵ TIN figures accord closely with the claim, further indicating that the strikers averaged the age of 25 at the time and held an average six year sentence.

[see List 3: Female political prisoners known or believed held in Drapchi Prison's "old *rukhang* 3" as of April 1996]

The following day, 1 May, International Labour Day, PAP troops again carried out their inspections. Referring to a nun named Dekyi⁵⁶, who occupied the bunk below hers, the former prisoner recalls what she saw: "I remember ani Dekyi-la, who was in the same cell as me and who was staying below my bed. The soldiers beat her so cruelly after checking her bed that she started bleeding from her mouth, nose and from her ears."⁵⁷ TIN records suggest that the nun beaten may have been Ngawang Tsomo (lay name Dekyi) of Gyabdrag Nunnery, and that she became bedridden as a result of the blows, which also affected her kidneys.⁵⁸

The prisoners, already in the depleted state that is normal for prison life, declined in health rapidly to a level that concerned prison officials, who accused the women of trying to embarrass China:

“[O]n the fourth day of the hunger strike some higher officials of the Chinese authorities came to Drapchi in our *rukhang* and advised us not to do such hunger strike. They said that the political prisoners were trying to harm the national reputation by having a hunger strike. They said that they had the medical facilities to stop a hunger strike and told us to stop rather than continue. They promised that they wouldn't send the soldiers to torture us if we stopped the hunger strike.”⁵⁹

Aware that they had no choice but to comply, the women halted their protest.

Choeying Gyaltzen's account provides a date range somewhat earlier than the summary above. Following the visit by Party officials Tenzin and Pasang on “1 March 1996”, beatings by PAP took place on “3 March 1996” (western 20 April) and the hunger strike began the following day. The strike is reported to have lasted “from the fourth till the ninth”,⁶⁰ or until 27 April by the western calendar. Here, too, officials from outside Drapchi are depicted in a more favourable light than those from within the prison:

“Then after five days the TAR heads came and they told the *rukhang* heads that they weren't allowed to treat us like that in the future. It was mainly the *rukhang* heads who mistreated us. If they can beat us themselves, they do. If they can't beat us, then they call the army [PAP] from outside.”⁶¹

The inmates focussed on making the visiting officials understand that their objection was to extraordinary punishments being exacted for trivial infractions of rules:

“We told them that they had to promise that in the future we wouldn't be mistreated like that, otherwise we wouldn't eat. Then later they told us that they wouldn't call the army for reasons such as blankets that were not well folded.”⁶²

TIN has received no reports that the hunger strike was adopted by the new arrivals in the newer block. One statement provided by an inmate who participated in the hunger strike speculates that the recent arrivals may not have been aware of the events in the older block.⁶³

v. switching cell blocks: old is new, new is old

When the group of approximately 60 female political prisoners was transferred from Gutsa to Drapchi in summer 1995, the newly arrived prisoners were housed in the new, not quite completed, block. The more senior inmates remained where they were, in the older block, where few prisoners detained after 1994 would join them.⁶⁴ At that point, a reference to “old *rukhang* 3” meant the older structure, where the longer-serving nuns were held. “New *rukhang* 3” referred to the newer structure that housed new arrivals.

This arrangement changed, apparently early in May 1996, just after the hunger strike. Choeying Gyaltzen, who arrived at Drapchi in January 1995 and was placed in the older block, explains:

“After the trouble in Drapchi all those nuns from the new *rukhang* were moved to the old *rukhang*, and nuns from the old *rukhang* were moved into the new *rukhang*. [...] It happened in 1996.”⁶⁵

“24 March 1996”, the date provided for the switch, is probably the Tibetan equivalent of 11 May in the Western calendar.⁶⁶ Inmates immediately adopted the habit of referring to the newly built block where the longer-serving nuns were now held as “old *rukhang* 3”, while the older block which now accommodated the recently arrived nuns became known as “new *rukhang* 3”. The new designations are the reverse of what had been used until that point, and are potentially confusing since the terms “old” and “new” after May 1996 reflect the seniority of the inmates, not the age of the structures. When asked if the longer-serving nuns initially in the older building, and the newly arrived nuns initially in the new block, were switched and remained that way, Choeying Gyaltzen was unambiguous in her clarification:

“Yes. The old *rukhang* is placed in the new building, and the new *rukhang* is placed in the old building.”⁶⁷

A comparison of Drapchi photographs taken in 1993 and 2000 confirms this. The structure now referred to as “old *rukhang* 3” had not yet been built in 1993, but the block called “new *rukhang* 3” is visible in older and more recent images. Moving the inmates may not have been in response to the hunger strike; the revised allocation of space would have been consistent with Unit 3 population at the time. The newer block, initially occupied by the recent arrivals, is about 50 per cent larger than the older block and would have better accommodated the approximately 100 “old” female political prisoners already present in Drapchi when *rukhang* 3 was subdivided. The older (smaller) structure could have been deemed sufficient for the 60 “new” inmates.

[see Images 26 and 27: Drapchi Prison, Unit 3 in 1993 and 2000]

In 1996, a similar partitioning of Unit 5 occurred for male political prisoners. The men also refer to the blocks as the “old” and “new” branches of Unit 5, but no switch of inmates between blocks occurred. The older building continues to hold the longer-serving prisoners, while the newer structure holds the more recent arrivals.

[see Images 28 and 29: Drapchi Prison, Unit 5 in 1993 and 2000]

In 1998, “old” and “new” *rukhang* 3 reportedly received formal designations as “Unit 6” and “Unit 7” respectively. Male blocks became “Unit 8” and “Unit 9”. Formal designations are said to be used only when the authorities stage intra-prison or inter-prison activities such as “competitions” in military drills. Political prisoners themselves continue to refer to the units as the “old” or “new” branches of “*rukhang* 3” and “*rukhang* 5”.

vi. Losar 1997: hunger strike in “new rukhag 3”

Since there have been no reports that prisoners in “new *rukhang* 3” were involved in the hunger strike of April 1996, it appears that the first political confrontation between the “new” inmates and their jailers may not have occurred until *Losar* 1997, the first Tibet New Year the inmates would experience in Drapchi. Echoing what had happened at *Losar* 1992, prison officials ordered political prisoners to perform patriotic Chinese songs. Yeshe Kunsang, a Shugsib nun who was released from Drapchi in December 1997 at the age of 23 and who is now in exile, was transferred from Gutsa to Drapchi in the summer of 1995. She provides an account of what happened on the third day of the Tibetan New Year in 1997 (10 February):

“Three nuns who were regarded by the prison cadres as well-reformed inmates were asked to sing a song in praise of Mao. While these three nuns were singing the song in praise of Mao, two other nuns stood amongst the women inmates. They were Nyima, an 18 year old nun from Phenpo Phodo Nunnery in Phenpo Lhundrub Dzong, and Jamdrol, a 23 year old nun from Phenpo Gyabdrag Nunnery in Phenpo Lhundrub Dzong. The two nuns started singing a Tibetan freedom song in high-pitched voices to compete with the three nuns singing the song in praise of Mao. The two nuns were immediately taken to the prison office and interrogated and severely beaten. Later the two nuns were put into solitary confinement. After the two nuns were transferred to solitary confinement, all the women inmates demanded the release of their two friends from the solitary cells. The army personnel [PAP] were called in to bring the situation under control. The army personnel beat Nyima and Jamdrol again and other prisoners were locked in their dormitories. The army cadres also beat some of the other prisoners.”⁶⁸

The following morning the women were taken for an early session of “exercise” and then permitted to have breakfast. All except the three who had had sung the Maoist songs the previous day refused to eat unless Nyima and Jamdrol were released from solitary confinement. An official of the prison guard told the inmates that the two would not be released but would be given adequate food, a departure from standard treatment for prisoners held in solitary. Dissatisfied with the assurance, the women initiated a hunger strike. TIN is able to identify 80 female political prisoners believed to have been in “new *rukhang* 3” as of *Losar* 1997. All were nuns except a laywoman, Tseten, and Tsering Lhamo, a self-described nun. At the time they averaged age 24; their sentences averaged just under five years.

[see List 4: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's “new *rukhang* 3” as of February 1997]

Less than a year had elapsed since the similar protest among longer-serving nuns of Unit 3. After three days, when the condition of the women had already deteriorated noticeably, the same official returned to negotiate. According to Yeshe Kunsang, he assured the nuns, “Whatever the reasons are for your hunger strike, we shall deal with them. Eat your food! If you are unhappy about the prison administration we shall approach the higher authorities.”⁶⁹ The women were not won over, but on the fifth day of the action, 15 February, repeated offers of thin rice gruel and the hope that some of their grievances might be redressed brought the strike to an end. Only after the prisoners resumed eating were they told that Nyima and Jamdrol, who their comrades had feared would face sentence extensions, would instead spend the rest of their terms in solitary confinement.

Another account of the same incident, provided by Lobsang Choezin of Shar Bumpa Nunnery, then a 19 year old inmate of “new *rukhang* 3”, adds more detail. When the political prisoners were gathered to sing pro-Chinese songs, officials of Drapchi

were on hand, but none from outside the prison. The message of the “Tibetan freedom song” which Jamdrol and Nyima began singing is described:

“His Holiness the Dalai Lama is not without a place to stay in Tibet. He has a place to stay, but the Chinese didn't let him remain, so he had to leave. Tibetans are the owners of Tibet. If all Tibetans join [together with] enthusiasm, they can restore freedom”.⁷⁰

After Jamdrol and Nyima broke into song, other nuns allegedly joined in, but only the two initiators were taken to solitary cells. According to Lobsang Choezin's account, some of the nuns argued that since they had also joined in singing the politically provocative song, they should also be put into solitary confinement. Annoyed officials did not confine any other prisoners to solitary cells, but threatened sentence extensions for Nyima and Jamdrol. Inmates promptly countered that they, too, should receive sentence extensions:

“Two nuns from among us sang freedom songs, and then all of us sang these. Then the two of them were taken away. We asked [the officials] where they were taken, and told them that we had to be taken together with them because we all committed the same crime by singing together. [...] We told them that if their sentences were increased, then all our sentences would have to be increased. And so we sat in hunger strike on the third of that first Tibetan month. Either they had to promise not to increase the two nuns' sentences, or they had to increase all our sentences. They told us that what had happened to [Jamdrol and Nyima] was no business of ours. We told them that they were our business, that we had been imprisoned together, and that we were together when we sang. For these reasons we carried out a hunger strike.”⁷¹

Just as in Yeshe Kunsang's account, Lobsang Choezin points out that the main purpose of the hunger strike was to persuade officials not to extend the sentences of Jamdrol and Nyima. Officials responded that the two would spend the remainder of their terms in solitary confinement in lieu of receiving sentence extensions. Nyima's five year sentence was not due to expire until May 1999; Jamdrol's seven year sentence will not be completed until February 2002.

As it turned out, both nuns would remain in solitary cells until December 1998, a period of nearly two years.⁷² Their release from solitary confinement coincided with the restoration of 13 other nuns to their usual cells. They had spent seven months in solitary subsequent to the 1 May 1998 Drapchi protest. But even when they returned to ordinary cells, the situation for the women was far from normal. Instead they found themselves subjected to the lock-down regimen that persisted in Units 3 and 5 well beyond the end of 1998. Nyima was subsequently released upon sentence expiry; Jamdrol is still in prison.

3. Unit 3 and the Drapchi protests of May 1998

Reports received from Tibet earlier this year assert that by May 1998 there were “more than 50” political prisoners in “old *rukhang 3*” and the political prisoner population of “new *rukhang 3*” had exceeded 60. These figures are consistent with TIN records, which indicate that between 120 and 130 female political prisoners were held in Unit 3 by May 1998, a decline of between 30 and 40 from the peak in late 1995 and early 1996. All but two were Buddhist nuns. Three of the inmates of “new *rukhang 3*” had been placed into solitary confinement long before May 1998 and would not be swept up in the May events.⁷³

Table 1: Female political prisoners known present in Drapchi Unit 3 as of May 1998

detained in:	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	total
“old <i>rukhang 3</i> ”	1	7		11	22	11	5			57
“new <i>rukhang 3</i> ”					1	11	46	10	2	70*

* includes three prisoners who were in solitary confinement before May 1998; one was detained in 1994, one in 1995 and one in 1996.

The table above shows that women held in “old *rukhang 3*” were generally imprisoned before 1995, while a large majority of those in “new *rukhang 3*” were detained from 1995 onward. Average sentences for the women held in “old *rukhang 3*” as of mid-1998 were substantially longer than in “new *rukhang 3*”: seven years and one month, compared to five years and one month. All 14 of the nuns who had secretly recorded the songs in June 1993, and received sentence extensions as punishment, remained in “old *rukhang 3*” in May 1998. The table indicates how numerically significant the detainees of 1995 had become. There were 52 women held in May 1998 who had been detained in 1995, more than double any other year.

Table 2: Female political prisoners in Unit 3

	Unit 3, released before May 1998	“old <i>rukhang 3</i> ”, as of May 1998	“new <i>rukhang 3</i> ”, as of May 1998	total “new” and “old” <i>rukhang 3</i> by August 2000
known political prisoners	61	57	70 ¹	32
mean avg. year detained	1992	1993	1995	1995
average sentence	4 years	7 years 1 month	5 years 1 month	8 years 11 months
extended sentences	0	15 ²	3 ³	14
average age at detention	22	22	22	24
average age in 1998		29	27	
average age in 2000				30
nunneries with 4 or more detainees	Chubsang, Garu, Mechungri, Shugsib	Chubsang, Garu, Gyabdrag, Mechungri, Nakar, Samdrub Drolma, Shugsib	Chimelung, Chubsang, Gyabdrag, Phodo, Rangjung, Shar Bumpa	Chubsang, Gyabdrag

notes:

¹ includes three prisoners who were already in solitary confinement before May 1998

² one of the 15 extensions was imposed on Choekyi Wangmo of Shar Bumpa Nunnery as a consequence of the 4 May 1998 protest. The other extended sentences predated May 1998.

³ all three extensions were consequences of the 1 May 1998 protest.

Changes in the burden of sentences as years passed, as sentence extensions became more common, are apparent in the table above. A third of the female political prisoners held in Drapchi in the post-1987 period had been released by May 1998, nearly all because of sentence expiry. Their average sentence had been four years, considerably less than the averages in May 1998. Without factoring in the five sentence extensions imposed after the 1998 protests, the average sentence in “old *rukhang*

3” had risen to seven years one month; “new *rukhang* 3” averaged five years one month. By the summer of 2000, a hundred more Unit 3 prisoners had left Drapchi. The 32 who currently remain have an average sentence of eight years 11 months, more than double that of those released before May 1998.

This report contains images of several of the nunneries whose members have been detained in Unit 3, including Chubsang, Garu, Gyabdrag, Mechungri, Nakar, Shar Bumpa and Shugsib.

[see Image 13: Chubsang Nunnery]

[see Image 14: Garu Nunnery]

[see Image 15: Gyabdrag Nunnery]

[see Image 16a: Mechungri Nunnery (from front)]

[see Image 16b: Mechungri Nunnery (from side)]

[see Image 17: Nakar Nunnery]

[see Image 18: Shar Bumpa Nunnery]

[see Image 19: Shugsib Nunnery]

[see List 5: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3, released before May 1998 (61)]

[see List 6: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's “old *rukhang* 3” as of May 1998 (57)]

[see List 7: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's “new *rukhang* 3” as of May 1998 (70)]

[see List 9: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison as of August 2000 (32)]

[see List 10: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison Unit 3 after 1987 (189)]

A. 1 May 1998: International Labour Day

When the Drapchi authorities planned prisoner participation in a ceremony marking International Labour Day on 1 May 1998, it was their intention to feature prisoners singing songs in praise of the nation and the Party as China's flag was slowly hoisted. A large dais surmounted by the flagpole would be the focus of the event. The dais is the main feature of an extensive concrete courtyard on the north side of a three-storey building described by released prisoners as an education facility available only to common criminals.⁷⁴ The courtyard, dais and education building are all recently constructed additions that replaced four rows of single-storey, barracks-like structures which may have once been cell blocks.

[see Image 26: Drapchi Prison, female political prisoner area, early 2000]

The May Day event would be the first time political prisoners had been required to participate in a patriotic assembly in the new area. Officials planning the ceremony wished to avoid embarrassing disruptions and, as a precautionary measure, had excluded the more senior political prisoners. Longer-serving inmates, particularly those of "old *rukhang 3*", had demonstrated their capacity for politically-motivated dissent on several occasions during previous years. Women of "old *rukhang 3*" and men of "old *rukhang 5*" would remain in their blocks, while prisoners from "new *rukhang 3*" and "new *rukhang 5*" would be compelled to attend.

Some of the political prisoners had misgivings of their own, concerned that a smooth display would create a precedent certain to be repeated. They reportedly shared the view that a disruption might discourage prison leaders from including political prisoners in future patriotic observances. One prisoner recalls the inmates concurring that, "If we don't manage to shout this time, during the first time they raise the Chinese flag, they will always take us to a Chinese flag-raising ceremony."⁷⁵

It was on 25 April that the nuns of "new *rukhang 3*" were informed that they would have to participate in the observance, and that all prisoners, both political and criminal, would sing pro-Chinese songs as the flag was raised. One woman reported that the prisoners were told the event would also commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of Drapchi Prison. Directing the prisoners to celebrate the establishment of their place of incarceration would have been provocative. However, 1998 was not in any case the 40th anniversary of Drapchi. It was not until the Lhasa Uprising of March 1959 that the PLA commandeered what had been a Tibetan army barracks and transformed it into a Chinese prison.

On the same day that the women learned of the plan, practice drills commenced in the courtyard of "new *rukhang 3*". The women indicated to their drill instructors that they would cooperate in the preparatory sessions only if they were spared from having to sing the words of the "patriotic" songs. Pema Butri, head of Unit 3, is reported to have told the nuns herself that they had no choice but to attend the May Day ceremony, but that they did not necessarily have to sing the songs – as long as they kept an "open mind".⁷⁶ On the final day of practice, 30 April, they were taken to the main courtyard for a final rehearsal. Only then realizing the scale of the intended ceremony, the prisoners are reported to have resolved that the following day's spectacle must be discredited by shouting political slogans.

On 1 May, at 9:30 or 10:00 a.m., prisoners from all of Drapchi's units, including the "new" branches of Units 3 and 5, were assembled in the main prison courtyard in front of the flag dais.⁷⁷ Estimates of the size of the assemblage have varied from

a few hundred to as high as 900 or 1,000. Even the higher figures could be within the range of plausibility based on unofficial estimates of Drapchi's population, which are generally in excess of 1,000.⁷⁸ The only known exclusions from the gathering were the prisoners of "old *rukhang 3*" and "old *rukhang 5*" who, together, may have numbered between 150 and 200. In sharp contrast to the sub-100 figures for political prisoners provided by Chinese officials in the same time period, TIN records indicate that there would have been approximately 350 known political prisoners in Drapchi by May 1998.⁷⁹

Reports received by TIN show that most inmates of "new *rukhang 3*" attended the May Day ceremony. Three women, mentioned earlier, were already in solitary confinement. Discounting them, TIN has identified 67 political prisoners held in "new *rukhang 3*" who were obliged to attend the ceremony, though it is not known with certainty whether every one of them was present. Before taking up their positions, they were searched with exceptional care, from their hair down to their shoes, perhaps in an attempt to detect contraband, such as small leaflets, which could have been utilised during the ceremony. Common criminals were arranged in the centre of the courtyard, directly in front of the flag dais, with male political prisoners to one side and females to the other. Security for political prisoners was heavy: "There was a PSB [guard] for each prisoner, and behind us the [PAP] came, lined up and armed with guns."⁸⁰

[see List 7: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new *rukhang 3*" as of May 1998 (70)]

The reports of the security provided for female political prisoners differ somewhat from what TIN has been told about the level of supervision over male political prisoners. According to a released political prisoner of "old *rukhang 5*", who did not actually attend the ceremony, "As a matter of routine, only the prison guards were on duty. There were no military personnel within the area."⁸¹ The discrepancy could be explained by the relative positioning of monks and nuns in the courtyard, and the more remote location of "old *rukhang 5*".

According to Choeying Kunsang, "While we were lined up, they put at one side the *rukhang* with the male political prisoners, then the *rukhang* with the non political prisoners, and then at the far side the *rukhang* of the female political prisoners."⁸² Male political prisoners were, therefore, positioned on the west edge of the courtyard, which is the side from which the area is entered, and the side nearer "old *rukhang 5*". While it is not stated whether inmates of "old *rukhang 5*" had a clear line of sight to the gathering, it is unlikely. The reference to the "far side" of the courtyard confirms the location of female participants on the east side of the courtyard, visible from "old *rukhang 3*", but not from "old *rukhang 5*".⁸³ Male political prisoners in attendance, separated from females by hundreds of common criminals, may not have been able to see the women, and would not have had to walk past them *en route* to their own assigned positions. The nuns, on the other hand, would have had to walk past the male political prisoners and the common criminals to reach the "far side" of the courtyard.⁸⁴

[see Image 23: Drapchi Prison, area for male and female political prisoners, early 2000]

The programme began with prisoners singing "Socialism is Good", followed a few minutes later by the raising of the Chinese flag as prisoners sang the Chinese national anthem.⁸⁵ The most recent accounts, which are consistent with earlier reports, confirm that slogan shouting began among the common criminals. Two men are alleged to have begun shouting pro-independence, pro-Dalai Lama slogans, as well as decrying the hoisting of China's flag. One or two ordinary criminals are reported to have scattered leaflets in the form of small slips of paper inscribed with hand-written slogans, which had been concealed beneath clothing.⁸⁶ As soon as slogans were heard, male political prisoners joined in, and so did female political prisoners. The throng reportedly surged toward the flag dais, a move one of those present believed signaled the intent of the protestors to lower the flag, although the protest was suppressed before any such action could occur.

Because the inmates of “new *rukhang 3*” were under close individual control, their participation in the protest was quickly brought to an end:

“From the beginning each of us [female] political prisoners had been guarded by a PSB [guard] each, and so they immediately took us and closed our mouths to stop us shouting. Then the [PAP] came immediately and beat us hard.”⁸⁷

Warning shots were fired into the air by PAP, but they did not take aim at the tightly intermingled group of political prisoners and security personnel. Excluded from the ceremony as potential trouble-makers, the nuns of “old *rukhang 3*” remained secured in their cell block adjacent to the north edge of the main prison courtyard. Windows in the cells are well above the floor, high enough to afford a view of the courtyard; some of the women had climbed up to witness the beginning of the assembly. Choeying Gyaltzen confirms that the protest began when two men among the common criminals began shouting slogans and scattering paper slips.⁸⁸ As the protest became more vocal and gunshots were fired, the would-be observers leaped down from their vantage points, fearing that their faces would be recorded by surveillance cameras trained on the block. No disturbance erupted in “old *rukhang 3*” that day.

As soon as the protest had been suppressed, security personnel returned the women to their block, but not into their cells. According to Choeying Kunsang, they were lined up in the unit’s small courtyard, where more warning shots were fired into the air by PAP or police.⁸⁹ Accounts make it clear that the nuns had already been completely subdued, suggesting that further warning shots would have been unnecessary. Each nun was beaten individually, in turn, with electric batons, plastic tubes or hoses filled with sand, belts wielded with buckle end out, and rifle butts.⁹⁰ One of the nuns present told TIN that all the women assembled in the block’s courtyard were beaten, but that “because of the beatings and the blood we didn’t see who was who”.⁹¹ Choeying Kunsang describes the sequence:

“It was a big disturbance. Many soldiers [PAP], and many vehicles came from outside near the gate. Many soldiers came and they fired guns a lot, but they didn’t shoot at people, because at that time we were being held by PSB and soldiers. They fired [warning shots] into the air. The bullet cartridges fell on the ground near us. [At] that time they separated the different *rukhang* and took us back to the buildings. Our *rukhang* is a bit far away. After they arrived in the [Unit 3] courtyard they fired many [more] shots. They didn’t fire at people, they fired in the air. When they took us [back to our *rukhang*], they beat us with the metal front of their belts, there was no one who was not [covered with] blood. When we arrived in the courtyard, and after they closed the gate, we were made to line up and we were individually beaten very badly. They beat us with these black plastic sticks.”⁹²

Initial beating allegedly lasted for three hours, after which 16 nuns were taken away and put into solitary confinement cells. Three would remain there for three months before receiving sentence extensions and being returned to shared cells. The others, all 13 of whom have been identified, were reportedly kept in solitary confinement for seven months, until December 1998. According to sources, more would have been placed into solitary cells if more space had been available.

After 16 of the nuns had been removed, the rest were made to kneel on the concrete slab of the courtyard. TIN’s research indicates that, after discounting those taken to punishment cells, as well as those who were either already in solitary cells or who were excused from the abusive session, there would have been approximately 45 prisoners remaining in the courtyard, all of them nuns.

Six nuns have been identified as having been spared beatings.⁹³ Political prisoners are kept under pressure, after conviction and during their prison terms, to periodically reiterate confessions, openly accept that their political actions constituted criminality, and reaffirm their intention to become a “new person”. Those who cooperate are spared the harsh abuse imposed on other political prisoners and may receive reduced sentences. A recent report by *Xinhua* put the rate of early release from Drapchi at 35 per cent.⁹⁴ Although very few Tibetan political prisoners attempt to become “new persons”, they are sympathetic toward prisoners who cannot withstand beating, solitary confinement, and other forms of abuse or deprivation used to encourage reform.

Pema Butri, in charge of the “old” and “new” branches of Unit 3, had arrived in the courtyard and taken charge of the proceedings. She accused the nuns of having had the physical vigour to participate in the protest only because of the prison’s largesse: “The Chinese Communist Party gives you too much to eat and too much to wear. Because you ate and wore too much you shouted.”⁹⁵ Beatings continued as the nuns knelt on the ground. They were only permitted to return to their cells that evening, where they were made to sleep on the bare concrete floor rather than their thin mattresses.

That evening, Chinese construction laborers arrived in “new *rukhang* 3” to begin two days of work converting the “bathing room”, a “shop”, and an “interrogation room” into additional solitary confinement cells. The “shop” was transformed into seven cells and the interrogation chamber was divided into two. Before the extra cells were added, both sections of Unit 3 had shared four solitary confinement cells.⁹⁶

The nuns, debilitated and exhausted, decided that evening to launch a hunger strike protesting the beatings and the removal of their companions to solitary confinement. They were agitated by Pema Butri’s accusation that it was only the care provided by the prison, under the leadership of the Communist Party, that had energized them sufficiently to join the slogan shouting. The nuns pressed their objection, continuing normal work in the wool shop for the next three days, until 4 May, but refusing any food. One explained their efforts to ensure that prison officials were aware of their protest action:

“After three days we put all our plates and all our things, apart from our blankets, away in the cupboard, so that our cells were empty and so that it was clear that we were really on a hunger strike.”⁹⁷

By the fourth and fifth days of the strike (4 and 5 May) some of the nuns had become extremely weak and a few had begun vomiting blood. On the fifth day, the day after the second prison protest, Lobsang Choezin explains that prison staff assigned the women a task:

“On the fifth day we were all ill and couldn’t stand up properly. But we were given brooms and taken to the courtyard to sweep the [concrete slab]. But we were not even able to lift a broom, we were so weak. On the sixth day, those who were the weakest fell because they needed to be sick, but because we hadn’t eaten anything, they started to vomit blood.”⁹⁸

On the sixth day of the strike, 6 May, the weakest nuns were put on intravenous drips. The same day a high-ranking official, described as “the *laogaizhu* [Tib: *lobsotru*], who is responsible over all the prisons”, accompanied by officials of the PSB,⁹⁹ visited the inmates. Officials are reported to have asked, “Why are you on hunger strike? If you don’t eat, you will [harm] your own body.” Choeying Kunsang paraphrased the nuns’ response:

“We remain on hunger strike because normally the food is never enough to fill our stomachs, but after the recent incident we were told that the Chinese Communist Party gives us too much food, and that was why we could shout.”¹⁰⁰

Officials were interested in the explanation and asked to be given more detail about the exchange. Prisoners outlined their grievance, explaining that Pema Butri’s assertion that abundant food had endowed them with energy and facilitated their protest was in sharp contrast to the actual situation. The officials acknowledged that the Drapchi prison authorities “had made some mistakes”, an admission welcomed by the nuns. One nun later explained to TIN how the visitors succeeded in terminating the hunger strike: “They were very friendly. They put water in the mouths of those who were [losing consciousness]. Then on the evening of the sixth, they gave us light, boiled rice soup, which we ate.”¹⁰¹ The end of the strike, like the beginning, closely paralleled the incident in “old *rukhang 3*” two years earlier.

The resumption of a normal prison diet did not mark the end of the difficulties experienced by the nuns of “new *rukhang 3*” during this period. The second Drapchi protest on 4 May, which preceded the end of the hunger strike by two days, initiated grave new developments.

B. 4 May 1998: International Youth Day

The prison authorities had selected 4 May for a second attempt at the flag-raising ceremony. Repeating the arrangements chosen on 1 May, political prisoners from “new *rukhang* 3” and “new *rukhang* 5” would participate while those of “old *rukhang* 3” and “old *rukhang* 5” would remain locked in their cell blocks. The authorities remained convinced that it was too risky to include the longer-serving prisoners in the ceremony - even though the “new” political prisoners had, three days earlier, established their willingness to risk punishment by disrupting the ceremony. But the authorities were intent on another try.

Shar Bumpa nun Lobsang Choezin, who was present at both ceremonies on 1 and 4 May, explains official pressure on the prisoners, and the inmates’ efforts to gain exclusion:

“They had told us that we had to go, even if we didn't want to. They told us that we would have to go once every week [to raise the flag]. Before that, till the fourth, they had questioned each nun [in “new *rukhang* 3”] separately. They told us that from then onwards we would be taken to raise the flag every week, and that we had to accept that we wouldn't shout during those times. They told us that we had shouted [on 1 May] because we were too happy. We told them it wasn't like that. We told them: ‘When you make us raise the Chinese flag on our soil, we can't control ourselves, and we have to shout. The shouting happens like that. We can't promise that we won't shout [slogans] if you take us again.’”¹⁰²

The population of “new *rukhang* 3” had been depleted by the removal of 16 nuns to solitary confinement three days earlier. By 4 May, the remaining women were weakened by physical abuse and hunger. Prison authorities selected 20 of them to attend the flag-raising, leaving about 25 in their cells. Participants were assembled in the main courtyard between 10 and 10:30 a.m.¹⁰³ Lobsang Choezin explains what happened:

“On the fourth [of May], we were again taken to the flag raising area. At that time most of us were ill because of the beatings, and on top of that we hadn't been eating. They almost dragged us to the place, two or three officials for each nun. You can see the flag raising spot from the old third *rukhang*. This time, the monks shouted while the flag was being raised. When the nuns from the old third *rukhang* saw that, they also started to shout. We didn't shout that time. We hadn't eaten. We were all too ill and weak.”¹⁰⁴

Security preparations indicate that officials anticipated trouble. Although the number of political prisoners present had been scaled down, the number of common criminals present was reportedly approximately the same as before. According to Sonam Tsering, of Tashigang Monastery near Lhasa, one of the monks who remained in “old *rukhang* 5” during the programme, “Unlike [1 May], this time the whole place was surrounded by members of the People's Armed Police who were fully armed with rifles and batons.”¹⁰⁵ On this occasion, male political prisoners from “new *rukhang* 5” initiated the protest. Lobsang Geleg, a monk of Khangmar Monastery in Damshung, was reportedly the first to shout slogans calling for Tibetan independence and objecting to the raising of China's flag.¹⁰⁶ He was immediately joined by the rest of the delegation from “new *rukhang* 5”. Even though they were aware of the nature of the commotion, the nuns of “new *rukhang* 3” were so enfeebled that they did not participate. Ordinary Tibetan criminals, the majority of the attendees, reportedly joined in the shouting.

According to Sonam Tsering’s account, the substantial security force present, including PAP, immediately set upon the protestors, reportedly inflicting beatings on male political prisoners. Female political prisoners, who hadn’t shouted slogans, were returned to “new *rukhang 3*”, locked into their cells along with guards, and not immediately beaten. But the sudden recurrence of trouble in Drapchi’s main courtyard had been seen by the nuns of “old *rukhang 3*”, and they had responded. According to Choeying Kunsang, who had been taken to the ceremony:

“When they [began to hoist the flag], the nuns of the old 3rd *rukhang* saw that the flag was to be raised. They broke the panes of their windows and started shouting, ‘We don’t want the Chinese flag to be raised on Tibetan soil’.”¹⁰⁷

Choeying Gyaltzen, in cell number 1, was locked in her cell:

“When we watched from the window, we were able to see the place where they put the flag very well. When we looked down, we saw that the prisoners from the other *rukhang* were beaten very badly after they shouted. When we saw this, we couldn’t control the thoughts arising in our minds and we started shouting, ‘They are killing our people’, ‘It is not allowed to raise the Chinese flag on Tibetan soil’, ‘Free Tibet’, ‘Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama’. We weren’t able to think properly when we saw that they were being beaten, so we broke the window and shouted. We didn’t discuss what we were going to shout. Each cell just started by themselves, and everyone shouted.”¹⁰⁸

Prison guards and PAP, preoccupied with suppressing the main demonstration, returning prisoners to their cells, and dispensing beatings, did not respond immediately to the clamour and breaking glass in “old *rukhang 3*”. Choeying Gyaltzen estimates that the nuns continued shouting for half an hour before the authorities intervened:

“We shouted around 10:30 a.m. The army [PAP] and PSB came around 11 a.m. to beat us. [...] They stayed beating us until 2:30 p.m. [At] that time there were more than 50 political prisoners.”¹⁰⁹

TIN has been able to identify 57 female political prisoners who were in “old *rukhang 3*” in May 1998. No information has been received that any of them were spared beatings - which was not the case in “new *rukhang 3*” a few days earlier.

[see List 6: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison’s “old *rukhang 3*” as of May 1998 (57)]

Almost as soon as it erupted, the 4 May disturbance became multi-sited and complex. This report will not recount in detail the events and consequences for male political prisoners, whether in the main courtyard, or in the “old” and “new” sections of Unit 5. Monks held in “old *rukhang 5*” responded with great alarm when they later became aware that a large-scale beating was under way in neighboring “new *rukhang 5*”. That realization did not come until “a few minutes after midday”, according to Sonam Tsering:

“On that day, all the long-serving prisoners of the older branch had been detained in their cells. A few minutes after midday, when they heard the commotion being caused by the prisoners from the new branch, all the older prisoners rushed to the main iron gate in a frenzy. The Chinese prison guard named Zhu Xiaofeng fired a shot without warning. The bullet hit Ngawang Sungrab, a monk prisoner from Drepung monastery. He was hit in the left abdomen and collapsed on the ground.”¹¹⁰

[see Image 28 for location of shooting]

An important element of accounts by both male and female political prisoners is that the repercussions of the protests continued throughout much of the day. In contrast to the incidents of 1 May, which had been suppressed by early afternoon, Lobsang Choezin asserts unambiguously that, “The disturbance on the fourth lasted for the entire day.”¹¹¹ Sonam Tsering’s account also suggests a lengthy time line for 4 May. Long-serving inmates of “old *rukhang* 5” did not become aware of any problem until “after lunch”. Gunfire occurred after that, and it was not until late in the afternoon that individual beatings began on a cell-by-cell basis in “old *rukhang* 5”:

“The same evening, before sunset, about 12 soldiers [PAP] arrived and started to interrogate each and every prisoner in the different cells and beat them up mercilessly. The method of beatings ranged from kicking, rubber pipes to prodding with electric batons. In short, there wasn’t a single prisoner who was not beaten up that evening.”¹¹²

Suppression and punishment on 4 May must have commenced even as a delegation of the European Union visited Drapchi. Beijing-based ambassadors from Britain (Mr. Anthony Galsworthy), Austria (Dr. Gerhard Ziegler) and Luxembourg (Mr. Pierre-Louis Lorenz) headed the EU troika’s human rights mission which travelled to Tibet in early May. Members of the delegation arrived at the prison between 11 a.m. and noon, but were unaware that anything unusual had transpired. According to the EU report issued in June 1998:

“The delegation visited Drapchi Prison on 4 May. The main interest was the treatment of political prisoners. It was subsequently reported that there had been a major disturbance in the prison on 1 May [sic]. The delegation was not aware of these reports at the time of their visit to the prison. [...] The delegation was also briefed, they felt unusually, in the open air outside the inner prison gates before the actual prison visit. Nonetheless, there were no visible signs of the after effects of a riot, and naturally the prison authorities made no mention of any such incident. As far as could be ascertained the guarding was normal, with no obvious signs of extra guards or heightened security.”¹¹³

At around the same time as the EU delegation’s outdoor briefing, the beating of female prisoners in “old *rukhang* 3” began. According to Shugsib nun Norzin Wangmo, nuns were beaten inside their cells by police, not PAP, before being taken into the unit’s courtyard:

“That time they started the disturbance [in the main courtyard], and then we started a disturbance inside. We broke all the windows and the door. [...] They dispatched the officials to each place. In our *rukhang* only police came. [...] Six or seven people came in one cell. They didn’t beat each of us [one on one]. They, all together, beat each of us by turn - first one, then another. We had to line up. We were wearing only thin clothes that time. Then we were taken out [of the cells], and again people came and we were beaten.”¹¹⁴

Choeying Gyaltzen’s account, however, does not begin with police personnel entering each cell and administering collective beatings to individual prisoners. Instead she asserts that Pema Butri arrived at her cell leading PAP troops, and that they were taken into the unit’s courtyard. The difference in accounts may signify that unusual circumstances had stretched the capacity of security personnel; identical events may not have transpired in every cell. Choeying Gyaltzen’s cell, which also held Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Nyidrol, who were regarded as among the more serious female political offenders, would have been a likely first stop for Pema Butri and her group:

“First the head of our *rukhang*, Pema Butri, came and she took us out of our cells. We were taken from all the cells. ‘You shout because you are satiated. Outside you shout for fun, and here inside you shout for fun.’ She was angry and took us all outside. She brought soldiers with her, *wujin* [PAP]. Normally *wujin* are the main ones who beat

us and who teach us the exercises. If we rebuke officials who talk to us, they immediately come with the *wujin*. They are always on standby.”¹¹⁵

Pema Butri’s accusation that the “old *rukhang 3*” nuns had been able to muster the energy to shout slogans only because they had received so much prison care echoed her denunciation four days earlier in “new *rukhang 3*”. Previous instances show that the phrase is clearly perceived as inflammatory by political prisoners. Norzin Wangmo’s account of the beating administered after she and her cell mates were taken into the “old *rukhang 3*” courtyard relays similar wording:

“Then we were taken out, and again people came and we were beaten. It wasn’t possible to stop the beating, we would just cover our heads with our hands. They mostly hit us on our heads. They beat us saying, ‘You shouted. The Chinese government and Party gives you food and clothing. What else do you need?’.”¹¹⁶

Once the women had been brought out into the courtyard, a general beating by PAP began:

“[T]he doors were opened and we were all taken into the courtyard and beaten. Otherwise we were each kept in our cells. There is a small courtyard and that is where we were taken. We were taken there and beaten there. There were more than 20 people [who beat us]. Anyone who had hands was beating us. [...] They beat us so savagely that there was blood everywhere, on the walls and on the floor. It looked like an abattoir. They beat us with their belts, until their belts broke due to the beating. Then they used electric batons. [...] Some [of us] had torn ears, others had wounds in their heads. There was so much blood. When we went back to the cells we felt dizzy. It is not possible to say that one or two had something particular, all of us were harmed. Now, when we say that here, that everyone was like that, you can hardly believe it.”¹¹⁷

Using leather belts and buckles in this manner finds precedent in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, when it was common for a single person, the object of political castigation, to be beaten by groups of Red Guards wielding belts in the manner described by Unit 3 prisoners. Norzin Wangmo’s account of the beating also features PAP use of their belts:

“They beat us with the [buckle] of the belt. They struck every part of our bodies, but mainly our heads. They beat us [as a group] for two hours. Then they beat us separately. Most of us were healthy before. After this some walked around with arms [in slings], and others walked with a limp.”¹¹⁸

According to several accounts received by TIN, Pema Butri was personally involved in the beating from the time she led the security detail into “old *rukhang 3*”. At first the beating was generalised, though the women allege that Pema Butri endeavoured to participate in the beating of virtually all the prisoners before shifting her focus to specific inmates. “She beat each and every one of us,” explained Choeying Gyaltsen. “After she had beaten us, she took out the women that she didn’t like and she beat them.”¹¹⁹ Another nun present in the courtyard estimated that Pema Butri singled out about ten nuns for extra beating.¹²⁰

Ngawang Sangdrol was the first prisoner to be singled out in this way. Pema Butri was convinced that she, along with Shar Bumpa nun Choekyi Wangmo (ordained Lobsang Choekyi), had engineered the protest. They would later become the only inmates of “old *rukhang 3*” to receive sentence extensions for their alleged role in the protest. “They were taken out and beaten a lot. She beat them badly, and the soldiers beat them, kicked them.” Accounts received by TIN all concur that no single person organised the protest and that it occurred entirely spontaneously. Choeying Gyaltsen reveals her indignation regarding

Pema Butri's accusation that the nuns had acted only because they were prompted by one or two others: "We are not sisters from the same parents. If anyone plans something, we won't listen. We shouted as a result of our personal thoughts."¹²¹

It is a central feature of Chinese political culture to differentiate between leaders and followers, whether or not such a distinction is necessarily valid. A system that claims legitimacy on the basis of representing the collective people cannot comfortably accommodate the notion of unpopularity. Popular movements considered to be threatening by the Party are commonly attributed to the leadership of "very small" numbers of people who may face criminalisation and punishment. Perceived followers are offered a chance to admit the error of their ways, and receive leniency by doing so. Window-breaking and slogan-shouting in "old *rukhang* 3", mirroring the larger issue of Tibetan nationalism, are likely to have been characterised by the authorities as an instance of one or two hostile leaders and numerous misguided followers.

Norzin Wangmo describes what she saw happen to Ngawang Sangdrol:

"Ani Sangdrol was in the worst condition. It was like she was dead, she had lost consciousness. They didn't have any proof against Ani-la, they beat her out of grudge. Ani Sangdrol couldn't stand up. [They] said: 'Rigchog, stand up', but she could not. Rigchog is what they call Sangdrol. We thought that she was dead, and so did the *tutrang*, who said said, 'Don't hit [her]'. Then Pema Butri came forward and struck [her] again with her belt. [Ngawang Sangdrol] suddenly regained consciousness, and Pema Butri said, 'I thought you had died, but you still didn't die. You! Stand up!' We [were forbidden] to move. We had to wait a long time for her to stand up. When she did she was bleeding heavily, blood was streaming from her like water. There were three or four wounds on her head. She walked with a limp. They had trampled upon her body. There were so many people beating [her] that we couldn't see her when she had fallen down. She wasn't even able to lift up her head afterwards."¹²²

Another of Pema Butri's targets was Choekyi Wangmo, a nun who looked younger than her age of mid-twenties and was described by one of her companions as "very small physically". While she was being held at Gutsa before sentencing, severe beatings had left her with a limp in one leg and her injuries reportedly required abdominal surgery. Of Choekyi Wangmo's condition on 4 May, Norzin Wangmo recalls, "After the beating, when she stood up she was not like a human being."¹²³

Chubsang nun Ngawang Choezom (lay name Pasang Lhamo), whose five year sentence had been extended to 11 for contributing to the song cassette in June 1993, was another recipient of violent treatment from Pema Butri. Ngawang Choezom had been named as an instigator of the day's protest by a criminal prisoner, one of several who had been distributed among the cells of "old *rukhang* 3" to monitor political prisoners in exchange for reduced sentences. Other nuns insisted that the charge was fabricated. According to Norzin Wangmo, Pema Butri arrived at the cell and ordered the prisoners to stand against the wall before dealing with Ngawang Choezom:

"Pema Butri came into the cell. She shouted, 'Hey, Pasang Lhamo', and shoved Pasang Lhamo onto the floor. In one crash on the cement floor, the blood streamed out of her head. [...] and she [temporarily] lost consciousness when her head hit the floor. Then they hit her with a belt. When she was hit with the belt she covered her face with her hands. The flesh was torn on her hands. Blood flowed from her face and everywhere."¹²⁴

TIN's sources have mentioned other nuns as having been individually attacked by Pema Butri on 4 May. One was Phuntsog Zangmo (lay name Yeshe Yangga)¹²⁵, a Garu nun and cell mate of Ngawang Choezom. Although Pema Butri focussed on beating Ngawang Choezom when she entered the cell, accounts suggest that Phuntsog Zangmo may have said something

considered provocative, upon which Pema Butri knocked her to the floor and struck her with a belt.¹²⁶ Another, Phuntsog Choekyi (lay name Dekyi), of Garu Nunnery, suffered from a broken arm but was given no medical treatment.¹²⁷ Two other nuns who were reportedly singled out for particular abuse by Pema Butri were “Goekyi” (ordained Ngawang Kaldrol), a Garu nun detained in 1993 along with Phuntsog Choekyi; and Phuntsog Palyang, a Garu nun detained in 1994.¹²⁸

By early afternoon on 4 May, the PAP, police, and Pema Butri withdrew from “old *rukhang 3*”, locking the women into their cells and leaving them to cope as best they could with their injuries. Reports concur that Ngawang Sangdrol was in the most serious condition. Choeying Gyaltzen, who assisted in first aid, reports, “She was hit on the head with a belt [so] a lot of blood flowed from her head. When we washed her head, during the third time the water [...] still became red in the bowl.”¹²⁹ Norzin Wangmo adds:

“She was to be put in solitary confinement, but all the solitary confinement cells were full, from the first of May. [...] For three days Ani Sangdrol didn't lift up her head. When she had to go to urinate, she wasn't able to pull up her shirt without help. She didn't [move her bowels] for 15 days. She got an illness inside. Then [the authorities] gave her medicine, but the medicine was useless. Then she was given powdered milk in cold water, and she stayed on a cold cement floor, and then she got diarrhoea.”¹³⁰

Neither the protest of 1 May, which involved only the nuns of “new *rukhang 3*”, nor that of 4 May, which embroiled the women of “old *rukhang 3*”, would be quickly resolved. Repercussions would continue to occur in the form of a punitive regimen for more than a year.

Pema Butri, 'evil spirits', another suicide

Pema Butri, Unit 3's principal official, had previously received little mention, but emerges as a key figure in this report. She is described as in her forties, originally from Shigatse (Ch: Rigaze) Prefecture, with a residence in the Zhide area of Lhasa. Her husband, Jampa, is reportedly a senior official at Lhasa Prison, formerly known as Utritru. The profile provided by prisoners who have fled into exile contrasts with her reputation outside Drapchi's walls. She is said to be a religious person, a regular visitor to a small chapel near the prison known as Drapchi Lhamo, or Drapchi Lhakhang. Monk attendants there are reportedly unaware of her violent treatment of prison inmates.

"Evil spirits" [Tib: dümo] is how she is reputed to address nuns in rukhag 3, often in lieu of their names. She has accused them of having "hearts of stone", and no regard for their families. One of the "old rukhag 3" nuns explained to TIN that some believe Pema Butri may herself be an "evil spirit". "If you don't stand up when she passes by, they sometimes put you in solitary confinement. Whatever we do, when she passes by, we have to put away the work and pay our respects as if she were a lama. If you don't pay your respects you are beaten a lot."

The suicide in 1995 of an orphaned farm girl, Tseyang, detained when she was age 15, is linked to Pema Butri's methods of intimidation. A native of Dzayul (Ch: Chayu) County in Kongpo (Ch: Gongbu) Prefecture, Tseyang was playing, throwing stones, when she accidentally hit an elderly woman on the head. The blow resulted in the woman's death. Despite juvenile status she was sentenced to six years at Drapchi, placed in "old rukhag 3", and told she must monitor the political prisoners and report to unit officials, including Pema Butri. As an orphan with no family members, she received no supplementary food, clothing or medicine from visitors; the nuns shared theirs. Friendship developed, with one report claiming Tseyang had expressed a desire to become a nun herself after her prison term expired. But the nuns were careful to avoid compromising her, and avoided politically edged comments in her presence. Pema Butri, increasingly annoyed that Tseyang was not fulfilling her assigned role as an informant, regularly questioned the girl and threatened her with a sentence extension if she did not comply. Although the nuns advised Tseyang that her sentence was unlikely to be extended, she became increasingly despondent as pressure mounted and hung herself from her bunk in 1995.

C. aftermath of May 1998

i. “new *rukhang 3*”: exposure, death, solitary, sentence extensions

(1) standing in the summer sun; the deaths of five nuns

While the inmates of “old *rukhang 3*” were being beaten in their block’s courtyard at midday on 4 May, those in “new *rukhang 3*” continued their hunger strike, locked in their cells. No regular work was performed that day because of the ceremony, and it is not clear whether they were aware at the time of what was happening in the “old” block. In “new *rukhang 3*” the windows face the back (north) side of “old *rukhang 3*”, offering no glimpse of the “old *rukhang 3*” courtyard, which runs along the south side of that block. As explained above, an official of the prison system arrived in the block on 6 May and persuaded the women, some vomiting blood and others on glucose drips, to cease their hunger strike by acknowledging that “mistakes had been made”, a reference to Pema Butri’s charge that the nuns had been invigorated to shout protest slogans only because they were so well cared for.

Some published reports have stated that the next sequence of events in “new *rukhang 3*” culminated on Sunday, 13 May with the deaths of five nuns. 13 May, however, was not a Sunday. Earlier accounts had specified that the day the nuns died was 7 June. A careful check of chronology has shown that the date was, indeed, 7 June, a Sunday. The confusion over dates arose from the fact that 7 June was the 13th day of the fourth (not fifth) Tibetan month.¹³¹

Another element of confusion arose when sources asserted that the lethal sequence began on “7 May”, immediately following the hunger strike. Further examination has revealed that the events began on the Tibetan 9th, the Wednesday before the fatal Sunday, not the day after the hunger strike terminated. By the Western calendar, that Wednesday was 3 June. The certainty of the dates is supported by a careful record of Tibetan dates maintained by one of the nuns while imprisoned, as well as other factors. Correcting the date from “7 May” to 3 June reveals a gap of about four weeks. Choeying Kunsang and Lobsang Choezin, both in “new *rukhang 3*” at the time, cannot recollect what filled the interval:

“We have no idea. In our memory there was no time between the two events. But after the beatings we were sort of crazy. Those who were in better shape were able to look after their friends, the others were in too bad a shape to sit up, they had to lie down.”¹³²

They recall only vaguely that there were interrogations and beatings in “new *rukhang 3*” after the May Day demonstration and hunger strike, as the authorities attempted to identify the leaders they believed must exist. Clear details and a chronology of the interim have so far proven beyond reach, although the women do remember that extra security personnel were in the unit, and that prisoners were closely monitored.

On Wednesday 3 June a new series of events began. Officials arrived that morning in “new *rukhang 3*” with two books which prisoners recognized as Chinese songbooks. One was left in “new *rukhang 3*”, the other taken to “old *rukhang 3*”. Access to “old *rukhang 3*” is via “new *rukhang 3*”. Unit 3’s main gate leads into the courtyard of “new *rukhang 3*” (the older cell block

now housing the more recent arrivals) from the east side. From there, “old *rukhang 3*” (the newer block) is accessed through double metal doors located between two large blackboards affixed to the rear (north) wall of the “old *rukhang 3*” cell block. There is no direct access between the courtyards of the two sections of Unit 3.

[see Image 26: Drapchi Prison, female political prisoner area, early 2000]

Choeying Kunsang is clear about this day’s events:

“They came [to our cell-blocks] carrying books and told us: ‘Your case of [misbehaviour] last time hasn’t been finalised.’ Then they told us to sing 12 different songs in Chinese and Tibetan. They were all songs like the national anthem and songs in praise of the Party. They gathered us in one large room and there we were made to sing. The political prisoners didn’t sing at all. Not one of the political prisoners sang, but the ordinary prisoners sang.¹³³ Then they told us, ‘If you don’t sing the Chinese songs, at least sing the Tibetan songs. You can’t say that you can’t sing these.’ We told them that we wouldn’t sing a single word. They then said, ‘If you don’t sing there is no other way’ and made us stand outside in a line in the full sunlight. They kept us all in line in the sun and then took us each by turn into a room and questioned us about the reason we refused to sing. When they questioned us they beat us, using electric prods. We were weak and dizzy by the time we came out of the room.”¹³⁴

The remark made by the prison officials that: “the case of last time hasn’t been finalised”, suggests that the women could have been facing further punishment, perhaps even sentence extensions, for the May events and were therefore expected to show cooperation, if not penitence. Their continuing defiance, a month after the initial protests, angered the officials. Retribution was instant, a gruelling schedule of exposure patterned on the military-style drills dreaded by the women:

“They told us they would make us stand till the end of our sentence terms. Then we were made to stand in the sun with a paper under one armpit, a piece of paper between our knees, and a cup of water on our heads. They beat whoever fell down. They kept us facing the sun. We got ten minutes to eat and to go to toilet.”¹³⁵

Choeying Kunsang explained that the category of personnel that had tried to compel the women to sing the Chinese anthems was not PAP or police, but female prison staff in charge of Unit 3, the *tutrang*:

“All the *tutrang* are women. They told us, ‘If you want to sing then go into this room and sing. If you don’t want to sing then you can stand up until your sentence is finished.’ We said, ‘We came here with our minds decided, we are not afraid to die, so we will stand’. So that time we kept on standing up. We had to stand up from the morning, and during lunch we got ten minutes to go to the toilet. Then again we had to stand up till late in the evening. We were not allowed to touch those who [collapsed], we had to let them lie as they fell. At that time it was the hot season. We had to stand up like this each day, and then on the [Tibetan] 13th they gave us a free Sunday.”¹³⁶

The sessions took place in an enclosed area with a long north-south axis, adjacent to the east side of Unit 3, and from which Unit 3 is entered. It had often been used for exercise and drills. For four full days the regimen was carried out, beginning on a Wednesday and continuing through Saturday, 6 June. In Lhasa, where the sub-30° latitude is similar to that of Cairo and the elevation approaches 3,700 metres (almost 12,000 feet), the midday summer sun is intense and unfiltered. Locals do not linger in it unnecessarily, and the exposure would have been even harsher for persons unaccustomed to the outdoors, and whose skin had been diminished by meagre nutrition. Individual periods of interrogation, beating and electric shocks, carried out sequentially as the standing sessions continued, left the women dizzied and would have rendered the exposure even

more overwhelming. During that period, an “old *rukhang 3*” prisoner walked briefly outside her block *en route* to an interrogation session and glimpsed the motionless women of “new *rukhang 3*” standing in the sun with darkened faces.

[see Image 26: Drapchi Prison, female political prisoner area, early 2000]

On Sunday 7 June, the women were given a half-day to attend to their own needs. That afternoon would again be spent in a state of forced immobility in the sun. Choeying Kunsang explains what happened:

“That Sunday, when they told us we could do our washing, I washed my hair after lunch. I heard a lot of shouting coming from outside [the *rukhang*]. When I went to look, I saw that [prison staff] were carrying two nuns. They put them in a white car. I only saw two nuns being carried into the car. The nuns were all shouting, ‘Where are you taking our people, you killed our people!’. [Prison staff] replied ‘Some of your people committed suicide in the store room. We have to take them to hospital, and we will have to try to revive them.’ The storeroom, however, is up [far from the gate], and the place where they were carrying them is down [near the gate]. The place where they were carrying them is near the interrogation room. Perhaps they died during interrogation and beating, or perhaps they had taken them to another place and killed them. We don't know. But on the [Tibetan] 13th they took five nuns away.”¹³⁷

Lobsang Choezin's estimate of the time of removal is similar: “The nuns were taken away after our lunch. Our lunch was always at 12 noon, so it must have been one or two o'clock.”¹³⁸

Another ex-inmate of “new *rukhang 3*” explained, referring to the image of Drapchi Prison included in this report, that the ambulance was parked in the same area where the women had been made to stand in the sun:

“This is also where we were kept standing in the sun [until 6 June]. This is where on the [Tibetan] 13th the ambulance came to pick up the nuns who died, who were taken from the storeroom through the gate.”¹³⁹

[see Image 26: Drapchi Prison, female political prisoner area, early 2000]

Although the location of the interrogation room for Unit 3 has not been pinpointed, it is likely to be in the section of “new *rukhang 3*” that contains the solitary cells and working space for officials and staff, just inside the unit gate. The storeroom is at the opposite end of the courtyard. If the nuns were being removed from the storeroom to the area where the “white car” was parked, they would have been carried past the probable location of the interrogation room. It would have been understandable for an onlooker who had not actually seen the nuns carried all the way from the storeroom to presume they had been brought from the interrogation room, rather than from a point deeper into the courtyard, like the storeroom.

The explanation of prison officials to one of the prisoners - that the nuns who were being carried to the white car appeared to have attempted suicide and that an attempt would be made to revive them - may suggest something other than an effort to cover up freshly committed killings. The deaths, as reported, happened during a period when the nuns were briefly allowed to deal with their personal needs, not during interrogation, beating, or military drill. That respite followed four days of sustained abuse that had begun when the nuns refused to sing and they had declared themselves “not afraid to die”. That Sunday was the 13th day of the Tibetan 4th month, Saga Dawa, the holiest month of the year, when the birth and enlightenment of the Buddha are celebrated. Two days later would be the full moon, the year's most sacred day, a time reserved for the most sincere offerings. The nuns had every reason to believe they would be spending it standing immobile in the sun, trying not to let a newspaper slip from beneath their armpits and under constant threat of beatings.

After receiving reports for two years following June 1998, it has become clear that five nuns died, not six as initially reported. Their identities have been reliably established, though the cause of their deaths may never be conclusively established. The earliest reports received by TIN, which had correctly cited 7 June as the date of death, also reported suicide by hanging or self-choking or self-strangulation, literally “swallowing their scarves”.¹⁴⁰ Language in the reports suggests that some, perhaps two, of the nuns may have hung themselves while the others choked themselves to death.

These early reports also reveal that the authorities were anxious to conceal the degree of damage to the bodies. Although the nuns are not known to have been undergoing beating at the moment of death, without exception they had been severely beaten during the weeks that preceded death. Descriptions of that abuse, especially the forceful use of objects such as belt buckles and flexible pipe filled with sand, and the concentration of blows to unprotected areas such as the head, upper body, arms and hands, suggests that wounds would have been plentiful and of sufficient severity to remain conspicuous for weeks. Without medical care or adequate nutrition, infection as well as retarded healing would have been likely. In some cases bodies were seen briefly, but only a limited portion of the face was made visible. No detailed examinations or traditional Tibetan funerary procedures were permitted. Bodies were reportedly cremated by the authorities and not returned to the families of the deceased.

All five of the nuns who died were detained in 1994 or 1995 and ranged in age from 19 to 25 at detention, and from 22 to 28 upon death. Two were from the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, to the northeast of Lhasa, and three were from Nyemo, the westernmost of Lhasa’s counties. Tsultrim Zangmo (lay name Choekyi) and Lobsang Wangmo (lay name Tsamchoe Drolkar) were from Lhundrub; Drugkyi Pema (lay name Dekyi Yangzom), Khedron Yonten (lay name Tsering Drolkar), and Tashi Lhamo (lay name Yudron) were from Nyemo. All five were due for release in the period from January 1999 to February 2000.¹⁴¹

Tsultrim Zangmo had a second ordained name, Ngawang Kunsang, and was sometimes called “Choekyi the elder” [Tib: Choekyi *Chewa* or Choekyi *Genpa*]. She was a 21 year old nun of Shar Bumpa when she and four others from the same nunnery demonstrated briefly in the Barkor in Lhasa in mid-June 1994. All five were sent to Drapchi with four or five year sentences. They did not appeal their sentences, believing that would either be fruitless or result in a longer sentence. Instead they filed a written complaint about the beatings they had received at Gutsa; the authorities said they would “think about it”, but nothing further was heard. Tsultrim Zangmo was one of the approximately 60 transferees from Gutsa to Drapchi in summer 1995 who would become “new *rukhang 3*”, and who were subjected to months of military-style drills upon arrival. Before the group was sent to Drapchi, Gutsa staff extracted blood from them, telling the prisoners to consider their blood “the price of the food they had eaten in Gutsa”.¹⁴² When the hunger strike of *Losar* 1997 erupted in protest at the solitary confinement of nuns Jamdrol and Nyima, Tsultrim Zangmo would have been among the strikers.

[see Image 4: Tsultrim Zangmo]

Two of Tsultrim Zangmo’s co-demonstrators, including Lobsang Choezin, were also held in “new *rukhang 3*”. The others, Choeying Gyaltzen and Lobsang Choekyi (lay name Choekyi Wangmo), who was initially confused with Tsultrim Zangmo, were held in “old *rukhang 3*”. Choeying Kunsang’s account underscores Tsultrim Zangmo’s poor condition after four days of standing in the sun:

“Like the others she was in a bad state, bruised because of the beatings. Her legs were particularly swollen. We were not allowed to talk to each other because the case of the 1 May incidents hadn't been decided yet. I saw her briefly while going to the toilet. She had been beaten with a plank from the bottom of a bed. We didn't know the full truth about her death and the deaths of others until after our release.”¹⁴³

Another account by a “new *rukhang 3*” inmate describes the condition of Tsultrim Zangmo and Dekyi Yangzom (ordained Drugkyi Pema) on the morning of 7 June:

“In the morning, while we were washing clothes, we saw Dekyi Yangzom and Tsultrim Zangmo but we were not allowed to talk. They were not able to walk properly, they needed the wall for support. Then at lunchtime, when we were eating in our cell, we heard nuns shouting outside, because these five nuns were taken away in cars. When we later asked where they were taken, the guards told us that they were taken to hospital because they had committed suicide in the storeroom. After that [the authorities] continued to lie, saying that they were receiving medical treatment.”¹⁴⁴

It is clear from this account that the two nuns were in poor condition shortly before they died, but it is less certain whether their enfeebled state was the result of weeks of abuse, or whether they had been beaten again that morning. The four-day session of standing in the sun, which included individual periods of interrogation, beating and electric shocks, had continued until the previous evening. This report, and others, states that five nuns were taken away (and died), but does not provide an eyewitness description of the removal of all five. Even though only two nuns were seen being carried away, and it may not have been immediately apparent who they were, it could not have been long before the women knew whose bunks were empty. If prison staff insisted that the missing nuns had been hospitalised, it would have been reasonable, after a while, for the inmates to presume that the five had been given medical parole and returned to their families. It was not until after their releases that the women would learn that all five of their companions had died.

Drugkyi Pema, seen with Tsultrim Zangmo on the morning of 7 June, was a member of Nyemo Rangjung Nunnery, known also as Drowa Chorten Nunnery and Ritso Nunnery. Reportedly the daughter of a doctor in Ritso village, she was one of four Rangjung nuns detained in February 1995 and sentenced to four years for demonstrating. About age 19 at detention, it is likely she was one of the group transferred to Drapchi in the summer of 1995 to form “new *rukhang 3*”. She would also have been among those who experienced intensive military drills after her transfer, and would have been a participant in the hunger strike at *Losar* 1997.

[see Image 1: Drugkyi Pema]

Khedron Yonten and **Tashi Lhamo**, nuns of Jewo Thekchogling, also referred to as Jiwa Nunnery, in Nyemo County, were detained in January 1995 at ages 23 and 21 respectively. Both received five year sentences for demonstrating in Lhasa and would probably have been in the group of transferees to Drapchi in summer 1995. Like Tsultrim Zangmo and Drugkyi Pema, they would also have been subject to military drills upon their arrival at Drapchi, and would also have been among the *Losar* hunger strikers in 1997. Choeying Kunsang reports that Tashi Lhamo was one of her cell mates and that Khedron Yonten was her friend. She recounts her discovery, after her release in February 1999, that they had died:

“From [7 June] onward we were just kept in our cells, and we didn't see anything or anyone outside. We didn't know at all what was happening outside, who from our friends was being questioned or not. We were

kept like that. One of our friends is called Trinley Drolkar [ordained Khedron Yonten] from Nyemo, and one of her friends [Tashi Lhamo] was our cell mate. They are from the same [nunnery], and they normally keep their things together in the store room. They came to collect her clothes, saying that she was now in hospital and she needs her clothes. Only after we were released in 1999 did we know that they had passed away.”¹⁴⁵

[see Image 2: Tashi Lhamo]

Lobsang Wangmo, a native of Phenpo and a nun of Nego Tong Nunnery in Lhundrub County, was 25 when she was detained in February 1995 for demonstrating. Two other Nego Tong nuns were detained at the same time, Ngawang Yangdrol (lay name Zomkyi), from Gyantse County, then 24 years old, and Phuntsog Sonam, then 23, from Chushur County. Lobsang Wangmo received a five year sentence, the others were sentenced to four years. Their time of detention indicates they would have been among the group who first constituted “new *rukhang 3*”, and who spent the final months of 1995 undergoing military discipline under PAP direction. Their presence in “new *rukhang 3*” as of *Losar 1997* suggests they would have been involved in the hunger strike. Lobsang Wangmo’s co-demonstrators were released upon completion of their terms in February 1999. Choeying Kunsang, released the same month, did not learn of Lobsang Wangmo’s death until after her release, even though both are from the same area in Phenpo.

[see Image 3: Lobsang Wangmo]

The further details that have emerged over the past two years confirm the deaths of five nuns, but not the precise circumstances of their deaths. The distinctions between “death due to abuse”, and what Tibetan reports have called “killing”, or what Chinese authorities referred to as “suicide”, may have been blurred by the events between 1 May and 6 June.

(2) formal, but non-lethal, consequences

All five of the female fatalities attributable to the events of May 1998 occurred in “new *rukhang 3*”. Two other quantifiable forms of punishment, solitary confinement and sentence extension, were distributed between both branches of Unit 3, but the preponderance of each fell upon “new *rukhang 3*”. Of the 19 nuns known to have been placed into solitary confinement after the May demonstrations, 16 were inmates of “new *rukhang 3*”; three of the five sentence extensions known to have been handed down were for “new *rukhang 3*” nuns. The authorities may have imposed more formal penalties on “new *rukhang 3*” because their collective action was carried out in full view of hundreds of other inmates gathered for a patriotic ceremony. Nuns in “old *rukhang 3*” may have been noisy and caused minor property damage three days later but, locked within their cells, they could have been no more than a backdrop to what was happening near the flag dais. Choeying Gyaltsen pointed out that it was about half an hour before anyone arrived at their block to take control.

Of the 67 political prisoners in “new *rukhang 3*” that TIN can identify as having been involved in the day’s events, about a quarter were punished with solitary confinement. Three “new *rukhang 3*” prisoners were given sentence extensions after three months solitary confinement. Chinese authorities have acknowledged that “the criminals concerned were given additional criminal punishment according to law”, but have not provided details.¹⁴⁶ Based on unofficial information, two nuns now have sentences extended to 11 years. Chogdrub Drolma (lay name Namdrol) of Gyabdrag Nunnery in Lhundrub Phenpo, detained at age 23 in February 1995, reportedly had five years added to her six year sentence. Jangchub Drolma (lay name Palkyi) of Galo Nunnery in Phenpo reportedly had her five year sentence extended by a further six years to eleven years. Other sources have reported her combined sentence as ten years. She was detained in February 1995 when she was 23. Che-che, a Gyabdrag nun detained in February 1995 at age 22, had her five year sentence increased to seven years. All three had been in “new *rukhang 3*” since its inception and are presumed to have been impacted by harsh episodes such as the military drills commencing in August 1995 and the hunger strike of *Losar* 1997.

[see List 8a following]

List 8a: "New *rukhang* 3" prisoners placed into solitary after Drapchi protest of 1 May 1998 (16)

arranged in order of affiliation

result	TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date	rel. sen.	origin pref.	origin county
solitary	95-0332	REL	*	Ngawang Choezom	Oezer Drolma	23	28	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
solitary	95-0331	REL	*	Ngawang Dzompa	Jangchub Drolma	22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Damshung
solitary	95-0334	REL	*	Yeshe Choedron		22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	2000/03/10	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
solitary	95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
solitary	95-0302	REL	*	Khetsun Yeshe	Lhagpa	19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2000/02/08	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
solitary	98-0182	REL	*	Lobsang Choedron		21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	1999/07/06	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
solitary	98-0328	REL?	*, 4	Tsenyi		19	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
sol. & ext.	95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung
solitary	95-0408	REL	*	Rinchen Pema	Migmar	19	24	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2000/02/28	5	Lhasa	Damshung
sol. & ext.	95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling
sol. & ext.	95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub
solitary	95-0439	REL	*	Palchen		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
solitary	99-0224	REL?	*, 4	Tseten Drolkar		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	2000/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub
solitary	98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo
solitary	95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub
solitary	95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub

Those put into solitary confinement and not receiving sentence extensions were kept there for seven months, until December. Four were nuns from Chubsang nunnery. Zangmo and Khetsun Yeshe (lay name Lhagpa) were both 19 years old when they were detained a week apart for participating in small-scale demonstrations in February 1995. Zangmo was sentenced to six years; Khetsun Yeshe received a five year term. Two more were detained in 1996 on the birthday of the Dalai Lama, 6 July. Tsenyi, then age 19, was given a four year sentence; Lobsang Choedron, 21, received three years.

Three nuns of Chimelung Nunnery in Toelung Dechen County served seven months in solitary before rejoining 12-person cells: Ngawang Choezom (lay name Oezer Drolma), Ngawang Dzompa (lay name Jangchub Drolma) and Yeshe Choedron. All were 22 or 23 years of age when they demonstrated on 10 March 1995, the anniversary of the Lhasa Uprising. Yeshe Choedron was sentenced to five years, the others received four years. Another Chimelung nun, Ngawang Yeshe (lay name Kalsang Drolma), had demonstrated with them and received a four year sentence, but she was given an early release soon after she met members of an American delegation preparing a report on religious freedom in China, and was not in Drapchi in May 1998. The American group visited Drapchi on 25 February 1998.

Another nun held in solitary for seven months was Sanggye Choedron from Rangjung nunnery (lay name Tsamchoe Drolkar), who had demonstrated with Drugkyi Pema, one of the deceased, in February 1995 and had received a six year sentence. Others were Damchoe Drolma and Namdrol Wangmo (lay name Yandrol) of Shar Bumpa Nunnery, both with six year sentences, Rinchen Pema (lay name Migmar) of Galo Nunnery, with a five year sentence, and Palchen of Gyabdrag Nunnery, who received a five year term. They had also been detained on different days in February 1995 for demonstrating. Tseten Drolkar of Nakar Nunnery was one of the few “new *rukhang 3*” nuns detained before 1995. Her six year sentence was imposed for a Barkor demonstration in July 1994.

Initial reports of the 1 May events alleged a higher number placed into solitary confinement. Analysis has indicated that, among other factors, the higher number included punishments not related to May 1998. Three “new *rukhang 3*” prisoners had already spent long periods in solitary confinement before May, and would remain in their solitary cells until December 1998. The total number of “new *rukhang 3*” nuns in solitary as of May 1998, including those three, was 19, 18 of whom were nuns. Sixteen had been put into solitary after 1 May. One nun now in exile confirms the sub-20 figure:

“After the 1 May incidents, a total of 18 nuns from the new *rukhang* were in solitary confinement. This included the three nuns who were taken out of solitary confinement three months later and had their sentence extended, and the two nuns who had sang songs during *Losar* 1997.”¹⁴⁷

ii. “old *rukhang 3*”: rough interrogation; solitary, sentence extensions

TIN’s sources remember little about the weeks between the end of the “new *rukhang 3*” hunger strike (6 May) and the first day that “new *rukhang 3*” nuns stood in the sun (3 June). They do recall, without detail, that individual interrogations were carried out during the period. “Old *rukhang 3*” nuns also underwent individual interrogation during those weeks; one explains that the sessions began after a lull of unspecified length:

“In the old *rukhang*, after 4 May, we were not allowed to go into our courtyard, and we were not questioned for several days after the fourth. Then after a while we were questioned, each person, cell by cell. They needed more than a day for each cell.”¹⁴⁸

Another account, by Choeying Gyaltzen, reports that interrogation began on 5 May. Her cell also housed Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Nyidrol, and hence may have been the starting point. The authorities, aiming to ferret out leaders, are alleged to have used electric shock treatment on women whose clothing had been removed:

“Then on the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, we were questioned individually, cell by cell. [...] They questioned us individually cell by cell and asked us who had started the shouting. ‘Who shouted first?’, ‘Who planned the protest?’. They beat us asking: ‘The others already told us [everything], so why don’t you?’. They removed our clothes and shocked us with electricity everywhere. They beat us with [plastic pipes] filled with sand. We were [black and] blue all over because of this. We needed the wall for support when we walked back from the questioning. All of us were beaten like this. [...] When they questioned me for example, there were six or seven officials standing around me. I don’t know who beat me, but they did so until I lost consciousness. I told them whatever I had done, but no more, so they beat me a lot, and took me back to the cell and then took someone else with them. In this way they questioned us for one week. We all told them the same thing, that we had made the protest ourselves.”¹⁴⁹

Three “old *rukhang 3*” prisoners, all nuns, were placed in solitary confinement after the beating on 4 May. Ngawang Sangdrol, according to reports, would also have been imprisoned in a solitary cell if her condition had not been so serious. Two of those sent to solitary were Ngawang Choezom (lay name Pasang Lhamo) and Lobsang Choekyi (lay name Choekyi Wangmo), both of whom had been set upon by Pema Butri with exceptional ferocity.¹⁵⁰ Choekyi Wangmo was sent to occupy a solitary cell at Gutsa PSB Detention Centre. Although solitary cells in Unit 3 had been filled, and new ones were being hastily constructed, the singling out of Choekyi Wangmo to return to Gutsa may have been intended to maximise the injurious consequences for her. She had been beaten badly while detained there in 1994 and Gutsa officials may have found ways to augment the harshness of her return.¹⁵¹ After two months, when she was sent back to Drapchi, she was suffering from an intestinal illness and a bowel blockage.¹⁵² Ngawang Tenzin (lay name Lhadrol), of Gyabdrag Nunnery, was the third “old *rukhang 3*” nun put into solitary confinement.¹⁵³ It is not clear how long she remained there.

Two sentence extensions were imposed on “old *rukhang 3*” nuns by the Lhasa People’s Intermediate Court. One year and six months was added to Choekyi Wangmo’s four year sentence. Her extended sentence expired on 14 December 1999, but she was released at the year’s end, two weeks late.¹⁵⁴ Several statements have referred to the delayed releases of the four surviving Shar Bumpa nuns detained on 14 June 1994. Two, Lobsang Choezin and Gyaltzen Sherab, both held in “new *rukhang 3*”, were due for release on 14 June 1998, only a week after the deaths in that block. One of the deceased, Tsultrim Zangmo, had been detained with them. Prison staff told the women they were being held beyond the end of their sentences because further

punishment was under consideration. The authorities may have been concerned about sending women home only days after the death of their colleague – news which the nuns in “new *rukhang 3*” had yet to hear. Because the first releases were delayed, the authorities regularised the matter by releasing the others late as well. Accordingly, Choekyi Wangmo was held until 28 December 1999.

Ngawang Sangdrol received her third sentence extension. An official source asserts that the Lhasa People’s Intermediate Court, in November 1998, set the extension at three years and created a new sentence expiry date in 2013, indicating a 21 year total.¹⁵⁵ Other reports put her new total sentence at 22 years.

Ngawang Sangdrol’s physical condition has become a matter of alarm for her prison comrades. Choeying Gyaltzen was Ngawang Sangdrol’s cell mate until mid-1999 and is therefore in a unique position to offer a more nuanced interpretation of her friend’s current condition and state of mind. She describes a pattern which has proved costly:

“Ngawang Sangdrol is always among the first volunteers if there are disturbances in Drapchi. She gets a lot of beatings. She was very young at first, the youngest [of us all], at the time of arrest. Even after she was arrested she is the first to do things when there are incidents [in prison]. Then her sentence was increased and increased, and now she is [23], and now her sentence is 22 years [sic]. Because of so many beatings, her head and her body are all damaged.”¹⁵⁶

The divergence between her physical and mental condition is conspicuous. She is afflicted by multiple, chronic ailments; the most commonly mentioned are recurrent, severe headache, stomach and intestinal illness, and what Tibetans refer to as “heart disease”, the descriptions of which suggest it may be an acute stress-related disorder. The acute headaches are portrayed in a manner which suggests they, too, may be exacerbated by stress. Her sound character is in contrast to her weakened physical condition:

“She is an example for us. Her mind is very good. She hasn’t lost her mind or anything. She doesn’t have this illness that [makes her] say all sorts of things. She has many headaches when she is not happy, from blows to her head. When the head of the *rukhang* says something to her, she gives an exact reply. She is able to give excellent replies to whatever they say to her. She isn’t like someone who has lost her mind. She is well educated. If they ask her about the books we have to study, she is able to give very good answers. We are not like that. She was well educated before she came to prison. We are not that good in language like her, so we are not able to answer in that perfect way, so directly. But she had been to big schools before she came to prison, so she is able to give perfect answers. If you are not well educated, then you don’t know the answer. They ask these political questions, you know. She is able to answer these questions very well. She gives replies to which they can’t give back any answer. And so in this way, her sentence has been increased.”¹⁵⁷

Ngawang Sangdrol was 13 in August 1990 when she received her first sentence for participating in a peaceful protest. She was released after serving a one-year administrative term. Her current detention began in June 1992 when she was punished for demonstrating at the age of 15 with a judicial sentence. Chinese law forbids the judicial sentencing of a minor. According to Choeying Gyaltzen, Ngawang Sangdrol does not believe she will survive her detention and “has decided that she will die in prison”.¹⁵⁸ In the presence of a political model that characterises dissent as a destabilising corruption of normal order, Ngawang Sangdrol may continue to attract harm at the hands of the authorities.

iii. halting communication: lock-down, suspension of visiting rights

After the deaths in “new unit 3”, daily life in both sections of Unit 3 converged as a period of lock-down that lasted more than a year until summer 1999. Although some reports received by TIN have included allegations that the period of cell by cell lock-down lasted beyond summer 1999, even into the early months of 2000, this has yet to be substantiated. Reports from both sections of Unit 3, as well as from the male political prisoners in Unit 5, show that the regimen of total isolation between cells was intact until summer 1999.¹⁵⁹

In “old *rukhang 3*” the inmates had been kept locked in their cells from their 4 May protest onward. Every aspect of daily life was confined to the cell:

“They put 12 prisoners in such a small [cell], day and night. If you stay cramped in such a cell, there is only a very small space to move around. We were not taken out at any time, not even to go to the toilet. We had to eat, sleep, work and do [toilet functions] in our cell. Otherwise none of us was let out once. They didn't even allow us into the courtyard because they thought that if we were allowed in the courtyard, we would talk to each other. They gave us work inside the cell. They also gave us buckets [to use as a] toilet, and they brought food. And then they closed the door. If it was time for lunch, then they sent a common prisoner to fetch the food, and then they closed the door again. Because we didn't see the sun for so long we almost fell down when we saw it again at our release. We were not able to walk properly.”¹⁶⁰

Accounts recalling the days immediately after 1 May in “new *rukhang 3*” include references to wool work until 4 May, while the women were on hunger strike. Other comments suggest that a certain level of activity outside their cells, including work, continued until 3 June when the enforced sessions of standing in the sun began. Apparently referring to the day after the hunger strike ended (6 May), Choeying Kunsang comments, “On the morning of the seventh they gave us food and they told us that we had to go and do our work like normal.” But during the same period individual interrogation of “new *rukhang 3*” nuns is said to have taken place, which suggests there would have been days when the women were locked in their cells awaiting their turn for questioning. Choeying Kunsang is certain in stating that the full scale lock-down in “new *rukhang 3*” began on 7 June when five nuns died, and indicates the conditions were similar to those in “old *rukhang 3*”:

“From that day onwards we were just kept in our cells, and we didn't see anything or anyone outside. We didn't know at all what happened outside, whether our friends were being questioned, or not. [...] Till I was released I didn't get to meet any of my friends for one year. We were kept in our cells. In these small cells we were kept with 12 cell mates. If we needed to go to the toilet to empty the night bucket, a common convict would be sent. We had to eat and work in the same cell. [Normal] work had not resumed when I was released [February 1999].¹⁶¹

Confining all daily activity to each cell effectively halted communication between cells, while other measures inhibited cell mates. In both Units 3 and 5 it had been standard practice to place common criminals in each cell who would monitor political prisoners and report to officials.¹⁶² The prospect of sentence reductions in exchange for information kept informants vigilant, and sometimes creative, in their reporting. Choeying Gyaltzen described the mix in the cell shared with Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Nyidrol:

“There were four [informers], two Chinese and two Tibetans. Three were thieves and one was a murderer. They would tell Pema Butri things we didn't do. They were there to [watch over] us. They said we had climbed the

window and shouted, and gave details on this [whether or not the details were true]. The officials insisted that we had done this and that, and even if we denied it, [the informers] said that we had done it. If they did this, their sentences would be reduced, so they would report a lot of information. Each year there is a general meeting during which they lower sentences. If they give a lot of information, [their sentence is reduced] by three years. If they don't report much, by two years, and at a minimum a sentence is reduced by one year. [In our cell] all the non-political prisoners had their sentences reduced by one year or one and a half years.”¹⁶³

Unit chiefs did not rely solely on human watchfulness. Norzin Wangmo commented on the relationship between the cessation of normal work and the introduction of heightened security:

“They stopped the work [outside the cells]. If we worked then we were able to talk to each other. If we were kept in our cells there was no one to talk to. They kept a camera in our cells. If we talked, they could see it in the office of the *tutrang*.”¹⁶⁴

Lobsang Choezin confirms that both ordinary criminals and video surveillance were utilised in “new *rukhang 3*”:

“There are 12 in a cell, and generally two or three of them are kept to [watch over] us. If they talk about us, their sentence is reduced. After the 1998 incidents the windows of our cells were never kept [unattended]. Someone always went up and down to watch us. They also put something black [surveillance cameras] in the cells to watch us. The [surveillance camera] registers all that it sees and hears. They put it above the door in August 1998. After that no one was put on guard outside at the windows during daytime, but they were kept on guard outside during the nights.”¹⁶⁵

Maintaining such a regimen over an extended period of time has an innately punitive function, but it also addressed another problem. Officials were anxious to control the spread of information about the protests and their aftermath. According to one of the earliest reports received by TIN, the wording of which suggests it was written before mid-May and may have originated within Drapchi, prison staff were ordered to remain in the compound and not return to their homes at night.¹⁶⁶ It is unknown how long the stricture lasted, but refusal to allow anyone to leave Drapchi also affected prisoners scheduled for release during the first weeks following the protest. Lobsang Choezin and co-demonstrator Gyaltzen Sherab, whose sentences expired on 14 June, were released two weeks late.¹⁶⁷ Six more Unit 3 prisoners were due for release in June; it isn't known whether their releases were delayed as well.

Isolation between cells remained effective long after the first weeks had passed. Choeying Kunsang wasn't released until February 1999, but didn't learn of any news, including the deaths, until after leaving Drapchi. She recalls meeting her family outside the prison gates:

“When we were released from prison, we were all taken out separately. Our family members were waiting outside in the evening, and then we met them. [Officials] said, ‘You are not allowed to do all kinds of things after your release, and you are not allowed to say a single word about what happened in prison. Your prison term has expired but your political rights are suspended. If you talk about what happened in prison we will give you a sentence twice as long as your last one’”.¹⁶⁸

Another measure taken to inhibit information flow was the suspension of visiting rights. Regulations allow prisoners to receive visitors once monthly, on the 20th at Drapchi. After the May protests, visits for political prisoners were halted.

Additional security procedures were implemented after that time according to some accounts, though TIN has received reports dating to 1996 and 1997 of measures sometimes characterized as post-May 1998. Only immediate family members are entitled to visit a prisoner, erecting a potential barrier against monks and nuns who might wish to visit an incarcerated member of a shared institution, and increasing the isolation of those whose families are far away, deceased, or disinterested.¹⁶⁹

One report, by a female political prisoner who fled into exile in late 1998 after being released a few years earlier, suggested that limited prison visits had resumed as early as July 1998. Other accounts indicate that some prisoners were visited in the latter months of 1998, while still others point to summer 1999. Resumption of visiting rights appears to have been allowed on a block by block, or cell by cell, basis. That may be confirmed by comments in a report which reached TIN in December 1998, and which refers to the situation in Unit 3:

“Since the incidents took place on the 1st and the 4th of May, visitors were not allowed to visit [prisoners], and that lasted until the month of July. Then in July, 20 to 30 political prisoners were allowed to have visitors. But some are still not allowed to have visitors.”¹⁷⁰

When political prisoners meet visitors, monitoring is strict and time is short. According to Lobsang Choezin, whose release in June 1998 assures that she refers to visits before the May protests:

“When we are visited in prison, they search us twice. They say that we are allowed 50 minute long visits, but we don't have enough time to drink a cup of tea. They keep two people to watch us at our side, and two at the side where our family stays.”¹⁷¹

Choeying Kunsang believes that the viewing window is kept small so that families will not be fully aware of the physical condition of their imprisoned relatives. Illustrating her point, she describes a visit from her father after she had undergone abdominal surgery:

“ I had an operation on my appendix when I was still in prison. At that time our families were only able to see us through a small window with a hole big enough to pass a cup. They were only able to see your face. During the visit I had to be supported by two people in order to walk. My father came to meet me. He didn't notice that there was someone on each side of me because you can only see a face through the window.”¹⁷²

Ngawang Sangdrol may have been among the last to have her visiting rights reinstated, in June 1999. According to Choeying Gyaltzen, she learned that her father, Namgyal Tashi, then 64, had been released from Drapchi on 14 June upon completing an eight year sentence. One of her relatives brought the news on visitor's day. Choeying Gyaltzen's release followed Drapchi's regular visiting date, the 20th, by ten days. The language of the account implies that they were still sharing a cell when the news arrived.¹⁷³

iv. destruction of sentencing documents

In studying Tibetan political imprisonment, few sources have the potential to be more authoritative than the Chinese government. Documents issued by the People's Procuratorate (state prosecutors), the People's Court, and the Bureau of Re-education Through Labour, are detailed in the language used to describe perceived offence, place the behaviour in the context of China's Criminal Law (in judicial cases), and stipulate punishment.

A normal practice in China has been for criminals to be given copies of relevant legal documents, especially sentencing documents, which inmates often keep with them while imprisoned or send home to their families. They provide "proof" of the charge, the extent of punishment, and post-release conditions imposed as "deprivation of political rights". Upon sentence expiry and release, prisoners are given a certificate stating that the period of incarceration has been completed, and sometimes commenting on the level of reform achieved by the prisoner. Release documents must be shown to the local PSB upon repatriation to a prisoner's place of permanent residence, generally the place of birth.

TIN currently has on file copies of procuratorial, judicial, labour re-education, or release documents for more than 130 Tibetan political prisoners held since 1987, the majority of whom are now released. The documents have enabled clearer identification to be made of the prisoners themselves, their alleged criminality, the formal charges lodged against them, and sentencing. Information in the documents has proven helpful as governments attempt to engage China in "human rights dialogue". Providing Chinese officials with biographical and sentencing data derived from their own records can help them locate further information on the prisoners in question.

A substantial number of the documents were destroyed during a security sweep that accompanied the lock-down in both sections of Unit 3. Descriptions of confiscation and destruction of materials in the cells indicate that officials intended to destroy the documents, but that doing so was not their sole objective. In an effort to intensify the isolation of each cell, all materials that could be used for reading or writing were seized and destroyed. Choeying Gyaltzen ("old *rukhang 3*") and Choeying Kunsang ("new *rukhang 3*") together explain the purge:

"In 1998 they came to collect all books, letters and sentence documents from our rooms, and they burned them. [They confiscated] all books, including books on spelling and grammar. All papers and pens were confiscated. We were not allowed to keep any pen or any paper. They suspected that we had contact between each other during, or before, the time of the disturbances in May that year. [Sentencing documents were confiscated] from all who had one with them. They searched our cells thoroughly. Some nuns had their sentence document hidden in their pillow, but they searched mattresses and pillows as well, and all sentence documents were confiscated. Pema Butri came with a few staff. [The documents were burned] in the kitchen. Pema Butri went to the kitchen and told them to burn them, and watched them being burned. It was after the May incidents, so it was around July or August 1998."¹⁷⁴

The loss of documents took place only in summer 1998. According to one of the ex-prisoners, "They were all confiscated at that time, in 1998."¹⁷⁵ It is known that prison officials conducted a similar purge of anything that could be used for reading or writing in Unit 5, but it isn't yet known whether sentencing documents were destroyed.¹⁷⁶

Other remarks show that prisoners and prison staff appreciated the importance of the documents:

“The sentence document was in Tibetan. It contained clearly what they had said and what we had said. [...] It was confiscated from us [...] and they burned it. Ours was in Tibetan, it was very clear, otherwise these would have been very important to keep. It was confiscated by the *trung tutrang*, the main *tutrang* of the *rukhang*, Pema Butri. She took it to burn, saying, ‘What use is this after your release?’”¹⁷⁷

v. release: counter-revolution, state security, political rights

After the loss of principal records detailing verdict and punishment, prisoners returned to their homes with only a release certificate. Even these brief, half-slips of paper can be instructive. Lobsang Choezin and Choeying Gyaltzen were detained together on 14 June 1994. They were tried together in November and sentenced ten days later,¹⁷⁸ with Lobsang Choezin receiving four years and Choeying Gyaltzen receiving five. Lobsang Choezin was due for release on 14 June 1998, but her release was delayed two weeks. The date applied to her certificate records the extra time, but there is no indication that it represents an extension:

“Release Certificate”

“1998 Doc No. 87”

“Name: Sezhen [Saldron], female, current age 22, from Linzhou [Lhundrub] County, Tibet.”

“Because the convict committed crimes of counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement, on 18 November 1994 the Intermediate Court of Lhasa City sentenced her to four years imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for 1 year (from 29 June 1998 to 28 June 1999).”

[Seal of TAR Prison]

“29 June 1998”¹⁷⁹

Choeying Gyaltzen (lay name Chime Yangchen) was due for release exactly one year later. Apparently to ensure consistency with the late releases in 1998, her period in Drapchi was extended by the same amount of time. Like Lobsang Choezin’s certificate, the release date is properly recorded but no mention is made of delay:

“Release Certificate”

“1999 Doc No.113”

“Name: Qimi Yangjin [Chime Yangchen], female, current age 26, from Linzhou [Lhundrub] County, Tibet.

Because the convict committed crimes of endangering state security, on 28 November 1994 the Intermediate Court of Lhasa City sentenced her to 5 years imprisonment and 2 years deprivation of political rights (from 29 June 1999 to 28 June 2001).”

“As the term of her sentence has expired, she has now been released from prison, of which this certificate is proof.”

[Seal of TAR Prison]

“29 June 1999”¹⁸⁰

There is another difference between the documents. The nun released first is recorded as having “committed crimes of counter-revolutionary propaganda and incitement”, while her co-demonstrator released a year later “committed crimes of endangering state security”. Similarly, the release certificates of Ngawang Lamdrol (lay name Pasang Lhamo) and Choeying Kunsang (lay name Tsewang Drolma), both released in 1999, refer to crimes of “endangering state security”. Only the mid-1998 document mentions counter-revolution. China’s Criminal Law had been modified in October 1997, not long before Lobsang Choezin’s release; “counter-revolution” was transformed into “endangering state security”.¹⁸¹ It may have taken until 1999 for the rectification of names to take effect in Lhasa’s penal records.

[see Image 10: Ngawang Lamdrol]

[see Image 11: Choeying Kunsang]

[see Image 12: Lobsang Choezin]

“Counter-revolution”, as the main descriptor of perceived threats to Party supremacy, has roots deeper than Criminal Law. Each of China’s four constitutions, in 1954, 1975, 1978 and 1982, affirmed the state’s intent to suppress and punish counter-revolution, but the constitution was brought into line with the new terminology in March 1999. Article 28, which had previously asserted:

“The state maintains public order and suppresses treasonable and other **counter-revolutionary activities**; it penalizes activities that endanger public security and disrupt the socialist economy as well as other criminal activities; and it punishes and reforms criminals.” [emphasis added]

was changed to

“The state maintains public order and suppresses treasonable and other **criminal activities that endanger national security**; it penalizes activities that endanger public security and disrupt the socialist economy as well as other criminal activities; and it punishes and reforms criminals.”¹⁸² [emphasis added]

Critics of China’s suppression of civil, social and political rights argued that the 1997 changes to the Criminal Code were cosmetic, inconsistent with bona fide “rule of law”. This was an instance of replacing terminology that had become a public relations liability with more modern language, emulating criminal codes found under well-established rule of law. The National People’s Congress (NPC) passed another amendment in March 1999. A new paragraph was added to Article 5 of the Constitution:

“The People’s Republic of China shall be governed according to law and shall be built into a socialist country based on the rule of law.”¹⁸³

On a national level, constitution and criminal code have established direct equivalence between “counter-revolution” and “endangering state security”, and have made that link into a feature of Chinese rule of law. The release documents of Lobsang Choezin and Choeying Gyaltzen provide an unusual illustration of this transformation.

Judicial and labour re-education documents also set out a post-incarceration period of punishment for released political prisoners. “Deprivation of political rights” begins when incarceration ends and is an important component of punishment. Many former political prisoners have fled into exile after experiencing the repressive effects that constrain daily life. They may be deprived of their political rights for one to five years, typically as a roughly three-to-one ratio (a three year sentence could be followed by one year of deprivation of political rights).

Article 52 of the 1979 Criminal Law stated, “A counter-revolutionary element shall be sentenced to deprivation of political rights as a supplementary punishment. When necessary, a criminal element who seriously undermines social order may also be sentenced to deprivation of political rights as a supplementary punishment.” [translation by TIN] Article 35 of the amended 1997 Criminal Law replaces the older provision, but is unchanged, providing periods of deprivation of political rights from one to five years.¹⁸⁴

One of the released Shar Bumpa nuns, in discussing her sentencing procedure and documentation, sums up her understanding of loss of political rights:

- “1. you are not allowed to vote;
2. you are not allowed to visit your monastery;
3. you are not allowed to perform rituals in other monasteries and temples;

4. you are not allowed to go to any organisation or any place where people gather;
5. you are not allowed to visit families and recite prayers for them.”¹⁸⁵

In setting out the fourth condition, she uses the Tibetan word, *tshan*, which can also refer to monasteries and nunneries. The right targeted is ‘freedom of association’. Proscriptions are usually explained by local officials and police when released prisoners return home. In the case above limitations have been tailored to a person who once led a religious life, and deviate somewhat from formal language defining the deprivation of political rights, such as that found in texts used by Patriotic Education teams in nunneries and monasteries in the TAR beginning in 1996.¹⁸⁶

4. Conclusion

The women now held in Unit 3 average 30 years of age and are sentenced to an average of eight years 11 months. Fourteen, averaging 33 years of age, are in “old *rukhang 3*”, while the 18 women in “new *rukhang 3*” average 27 years of age. In “old *rukhang 3*”, where 11 women have extended sentences, the average is 11 years 7 months. In “new *rukhang 3*”, where three women with sentence extensions are held, the average period of imprisonment is currently 6 years 10 months. Current sentences, especially in “old *rukhang 3*”, contrast sharply with the 5 year 4 month average of all female political prisoners held in Drapchi beginning in 1989.

After peaking in late 1995 and early 1996, the number of female political prisoners in Drapchi has dropped to a level lower than at any time since early 1992. No reports have been received, other than by official and semi-official Chinese media, suggesting that Tibetans have overcome misgivings about Chinese policies and practices. Reports received by TIN indicate they have become increasingly unwilling to openly express views critical of China in an environment which creates a high probability of punishment and does little to ensure that punishment is carried out in a manner constrained by law. Tibetans have taken particular note of declining global interest in human rights as economic ambitions prevail, and of Beijing's adroitness at linking access to China's markets to “non-interference in China's internal affairs”.

Reports received by TIN have so far not provided evidence that China's passage of the new Criminal Procedure Law, which banned coercive measures for extracting confessions, has lessened the use of torture on Tibetan political prisoners. Some of the abuse described in this report occurred after May 1998, when the new law was in effect. China has not enacted laws against using torture except in relation to coerced confessions.

No disciplinary actions are known to have been taken against staff or security personnel who seriously maltreat political prisoners. Chinese officials, experts and publications have shown limited willingness to examine the issue of abuse within certain contexts, but reports concerning Tibetan political prisoners are regularly dismissed. After TIN published “Hostile Elements: A Study of Political Imprisonment in Tibet 1987 - 1998”, a spokesman for China's Foreign Ministry labelled the report a “pack of lies”, countering, “Chinese prisons consistently implement civilised administrations. The contents of this report are sheer fabrication.”¹⁸⁷ In April 2000, Lobsang Geleg, formerly the warden of Drapchi and now the head of the TAR prison administration bureau, claimed, “We have ensured the prisoners' basic legitimate rights through legal and civilised management and a variety of ways and forms of supervision, and there has been no case of violating prisoners' rights in recent years.”¹⁸⁸

The Chinese authorities modified their response to Western governments regarding the May 1998 Drapchi prison protests as the scope and solidity of reporting developed. Initially, officials denied that the protests occurred at all. A statement issued on 5 May 2000 by the People's Republic of China (PRC) delegation to the then-current session of the United Nations Committee Against Torture, assesses the demonstrations and admits to sentence extensions but denies that any fatalities occurred as part of the immediate suppression of the disturbances. The phrasing of the disavowal was apparently chosen carefully. TIN has received numerous reports that severe beating, and perhaps gunshot wounds, contributed to subsequent deaths, but there have been no indications that any of the deaths actually occurred during the moments of initial suppression. China's 5 May statement to the UN Committee asserts that no abusive treatment of prisoners occurred:

“In early May 1998, when the prison held a national flag raising ceremony, which was part of the prison's patriotism education programme, a handful of criminals went so far as flagrantly shouting separatist slogans, insult, besiege and assault prison police officers. They also smashed and destroyed prison facilities, seriously disturbing the normal order of the prison. The prison police officers took measures to put down the situation according to the provisions of the Prison Law. In the course of controlling the situation, there was not any case of death caused by beating. As the acts of some criminals constituted crimes of undermining the order of prison administration and of instigating others to split the State, the criminals concerned were given additional criminal punishment according to law.”

More than 80 per cent of the women who served sentences in Unit 3 as political prisoners have been returned to their neighborhoods and villages after completing their terms. Before leaving Drapchi some were warned that disclosing their prison experiences could earn renewed punishment. Accounts are nonetheless shared with trusted persons - family, close friends, spiritual friends. By confidential and personal transmission, it has become common knowledge that a term in Drapchi as a political prisoner can have ruinous consequences, far in excess of those permitted by law. By imposing extra-legal or illegal penalties in the form of severe beating, torture, or inventive measures such as military-style “exercise”, on whole groups of political prisoners, Drapchi's authorities may have surpassed people's congresses and courts in their efficacy at creating and building a deterrent against political dissent.

5. Appendices

Prisoner lists and charts

Status Codes used for TIN prisoner lists	62
Chart 1: Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000	63
List 1: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3 as of March 1992 (25)	64
List 2: Drapchi Prison: Unit 3 nuns given sentence extensions for recording audiocassette in June 1993	65
List 3: Female political prisoners known or believed held in Drapchi Prison's "old <i>rukhang</i> 3" as of April 1996 (82) ...	66
List 4: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new <i>rukhang</i> 3" as of February 1997 (80)	69
List 5: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3, released before May 1998 (61)	72
List 6: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "old <i>rukhang</i> 3" as of May 1998 (57)	74
List 7: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new <i>rukhang</i> 3" as of May 1998 (70)	76
List 8b: Female Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (25 prisoners as of August 2000)	78
List 8c: Male Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (10 prisoners as of August 2000)	79
List 9: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison as of August 2000 (32)	80
List 10: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison Unit 3 after 1987 (189)	81

Status Codes used for TIN prisoner lists

code	explanation
1	early release conditional or medical parole; prisoner may be subject to renewed detention
2	second or subsequent detention record now active prisoner had been released after initial detention record was created and has been detained anew
4	release presumed after sentence expiry
5	release presumed due to lack of confirmation or sentencing information
c	China record includes reference to a Chinese response to a government or UN enquiry about a prisoner
d	document record includes extracts of an official PRC judicial or procuratorial document
g	government record includes reference to action or statement by a government on behalf of a prisoner
o	ordinary ordinary criminal who later carried out a political action (protest) while imprisoned
p	police person is the subject of a police manhunt and subject to detention
u	United Nations record includes reference to a UN action on behalf of a prisoner, or a UN action impacting a prisoner
v	violent prisoner detained or sentenced for a violent offence which may or may not have been linked to political action
+	extension sentence includes an extension added while imprisoned for continued political expression (eg, political prison protest)
!	caution! record lacks sufficient confirmation or is otherwise flawed (eg, possible duplicate) but contains content meriting active status
*	Drapchi, May 1998 indicates prisoner died, received a sentence extension, or was put into solitary confinement after Drapchi May 1998 protests

Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000

based on TIN data for "hard records" current in 08/2000

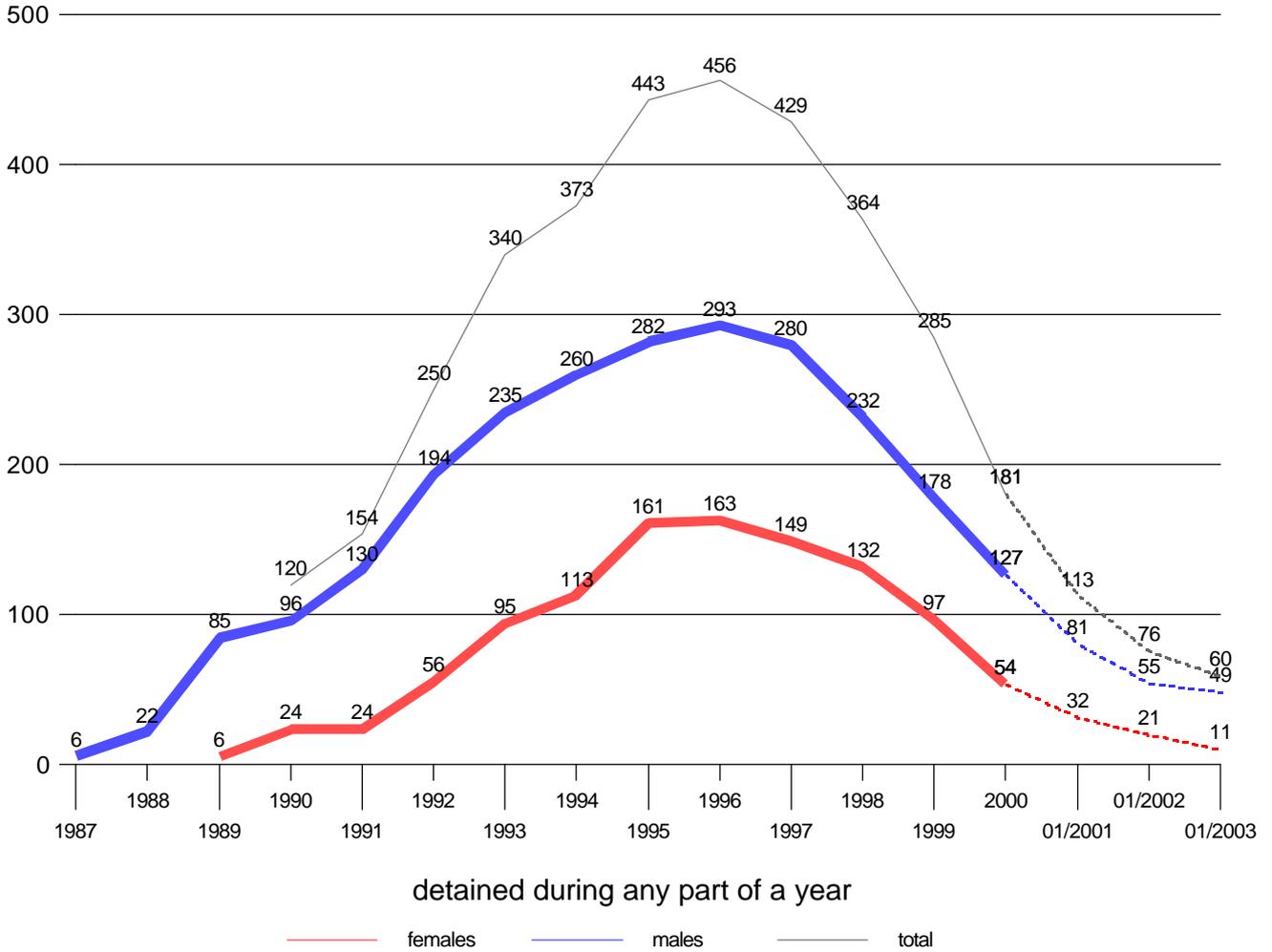


Chart 1: Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: 1987 to 2000

List 1: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3 as of March 1992 (25)

arranged in order of affiliation

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen. 03/92	sen. 06/93	origin: pref.	origin: cnty
91-0160	REL	1	Chungdag		33	44	F	business	(n/a)	1989/03/15	1996/03/15		7	Lhasa	Lhasa
91-0161	REL		Ngawang Yudron		46	57	F	business	(n/a)	1989/04/01	1996/04/01		7	Lhasa	Lhasa
91-0184	REL	u	Dawa Drolma		26	36	F	teacher	Cement Factory	1990/11/17	1993/11/17		3	Lhasa	Nyemo
91-0340	REL?	4	Ngawang Kunsang	Tseten	24	34	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/01/27	1996/01/27		6	Lhasa	Lhundrub
91-0335	REL	+, d	Gyaltsen Choezom	Penpa Choezom	21	31	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	4 ¹	9	Lhasa	Tagtse
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltsen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	4 ¹	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
91-0333	REL?	4, d	Gyaltsen Lhagtsam	Kalsang Choedron	23	33	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21		7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
91-0336	REL	d	Gyaltsen Monlam	Yangchen	18	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1993/08/21		3	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	9 ¹	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0161	REL		Phuntsog Pema	Dekyi	23	34	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	1997/10/14		8	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0107	REL	d	Gyaltsen Lungring	Tazang	19	29	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21		5	Lhoka	Dranang
92-0108	REL	d	Karma Trinley	Pema	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21		4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0109	REL	+, d	Lhundrub Zangmo	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	4 ¹	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub
93-0110	REL		Lobsang Choedron		27	37	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21		5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0104	REL?	4, c, d, u	Lobsang Choedron	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21		7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0105	REL	d	Ngawang Tendrol	Sonam Choedron	22	32	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21		4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0110	REL	d	Tenzin Ngawang	Pedron	21	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21		4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi	20	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	5 ¹	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
91-0315	REL		Rinchen Choenyi	Migmar	18	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/09/22	1996/09/22		7	Lhasa	Chushur
92-0164	REL		Penpa Wangmo	Penpa Drol	18	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/mm/dd	1992/mm/dd		3	Lhoka	(n/a)
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	7 ¹	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
91-0355	REL		Chime Drolkar	Chime Dekyi	18	28	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01		3	Lhoka	(n/a)
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	7 ¹	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
91-0357	DET	+, 2, u	Palden Choedron ²	Palden Yangkyi	19	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/02/dd	3 ¹	8 ²	Lhasa	Nyemo
91-0356	REL		Pema Drolkar	Penpa Drolkar	18	28	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01		3	Lhoka	(n/a)

notes:

¹ Eight of the 14 nuns beaten during *Losar* 1992 would later receive sentence extensions in June 1993 for recording a cassette of songs with politically tinged lyrics. Their sentences had not yet been extended.

² Palden Choedron was released in December 1998 after completing a sentence which had been extended from three years to eight years. She was detained again in February 1999 and sentenced to three years at Trisam. She is believed to be currently imprisoned there.

List 2: Drapchi Prison: Unit 3 nuns given sentence extensions for recording audiocassette in June 1993 (14)

arranged in order of affiliation

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	base sen.	ext. sen.	sen. 8/93	origin: pref.	origin: cnty
93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	5	6	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
91-0335	REL	+, d	Gyaltsen Choezom	Penpa Choezom	21	31	F	Garun Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	4	5	9	Lhasa	Tagtse
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltsen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	Garun Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	4	8	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol ¹	Rigchog	15	23	F	Garun Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	3	6	21 ¹	Lhasa	Lhasa
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	9	8	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0109	REL	+, d	Lhundrub Zangmo	Zangmo	23	33	F	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	4	5	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi	20	30	F	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	5	9	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0052	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Yeshe	23	31	F	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2005/05/14	5	8	13	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0077	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Lochoe	Dondrub Drolma	19	27	F	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	5	5	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0049	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Tsamdrol	Dekyi Wangmo	21	29	F	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	5	5	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	7	5	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	7	5	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
91-0357	DET	+, 2, u	Palden Choedron ²	Palden Yangkyi ²	19	29	F	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01 ²	2002/02/dd ²	3	5	8 ²	Lhasa	Nyemo
93-0080	DET	+, c, u	Namdrol Lhamo	Nyidrol	28	36	F	Tashi Choeling	1992/05/12	2004/05/12	6	6	12	Shigatse	Rinpung

notes:

¹ Ngawang Sangdrol's sentence was extended twice more after 1993, once in 1996 and again in 1998. Her current sentence is believed to be 21 years, but has also been reported as 22 years.

² Palden Choedron was released upon sentence expiry in 1998 but was detained again in February 1999 as she attempted to flee Tibet. She is reportedly serving a three year sentence at Trisam.

List 3: Female political prisoners known or believed held in Drapchi Prison's "old rukhag 3" as of April 1996 (82)

Three put into solitary confinement; 79 participants in hunger strike
arranged in order of affiliation

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date.	rel. sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty
93-0058	REL		Damchoe Pema		23	30	F	business	(n/a)	1993/05/19	1996/05/19	3	Lhasa	Nyemo
93-0147	DET	c	Drolma Tsamchoe		55	62	F	herder	(n/a)	1993/06/dd	2001/06/dd	8	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
95-0087	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Bumthang Nun.	1994/03/13	1999/03/13	5	Lhoka	Gongkar
93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
98-0381	REL?	4	Ngawang Shenyen		37	45	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1998/03/21	6	Lhasa	Tagtse
93-0073	REL		Phuntsog Lochoe		24	32	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1999/03/21	7	Lhasa	Tagtse
93-0075	REL?	4	Phuntsog Tsamchoe		22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1997/03/21	5	Lhasa	Tagtse
93-0072	REL?	4	Gyaltsen Sherab		25	33	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/10	1997/05/10	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0140	REL?	4, d	Ngawang Tenzin	Rinzin Wangmo	23	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/16	1997/05/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0173	REL		Ngawang Karzom		24	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhasa
95-0174	REL		Ngawang Sonam		21	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Tagtse
95-0034	REL		Khadrol		19	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1998/06/16	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
95-0035	REL?	4	Nyima Gyaltsen		17	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1996/06/16	3	(n/a)	(n/a)
95-0298	REL		Ngawang Tsering				F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1998/02/02	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
91-0335	REL	+, d	Gyaltsen Choezom	Penpa Choezom	21	31	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Tagtse
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltsen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
91-0333	REL?	4, d	Gyaltsen Lhagsam	Kalsang Choedron	23	33	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0086	REL?	4, d	Damchoe Gyaltsen	Nyima Tsamchoe	19	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0080	REL	d	Gyaltsen Kunsang	Sonam Drolkar	20	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0046	REL	d	Gyaltsen Nyingnying	Nyima Drolma	22	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0074	REL	d	Lobsang Choekyi	Paldrol	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhasa
92-0076	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Tenzin Tsomo	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1997/06/15	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0083	REL	d	Ngawang Chenma	Tseten Yangzom	20	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0075	REL	d	Ngawang Nyima	Sonam Palmo	22	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Nagchu	Nagchu
92-0073	REL	d	Ngawang Rigdrol	Yeshe Drolma	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/06/15	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0090	REL	d	Ngawang Samten	Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol ¹	Rigchog	15	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	21 ¹	Lhasa	Lhasa
93-0062	REL	u	Gyaltsen Tsultrim	Migmar Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa
93-0061	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Kunsang	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa
93-0053	REL	c, u	Ngawang Chime	Phurdrol	19	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0051	REL?	4, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Ngawang Chelmo	21	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub
93-0047	REL	c, u	Ngawang Dedrol	Rinchen Choedron	23	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0048	REL	c, u	Ngawang Kaldrol	Goekyi	19	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0050	REL	c, u	Ngawang Palmo	Tsering	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1996/06/14	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date. rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty
93-0046	REL?	4, c, u	Phuntsog Choekyi	Dekyi, Phuntsog	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0045	REL		Namdrol Kunsel	Dekyi Nyima	20	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhoka	Tsona
95-0046	REL	d	Ngawang Lamdrol	Pasang Lhamo	19	25	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0042	REL?	4	Phuntsog Palyang	Pema Drolkar			F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
95-0043	REL?		Phuntsog Wangmo	Lobsang Drolma	21	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
95-0044	REL		Phuntsog Zangmo	Yeshe Yangga	18	24	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0432	REL		Lodroe Tenzin	Lhagpa Yangkyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0433	REL?	*, 4	Ngawang Tenzin	Tsering Lhadrol	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
95-0430	REL?	4	Ngawang Tsomo	Dekyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhasa
95-0437	REL		Tenzin Choedron	Tsering Drolkar?	32	37	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0443	REL		Yangkar		17	22	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0161	REL		Phuntsog Pema ²	Dekyi	23	34	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	1997/10/14	8	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0109	REL	+, d	Lhundrub Zangmo	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0104	REL?	4, c, d, u	Lobsang Choedron	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi	20	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
92-0071	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Dawa Tsedron	22	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1999/02/03	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0070	REL	d	Trinley Choedron		18	26	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1997/02/03	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0071	REL?	4	Penpa Wangmo		20	28	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/13	1997/02/13	5	Lhasa	Tagtse
95-0147	REL		Kunsang Dekyi	Pema Oezer	16	23	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0145	REL		Samten Choesang	Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1999/08/16	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0003	REL	c	Samten Kunsang	Jampa Drolkar	21	28	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0148	REL		Samten Zangmo	Dakar	20	27	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
92-0052	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Yeshe	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2005/05/14	13	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
93-0077	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Lochoe	Dondrub Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
93-0078	REL		Ngawang Nordrol	Nyedrug	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
93-0076	REL		Ngawang Phuntsog	Ngawang Phurdrol	20	28	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Nyemo
93-0079	REL		Ngawang Tendrol	Ngawang Gyatso?	18	26	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1996/05/14	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
92-0049	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Tsamdrol	Dekyi Wangmo	21	29	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
99-0024	REL		Choeying Lhamo		22	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur
99-0025	REL		Rigzin Pema		25	31	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0057	REL	d	Choeying Gyaltzen	Chime Yangchen	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub
95-0058	REL	*, +	Lobsang Choekyi ³	Choekyi Wangmo ³	24	30	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/12/28	5 yr 6 mo ³	Lhasa	Lhundrub
91-0315	REL		Rinchen Choenyi	Migmar	18	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/09/22	1996/09/22	7	Lhasa	Chushur
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	12	Lhoka	Gongkar
91-0357	DET ²	+, 2, u	Palden Choedron ⁴	Palden Yangkyi	28	38	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/02/dd ⁴	8 ⁴	Lhasa	Nyemo
95-0064	REL		Choenyi Drolma	Tsi Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0066	REL		Drolma Yangchen	Norbu Yangchen	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0063	REL		Jampa Drolkar	Jampa Choekyi	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Chushur

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date. rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty
95-0069	REL		Lodroe Pema	Pasang Yangzom	23	30	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
95-0065	REL		Namgyal Choedron	Pasang Drolkar	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0062	REL		Norzin Wangmo ⁵		16	23	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhoka	Gongkar
95-0068	REL		Rigzin Tsondru	Rigzin Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
95-0067	REL		Sherab Drolma	Pasang Choezom	20	27	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0078	REL?	4	Yeshe Tsondru	Yudron Lhamo	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/12	1998/12/12	5	Lhasa	Chushur
95-0306	DET		Pema Tsomo	Tazang	28	34	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/16	2001/11/16	7	Lhasa	Nyemo
93-0080	DET	+, c, u	Namdrol Lhamo	Nyidrol	28	36	F	nun	Tashi Choeling	1992/05/12	2004/05/12	12	Shigatse	Rinpung

notes:

¹ Ngawang Sangdrol's sentence at the time of the April 1996 hunger strike was nine years. She received her second extension in July 1996, raising her total sentence to 17 years (sometimes reported to be 18 years). She would receive a third extension after her participation in the May 1998 Drapchi protests, raising her current sentence to 21 years (sometimes reported as 22 years).

² Phuntsog Pema was one of the three nuns put into solitary confinement just before the hunger strike began.

³ Palden Choedron was released in October 1998 after completing her eight year sentence but was detained again in February 1999; she was sentenced to three years at the Trisam Re-education Through Labour Centre.

⁴ Choekyi Wangmo would later receive a one year six month sentence extension for participation in the May 1998 Drapchi protests. She was released in December 1999 after serving her extended sentence.

⁵ Norzin Wangmo was reportedly one of the three nuns placed into solitary confinement just before the hunger strike began.

List 4: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new rukhag 3" as of February 1997 (80)

arranged in order of affiliation

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
98-0549	REL		Tsering Lhamo ¹				F	nun self-desc.	(n/a)	1996/01/dd	2000/01/dd ¹	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0332	REL	*	Ngawang Choezom	Oezer Drolma	23	28	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
95-0331	REL	*	Ngawang Dzompa	Jangchub Drolma	22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0333	REL		Ngawang Yeshe ¹	Kalsang Drolma	29	34	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10 ¹	4	(n/a)	(n/a)	
95-0334	REL	*	Yeshe Choedron		22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	2000/03/10	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
95-0298	REL		Ngawang Tsering				F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1998/02/02	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0296	REL		Pema		23	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0297	REL		Penpa		27	32	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0301	DET		Gyaltzen Wangmo		17	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0302	REL	*	Khetsun Yeshe	Lhagpa	19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2000/02/08	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0303	REL		Ngawang Drolzer	Dechen Lhamo	18	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	1999/02/08	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0304	REL	u	Yeshe Pema ²		20	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08 ²	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0422	REL		Dorje Tsomo	Tashi Tsomo	24	29	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/dd	1999/02/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	Nyethang
99-0161	REL		Lobsang Drolma	Tseten	23	27	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/05/20	2000/05/20	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0180	REL		Phuntsog Yudron		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0311	REL		Phurbu Drolma	Phurbu	21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0313	REL		Yeshe		22	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0314	REL		Yonten Wangmo	Gudun Wangmo	18	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhoka	Gongkar	
98-0181	REL?	4	Jampal		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Tagtse	
98-0182	REL	*	Lobsang Choedron		21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	1999/07/06	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0328	REL?	*, 4	Tsenyi		19	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0183	DET		Tsering Lhamo		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2001/07/06	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Reting
95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0408	REL	*	Rinchen Pema	Migmar	19	24	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2000/02/28	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling	
95-0427	REL		Choekyi		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Sumbang
95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0425	DET		Jamdrol ³		23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gyara
95-0436	DET		Monlam Choeying	Rigzin	21	26	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0440	REL		Namgyal		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0431	DET		Ngawang Drolma	Jampa	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0442	REL		Ngawang Tenzin ²	Yangdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15 ²	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumpang
95-0434	REL		Ngawang Tsomo	Dekhog	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong
95-0435	REL		Ngawang Zoepa	Dugmo	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0439	REL	*	Palchen		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0438	REL		Sherab Choephel	Nyidrol	22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
95-0426	DET		Thubten Jigme	Chime Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0441	DET		Tsering Choekyi		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
98-0479	REL		Khechog Zangmo	Chungla?	20	25	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	1999/01/09	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0375	DEC	*	Khedron Yonten ⁴	Tsering Drolkar	23	28	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0376	DEC	*	Tashi Lhamo ⁴	Yudron	21	26	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Nyemo town
99-0225	REL		Gog-gog ⁵		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	1999/07/15 ⁵	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0224	REL?	*, 4	Tseten Drolkar		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	2000/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
98-0548	DEC	*	Lobsang Wangmo ⁴	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jogpo
99-0220	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Zomkyi	24	29	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Shigatse	Gyantse	
99-0221	REL		Phuntsog Sonam		23	28	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
99-0158	REL		Namdrol Dronsang		25	30	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
99-0159	REL		Namdrol Kalsang		18	23	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0387	REL		Jangchub Tsewang	Nyidrol?	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Yungga
98-0635	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0386	REL		Ngawang Dziten	Nyichung	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0385	REL		Nyima ³		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumbang
98-0042	DEC	*	Drugkyi Pema ⁴	Dekyi Yangzom	19	24	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0039	REL		Tsering Choezom	Tsering Yangzom	21	26	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0040	REL		Tsultrim Wangmo	Trinley Drolkar	17	22	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0270	DET		Tenzin Yeshe		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0271	DET		Yeshe Palmo		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0222	REL		Yeshe Tsomo	Dawa Lhakyi	20	25	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
99-0223	REL		Yeshe Wangmo	Rigzin Choedron	23	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
95-0059	REL		Gyaltsen Sherab ⁶	Phurbu	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁶	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0060	REL	d	Lobsang Choezin ⁶	Saldron	16	22	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁶	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0061	DEC	*	Tsultrim Zangmo ⁴	Choekyi	21	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0415	REL	d	Choeying Kunsang	Tsewang Drolma	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangshar
95-0414	REL		Damchoe Norzin	Choekyi	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0417	REL		Lobsang Tsomo	Norkyi	19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0419	REL		Penpa Lhakyi		19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0420	REL		Phuntsog Gachoe	Chime Yangzom	23	28	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0076	REL		Chime Wangmo		23	30	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0071	REL		Pendrol		18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	
95-0070	REL		Yangdrol		18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	
95-0072	REL		Yeshe Choedron	Nyima Choedron	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1998/12/11	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Sanggu
95-0075	REL		Yeshe Choesang		24	31	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0305	REL		Tenzin Lhamo	Dorje Yudron	23	29	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/12	1999/11/12	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
95-0307	REL		Sanggye Choedron	Phurbu Drolma	22	28	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	1998/11/25	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0308	DET		Tsonдру Wangmo	Kalsang Drolma	36	42	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	2001/11/25	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
98-0434	DET		Tseten Drolma		36	40	F	layperson	wool co-op	1996/07/09	2003/07/09	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum

notes:

¹ Two women, nun Ngawang Yeshe and self-described nun Tsering Lhamo, were released shortly after they met members of an American delegation enquiring into religious freedom on 25 February 1998. Confidential remarks by other prisoners, now released, have alleged that their early release was linked to additional factors.

² Two nuns held in "new *rukhang 3*" as of *Losar* 1997 were given early releases in 1998 or 1999, after the May 1998 prison protests. They were Yeshe Pema of Chubsang Nunnery and Ngawang Tenzin of Gyabdrag.

³ Two nuns, Jamdrol of Gyabdrag Nunnery and Nyima of Phodo Nunnery, were placed into solitary confinement as a result of the *Losar* 1997 incident. They were kept in solitary until December 1998.

⁴ Five nuns, Tsultrim Zangmo, Drugkyi Pema, Khedron Yonten, Tashi Lhamo, and Lobsang Wangmo, died together on 7 June 1998, after the period of sustained abuse which began on 1 May 1998.

⁵ One nun, Gog-gog of Nakar Nunnery, was released early, about two and a half years after detention in July 1994. It is unclear whether she remained in "new *rukhang 3*" as of *Losar* 1997.

⁶ Two of the "new *rukhang 3*" nuns were released approximately two weeks after their sentences had expired. They are Gyaltzen Sherab and Lobsang Choezin of Shar Bumpa Nunnery.

List 5: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's Unit 3, released before May 1998 (61)

arranged by date of detention

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date	rel. sen.	origin: pref	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
91-0160	REL	1	Chungdag ¹		33	F	business	(n/a)	1989/03/15	1994/11/dd ¹	7	Lhasa	Lhasa	Thalpong Gang
91-0161	REL		Ngawang Yudron		46	F	business	(n/a)	1989/04/01	1996/04/01	7	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0058	REL		Damchoe Pema		23	F	business	(n/a)	1993/05/19	1996/05/19	3	Lhasa	Nyemo	Ritso
98-0549	REL		Tsering Lhamo ²			F	nun self-desc.	(n/a)	1996/01/dd	2000/01/dd ²	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
98-0206	REL?	4	Tazang		38	F	cook	school	1993/02/26	1996/02/26	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
91-0184	REL	u	Dawa Drolma		26	F	teacher	Cem. Fact. Sch.	1990/11/17	1993/11/17	3	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0333	REL		Ngawang Yeshe ²	Kalsang Drolma	29	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10 ²	4	(n/a)	(n/a)	
98-0381	REL?	4	Ngawang Shenyen		37	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1998/03/21	6	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0073	REL		Phuntsog Lochoe ³		24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1999/03/21 ³	7	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0075	REL?	4	Phuntsog Tsamchoe		22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1997/03/21	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0072	REL?	4	Gyaltzen Sherab		25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/10	1997/05/10	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0140	REL?	4, d	Ngawang Tenzin	Rinzin Wangmo	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/16	1997/05/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Jonang
92-0134	REL		Ngawang Nyidrol		23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/07/06	1995/07/06	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
95-0017	REL		Ngawang Choezom	Tsering Yangzom	15	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/08/12	1994/08/12	2	Shigatse	Dromo	Duna
95-0035	REL?	4	Nyima Gyaltzen		17	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1996/06/16	3	(n/a)	(n/a)	
95-0298	REL		Ngawang Tsering			F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1998/02/02	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
91-0340	REL?	4	Ngawang Kunsang	Tseten	24	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/01/27	1996/01/27	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
91-0333	REL?	4, d	Gyaltzen Lhagtsam	Kalsang Choedron	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama Gyaltshe
91-0336	REL	d	Gyaltzen Monlam	Yangchen	18	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1993/08/21	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
92-0086	REL?	4, d	Damchoe Gyaltzen	Nyima Tsamchoe	19	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0080	REL	d	Gyaltzen Kunsang	Sonam Drolkar	20	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Ding
92-0046	REL	d	Gyaltzen Nyingnying	Nyima Drolma	22	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0076	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Tenzin Tsomo	18	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1997/06/15	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Wangkar
92-0083	REL	d	Ngawang Chenma	Tseten Yangzom	20	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kolmo
92-0075	REL	d	Ngawang Nyima	Sonam Palmo	22	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Nagchu	Nagchu	Sangshung
92-0090	REL	d	Ngawang Samten	Drolma	19	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
92-0087	REL	d	Ngawang Tenkyi	Tsamchoe	19	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1994/06/15	2	Lhasa	Tagtse	Tsangdo
93-0081	REL	u	Konchog Tsomo		17	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	1995/06/17	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama
93-0056	DEC	1, c, u	Gyaltzen Kalsang ¹	Kalsang Drolma	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1994/12/dd ¹	2	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0055	REL	c, u	Gyaltzen Kunga	Yangkyi	21	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Lhasa	Nyemo	Thonchu
93-0054	REL	c, u	Gyaltzen Zangmo	Achog Zompa	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Kongpo	Kongpo Gyamda	Drugla
93-0057	REL	1, c, u	Ngawang Chendrol ¹	Phurbu Drolkar	18	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/mm/dd ¹	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
93-0053	REL	c, u	Ngawang Chime	Phurdrol	19	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Drangda
93-0051	REL?	4, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Ngawang Chelmo	21	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Phongdo
93-0050	REL	c, u	Ngawang Palmo	Tsering	22	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1996/06/14	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Phongdo
95-0243	REL	c, u	Rinchen Drolma		22	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lungshoe

TIN#	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
93-0020	REL		Yeshe Drolma	Tsering Dedrub	18	F	nun	Lochung Tsang	1992/08/12	1995/08/12	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0158	REL		Namdrol Dronsang		25	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lodrong
99-0159	REL		Namdrol Kalsang		18	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lodrong
92-0161	REL		Phuntsog Pema	Dekyi	23	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	1997/10/14	8	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Marchu
92-0107	REL	d	Gyaltzen Lungring	Tazang	19	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21	5	Lhoka	Dranang	
92-0108	REL	d	Karma Trinley	Pema	23	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
93-0110	REL		Lobsang Choedron		27	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0104	REL?	4, c, d, u	Lobsang Choedron	Zangmo	23	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0105	REL	d	Ngawang Tendrol	Sonam Choedron	22	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Drigung
92-0110	REL	d	Tenzin Ngawang	Pedron	21	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0069	DEC	d	Gyaltzen Lhagsam ⁴	Phuntsog Yangkyi	19	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1997/02/03 ⁴	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Chublha
92-0070	REL	d	Trinley Choedron		18	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1997/02/03	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
93-0071	REL?	4	Penpa Wangmo		20	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/13	1997/02/13	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
99-0225	REL		Gog-gog ³		23	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	1999/07/15 ³	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
93-0079	REL		Ngawang Tendrol	Ngawang Gyatso?	18	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1996/05/14	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
91-0315	REL		Rinchen Choenyi	Migmar	18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/09/22	1996/09/22	7	Lhasa	Chushur	Tsalna
92-0164	REL		Penpa Wangmo	Penpa Drol	18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/mm/dd	1992/mm/dd	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
91-0355	REL		Chime Drolkar	Chime Dekyi	18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
91-0356	REL		Pema Drolkar	Penpa Drolkar	18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
95-0076	REL		Chime Wangmo		23	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0071	REL		Pendrol		18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	
95-0074	REL		Tsultrim Choedron	Tsering Choedron	17	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1996/12/11	3	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0070	REL		Yangdrol		18	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	
95-0075	REL		Yeshe Choesang		24	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0073	REL		Yeshe Kunsang	Ngodrub	19	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	

notes:

¹ Three prisoners were released early for health or public relations reasons. They were: laywoman Chungdag, released in November 1994 as China sought to improve its human rights image and gain WTO entry by year's end; Gyaltzen Kalsang of Garu Nunnery, released on medical parole in December 1994 in poor condition after earlier beatings (she died in February 1995); Ngawang Chendrol of Garu, released early in 1995 in poor condition after earlier beatings.

² Two women, nun Ngawang Yeshe and self-described nun Tsering Lhamo, were released shortly after they met members of an American delegation enquiring into religious freedom on 25 February 1998. Confidential remarks by other prisoners, now released, have alleged that their early release was linked to additional factors.

³ Two other nuns were released early. Phuntsog Lochoe of Chubsang was reportedly released from "old *rukhang* 3" after serving five years and six months of her seven year sentence; Gog-gog of Nakar Nunnery, was reportedly released from "new *rukhang* 3" by early 1997 after serving no more than half of her sentence.

⁴ Gyaltzen Lhagsam died in custody in June 1994. She had suffered severe beatings on several occasions and died in a coma after three days of hospitalisation.

List 6: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "old rukhag 3" as of May 1998 (57)

arranged in order of affiliation

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occu.	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
93-0147	DET	c	Drolma Tsamchoe		55	62	F	herder	(n/a)	1993/06/dd	2001/06/dd	8	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Ruthog
95-0087	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Bumthang Nun.	1994/03/13	1999/03/13	5	Lhoka	Gongkar	Namgyalgang
93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0173	REL		Ngawang Karzom		24	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
95-0174	REL		Ngawang Sonam		21	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
95-0034	REL		Khadrol		19	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1998/06/16	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
91-0335	REL	+, d	Gyaltsen Choezom	Penpa Choezom	21	31	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Tagtse	
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltsen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0074	REL	d	Lobsang Choekyi	Paldrol	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhasa	Dode
92-0073	REL	d	Ngawang Rigdrol	Yeshe Drolma	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/06/15	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Yiche
92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol	Rigchog	15	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	21	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0062	REL	u	Gyaltsen Tsultrim	Migmar Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
93-0061	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Kunsang	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
93-0047	REL	c, u	Ngawang Dedrol	Rinchen Choedron	23	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Thangkya
93-0048	REL	c, u	Ngawang Kaldrol	Goekyi	19	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama Trikhang
93-0046	REL?	4, c, u	Phuntsog Choekyi	Dekyi	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Khartse
95-0045	REL		Namdrol Kunsel	Dekyi Nyima	20	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhoka	Tsona	
95-0046	REL	d	Ngawang Lamdrol	Pasang Lhamo	19	25	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Druggya
95-0042	REL?	4	Phuntsog Palyang	Pema Drolkar			F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Gurum
95-0043	REL?		Phuntsog Wangmo	Lobsang Drolma	21	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Morong
95-0044	REL		Phuntsog Zangmo	Yeshe Yangga	18	24	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0432	REL		Lodroe Tenzin	Lhagpa Yangkyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0433	REL?	*, 4	Ngawang Tenzin	Tsering Lhadrol	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0430	REL?	4	Ngawang Tsomo	Dekyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Banakzhol
95-0437	REL		Tenzin Choedron	Tsering Drolkar?	32	37	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0443	REL		Yangkar		17	22	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0109	REL	+, d	Lhundrub Zangmo	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi,	20	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0071	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Dawa Tsedron	22	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1999/02/03	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0147	REL		Kunsang Dekyi	Pema Oezer	16	23	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0145	REL		Samten Choesang	Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1999/08/16	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0003	REL	c	Samten Kunsang	Jampa Drolkar	21	28	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0148	REL		Samten Zangmo	Dakar	20	27	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
92-0052	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Yeshe	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2005/05/14	13	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
93-0077	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Lochoe	Dondrub Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occu.	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
93-0078	REL		Ngawang Nordrol	Nyedrug	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
93-0076	REL		Ngawang Phuntsog	Ngawang Phurdrol	20	28	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	
92-0049	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Tsamdrol	Dekyi Wangmo	21	29	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
99-0024	REL		Choeying Lhamo		22	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
99-0025	REL		Rigzin Pema		25	31	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0057	REL	d	Choeying Gyaltzen ¹	Chime Yangchen	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/30 ¹	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0058	REL	*, +	Lobsang Choekyi ¹	Choekyi Wangmo	24	30	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/12/28 ¹	5.5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Chedezhol
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Kyimshi
91-0357	DET	+, 2, u	Palden Choedron ²	Palden Yangkyi	28	38	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/02/dd ²	8 ²	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0064	REL		Choenyi Drolma	Tsi Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0066	REL		Drolma Yangchen	Norbu Yangchen	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0063	REL		Jampa Drolkar	Jampa Choekyi	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Chushur	Tsalna
95-0069	REL		Lodroe Pema	Pasang Yangzom	23	30	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0065	REL		Namgyal Choedron	Pasang Drolkar	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0062	REL		Norzin Wangmo		16	23	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhoka	Gongkar	Janchin
95-0068	REL		Rigzin Tsondru	Rigzin Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0067	REL		Sherab Drolma	Pasang Choezom	20	27	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0078	REL?	4	Yeshe Tsondru	Yudron Lhamo	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/12	1998/12/12	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0306	DET		Pema Tsomo	Tazang	28	34	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/16	2001/11/16	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
93-0080	DET	+, c, u	Namdrol Lhamo	Nyidrol	28	36	F	nun	Tashi Choeling	1992/05/12	2004/05/12	12	Shigatse	Rinpung	

notes:

¹ Choeying Gyaltzen and Lobsang Choekyi were released approximately two weeks after their sentences had expired.

² Palden Choedron was detained again in February 1999 and sentenced to three years at Trisam. She is believed to be currently imprisoned there.

List 7: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison's "new rukhag 3" as of May 1998 (70)

arranged in order of affiliation

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occu.	affiliation	date det.	exp. rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
95-0332	REL	*	Ngawang Choezom	Oezer Drolma	23	28	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
95-0331	REL	*	Ngawang Dzompa	Jangchub Drolma	22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0334	REL	*	Yeshe Choedron		22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	2000/03/10	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
95-0296	REL		Pema		23	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0297	REL		Penpa		27	32	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0301	DET		Gyaltzen Wangmo		17	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0302	REL	*	Khetsun Yeshe	Lhagpa	19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2000/02/08	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0303	REL		Ngawang Drolzer	Dechen Lhamo	18	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	1999/02/08	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0304	REL	u	Yeshe Pema ¹		20	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08 ¹	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0422	REL		Dorje Tsomo	Tashi Tsomo	24	29	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/dd	1999/02/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	Nyethang
99-0161	REL		Lobsang Drolma	Tseten	23	27	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/05/20	2000/05/20	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0180	REL		Phuntsog Yudron		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0311	REL		Phurbu Drolma	Phurbu	21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0313	REL		Yeshe		22	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0314	REL		Yonten Wangmo	Gudun Wangmo	18	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhoka	Gongkar	
98-0181	REL?	4	Jampal		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Tagtse	
98-0182	REL	*	Lobsang Choedron		21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	1999/07/06	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0328	REL?	*, 4	Tsenyi		19	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0183	DET		Tsering Lhamo		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2001/07/06	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Reting
95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0408	REL	*	Rinchen Pema	Migmar	19	24	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2000/02/28	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling	
95-0427	REL		Choekyi		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Sumbang
95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0425	DET		Jamdrol ²		23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gyara
95-0436	DET		Monlam Choeying	Rigzin	21	26	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0440	REL		Namgyal		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0431	DET		Ngawang Drolma	Jampa	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0442	REL		Ngawang Tenzin ¹	Yangdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15 ¹	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumpang
95-0434	REL		Ngawang Tsomo	Dekhog	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong
95-0435	REL		Ngawang Zoepa	Dugmo	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0439	REL	*	Palchen		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0438	REL		Sherab Choephel	Nyidrol	22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong
95-0426	DET		Thubten Jigme	Chime Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0441	DET		Tsering Choekyi		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
98-0479	REL		Khechog Zangmo	Chungla?	20	25	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	1999/01/09	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0375	DEC	*	Khedron Yonten ³	Tsering Drolkar	23	28	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0376	DEC	*	Tashi Lhamo ³	Yudron	21	26	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Nyemo town

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occu.	affiliation	date det.	exp. rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
99-0224	REL?	*, 4	Tseten Drolkar		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	2000/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
98-0548	DEC	*	Lobsang Wangmo ³	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jogpo
99-0220	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Zomkyi	24	29	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Shigatse	Gyantse	
99-0221	REL		Phuntsog Sonam		23	28	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0387	REL		Jangchub Tsewang	Nyidrol?	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Yungga
98-0635	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0386	REL		Ngawang Dziten	Nyichung	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0385	REL		Nyima ²		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumbang
98-0042	DEC	*	Drugkyi Pema ³	Dekyi Yangzom	19	24	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0039	REL		Tsering Choezom	Tsering Yangzom	21	26	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0040	REL		Tsultrim Wangmo	Trinley Drolkar	17	22	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0270	DET		Tenzin Yeshe		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0271	DET		Yeshe Palmo		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0222	REL		Yeshe Tsomo	Dawa Lhakyi	20	25	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
99-0223	REL		Yeshe Wangmo	Rigzin Choedron	23	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
95-0059	REL		Gyaltzen Sherab ⁴	Phurbu	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁴	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0060	REL	d	Lobsang Choezin ⁴	Saldron	16	22	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁴	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0061	DEC	*	Tsultrim Zangmo ³	Choekyi	21	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0415	REL	d	Choeying Kunsang	Tsewang Drolma	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangshar
95-0414	REL		Damchoe Norzin	Choekyi	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0417	REL		Lobsang Tsomo	Norkyi	19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0419	REL		Penpa Lhakyi		19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0420	REL		Phuntsog Gachoe	Chime Yangzom	23	28	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0072	REL		Yeshe Choedron	Nyima Choedron	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1998/12/11	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Sanggu
95-0305	REL		Tenzin Lhamo	Dorje Yudron	23	29	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/12	1999/11/12	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0307	REL		Sanggye Choedron	Phurbu Drolma	22	28	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	1998/11/25	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0308	DET		Tsonдру Wangmo	Kalsang Drolma	36	42	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	2001/11/25	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
98-0434	DET		Tseten Drolma ²		36	40	F	layperson	wool co-op	1996/07/09	2003/07/09	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum

notes:

¹ Two of the nuns held in "new rukhag 3" as of May 1998 were released later in 1998 or 1999, before their sentences had expired. They were Yeshe Pema of Chubsang Nunnery and Ngawang Tenzin of Gyabdrag.

² Three prisoners had been placed into solitary confinement before May 1998. They were nuns Jamdrol of Gyabdrag Nunnery, Nyima of Phodo Nunnery, and laywoman Tseten from Nyemo.

³ Five nuns, Tsultrim Zangmo, Drugkyi Pema, Khedron Yonten, Tashi Lhamo, and Lobsang Wangmo, died together on 7 June 1998 after the period of sustained abuse beginning on 1 May.

⁴ Two of the "new rukhag 3" nuns were released approximately two weeks after their sentences had expired. They are Gyaltzen Sherab and Lobsang Choezin of Shar Bumpa Nunnery.

List 8b: Female Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (25 prisoners as of August 2000)

death (5), sentence extension (5), solitary confinement (20)

arranged in order of affiliation

result	TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date	rel.	sen.	origin pref.	origin county
solitary	95-0332	REL	*	Ngawang Choezom	Oezer Drolma	23	28	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
solitary	95-0331	REL	*	Ngawang Dzompa	Jangchub Drolma	22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Damshung	
solitary	95-0334	REL	*	Yeshe Choedron		22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	2000/03/10	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
solitary	93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
solitary	95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
solitary	95-0302	REL	*	Khetsun Yeshe	Lhagpa	19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2000/02/08	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
solitary	98-0182	REL	*	Lobsang Choedron		21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	1999/07/06	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
solitary	98-0328	REL?	*, 4	Tsenyi		19	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
sol. & ext.	95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung	
solitary	95-0408	REL	*	Rinchen Pema	Migmar	19	24	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2000/02/28	5	Lhasa	Damshung	
sol. & ext.	92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol	Rigchog	15	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	21	Lhasa	Lhasa	
sol. & ext.	95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling	
sol. & ext.	95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
solitary	95-0433	REL?	*, 4	Ngawang Tenzin	Tsering Lhadrol	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
solitary	95-0439	REL	*	Palchen		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
death	98-0375	DEC	*	Khedron Yonten	Tsering Drolkar	23	28	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	
death	98-0376	DEC	*	Tashi Lhamo	Yudron	21	26	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	
solitary	99-0224	REL?	*, 4	Tseten Drolkar		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	2000/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
death	98-0548	DEC	*	Lobsang Wangmo	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
death	98-0042	DEC	*	Drugkyi Pema	Dekyi Yangzom	19	24	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
solitary	98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo	
sol. & ext.	95-0058	REL	*, +	Lobsang Choekyi ¹	Choekyi Wangmo	24	30	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/12/28 ¹	5yr 6mo	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
death	95-0061	DEC	*	Tsultrim Zangmo	Choekyi	21	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
solitary	95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
solitary	95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	

notes:

¹ Lobsang Choekyi was released about two weeks after her extended sentence had expired.

List 8c: Male Tibetan political prisoners in Drapchi: known consequences of May 1998 protests (10 prisoners as of August 2000)

death (4), sentence extension (6), solitary confinement (unknown)

arranged in order of affiliation

result	TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date	rel. sen.	origin pref.	origin county
death	98-0335	DEC	*, o	Karma Dawa				M	(n/a)	(n/a)	1995/mm/dd	2008/mm/dd	13	Chamdo	Gonjo
death	95-0325	DEC	*	Khedrub		26	32	M	monk	Ganden Mon.	1994/03/10	1999/03/10	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar
death	98-0080	DEC	*	Ngawang Tenkyong	Lobsang Wangchug	19	23	M	monk	Ganden Mon.	1996/05/09	2007/05/09	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub
extension	99-0135	DET	*, +	Lhasang		23	28	M	monk	Gonsar Mon.	1995/mm/dd	2004/mm/dd	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub
death	95-0377	DEC	*	Lobsang Choephel	Trinley Phuntsog	20	25	M	monk	Khangmar Mon.	1995/04/15	1999/04/15	4	Lhasa	Damshung
extension	95-0117	DET	*, +	Ngawang Oebar	Wangdu	22	28	M	monk	Sang-ngag Khar	1994/12/02	2002/12/02	8	Lhasa	Tagtse
extension	95-0394	DET	*, +	Tenzin Jigme	Pasang	20	25	M	monk	Taglung Mon.	1995/02/15	2004/02/15	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub
extension	95-0397	DET	*, +	Ngawang Kalsang	Norbu Phuntsog	24	29	M	monk	Taglung Mon.	1995/02/22	2003/02/22	8	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen
extension	95-0097	DET	*, +	Ngawang Ngonkyen	Kalsang Phuntsog	19	25	M	monk	Tashigang Mon.	1994/03/27	2004/03/27	10	Lhasa	Chushur
extension	95-0093	DET	*, +	Phuntsog Rigchog	Migmar	32	38	M	monk	Tashigang Mon.	1994/05/31	2004/05/31	10	Lhasa	Chushur

List 9: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison as of August 2000 (32)

in order of date of detention

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occupation	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltsen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi	20	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Chedezhol
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Kyimshi
93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
93-0080	DET	+, c, u	Namdrol Lhamo	Nyidrol	28	36	F	nun	Tashi Choeling	1992/05/12	2004/05/12	12	Shigatse	Rinpung	
92-0052	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Yeshe	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2005/05/14	13	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
93-0077	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Lochoe	Dondrub Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0049	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Tsamdrol	Dekyi Wangmo	21	29	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol	Rigchog	15	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	21	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0147	DET	c	Drolma Tsamchoe		55	62	F	herder	lay woman	1993/06/dd	2001/06/dd	8	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Ruthog
95-0306	DET		Pema Tsomo	Tazang	28	34	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/16	2001/11/16	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
95-0308	DET		Tsondru Wangmo	Kalsang Drolma	36	42	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	2001/11/25	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0301	DET	u	Gyaltsen Wangmo		17	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling	
95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0425	DET		Jamdrol		23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gyara
95-0436	DET		Monlam Choeying	Rigzin	21	26	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0431	DET		Ngawang Drolma	Jampa	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0426	DET		Thubten Jigme	Chime Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0441	DET		Tsering Choekyi		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangshar
95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
98-0183	DET		Tsering Lhamo		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2001/07/06	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Reting
98-0434	DET		Tseten Drolma		36	40	F	layperson	wool co-op	1996/07/09	2003/07/09	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum
98-0270	DET		Tenzin Yeshe		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0271	DET		Yeshe Palmo		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0120	DET		Nyima Choedron		31	32	F	care provider	Gyatso Home	1999/08/30	2002/08/30	3	Lhasa	Lhasa	

List 10: Female political prisoners known held in Drapchi Prison Unit 3 after 1987 (189)

current in August 2000; arranged in order of affiliation

TIN #	status	code	name	lay name	det. age	cur. age	sex	occu.	affiliation	date det.	exp. date rel.	sen.	origin: pref.	origin: cnty.	origin: detail
91-0160	REL	1	Chungdag ¹		33	44	F	business	(n/a)	1989/03/15	1996/03/15 ¹	7	Lhasa	Lhasa	Thalpong Gang
91-0161	REL		Ngawang Yudron		46	57	F	business	(n/a)	1989/04/01	1996/04/01	7	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0058	REL		Damchoe Pema		23	30	F	business	(n/a)	1993/05/19	1996/05/19	3	Lhasa	Nyemo	Ritso
93-0147	DET	c	Drolma Tsamchoe		55	62	F	herder	(n/a)	1993/06/dd	2001/06/dd	8	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Ruthog
98-0549	REL		Tsering Lhamo ²				F	nun self-desc.	(n/a)	1996/01/dd	2000/01/dd ²	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0087	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Bumthang Nun.	1994/03/13	1999/03/13	5	Lhoka	Gongkar	Namgyal gang
95-0332	REL	*	Ngawang Choezom	Oezer Drolma	23	28	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
95-0331	REL	*	Ngawang Dzompa	Jangchub Drolma	22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10	4	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0333	REL		Ngawang Yeshe ²	Kalsang Drolma	29	34	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	1999/03/10 ²	4	(n/a)	(n/a)	
95-0334	REL	*	Yeshe Choedron		22	27	F	nun	Chimelung Nun.	1995/03/10	2000/03/10	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Dechen
93-0074	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Choezom	Pasang Lhamo	22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	2003/03/21	11	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
98-0381	REL?	4	Ngawang Shenyen		37	45	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1998/03/21	6	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0073	REL		Phuntsog Lochoe ³		24	32	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1999/03/21 ³	7	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0075	REL?	4	Phuntsog Tsamchoe		22	30	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/03/21	1997/03/21	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
93-0072	REL?	4	Gyaltzen Sherab		25	33	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/10	1997/05/10	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0140	REL?	4, d	Ngawang Tenzin	Rinzin Wangmo	23	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/05/16	1997/05/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Jonang
92-0134	REL		Ngawang Nyidrol		23	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/07/06	1995/07/06	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
95-0017	REL		Ngawang Choezom	Tsering Yangzom	15	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1992/08/12	1994/08/12	2	Shigatse	Dromo	Duna
95-0173	REL		Ngawang Karzom		24	31	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
95-0174	REL		Ngawang Sonam		21	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
95-0034	REL		Khadrol		19	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1998/06/16	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0035	REL?	4	Nyima Gyaltzen		17	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1993/06/16	1996/06/16	3	(n/a)	(n/a)	
95-0298	REL		Ngawang Tsering				F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1998/02/02	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0296	REL		Pema		23	28	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0297	REL		Penpa		27	32	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0299	DET	*	Zangmo		19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/02	2001/02/02	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0301	DET	u	Gyaltzen Wangmo		17	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0302	REL	*	Khetsun Yeshe	Lhagpa	19	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2000/02/08	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0303	REL		Ngawang Drolzer	Dechen Lhamo	18	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	1999/02/08	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0304	REL	u	Yeshe Pema ⁴		20	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/08	2001/02/08 ⁴	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0422	REL		Dorje Tsomo	Tashi Tsomo	24	29	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1995/02/dd	1999/02/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	Nyethang
99-0161	REL		Lobsang Drolma	Tseten	23	27	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/05/20	2000/05/20	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0180	REL		Phuntsog Yudron		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0311	REL		Phurbu Drolma	Phurbu	21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0313	REL		Yeshe		22	26	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0314	REL		Yonten Wangmo	Gudun Wangmo	18	22	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/01	1999/07/01	3	Lhoka	Gongkar	
98-0181	REL?	4	Jampal		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Tagtse	
98-0182	REL	*	Lobsang Choedron		21	25	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	1999/07/06	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
98-0328	REL?	*, 4	Tsenyi		19	23	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2000/07/06	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	

98-0183	DET		Tsering Lhamo		20	24	F	nun	Chubsang Nun.	1996/07/06	2001/07/06	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Reting
95-0407	DET	*, +	Jangchub Drolma	Palkyi	23	28	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2006/02/28	11	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
95-0408	REL	*	Rinchen Pema	Migmar	19	24	F	nun	Galo Nun.	1995/02/28	2000/02/28	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Yangpachen
91-0340	REL?	4	Ngawang Kunsang	Tseten	24	34	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/01/27	1996/01/27	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
91-0335	REL	+, d	Gyaltzen Choezom	Penpa Choezom	21	31	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Tagtse	
91-0334	DET	+, d, u	Gyaltzen Drolkar	Dawa	19	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	2002/08/21	12	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
91-0333	REL?	4, d	Gyaltzen Lhagtsam	Kalsang Choedron	23	33	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama Gyaltse
91-0336	REL	d	Gyaltzen Monlam	Yangchen	18	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1990/08/21	1993/08/21	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
92-0086	REL?	4, d	Damchoe Gyaltzen	Nyima Tsamchoe	19	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0080	REL	d	Gyaltzen Kunsang	Sonam Drolkar	20	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Ding
92-0046	REL	d	Gyaltzen Nyinying	Nyima Drolma	22	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0074	REL	d	Lobsang Choekyi	Paldrol	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/06/15	6	Lhasa	Lhasa	Dode
92-0076	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Tenzin Tsomo	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1997/06/15	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Wangkar
92-0083	REL	d	Ngawang Chenma	Tseten Yangzom	20	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kolmo
92-0075	REL	d	Ngawang Nyima	Sonam Palmo	22	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Nagchu	Nagchu	Sangshung
92-0073	REL	d	Ngawang Rigdrol	Yeshe Drolma	18	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1998/06/15	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Yiche
92-0090	REL	d	Ngawang Samten	Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1996/06/15	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Lungshoe
92-0087	REL	d	Ngawang Tenkyi	Tsamchoe	19	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/15	1994/06/15	2	Lhasa	Tagtse	Tsangdo
93-0081	REL	u	Konchog Tsomo		17	25	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	1995/06/17	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama
92-0089	DET	*, +, c, u	Ngawang Sangdrol	Rigchog, Choezom	15	23	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1992/06/17	2013/06/17	21	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0062	REL	u	Gyaltzen Tsultrim	Migmar Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
93-0061	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Kunsang	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/04	1998/06/04	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Nyangdren
93-0056	DEC	1, c, u	Gyaltzen Kalsang ¹	Kalsang Drolma	23	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14 ¹	2	Lhasa	Lhasa	
93-0055	REL	c, u	Gyaltzen Kunga	Yangkyi	21	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Lhasa	Nyemo	Thonchu
93-0054	REL	c, u	Gyaltzen Zangmo	Achog Zompa	23	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Kongpo	Kongpo Gyamda	Drugla
93-0057	REL	1, c, u	Ngawang Chendrol ¹	Phurbu Drolkar	18	25	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1996/06/14	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
93-0053	REL	c, u	Ngawang Chime	Phurdrol	19	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Drangda
93-0051	REL?	4, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Ngawang Chelmo	21	28	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1997/06/14	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Phongdo
93-0047	REL	c, u	Ngawang Dedrol	Rinchen Choedron	23	30	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Thangkya
93-0048	REL	c, u	Ngawang Kaldrol	Goekyi	19	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1998/06/14	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Gyama Trikhang
93-0050	REL	c, u	Ngawang Palmo	Tsering	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1996/06/14	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Phongdo
93-0046	REL?	4, c, u	Phuntsog Choekyi	Dekyi	22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1999/06/14	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Khartse
95-0243	REL	c, u	Rinchen Drolma		22	29	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1993/06/14	1995/06/14	2	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lungshoe
95-0045	REL		Namdrol Kunsel	Dekyi Nyima	20	26	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhoka	Tsona	
95-0046	REL	d	Ngawang Lamdrol	Pasang Lhamo	19	25	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Druggya
95-0042	REL?	4	Phuntsog Palyang	Pema Drolkar			F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Gurum
95-0043	REL?		Phuntsog Wangmo	Lobsang Drolma	21	27	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	2000/05/25	6	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Morong
95-0044	REL		Phuntsog Zangmo	Yeshe Yangga	18	24	F	nun	Garu Nun.	1994/05/25	1999/05/25	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Ganden
95-0429	DET	*, +	Che-che		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Shigatse	Namling	
95-0427	REL		Choekyi		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Sumbang
95-0428	DET	*, +	Chogdrub Drolma	Namdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2006/02/15	11	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0425	DET		Jamdrol		23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gyara
95-0432	REL		Lodroe Tenzin	Lhagpa Yangkyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0436	DET		Monlam Choeying	Rigzin	21	26	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0440	REL		Namgyal		19	24	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0431	DET		Ngawang Drolma	Jampa	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha

95-0442	REL		Ngawang Tenzin ⁴	Yangdrol	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15 ⁴	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumpang
95-0433	REL?	*, 4	Ngawang Tenzin	Tsering Lhadrol	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0434	REL		Ngawang Tsomo	Dekhog	23	28	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong
95-0430	REL?	4	Ngawang Tsomo	Dekyi	28	33	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhasa	Banakzhof
95-0435	REL		Ngawang Zoepa	Dugmo	24	29	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
95-0439	REL	*	Palchen		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0438	REL		Sherab Choephel	Nyidrol	22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Damshung	Nyingdrong
95-0437	REL		Tenzin Choedron	Tsering Drolkar?	32	37	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0426	DET		Thubten Jigme	Chime Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2002/02/15	7	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0441	DET		Tsering Choekyi		22	27	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2001/02/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0443	REL		Yangkar		17	22	F	nun	Gyabdrag Nun.	1995/02/15	2000/02/15	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
99-0120	DET		Nyima Choedron		31	32	F	care provider	Gyatso Home	1999/08/30	2002/08/30	3	Lhasa	Lhasa	
98-0479	REL		Khechog Zangmo	Chungla?	20	25	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	1999/01/09	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0375	DEC	*	Khedron Yonten	Tsering Drolkar	23	28	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Garushang
98-0376	DEC	*	Tashi Lhamo	Yudron	21	26	F	nun	Jewo Thekchogling	1995/01/09	2000/01/09	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	Nyemo town
91-0184	REL	u	Dawa Drolma		26	36	F	teacher	Cem. Fact. Sch.	1990/11/17	1993/11/17	3	Lhasa	Nyemo	
93-0020	REL		Yeshe Drolma	Tsering Dedrub	18	26	F	nun	Lochung Tsang	1992/08/12	1995/08/12	3	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
92-0160	DET	+	Phuntsog Nyidrol	Tseten Wangmo	20	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	2006/10/14	17	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
92-0161	REL		Phuntsog Pema	Dekyi	23	34	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1989/10/14	1997/10/14	8	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Marchu
92-0107	REL	d	Gyaltsen Lungring	Tazang	19	29	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21	5	Lhoka	Dranang	
92-0108	REL	d	Karma Trinley	Pema	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0109	REL	+, d	Lhundrub Zangmo	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1999/08/21	9	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
93-0110	REL		Lobsang Choedron		27	37	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1995/08/21	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0104	REL?	4, c, d, u	Lobsang Choedron	Zangmo	23	33	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1997/08/21	7	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0105	REL	d	Ngawang Tendrol	Sonam Choedron	22	32	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Drigung
92-0110	REL	d	Tenzin Ngawang	Pedron	21	31	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	1994/08/21	4	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0106	DET	+, c, d, u	Tenzin Thubten	Dawa Yangkyi	20	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1990/08/21	2004/08/21	14	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
92-0069	DEC	d	Gyaltsen Lhagsam ⁵	Phuntsog Yangkyi	19	27	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1997/02/03 ⁵	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Chublha
92-0071	REL	d	Lobsang Drolma	Dawa Tsedron	22	30	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1999/02/03	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0070	REL	d	Trinley Choedron		18	26	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/03	1997/02/03	5	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
93-0071	REL?	4	Penpa Wangmo		20	28	F	nun	Mechungri Nun.	1992/02/13	1997/02/13	5	Lhasa	Tagtse	
95-0147	REL		Kunsang Dekyi	Pema Oezer	16	23	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0145	REL		Samten Choesang	Tsamchoe	22	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1999/08/16	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0003	REL	c	Samten Kunsang	Jampa Drolkar	21	28	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
95-0148	REL		Samten Zangmo	Dakar	20	27	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1993/08/16	1998/08/16	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Chegar
99-0225	REL		Gog-gog ³		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	1999/07/15 ³	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
99-0224	REL?	*, 4	Tseten Drolkar		23	29	F	nun	Nakar Nun.	1994/07/15	2000/07/15	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
98-0548	DEC	*	Lobsang Wangmo	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	2000/02/02	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jogpo
99-0220	REL		Ngawang Yangdrol	Zomkyi	24	29	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Shigatse	Gyantse	
99-0221	REL		Phuntsog Sonam		23	28	F	nun	Nego Tong Nun.	1995/02/02	1999/02/02	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
99-0158	REL		Namdrol Dronsang		25	30	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lodrong
99-0159	REL		Namdrol Kalsang		18	23	F	nun	Phenpo Lodrong	1995/03/16	1998/03/16	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	Lodrong
95-0387	REL		Jangchub Tsewang	Nyidrol?	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Yungga
98-0635	REL		Lobsang Kalden		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0386	REL		Ngawang Dziten	Nyichung	18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0385	REL		Nyima		18	24	F	nun	Phodo Nun.	1994/05/12	1999/05/12	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Sumbang

98-0042	DEC	*	Drugkyi Pema	Dekyi Yangzom	19	24	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0041	DET	*	Sanggye Choedron	Tsamchoe Drolkar	25	30	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	2001/02/14	6	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0039	REL		Tsering Choezom	Tsering Yangzom	21	26	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
98-0040	REL		Tsultrim Wangmo	Trinley Drolkar	17	22	F	nun	Rangjung Nun.	1995/02/14	1999/02/14	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	Bora Gongsar
92-0052	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Choekyi	Yeshe	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2005/05/14	13	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
93-0077	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Lochoe	Dondrub Drolma	19	27	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
93-0078	REL		Ngawang Nordrol	Nyedrug	23	31	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
93-0076	REL		Ngawang Phuntsog	Ngawang Phurdrol	20	28	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1999/05/14	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	
93-0079	REL		Ngawang Tendrol	Ngawang Gyatso?	18	26	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	1996/05/14	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
92-0049	DET	+, c, u	Ngawang Tsamdrol	Dekyi Wangmo	21	29	F	nun	Samdrub Drolma	1992/05/14	2002/05/14	10	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
98-0270	DET		Tenzin Yeshe		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
98-0271	DET		Yeshe Palmo		21	24	F	nun	Samtenling Nun.	1997/01/dd	2003/01/dd	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	
99-0024	REL		Choeying Lhamo		22	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
99-0025	REL		Rigzin Pema		25	31	F	nun	Samye Chimphu	1994/12/dd	1998/12/dd	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
99-0222	REL		Yeshe Tsomo	Dawa Lhaki	20	25	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
99-0223	REL		Yeshe Wangmo	Rigzin Choedron	23	28	F	nun	Samye Chimphu?	1995/07/30	1999/07/30	4	Lhoka	(n/a)	
98-0206	REL?	4	Tazang		38	45	F	cook	school	1993/02/26	1996/02/26	3	Lhasa	Maldrogongkar	
95-0057	REL	d	Choeying Gyaltsen ⁶	Chime Yangchen	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/30 ⁶	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0059	REL		Gyaltsen Sherab ⁶	Phurbu	20	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁶	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Gachoe
95-0058	REL	*, +	Lobsang Choekyi ⁶	Choekyi Wangmo	24	30	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/12/28 ⁶	5yr 6mo	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo
95-0060	REL	d	Lobsang Choezin ⁶	Saldron	16	22	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1998/06/30 ⁶	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0061	DEC	*	Tsultrim Zangmo	Choekyi	21	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1994/06/14	1999/06/14	5	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0415	REL	d	Choeying Kunsang	Tsewang Drolma	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0416	DET	*	Damchoe Drolma		22	27	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangshar
95-0414	REL		Damchoe Norzin	Choekyi	21	26	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0417	REL		Lobsang Tsomo	Norkyi	19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0418	DET	*	Namdrol Wangmo	Yangdrol	24	29	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	2001/02/25	6	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
95-0419	REL		Penpa Lhaki		19	24	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Jangkha
95-0420	REL		Phuntsog Gachoe	Chime Yangzom	23	28	F	nun	Shar Bumpa Nun.	1995/02/25	1999/02/25	4	Lhasa	Lhundrub	Phenpo Kyepo
91-0315	REL		Rinchen Choenyi	Migmar	18	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/09/22	1996/09/22	7	Lhasa	Chushur	Tsalna
92-0164	REL		Penpa Wangmo	Penpa Drol	18	29	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1989/mm/dd	1992/mm/dd	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
92-0165	DET	+	Rigzin Choenyi	Yangzom	24	34	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/08/28	2002/08/28	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Chedezhol
91-0355	REL		Chime Drolkar	Chime Dekyi	18	28	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
92-0144	DET	+	Jigme Yangchen	Yangchen	23	33	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/10/01	12	Lhoka	Gongkar	Kyimshi
91-0357	DET	+, 2, u	Palden Choedron ⁷	Palden Yangkyi	28	38	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	2002/02/dd ⁷	8	Lhasa	Nyemo	
91-0356	REL		Pema Drolkar	Penpa Drolkar	18	28	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1990/10/01	1993/10/01	3	Lhoka	(n/a)	
95-0064	REL		Choenyi Drolma	Tsi Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0066	REL		Drolma Yangchen	Norbu Yangchen	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0063	REL		Jampa Drolkar	Jampa Choekyi	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Chushur	Tsalna
95-0069	REL		Lodroe Pema	Pasang Yangzom	23	30	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0065	REL		Namgyal Choedron	Pasang Drolkar	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0062	REL		Norzin Wangmo		16	23	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhoka	Gongkar	Janchin
95-0068	REL		Rigzin Tsondu	Rigzin Drolma	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1999/12/09	6	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0067	REL		Sherab Drolma	Pasang Choezom	20	27	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/09	1998/12/09	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0076	REL		Chime Wangmo		23	30	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0071	REL		Pendrol		18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	

95-0074	REL		Tsultrim Choedron	Tsering Choedron	17	24	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1996/12/11	3	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0070	REL		Yangdrol		18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Gongkar	
95-0072	REL		Yeshe Choedron	Nyima Choedron	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1998/12/11	5	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	Sanggu
95-0075	REL		Yeshe Choesang		24	31	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhoka	Dranang	
95-0073	REL		Yeshe Kunsang	Ngodrub	19	26	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/11	1997/12/11	4	Lhasa	Toelung Dechen	
95-0078	REL?	4	Yeshe Tsondru	Yudron Lhamo	18	25	F	nun	Shugsib Nun.	1993/12/12	1998/12/12	5	Lhasa	Chushur	
95-0305	REL		Tenzin Lhamo	Dorje Yudron	23	29	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/12	1999/11/12	5	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0306	DET		Pema Tsomo	Tazang	28	34	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/16	2001/11/16	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum village #8
95-0307	REL		Sanggye Choedron	Phurbu Drolma	22	28	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	1998/11/25	4	Lhasa	Nyemo	
95-0308	DET		Tsondru Wangmo	Kalsang Drolma	36	42	F	nun	Tagchen Nun.	1994/11/25	2001/11/25	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum village #8
93-0080	DET	+, c, u	Namdrol Lhamo	Nyidrol	28	36	F	nun	Tashi Choeling	1992/05/12	2004/05/12	12	Shigatse	Rinpung	
98-0434	DET		Tseten Drolma		36	40	F	lay person	wool co-op	1996/07/09	2003/07/09	7	Lhasa	Nyemo	Phusum

notes:

- ¹ Three prisoners were released early for health or public relations reasons. They were: laywoman Chungdag, released in November 1994 as China sought to improve its human rights image and gain WTO entry by year's end; Gyaltzen Kalsang of Garu Nunnery, released on medical parole in December 1994 in poor condition after earlier beatings (she died in February 1995); Ngawang Chendrol of Garu, released early in 1995 in poor condition after earlier beatings.
- ² Two nuns, Tsering Lhamo, a self-described nun, and Ngawang Yeshe of Chimelung Nunnery, were released in March 1998 shortly after having met with members of an American delegation enquiring into religious freedom in China. Both had been held in "new *rukhang* 3". Confidential remarks by other prisoners, now released, have alleged that their early release was linked to additional factors.
- ³ Phuntsog Lochoe of Chubsang Nunnery was reportedly released from "old *rukhang* 3" after serving five years and six months of her seven year sentence; Gog-gog of Nakar Nunnery, was reportedly released from "new *rukhang* 3", possibly by early 1997, after serving no more than half of her sentence.
- ⁴ Two nuns held in "new *rukhang* 3" as of *Losar* 1997 were released later in 1998 or 1999, before their sentences had expired. They are Yeshe Pema of Chubsang Nunnery and Ngawang Tenzin of Gyabdrag.
- ⁵ Gyaltzen Lhagsam of Mechungri died in custody in June 1994. She had suffered severe beatings on several occasions and died in a coma after three days of hospitalisation.
- ⁶ Four Shar Bumpa nuns were released about two weeks after their sentences expired. They were Choeying Gyalsten, Gyaltzen Sherab, Lobsang Choekyi and Lobsang Choezin.
- ⁷ Palden Choedron, initially sentenced to eight years at Drapchi and released upon sentence completion in October 1998, was detained again in February 1999 and sentenced to three years at Trisam. She is believed to be currently imprisoned there.

Endnotes

1. TIN document 369
2. TIN News Updates of 15 and 27 December 1999 outline more recent information about the abuse experienced by male political prisoners in May 1998
3. A political demonstration in central Lhasa during the morning of 27 September 1987 is widely regarded as the first important mass protest in support of Tibetan nationalism in the post-Mao era, and the beginning of the current period of political unrest. Demonstrators expressed support for a speech by the Dalai Lama in the United States Congress on 21 September, in which he unveiled his “Five Point Peace Plan” to the Human Rights Subcommittee of the House of Representatives International Relations Committee. A group of 21 monks of Drepung Monastery led a march, joined by at least 200 lay persons, from the Barkor and Jokhang Temple westward along Yuthog Lam (Street) to the gates of the TAR government compound. Police detained many of the monks; neither protest nor suppression were violent. The monks were given administrative sentences ranging from several weeks to a few months, indicating that the local authorities did not consider the action to be a harbinger of serious unrest. Upon release, some of them immediately formed an alliance which they named “The Group of Ten”, which attempted to distribute copies of the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and a document entitled *The Precious Democratic Constitution of Tibet*, as well as speeches by the Dalai Lama. The documents were produced manually with wooden printing blocks. By the summer of 1989, after Lhasa had been placed under martial law, all ten members had been detained. In November 1989 they were given a mass trial and sentenced to terms from five to 19 years. One, Jampal Khedrub (TIN number: 91-0099), who had received an 18 year sentence, died in Drapchi in 1996 from severe physical abuse, reportedly at the hands of a prison official named Paljor. Another of the monks, Ngawang Pekar (91-0098), had his sentence extended in 1996 from eight years to 14 for attempting to smuggle a political prisoner list out of Drapchi. Four, Jamphel Jangchub (91-0089), Ngawang Phuljung (91-0087), Ngawang Gyaltsen (93-0152) and Ngawang Oezer (91-0088), currently remain in Drapchi with sentences of 19, 19, 17, and 17 years respectively. The other five have been released after serving their sentences, including Jampal Losal (91-0096), who completed his 10 year sentence in April 1999, and Ngawang Rinchen (91-0090), whose nine year sentence expired in July 1998. Jampal Monlam (91-0092) and Jampal Tsering (91-0095) completed five year sentences in 1994. The tenth monk, Ngawang Kunga (91-0093), was released, possibly for medical reasons, about one year early in 1993 in a debilitated physical state.
4. “Reform through labour”, *laogai*, was theoretically eliminated in 1997 as part of China’s reform of its Criminal Code and Criminal Procedure Law. The term *laogai* is no longer used, although the essence and practices of the institution remain intact. “Re-education through labour”, *laojiao*, which requires only an administrative decision by a local office of the Bureau of Re-education Through Labour to impose incarceration of up to three years, remains widespread throughout China.
5. At least ten nuns (nine from Chubsang and one from Shugsib) demonstrated briefly on 2 September 1989. The *Tibet Daily* of 14 September, 1989, accused them of “secretly plotting” a “frenzied demonstration” that lasted 15 minutes. They received administrative sentences of two to three years. Only three weeks later, on 22 September, six nuns of Shugsib demonstrated on Lhasa’s Barkor. Five were given three year administrative sentences at Trisam Prison and one, Rinchen Choenyi, received a seven year sentence at Drapchi, which she completed before fleeing into exile. One of those with a three year sentence, Rigzin Choedron, died a month after she was released. On 14 October 1989, five Mechungri nuns demonstrated together, including Phuntsog Nyidrol, who remains imprisoned with an extended sentence of 17 years. Three of the other four nuns received three year sentences at Trisam; the fourth, Phuntsog Pema, served an eight year sentence at Drapchi and has been released. In late January 1990, a lone Garu nun, Ngawang Kunsang, put up political posters in the nunnery and was later sentenced to six years at Drapchi. On the night of 1 February 1990, five more Garu nuns were detained at the nunnery on suspicion of having put up posters while a political re-education work team was present. All were held at Gutsa and released after three to six months.
6. Gutsa holds prisoners from Lhasa municipality as well as seven counties subordinate to Lhasa. Those counties are, roughly from west to east, Nyemo, Chushur, Damshung, Toelung Dechen, Lhundrub, Tagtse and Maldrogongkar. Gutsa functions as the main site for holding Lhasa area prisoners who are under police investigation, before they are either given administrative sentences, a judicial trial, or released. Gutsa has developed a reputation for brutality as police seek confessions from detainees. Administrative sentences can be served at Gutsa, though TIN records indicate that those of two years and longer are usually served at Trisam.
7. Trisam, located just inside Toelung Dechen County, derives its colloquial name from the nearby Trisam Bridge over the Toelung River. Because it is located inside Toelung Dechen County, the prison is sometimes called “Toelung Prison”. Although nominally serving the TAR, most of the political prisoners held there have been from Lhasa and its counties. A few have been residents of neighboring prefectures, Lhoka, to the southeast of Lhasa, and Nagchu to the north. Shigatse

Prefecture, to the west of Lhasa, has a labour re-education centre known to Tibetans as Nyari Prison; Chamdo Prefecture, the easternmost prefecture in the TAR, has another *laojiao*, opened in 1998.

8. Demonstrations after 1989 have infrequently included attacks on person or property. The exceptions were largely in response to the imposition of political re-education at monasteries or nunneries. In some cases vehicles belonging to visiting work teams were stoned or even set afire. When a local official arrived at Shar Bumpa Nunnery in Lhundrub County in mid-June 1994, he made a pretext of enquiring whether five nuns who had demonstrated two days earlier (and had been detained immediately) were at the nunnery. The nuns knew their comrades had been detained and were certain the visitor knew it as well. They responded by dropping large rocks onto his vehicle, allegedly destroying it. Monks of Tsurphu Monastery, in Toelung Dechen County, stoned a work team vehicle late in 1994. A similar incident, but involving considerably more monks and several vehicles, occurred at Nalanda Monastery in Lhundrub County in February 1995. Of the 34 monks detained, 24 were sentenced. Ten were charged principally in connection with stoning the police vehicles. When a work team at Ganden Monastery attempted to confiscate photographs of the Dalai Lama in early May 1996 as Patriotic Education was initially being implemented, monks stoned police and official vehicles. According to TIN records, nearly 60 monks were detained in connection with the confrontation, about half of whom were sentenced to prison terms or labour re-education. Monks at Reting Monastery, in Lhundrub County, set fire to a work team jeep in October 1996. During a protest in Pashoe County, Chamdo Prefecture, in March 1994, monks damaged sign boards marking the gates of official government and Party compounds. In mid-1999 a monk of Rongpo Gonchen Monastery in Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP) was sentenced for setting alight the door of a residence of a monk he suspected of being an informant.

9. Radio Lhasa, 8 December 1989. TIN Doc 23(yy), a copy of the official report of the Lhasa People's Intermediate Procuratorate, called for punishment as part of "protecting the unity of the Motherland and inflicting a severe blow to the splittist criminals". Lhagpa Tsering was described as a "principal culprit".

10. TIN News Update, 3 March 1991

11. Sonam Wangdu, well known locally for his views and resolve, died at age 44. Throughout the mid 1990s he had been a familiar sight around Lhasa's crowded Barkor, bloated and confined to a wheel chair, the result of beatings before and after his transfer to Drapchi. He was one of six people participating in the Barkor protest of 5 March 1988 who were charged in the beating and falling death of PAP officer Yuan Xuesheng. Accused of being a "principal instigator", he was sentenced to life imprisonment, later reportedly commuted to 19 years and released on medical parole. None of the defendants admitted guilt, despite severe and repeated beatings applied to coerce confessions.

12. TIN Doc 37(wc). The document, which appears to be a record of trial as well as sentencing, is dated 24 November 1983. It is signed by Phur Dawa as "Director of the Trial", and labelled as a "Criminal Sentence Record of the Lhasa City People's Court". Detention date is recorded as 3 September 1983. The sentence, which included five years deprivation of "civil and political rights" to follow 15 years of imprisonment, would expire on 3 September, 2003. The counter-revolutionary acts of which Jigme Zangpo was accused occurred in July 1983.

13. TIN Doc 37(wc). Like the initial verdict document, the judgement rendered for Jigme Zangpo's first sentence extension appears to be for trial as well as sentencing. The document is dated 30 November 1988 and is signed by "Director of the Trial", Jampa Ngodrub.

14. TIN News Update, 20 August 1992, provides an account of the diplomatic visit, the punishment, and the Swiss response.

15. TIN Doc 37(wc)

16. *ibid.*

17. Jigme Zangpo's release is currently not due until 2011 when he will be 85. Numerous reports over the past years have indicated that his physical and mental state are deteriorating.

18. The "Seventeen Point Agreement" was signed in Beijing by Tibetan and Chinese representatives on 23 May 1951. China asserts that the document legitimised PRC rule over an area now roughly congruent to the TAR. Some experts and scholars, as well as Tibetans, have challenged the validity of the document on legal and historical grounds.

19. One of the Sangyib family of prisons, Sitru, a Tibetanization of "*sizhidui*", or "number four detachment", is a TAR- level police detention centre just north of Utritu Prison and has been largely dedicated to dealing with those thought to pose a risk to *state* security - as opposed to *public* security.

20. Two of the 12 known to have submitted the petition to Sitru officials are not known to have received sentence extensions. They were Jamyang (91-0233) and Jigme Wangchen (91-0196). The four reported to have had shorter extensions added to initial three year administrative terms were: Lobsang Trinley (91-0201), extended one year six months; Ngawang Thonglam (91-0186), extended one year six months; Ngawang Damchoe (91-0214), extended one year six months; and Tsewang Dorje (91-0223), extended one year. The six with longer extensions were: Lobsang Dadrag (91-0179), extended six years; Phurbu Tsering (91-0181), extended four years; Sonam Dorje (91-0180), extended four years; Tendar Phuntsog (91-0176), extended six years; Thubten Jampa (91-0178), extended five years; and Wangdu (91-0177), extended five years. Ngawang Thonglam, a Ganden monk, was reportedly detained again in February 1995. The outcome of the detention remains unknown, but the absence of any new reports suggests he is unlikely to remain imprisoned.

21. Tibet's calendar follows a lunar cycle determined annually by astrologers, and is generally about two months later than the western calendar. The first three days of New Year (*Losar*) are an opportunity for lay persons to share greetings and well wishes with one another. The first day is traditionally limited to exchanges between immediate family members; the next is dedicated to meeting friends; the third is traditionally centred on a public blessing given by the Dalai Lama, during which thousands would file past him and offer a prayer scarf (Tib: *kathag*). That custom remains intact in Dharamsala, the Dalai Lama's home in exile. In pre-1959 Tibet, the *Monlam* (prayer festival) began on the sixth day of the first Tibetan month, conducted by thousands monks of Ganden, Drepung and Sera Monasteries who converged on Lhasa. The event culminates on the 15th day of the first Tibetan month, the full moon, and is known as *Monlam Chenmo* (Great Prayer Festival).

22. TIN Doc 13

23. *ibid.* Rinchen Choenyi was released in 1996 when her sentence expired.

24. Utritru, a Tibetanized form of the Chinese *wuzhidui*, or “number 5 detachment”, was completed by 1988 and is one of the Sangyib complex of prisons in northeast Lhasa. By the late 1990s it was renamed “Lhasa Prison” and upgraded from prefectural to provincial rank, becoming one of the TAR's three formally designated prisons, along with Drapchi and Powo Tramo (TAR Prison No. 2 in Pome County of Kongpo Prefecture). In 1992 Utritru served Lhasa and its seven subordinate counties, which together held the rank of “City” (Ch: *shi*), an administrative equal to a prefecture.

25. TIN Doc 1(tq); TIN Doc 236

26. TIN Doc 13

27. TIN News Update, 20 February 1994

28. *ibid.*

29. TIN Doc 13

30. TIN Doc 46(kr)

31. *ibid.*

32. *ibid.*

33. TIN Doc 3(jg)

34. *ibid.*

35. “Foreign visitors to Tibet” refers to visiting official delegations from countries engaging China in a “human rights dialogue”.

36. TIN Doc 52

37. TIN Doc vk(12)

38. TIN Doc 128

39. Of the 53 known female detentions in January through March of 1995, two were in connection with putting up political protest posters in their nunnery; the rest were for political demonstrations.

40. TIN Doc 399 names the date of the transfer as 31 July 1995. Another account puts the transfer in August 1995.
41. TIN Doc 599
42. TIN Doc JXW00-45
43. “*Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*”, Kenneth Lieberthal (New York/ London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1995.), p. 77. Lieberthal explains: “With their deep attachments to the military, in which they had all spent decades of their lives before 1949, the CCP leaders set up the military as a third nationwide bureaucracy. On the eve of their victory in 1949, the CCP had pulled all its scattered military forces together and organized them into the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), encompassing the army, navy, and air force.”
44. TIN Doc 399
45. *ibid.*
46. *ibid.*
47. The previous Panchen Lama, the 10th, died on 28 January 1989. The Dalai Lama announced his recognition of a reincarnation, Gedun Choekyi Nyima, then six years old, on 14 May 1995. The Chinese immediately rejected the announcement, claiming that the reincarnation could only be selected by drawing lots from a golden urn, a procedure which the Qianlong Emperor of the Qing Dynasty attempted to compel by imperial edict in 1792. China’s Communist government has since added the requirement that selection must receive the approval of the State Council, the executive branch of government. Shortly after the Dalai Lama’s announcement, the abbot of Tashilhunpo Monastery, Chadrel Jampa Trinley Rinpoche, and two of his assistants were detained; all three were later sentenced. Chadrel Rinpoche, who had communicated with the Dalai Lama during the course of the search for the reincarnation, received a six year term for providing “state secrets” to “separatist forces abroad”. He is believed to remain imprisoned, possibly in Chuandong No. 3 Prison in eastern Sichuan Province. Under tight security and close supervision, the lot-drawing ceremony was conducted in Lhasa’s Jokhang temple on 29 November 1995. In attendance were Luo Gan, Secretary-General of the State Council, Gyaltzen Norbu, Chairman of the People’s Congress of the TAR (sometimes referred to as “governor” of the TAR), and Ye Xiaowen, from the Religious Affairs Bureau of the Central Government. A boy, Gyaltzen Norbu, was chosen and his formal enthronement took place at Tashilhunpo on 8 December 1995. Gendun Choekyi Nyima and his family remain under some form of house detention in an unknown, possibly varying, location, an arrangement China has characterised as necessary for the family’s security.
48. Soon after the 1996 incident in “old *rukhang 3*”, two male political prisoners of Drapchi’s Unit 5 died after meeting unit officials. Sangye Tenphel (95-0380), a monk of Khangmar Monastery who was detained in April 1995 and sentenced to five years, died early in May 1996 after he was allegedly beaten with a heavy bicycle pump and an electric baton. The Drapchi officials who beat him are named in one report as Nyima, a group leader, as well as Tsenam and Paljor. [TIN Doc 3(ve)] One of Sangye Tenphel’s former cell mates told TIN, “He was told to confess to his crimes and revise his thoughts or change his attitude. [He] replied that they didn’t have to change their thoughts, that they had already made up their minds. They were therefore subjected to harsh beatings. This monk, Sangye Tenzin [sic: Tenphel], succumbed to the beatings in May 1996.” [TIN Doc 313] The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) has reported that Drapchi’s warden, Phuntsog, attributed the death to a “cerebral haemorrhage”. In a response dated 21 January 1998 to the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions, the Chinese government stated that the death of Sanggye Tenphel was caused by “tubercular meningitis”. Two months later, in early July, one of the most highly respected Tibetan political prisoners, Jampal Khedrub of Drepung Monastery, detained in 1989 and sentenced to 18 years, was summoned to meet Drapchi officials Paljor and Penpa. Reportedly interrogated and beaten, he died the following day. The subject of interrogation has not been reported. Specialists carrying out a traditional Tibetan sky burial reportedly found one of his testicles crushed.[TIN Doc 18]
49. TIN Doc 397
50. *ibid.* TIN Doc 52 reports the period of solitary for Ngawang Sangdrol and Phuntsog Pema as six months 13 days.
51. TIN Doc 52
52. *ibid.*
53. *ibid.* Another source, TIN 12(vk) reported Ngawang Sangdrol’s second extension as nine years, for a total of 18 years. Although recent statements received favour a 17 year total as of 1996, the matter has not been authoritatively resolved and revised totals, including her 1998 extension, continue to reflect some

uncertainty.

54. TIN Doc 52

55. *ibid.*

56. “Ani” is the Tibetan word for “nun” and is often used to prefix a nun’s name, or in lieu of the name.

57. *ibid.*

58. It is not completely clear which prisoner “Dekyi” is. At the time of the beating, there were three nuns known as Dekyi in “old *rukhang 3*”. The beating probably befell Ngawang Tsomo (lay name Dekyi) of Gyabdrag Nunnery who, according to TIN Doc 708, was also known as “Dekyi the middle” (Tib: Dekyi *Ding*). Phuntsog Pema of Mechungri, referred to as “Dekyi the elder” (Tib: Dekyi *Chewa*), had already been put into solitary confinement just before the beating described here. Phuntsog Choekyi (lay name Dekyi), a Garu Nunnery nun detained in 1993, was also called “Dekyi the younger” (Tib: Dekyi *Chungwa*) according to TIN Doc 708. According to TIN Doc 397 and TIN Doc 708, “Dekyi the younger” was badly beaten in May 1998, resulting in a broken arm. TIN Doc 397 takes pains to distinguish between the Dekyi who received a broken arm in 1998 and the Dekyi who was “kicked and beaten with a plank from a bed”. According to TIN Doc 397, the Dekyi beaten with the bed plank received blows to the kidney and became bedridden.

59. TIN Doc 52

60. TIN Doc 397

61. *ibid.*

62. *ibid.*

63. TIN Doc 52

64. TIN records show that by May 1998 only five nuns detained in 1995, all of them from Gyabdrag Nunnery in Lhundrub Phenpo, were in “old *rukhang 3*”.

65. TIN Doc 599

66. *ibid.* Another report, TIN Doc 1(tl), implied that the division of Unit 3 may have occurred during *Losar* 1997 (February 1997).

67. TIN Doc 599

68. TIN Doc 1(tl) Because solitary confinement cells are located within each block, inmates could have known that guards or PAP had gone to the solitary cells to beat Jamdrol and Nyima a second time.

69. *ibid.*

70. TIN Doc 700

71. *ibid.*

72. *ibid.*

73. As mentioned in the previous section, nuns Nyima of Phodo Nunnery and Jamdrol of Gyabdrag Nunnery had been placed in solitary confinement in February 1997. Tseten (98-0434), a widowed mother with two children, was reportedly placed into solitary confinement during mid-summer of 1997, soon after she was transferred to Drapchi from Gutsa. Pema Butri, the supervisor of Unit 3, has been reported to be even more “strict” with laywomen than nuns, believing their effect on children is particularly negative if the women hold politically unsatisfactory views. (TIN Doc 708)

74. TIN Doc 12(sg). A report in the English language *China Daily*, 18 April, 2000, explaining the excellent prison conditions in Drapchi and Lhasa Prison comments that new educational facilities have been built in both. A Drapchi prisoner, Yong Jianxi, is quoted as saying, “I regard the prison term as a school semester.”

75. TIN Doc 399

76. TIN Doc 700

77. TIN has received varying reports that Drapchi has a total of seven, eight or nine major units. [TIN Doc 28(kr), TIN Doc 369, TIN Doc 399]. All units except 3 and 5 are described as being for common criminals. Prisoners of Units 4 and 6 (not to be confused with the new designation for “old *rukhang* 3”) have been mentioned in connection with the May 1998 events, but no reports have been received on the behaviour of prisoners from other units. The time of assembly was reported as 9:30 a.m. by Sonam Tsering (ordained Phuntsog Trintan), a male political prisoner of “old *rukhang* 5”, and as 10:00 a.m. by a female political prisoner of “new *rukhang* 3” who attended the event, Lobsang Choezin.

78. Unofficial estimates of Drapchi’s population, none of which have been confirmed, exceed 1,000. In a report dated 14 April 2000, *Xinhua* reported in its Chinese language service via Hong Kong, that “Tibet has three jails, the Tibet autonomous region jail [Drapchi], Lhasa jail [formerly Utrtru], and Bomi jail [Powo Tramo]. These three jails are responsible for managing, educating, and reforming 2,200 prisoners.” Statements by Chinese officials to delegations visiting Drapchi in 1998 put Drapchi’s population below 1,000 and political prisoners below 100. The latter figure is known to have been a fraction of the political prisoners then held in Drapchi. The prisoner populations of Powo Tramo and Lhasa Prison (which underwent major expansion in the late 1990s) are unknown. The *Xinhua* report also stated, referring to the 2,200 prisoners, “five per cent were guilty of endangering state security”, suggesting that approximately 110 Tibetan political prisoners were held in the TAR’s three formally designated prisons as of April 2000. TIN’s research indicates that figure remains understated, but not by a margin as severe as in the 1998 statements.

79. Official Chinese statements on Drapchi’s population significantly understate political imprisonment and could understate the number of common criminals as well. Claims have varied substantially, even when issued within the same time period. Several official statements made within less than a year, from October 1997 through August 1998, varied by about 50 percent. In October 1997, a Chinese response to the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (UNWGAD) reported there were 968 inmates at Drapchi. In February 1998, a three-member American delegation assessing religious freedom in China was told Drapchi held “more than 600 prisoners now, some 100 of whom were once Tibetan nuns or lamas” (*Xinhua*, as reported by the Associated Press on 25 February 1998). In May 1998, the European Union delegation who nearly happened upon the 4 May Drapchi protest was told there are “about 800” prisoners in Drapchi, of whom “about 90” were sentenced for “crimes against state security”. When a Danish delegation visited Drapchi the following August, they heard that there are “more than 800” prisoners, of whom 8 per cent were sentenced for “compromising state security” (*Xinhua*, 7 August 1998). The latter figure implies that no more than 70 political prisoners were present.

80. TIN Doc 399. It is not clear whether the reference to “PSB” refers to a member of the PSB staff at the prison or to a guard.

81. TIN Doc 1(sd)

82. TIN Doc 399

83. TIN Doc 12(sg) describes the position of the monks as on the “right” side of the courtyard. When facing the flag dais and new education building, the right side is the west side. TIN Doc 399 reports that the female political prisoners were on the opposite side from male political prisoners. Another remark in TIN Doc 1(sd) refers to the subsequent protest on 4 May, suggesting that prisoners could hear the furor, but giving no indication that they could actually see the events from their unit’s gate.

84. Although Unit 3 is adjacent to the main Drapchi courtyard, and the windows of “old *rukhang* 3” have a direct view of the courtyard, the walk from Unit 3 to the courtyard is long and circuitous. Unit 3’s gate does not open into the main prison area, but into an accessway along the east side of the main prison enclosure. The nuns would have exited through the Unit 3 gate, walked southward through the accessway, entered the main prison area through the main prison gate, proceeded westward “behind” the new education building, turned north and entered the courtyard area through the gate on the west side of the education building.

[see Image 20 for prison layout]

85. TIN Doc 1(sd)

86. One of the common criminals has been named by multiple reports as “Kadar”, a contraction of “Karma Dawa”. Reportedly a native of Gonjo County in Chamdo Prefecture sentenced to 13 years for a 1995 robbery, he was allegedly beaten with exceptional ferocity by guards or PAP using rifle butts and, according to most reports, died not long afterward. The cause of his death has been described in different accounts as execution within two weeks of the demonstration, severe

beating, and suicide. The other common criminal has been named as Karma Sonam, who may be from Bathang County in Kardze TAP in Sichuan Province. One unconfirmed report suggests that his sentence has been extended. [TIN Doc 389]. Like Karma Dawa, he was reportedly beaten severely.

87. TIN Doc 399

88. TIN Doc 397

89. TIN Doc 399

90. TIN Doc 399; TIN Doc 700

91. TIN Doc 393

92. TIN Doc 399

93. Of the nuns not beaten, five were from Chubsang and one was from Gyabdrag. All are now released; two were released before the end of their sentences.

94. *Xinhua*, 15 April 2000, Beijing; Chinese language service via Hong Kong. In an article describing conditions at Drapchi in a positive light, early release is mentioned. "Every year over 35 per cent of the prisoners in the autonomous region's jail have their sentence reduced, are let out on parole, or have the remainder of their sentences waived."

95. TIN Doc 399

96. TIN Doc 714

97. TIN Doc 393

98. TIN Doc 399

99. TIN Doc 711.

100. *ibid.*

101. *ibid.*

102. TIN Doc 700

103. TIN Doc 397

104. TIN Doc 700

105. TIN Doc 1(sd). Because the source was not in Drapchi's main courtyard for the event, it can be presumed that his comment is based on the accounts of inmates who were included in the ceremony.

106. TIN Doc 1(sd). The consequences for Lobsang Geleg are currently unknown. In the absence of any other information, he is presumed to have been released when his four year sentence expired in April 1999.

107. TIN Doc 399

108. TIN Doc 397

109. *ibid.*

110. TIN Doc 1(sd) lists three male fatalities resulting from the Drapchi disturbances in May 1998, all in circumstances which have yet to be explained. Ganden monks Lobsang Wangchug (ordained Ngawang Tenkyong), detained in May 1996, and Khedrub, detained in March 1994, are both reported to have died in Drapchi's "high security detention centre" later the same month. Khangmar monk Lobsang Choephel (ordained, Trinley Phuntsog), detained in 1995, is reported to have committed suicide about one week after the 4 May protest. Six male prisoners were given sentence extensions and several others received severe beatings.

Ngawang Sungrab was taken to a nearby military hospital and survived his bullet wound. He remains imprisoned.

[see image 28, Drapchi Prison, for the location of the gate where Ngawang Sungrab was shot, and the location of Lobsang Choephel's suicide]

111. TIN Doc 700

112. TIN Doc 12(sg)

113. "Report of the EU Troika Human Rights Mission, May 1998", June 1998

114. TIN Doc 369

115. TIN Doc 397

116. TIN Doc 369

117. TIN Doc 397

118. TIN Doc 369

119. TIN Doc 397

120. TIN Doc 369

121. TIN Doc 397

122. TIN Doc 369. "Ani" is Tibetan for "nun" and is commonly used as a preface for a nun's ordained or lay name, or as a title on its own. Rigchog is the best known of the lay names which have been attributed to Ngawang Sangdrol.

123. TIN Doc 369

124. *ibid.*

125. TIN Doc 398. After her five year sentence expired in May 1999, Phuntsog Zangmo was released and remains in Tibet. She is reportedly in poor health with stomach and kidney ailments.

126. TIN Doc 369

127. TIN Doc 397 is careful to distinguish the Dekyi who received a broken arm on 4 May 1998, from another Dekyi who "was kicked and beaten with the plank of a bed", an apparent reference to the beating of a nun during the April 1996 events in "old *rukhang 3*". The bed-board beating, according to TIN Doc 397, included blows to the kidney and resulted in the nun becoming bedridden. That nun is believed to be Ngawang Tsomo of Gyabdrag Nunnery. The Dekyi whose arm was broken on 4 May, described as a Garu nun detained in 1993, would be Phuntsog Choekyi. TIN Doc 708 explains that the Garu nun was also known as "Dekyi the smaller" (Tib: Dekyi *Chungwa*), while the Gyabdrag nun was called "Dekyi the middle" (Tib: Dekyi *Ding*). The third Dekyi's in "old *rukhang 3*" was Mechungri nun Phuntsog Pema who was released in October 1997.

128. TIN Doc 369

129. TIN Doc 397

130. TIN Doc 369

131. One of the nuns who fled into exile was able to provide TIN with an complex account of several inter-related chronological sequences which, together, provide an unusually sturdy argument that the deaths occurred on Sunday, 7 June. The analysis was cross-linked into the Tibetan calendar at critical points.

132. TIN Doc 711

133. "Ordinary" prisoners are criminal convicts distributed among cells to monitor political prisoners and provide reports to prison authorities in exchange for sentence reductions.

134. TIN Doc 399

135. TIN Doc 393

136. TIN Doc 399

137. *ibid.* Choeying Kunsang witnessed only two nuns being carried away by the white car. She would learn afterward that five nuns had actually been taken away, but not until after her release that all of them had died.

138. TIN Doc 711

139. TIN Doc 708

140. TIN Doc 14(th)

141. Gradual emergence of detail has now produced a clear account of the number and identities of the deceased nuns. TIN had previously reported a total of six deaths of nuns in “new *rukhang 3*”. Two of them were Ngawang Choekyi and Choekyi Wangmo. It is now known that reports referring variously to Choekyi, Tsultrim Zangmo, Ngawang Kunsang, Choekyi Wangmo and Ngawang Choekyi were all references to the same fatality. A member of Shar Bumpa Nunnery in Lhundrub County, the deceased nun was ordained Tsultrim Zangmo but, unusually, had a second religious name, Ngawang Kunsang. Her lay name, Choekyi, is also a lay name of two other Shar Bumpa nuns then held in Unit 3. Attribution of the names Choekyi Wangmo and Ngawang Choekyi were in error; the correct number of deaths is five, not six.

142. TIN Doc 700

143. TIN Doc 393

144. TIN Doc 394

145. TIN Doc 399

146. Statement issued 5 May, 2000, by the PRC delegation to the then-current session of the United Nations Committee Against Torture

147. TIN Doc 714

148. TIN Doc 711

149. TIN Doc 397

150. TIN Doc 714

151. TIN Doc 700. When the five Shar Bumpa nuns were first detained on 14 June 1994, they were held briefly at the Barkor police station and then taken to Gutsa in a single vehicle, probably a large police van, with eight PSB. The nuns recited a prayer en route, “The Knowledge of Non-violence”, composed by the Dalai Lama. Police beat the nuns; by the time they arrived, Choekyi Wangmo was in the worst condition, unable to walk.

152. TIN Doc (29)sd reports two months solitary at Gutsa; TIN Doc 369 reports illness and bowel blockage.

153. TIN Doc 714

154. TIN Doc 397

155. TIN Doc 16(tz)

156. TIN Doc 397

157. *ibid.*

158. *ibid.*

-
159. TIN Doc 1(sd). Sonam Tsering, released from Drapchi's "old *rukhaq* 5" at the end of May 1998, not long after the prison protests, reports that the period of complete lock-down for male political prisoners lasted from May 1998 until July 1999. Although he was not in Drapchi himself until July 1999, his account has proven to be detailed and credible. He did not flee into exile until late 1999.
160. TIN Doc 397
161. TIN Doc 399
162. Accounts received by TIN suggest that between two and four common criminals are typically placed in a 12-person cell along with political prisoners.
163. TIN Doc 397
164. TIN Doc 369
165. TIN Doc 700
166. TIN Doc 9(tg). TIN News Update, 1 July 1998, provides more detail.
167. Lobsang Choezin's official release document, "Release Certificate 1998, Doc No. 87", is dated 29 June 1998, the day before she was released. It states, "As the term of her sentence has expired she has now been released, of which this certificate is proof", but does not acknowledge that the release was late nor refer to her initial date of detention.
168. TIN Doc 399
169. TIN Doc 13(vs), a report received by TIN in mid-1997, alleges that a "certificate of entitlement to visit" must be produced before a visitor could see a prisoner. Only one certificate would be issued per family, and in the name of only one family member. TIN Doc 12(sg) reports that two family members are allowed to have a pass to visit a prisoner, but that only one can visit each time. An older report, TIN Doc 12(wf) received in 1994, also refers to visits only by family members and heightened security.
170. TIN Doc je(13)
171. TIN Doc 700
172. *ibid.*
173. TIN Doc 397
174. TIN Doc 708
175. TIN Doc 714
176. TIN Doc 1(sd). Sonam Tsering explained, "[A]ll the books and stationery items in the cells such as pens and papers, were all confiscated and put to the fire. Except for a set of bedding and one set of clothing for each prisoner, everything was confiscated."
177. TIN Doc 399
178. The release documents for Lobsang Choezin (JXW00-53a) provides sentencing date as 18 November 1994. The release certificate for Choeying Gyaltzen (JXW00-53d) provides 28 November as sentencing date. The women were tried and sentenced together. Choeying Gyaltzen reports that trial and sentence were ten days apart, which may explain the discrepancy between the two release documents, which were written a year apart. Trial date may have been 18 November, with sentencing on 28 November.
179. TIN Doc JXW00-53a. Lobsang Choezin's age at detention was 16 by western reckoning, 17 by Tibetan count. She misrepresented her age, claiming she was 18, in order to avoid receiving an administrative sentence which would have separated her from her friends.
180. TIN Doc JXW00-53d

181. *TIN Background Briefing Paper No. 30*, London, 1998, p. 108. The report on political campaigns in Tibet in 1996 and 1997 includes an analysis of changes to the 1979 Criminal Law enacted in 1997. “The comparable section in the 1979 Criminal Law was called ‘Crimes of Counter-revolution’. The term ‘crimes of endangering national security’ is now used throughout in place of ‘counter-revolutionary crimes’. In a similar way, the term ‘counter-revolutionary’ is usually replaced by the term ‘criminal element endangering state security’.”

182. *Xinhua*, Beijing, domestic service, 16 March 1999. Six amendments to the Chinese Constitution were approved at the 2nd Session of the 9th National People’s Congress on 15 March 1999.

183. *ibid.*

184. *TIN Background Briefing Paper No. 30*, London, 1998, p. 108.

185. TIN Doc 714

186. *TIN Background Briefing Paper No. 30*, London, 1998, provides a translation of *Book III: A Brief Explanation of the Propagation of Knowledge about the Legal System*. The document is subtitled *Reference Material No.3 on the Explanation of the Programme to Promote Patriotic Education in all the Monasteries of the Region* and was issued under the aegis of the “Governing Office for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in All Monasteries throughout the TAR” and dated June 1996. [TIN Ref: 60(VF)]. The third volume of a set, it outlines constitutional and legal issues. The text was used in Patriotic Education in monasteries and nunneries throughout the TAR; section 11 provides an explanation of deprivation of political rights:

“XI. The meaning of withdrawal of political rights

Taking away one’s political right means taking away the following rights:

- (a) right to vote and right to be voted for;
- (b) rights granted under the Article 35 of the Constitution (speech, publication, mass meeting, to form associations, to demonstrate and to hold rallies);
- (c) right to hold positions of authority in national government offices;
- (d) right to hold positions of authority in business enterprises and various works and services, and the right to the leadership of people’s organisations.”

Accounts received by TIN have shown that, in ordinary practice, the status of having lost ‘political rights’ is associated with a broad array of obstacles faced by released political prisoners, who are regularly prevented from pursuing any further religious occupation, obtaining employment in non-private entities, and entering educational institutions.

187. Reuters, 29 March 1999

188. *Xinhua*, Beijing, via Hong Kong, 14 April 2000, Chinese language service (via BBC monitoring), Lobsang Geleg also mentions that a “special box” had been placed in Lhasa Prison in which inmates may put “complaints and reports”. The contents of the box are monitored by “someone” from the procuratorate.

6. Images

A. Nuns and nunneries

Death in Drapchi “new <i>rukhang 3</i> ” on 7 June 1998	98
Image 1: Drugkyi Pema (Dekyi Yangzom), Rangjung Nunnery	98
Image 2: Tashi Lhamo (Yudron), Jewo Thekchogling Nunnery	98
Image 3: Lobsang Wangmo (Tsamchoe Drolkar), Nego Tong Nunnery	98
Image 4: Tsultrim Zangmo (Choekyi), Shar Bumpa Nunnery	98
Extended sentences, currently detained in Drapchi “old <i>rukhang 3</i> ”	99
Image 5: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog), Garu Nunnery (before current imprisonment)	99
Image 6: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog), Garu Nunnery (in Drapchi, c. 1995)	99
Image 7: Gyaltzen Drolkar (Dawa), Garu Nunnery (before imprisonment)	99
Image 8: Tenzin Thubten (Dawa Yangkyi), Mechungri Nunnery (while imprisoned)	99
Release from Unit 3, flight into exile	100
Image 9: Choeying Gyaltzen (Chime Yangchen), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 10: Ngawang Lamdrol (Pasang Lhamo), Garu Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 11: Choeying Kunsang (Tsewang Drolma), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 12: Lobsang Choezin (Saldron), Shar Bumpa Nunnery (in exile)	100
Image 13: Chubsang Nunnery, on Lhasa's northern fringe, late 1993	101
Image 14: Garu Nunnery, in a valley of north Lhasa, 1988	102
Image 15: Gyabdrag Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	103
Image 16a: Mechungri Nunnery, overlooking the Sangyib area of northeast Lhasa, 1996	104
Image 16b: Mechungri Nunnery, overlooking northeast Lhasa from above Sangyib, late 1993	105
Image 17: Nakar Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	106
Image 18: Shar Bumpa Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993	107
Image 19: Shugsib Nunnery, southwest of Lhasa in Chushur County, 1994	108

Death in Drapchi “new rukhag 3” on 7 June 1998



Image 1: Drugkyi Pema (Dekyi Yangzom)
Rangjung Nunnery, Nyemo County, detained at age 19 in February 1995, sentenced to four years.
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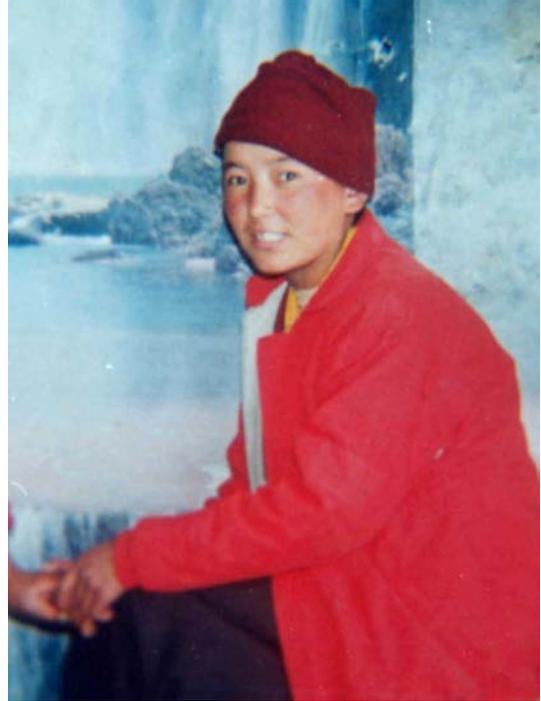


Image 2: Tashi Lhamo (Yudron)
Jewo Thekchogling Nunnery, Nyemo County, detained at age 21 in January 1995, sentenced to five years.
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Image 3: Lobsang Wangmo (Tsamchoe Drolkar)
Nego Tong Nunnery, Lhundrub County, detained at age 25 in February 1995, sentenced to five years.
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Image 4: Tsultrim Zangmo (Choekyi)
Shar Bumpa Nunnery, Lhundrub County, detained at age 21 in June 1994, sentenced to five years.
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Extended sentences, currently detained in Drapchi “old *rukhang 3*”



Image 5: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog)
 Before imprisonment. Garu Nunnery, Lhasa, detained at age 15 in June 1992, sentence extended for third time, to 21 years, in 1998.
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Image 6: Ngawang Sangdrol (Rigchog)
 In Drapchi, about 1995, beside a now-demolished building in an area currently occupied by “old *rukhang 3*” and the new courtyard. © Tibet Information Network



Image 7: Gyaltzen Drolkar (Dawa)
 Before imprisonment. Garu Nunnery, Lhasa, detained at age 19 in August 1990. Sentence increased to 12 years for cassette recording incident in June 1993.
 © Tibet Information Network



Image 8: Tenzin Thubten (Dawa Yangkyi)
 On a prison work detail. Mechungri Nunnery, Lhasa, detained at age 20 in August 1990. Sentenced increased to 14 years for cassette recording incident in June 1993.
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Release from Unit 3, flight into exile



Image 9: Choeying Gyaltzen (Chime Yangchen)
Shar Bumpa Nunnery, Lhundrub County, detained at age 20 in June 1994. Released from "old *rukhang 3*" at the end of June, 1999. © Tibet Information Network



Image 10: Ngawang Lamdrol (Pasang Lhamo)
Garu Nunnery, Lhasa, detained at age 19 in May 1994. Released from "old *rukhang 3*" in May 1999. © Tibet Information Network



Image 11: Choeying Kunsang (Tsewang Drolma)
Shar Bumpa Nunnery, Lhundrub County, detained at age 21 in February 1995. Released in February 1999 from "new *rukhang 3*". © Tibet Information Network

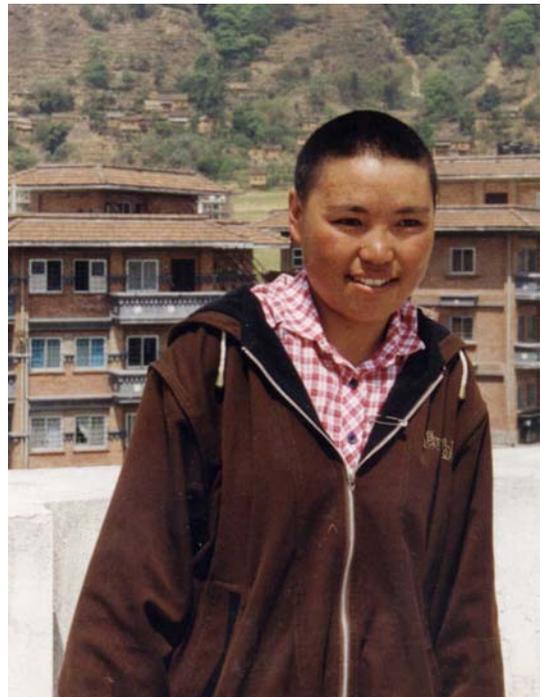


Image 12: Lobsang Choezin (Saldron)
Shar Bumpa Nunnery, Lhundrub County, detained at age 16 in June 1994. Released from "new *rukhang 3*" at the end of June 1998. © Tibet Information Network



Image 13: Chubsang Nunnery, on Lhasa's northern fringe, late 1993.

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Image 14: Garu Nunnery, in a valley of north Lhasa, 1988.

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Image 15: Gyabdrag Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993.

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Image 16a: Mechungri Nunnery, overlooking the Sangyib area of northeast Lhasa, 1996.

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Image 16b: Mechungrri Nunnery, overlooking northeast Lhasa from above Sangyib, late 1993.

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Image 17: Nakar Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993.

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Image 18: Shar Bumpa Nunnery, in the Phenpo area of Lhundrub County, 1993.

by permission of photographer



Image 19: Shugsib Nunnery, southwest of Lhasa in Chushur County, 1994.

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B. Drapchi Prison

Image 20: Drapchi Prison, early 2000, viewed from the north	110
Image 21: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the north	111
Image 22: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the east	112
Image 23: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north	113
Image 24: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	114
Image 25: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the east	115
Image 26: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north	116
Image 27: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	117
Image 28: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north	118
Image 29: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north	119



Image 20: Drapchi Prison, early 2000, viewed from the north

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- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1 PAP | 8 Unit 3, gate area | 15 common criminal units | 22 workshop |
| 2 staff and PSB | 9 Unit 3, "old rukhag 3" | 16 solitary confinement cells (probable) | 23 tailoring workshop (common criminals) |
| 3 probable location main prison gate | 10 Unit 3, "new rukhag 3" | 17 gate into Unit 5 area | 24 Unit 5, "new rukhag 5" |
| 4 new staff or police quarters | 11 new hospital | 18 gate, Unit 5 "new rukhag 5" | 25 Unit 5, "old rukhag 5" |
| 5 new education building | 12 construction area | 19 Unit 5, gate control for both sections | 26 Unit 5, former gate (no longer used) |
| 6 new flag dais | 13 gate through relocated wall into hospital area | 20 gate, Unit 5 "old rukhag 5" | 27 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 7 new courtyard, site of May 1998 protests | 14 gate into south prison area | 21 mattress workshop (common criminals) | |



Image 21: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the north

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- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1 administration building | 7 later demolished, now occupied by new courtyard | 13 work area, prison labour |
| 2 staff and PSB | 8 later demolished, now occupied by new education building | 14 work area; later occupied by "new rukhag 5" |
| 3 PAP | 9 later occupied by new hospital | 15 Unit 5, initial block (later "old rukhag 5") |
| 4 probable location main prison gate | 10 gate into south prison area | 16 Unit 5, gate area (note worn path) |
| 5 Unit 3, initial block, now called "new rukhag 3" | 11 common criminal units | 17 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 6 later demolished, now occupied by "old rukhag 3" | 12 gate into Unit 5 area | |

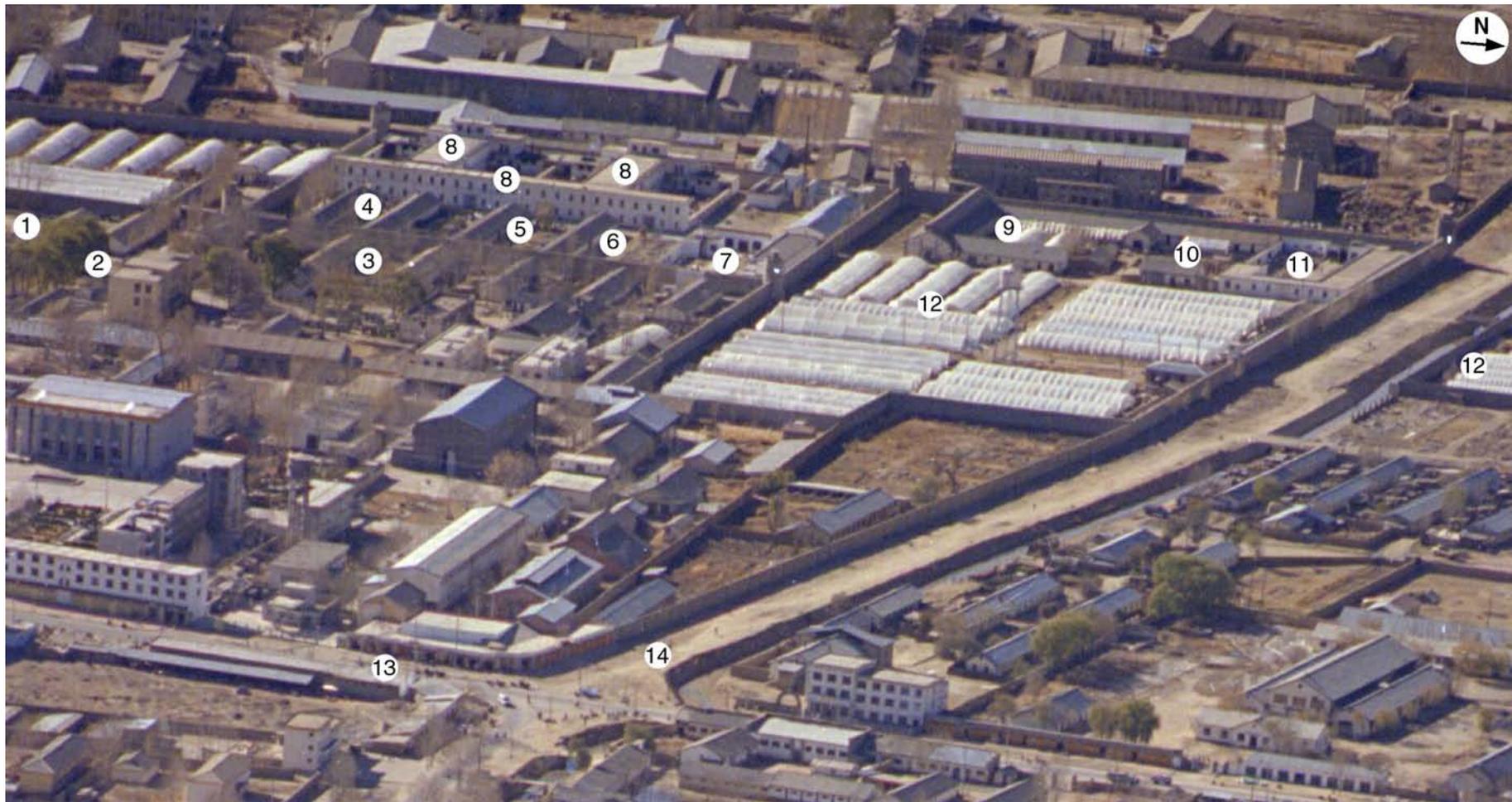


Image 22: Drapchi Prison, late 1993, viewed from the east

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- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1 PAP | 6 later demolished, now occupied by "old rukhag 3" | 11 Unit 5, initial block (later "old rukhag 5") |
| 2 administration building | 7 Unit 3, initial block, now called "new rukhag 3" | 12 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 3 staff and PSB | 8 common criminal units | 13 Togde Lam (Street) |
| 4 later demolished, now occupied by new education building | 9 work area, prison labour | 14 Drapchi Lam (Street) |
| 5 later demolished, now occupied by new courtyard | 10 work area; later occupied by "new rukhag 5" | |

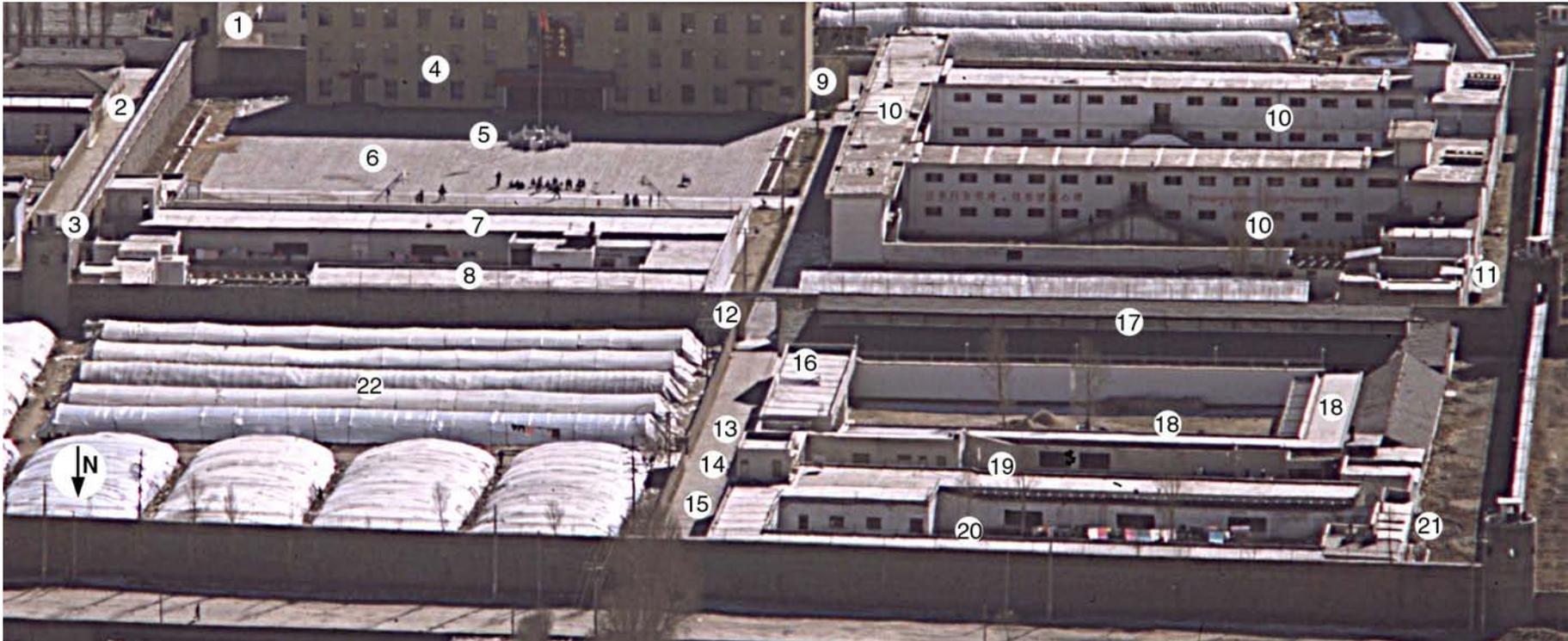


Image 23: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north

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- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1 probable location main prison gate | 9 gate into south section of prison | 16 mattress workshop (common criminals) |
| 2 vehicle access to Unit 3 gate | 10 common criminal units | 17 workshop |
| 3 Unit 3, gate area | 11 solitary confinement cells (probable) | 18 tailoring workshop (common criminals) |
| 4 new education building | 12 gate into Unit 5 area | 19 Unit 5, "new rukhag 5" |
| 5 new flag dais | 13 gate, Unit 5 "new rukhag 5" | 20 Unit 5, "old rukhag 5" |
| 6 new courtyard, site of May 1998 protests | 14 Unit 5, gate control for both sections | 21 Unit 5, former gate (no longer used) |
| 7 Unit 3, "old rukhag 3" | 15 gate, Unit 5 "old rukhag 5" | 22 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 8 Unit 3, "new rukhag 3" | | |



Image 25: Drapchi Prison, areas for male and female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the east

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- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1 staff and PSB | 6 common criminal units | 11 Unit 5, initial block (later "old <i>rukhang</i> 5") |
| 2 Unit 3, gate area | 7 gate into Unit 5 area | 12 Unit 5, gate area |
| 3 later demolished, now occupied by new courtyard | 8 work area, prison labour | 13 Drapchi Lam (Street) |
| 4 later demolished, now occupied by "old <i>rukhang</i> 3" | 9 work area, later occupied by mattress and tailoring shops | 14 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 5 Unit 3, initial block, now called "new <i>rukhang</i> 3" | 10 work area; later occupied by "new <i>rukhang</i> 5" | |

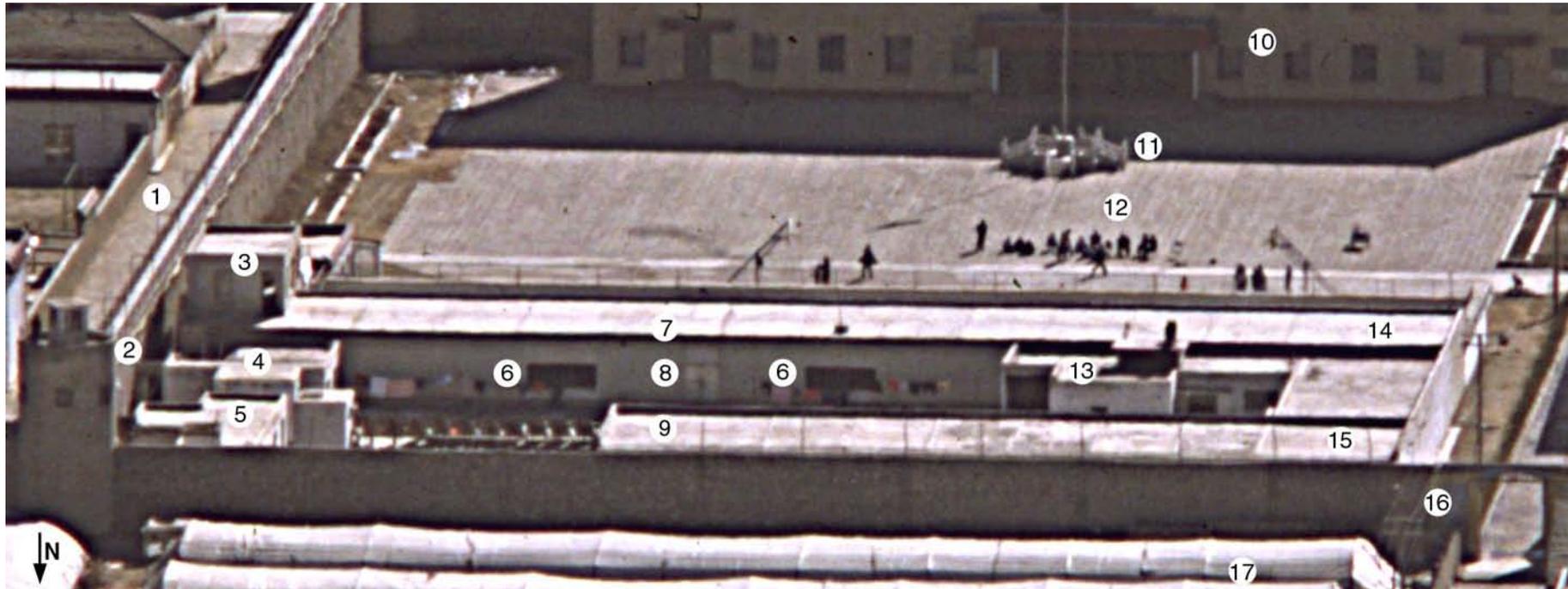


Image 26: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north

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|--|--|--|
| 1 access to Unit 3; nuns stand in sun, 3 - 6 June 1998 | 7 Unit 3, "old rukhag 3" | 13 kitchen |
| 2 Unit 3, gate area | 8 gate from "new rukhag 3" into "old rukhag 3" | 14 storeroom, "old rukhag 3" |
| 3 office upper floor, solitary cells lower floor | 9 Unit 3, "new rukhag 3" | 15 storeroom, "new rukhag 3"; five nuns die on 7 June 1998 |
| 4 office | 10 new education building | 16 gate into Unit 5 area |
| 5 solitary cells | 11 new flag dais | 17 greenhouses, prison labour |
| 6 blackboards | 12 new courtyard, site of May 1998 protests | |

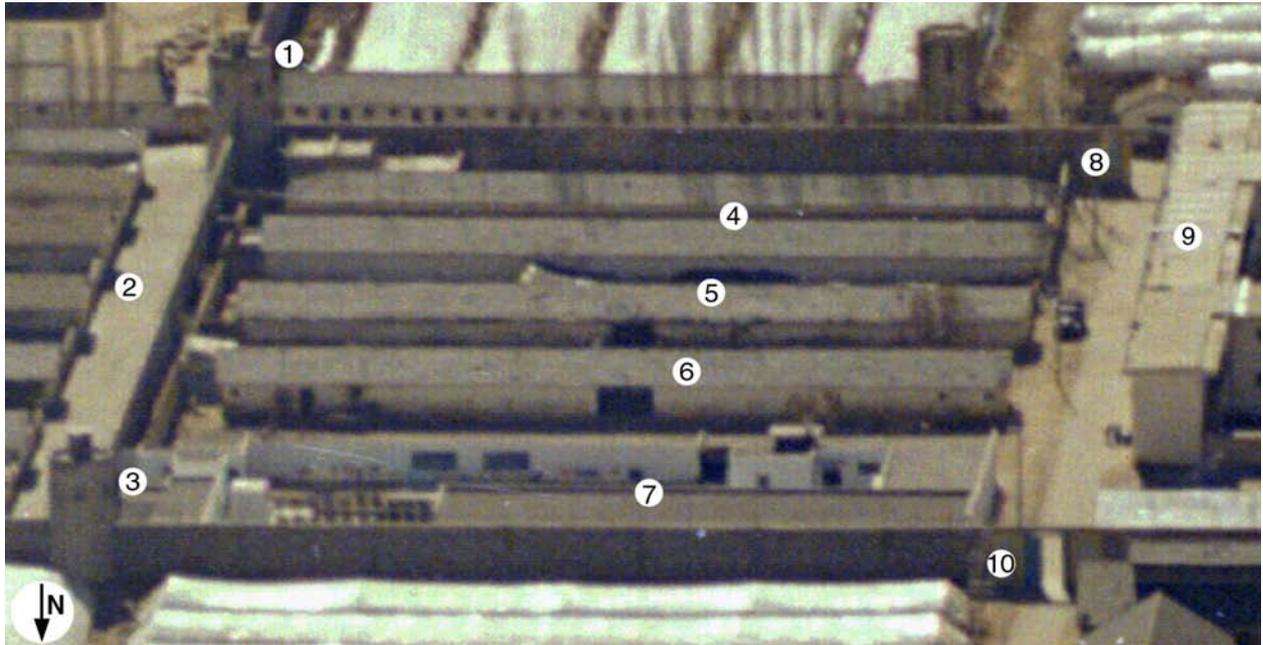


Image 27: Drapchi Prison, area for female political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north

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- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 probable location main prison gate 2 access to Unit 3 3 Unit 3, gate area 4 later demolished, now occupied by new education building 5 later demolished, now occupied by new courtyard 6 later demolished, now occupied by "old <i>rukhang 3</i>" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 Unit 3, initial block, now called "new <i>rukhang 3</i>" 8 gate into south prison area 9 common criminal units 10 gate into Unit 5 area |
|--|--|

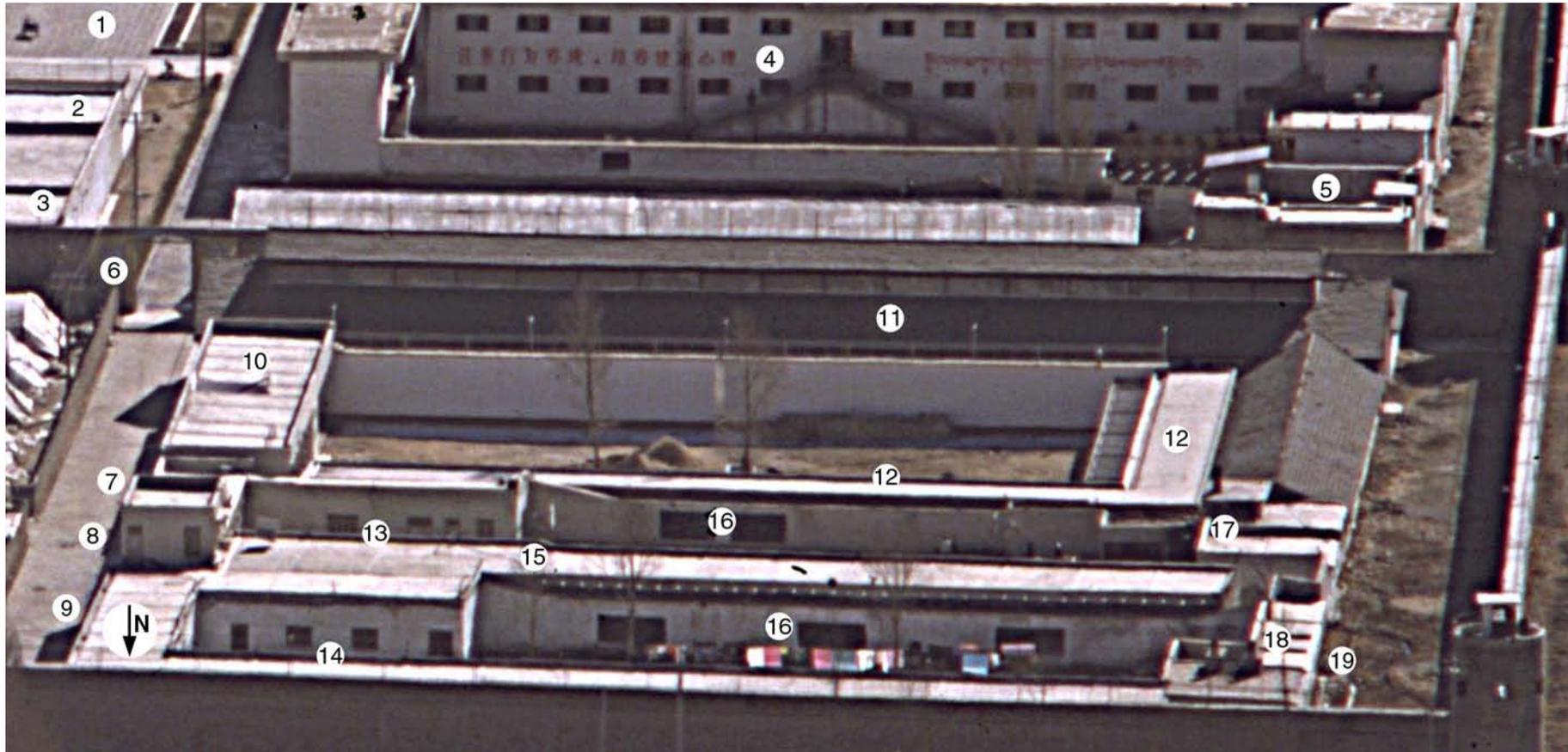


Image 28: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, early 2000, viewed from the north

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- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1 new courtyard, site of May 1998 protests | 8 Unit 5, gate control for both sections | 14 Unit 5, "old rukhag 5" |
| 2 Unit 3, "old rukhag 3" | 9 gate, Unit 5 "old rukhag 5" | 15 space between "new rukhag 5" cell no. 9 and 10
(alleged location of monk's suicide after 4 May 1998) |
| 3 Unit 3, "new rukhag 3" | 10 mattress workshop (common criminals) | 16 blackboards |
| 4 common criminal units | 11 workshop | 17 kitchen and toilet, "new rukhag 5" |
| 5 solitary confinement cells (probable) | 12 tailoring workshop (common criminals) | 18 kitchen and toilet, "old rukhag 5" |
| 6 gate into Unit 5 area | 13 Unit 5, "new rukhag 5" | 19 Unit 5, former gate area (path no longer worn) |
| 7 gate, Unit 5 "new rukhag 5" | | |

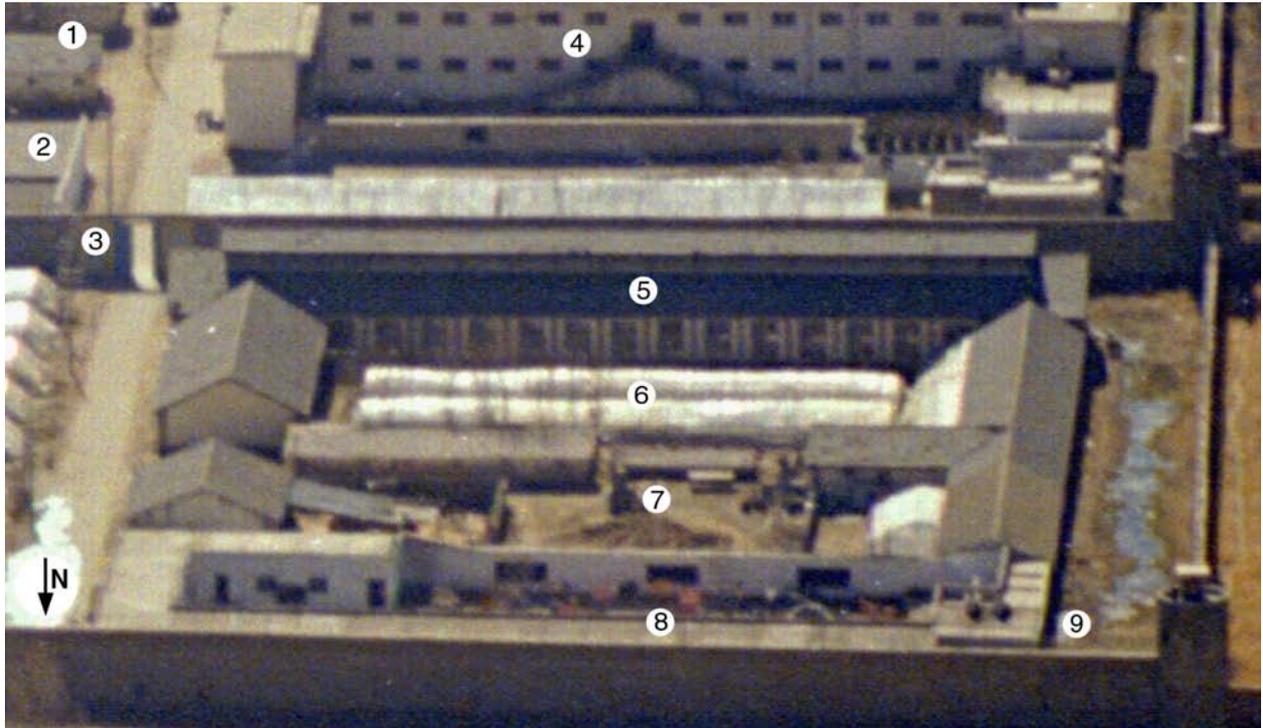


Image 29: Drapchi Prison, area for male political prisoners, late 1993, viewed from the north

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- 1 later demolished, now occupied by "old *rukhang* 3"
- 2 Unit 3, initial block, now called "new *rukhang* 3"
- 3 gate into Unit 5 area
- 4 common criminal units
- 5 work area, prison labour

- 6 work area, later occupied by mattress and tailoring shops
- 7 work area; later occupied by "new *rukhang* 5"
- 8 Unit 5, initial block (later "old *rukhang* 5")
- 9 Unit 5, gate area (note worn path)

C. Other Lhasa prisons

Image 30: Lhasa Prison (formerly Utritru), early 2000, viewed from the northwest	121
Image 31: Utritru Prison (later Lhasa Prison), late 1993, viewed from the east	122
Image 32: new prison, mid 1997, viewed from the northwest	123
Image 33: Sitru Prison (TAR Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the southeast	124
Image 34: Trisam Re-education Through Labour Centre, late 1993, viewed from the west	125
Image 35: Gutsa Prison (Lhasa <i>Shi</i> Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the north	126



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Image 30: Lhasa Prison (formerly Utritru), early 2000, viewed from the northwest

The prison, located in the Sangyib area of northeast Lhasa, was in service by the late 1980s with four cell blocks. Three remain as of 2000. Not later than 1998 the name was changed to "Lhasa Prison". It is now referred to as one of the TAR's three prisons, along with Drapchi and Powo Tramo, signifying an upgrade from prefectural to provincial rank. Five additional units were completed within extended walls during 1999 and 2000. Prison labour includes construction work, manufacturing building materials including concrete and stone blocks, and repairing vehicles.

- 1 initial block (3 of 4 remain)
- 2 initial wall section (2 sides remain)
- 3 new units added by 1999 (2)

- 4 new units added by 2000 (3)
- 5 new and extended wall sections (by 2000)

- 6 old gate
- 7 new gate



Image 31: Utritru Prison (later Lhasa Prison), late 1993, viewed from the east

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“Utritru”, a Tibetanization of the Chinese *wuzhidui*, or “number five detachment” at Sangyib, was completed by 1988. Initially functioning as a reform through labour centre under Lhasa jurisdiction, it would be renamed “Lhasa Prison” and elevated to TAR status in the late 1990s when it would undergo significant expansion.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| 1 gate | 4 wall relocated westward to allow expansion | 6 blocks remaining intact by early 2000 (3) |
| 2 location of new blocks completed by 1999 (2) | 5 block later demolished, replaced by new unit (1) | 7 wall remaining intact in 2000 |
| 3 location of new blocks completed by 2000 (3) | | |

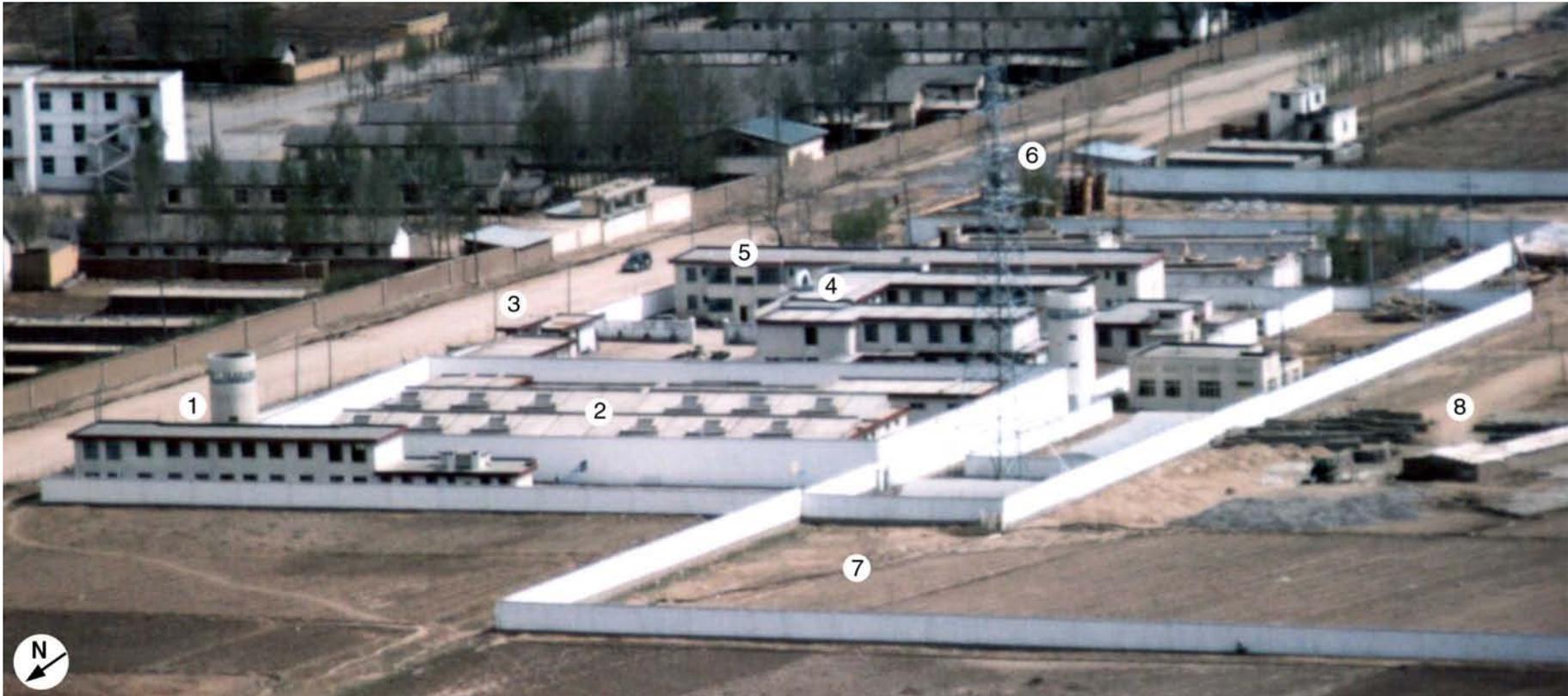


Image 32: new prison in Sangyib area, mid 1997, viewed from the northwest

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The official name of the prison, located across the street and a hundred metres south of Lhasa Prison, remains unknown. Reliable reports allege that it is a TAR level PSB Detention Centre intended to play an important role in detaining and investigating persons suspected of political activity, especially in cases which police believe may be linked to Tibetans in exile. Some accounts, which TIN has not confirmed, claim that the new facility temporarily held some Drapchi prisoners in isolation after the May 1998 protests at Drapchi. By 1999 another, smaller new prison had been built adjacent to the one shown above, and an expansive new PAP training facility extended for several hundred metres westward.

- 1 security personnel quarters (probably PAP)
- 2 new cell blocks (not yet complete in this image)
- 3 main gate into compound
- 4 administrative offices

- 5 staff residences
- 6 later location of gate into new PAP training facility
- 7 area occupied by new, separately walled prison facility by mid-1998
- 8 extreme east end of area occupied by large new training facility (probably PAP) by mid-1998



Image 33: Sitru Prison (TAR Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the southeast

Completed by 1984, "Sitru" is a Tibetanized rendering of "sizhidu", the "number four detachment" of the Sangyib complex. Formally it is a TAR PSB Detention Centre and has been especially active in detaining and interrogating those suspected of political activity, particularly in cases which may be linked to Tibetans living abroad. An unusually high proportion of Sitru's known political prisoners have been laypersons.

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- 1 PSB and staff residences
- 2 PSB offices
- 3 gate from PSB offices into north cell block area
- 4 north area cell blocks (2)

- 5 entry into south area interrogation rooms, clinic, kitchen
- 6 gate into south cell block area
- 7 interrogation rooms, clinic, kitchen

- 8 south area cell blocks (2)
- 9 gate between north and south cell block areas
- 10 PAP compound



Image 34: Trisam Re-education Through Labour Centre, late 1993, viewed from the west

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Prisoners are sent to Trisam, which became operational in 1992 and is formally known as the TAR Re-education through Labour Centre, by administrative decision rather than judicial process. Sentences do not exceed three years. Severe collective abuse to female political prisoners occurred during an incident in August 1994, set off when a nun accidentally splashed water on a man, and to male political prisoners at Tibetan New Year in 1995 when a few monks attempted to privately celebrate *Losar* in one of their cells.

- 1 guard towers (3) for walled prison area
- 2 cell blocks (3)
- 3 gate into prison area
- 4 administration building
- 5 driveway into main compound



Image 35: Gutsa Prison (Lhasa Shi Police Detention Centre), late 1993, viewed from the north

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Serving Lhasa and the seven counties which make up the municipal administration, Gutsa has detained most of those who became political prisoners at Drapchi and Trisam. Police interrogation, as experienced by those suspected of counter-revolution, now called “endangering state security”, generally lasts weeks and can persist for months. Former prisoners regard it as the most systematically abusive phase of incarceration; beating and electric shock are routine. As a Police Detention Centre, Gutsa also holds inmates sentenced to administrative detention, especially periods of less than two years.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 Ngachen Lam (Street) | 4 main cell areas (3 are apparent) | 7 guard tower at entrance to walled area |
| 2 main compound entrance | 5 guard towers (4) | 8 walled area (possibly holding cells and interrogation rooms) |
| 3 main gate into prison area | 6 walled work area | |

"If they came to beat one of your friends, it felt worse than if they beat you. There wasn't a single day without such an incident. If one of us suffered, then the others would shout, and in this way trouble would arise."

A nun released from Drapchi prison in 1998

In June 1998 five nuns died in Tibet's Number One prison, Drapchi, after five weeks of severe maltreatment. The nuns are reported to have committed suicide together by hanging or choking themselves to death. All the nuns were close comrades in their twenties who had been imprisoned for peaceful protests. None of them had long periods left to serve; had they survived, the last to complete her sentence would have been released in February this year (2000).

Rukhag 3: The Nuns of Drapchi Prison is a comprehensive account of resistance and repression over an unbroken period of eight years (1992 - 1999) amongst the female — mostly political — prisoners in Drapchi's *Rukhag* (Unit) 3. The book is based on first-hand accounts gathered by Tibet Information Network (TIN), providing new and unprecedented detail on dissent within the prison and its consequences.

Steven D. Marshall created TIN's political prisoner database and is the author and co-author of a number of reports on Tibet including *Hostile Elements: A Study of Political Imprisonment in Tibet 1987 — 1998* and the CD-ROM *Tibet Outside the TAR* with Dr. Susette Cooke. He was one of the few foreigners to have witnessed the imposition of martial law in Lhasa in March 1989.

Tibet Information Network is an independent news and research service that collects and distributes information on the current situation in Tibet. Based in London, with newsgathering centres in India and Nepal, TIN monitors political, social, economic, environmental and human rights conditions in Tibet and publishes the information in the form of news updates and a range of analytical reports.



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Front cover picture: Ngawang Sangdrol, who is serving the longest sentence of all female political prisoners in Tibet's Number One prison, Drapchi. © Security department of the Tibetan government in exile. Photograph of Drapchi prison. © Tibet Images