

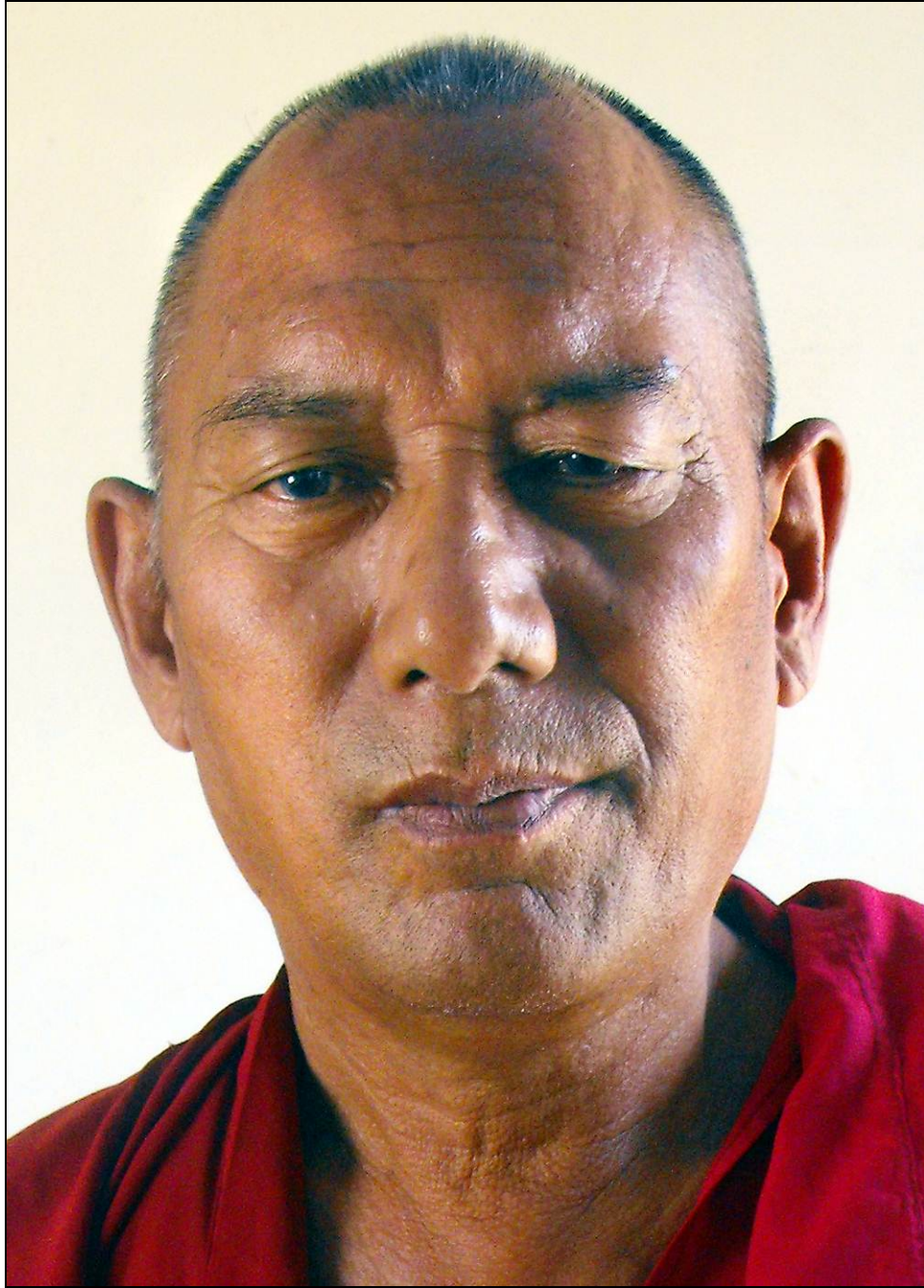
Tibet Oral History Project

Interview #28M – Yidham Kyap
April 11, 2010

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INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

1. Interview Number: #28M
2. Interviewee: Yidham Kyap
3. Age: 67
4. Date of Birth: 1943
5. Sex: Male
6. Birthplace: Tiwu
7. Province: Dhotoe (Kham)
8. Year of leaving Tibet: 1960
9. Date of Interview: April 11, 2010
10. Place of Interview: Drepung Gomang Old Age Home, Doeguling Settlement, Mundgod, Karwar District, Karnataka, India
11. Length of Interview: 2 hr 18 min
12. Interviewer: Rebecca Novick
13. Translator: Tenzin Yangchen
14. Videographer: Pema Tashi
15. Translator: Tenzin Yangchen

Biographical Information:

Yidham Kyap was born in the village of Tongkhor Nyipa into a family called Damdha. He became a monk at the age of 9 at the insistence of his parents. His father was the village leader and the Chinese promoted his father after occupying the village. His father was later demoted when he refused to lead his people in the destruction of the local monastery.

Yidham Kyap stayed in the monastery for only three years before everything changed. The Chinese waged a war in his region of Tibet. He provides an account of the destruction and killings and the resistance of the Tibetan people like his father and the leaders of the Serta, Tiwu and Tsangma regions of eastern Tibet. Yidham Kyap escaped to the hills where over 1,000 had joined the resistance army, but that group was soon captured by the Chinese and he fled again.

Yidham Kyap joined another group of 200 fleeing people, which took more than a year to reach India. He describes in detail his experience of some of their 33 battles with the Chinese. He tells of the various hardships they faced due to the Chinese attacks, shortage of food and the severe cold weather. They traveled along the banks of the Drichu (Yangtse River) and through the regions of Zachukha, Nagchukha and the Changthang before they reached Mustang in Nepal and then Buxa (West Bengal, India) and finally Mundgod in southern India.

Topics Discussed:

Childhood memories, monastic life, religious festivals, invasion by Chinese army, life under Chinese rule, resistance fighters, escape experiences, life as a refugee in India.

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Interview #28M

Interviewee: Yidham Kyap

Age: 67, Sex: Male

Interviewer: Rebecca Novick

Interview Date: April 11, 2010

Question: *Kusho-la* 'respectful term for monk,' could you please start by telling us your name?

00:00:25

Interviewee #28M: Yidham Kyap.

Q: His Holiness the Dalai Lama asked us to record the experiences of elder Tibetans to share with the younger generation of Tibetans, with the Chinese people and the people in the outside world so we can properly document the true experience and history and the beliefs of the Tibetan people.

#28M: Okay.

Q: Do you give permission for the Tibet Oral History Project to use your interview?

00:01:15

#28M: Yes, you can.

Q: Thank you very much.

#28M: Okay.

Q: During the interview if you want to take a break at anytime, just let me know.

00:01:29

#28M: Okay.

Q: And if there's anything you'd rather not answer, just say you'd rather not answer that.

#28M: Okay.

Q: If this interview were shown in Tibet or China, would it make a problem for you?

00:01:59

#28M: There will be no problem.

Q: Would you like us to use a different name for you? Some people have requested this. So it is very easy to do.

#28M: You do not have to change [my name].

Q: *Kusho-la*, do you have any questions for us?

00:02:37

#28M: At the moment I do not have any questions.

Q: Thank you very much and we feel very honored that you've come to share your story with us today.

#28M: Okay.

Q: Can you start by telling us a little bit about your village of Tiwu?

00:03:12

#28M: The place of my birth is Tongkhor Nyipa and the family name is Damdha. There were many families and my father was the leader.

Q: Your father was the leader of the village?

#28M: Yes.

Q: Do you remember much of your life before you became a monk?

00:04:12

#28M: I cannot recall much because I became a monk at the age of 9.

Q: Whose decision was that?

#28M: My parents made the decision.

Q: Do you have any other monks in your family?

00:04:41

#28M: There was a relative who was a monk. He is 80 years old and lives here [Mundgod] now.

Q: Is he your real brother?

#28M: We have the same father and different mothers. His mother passed away when he was 5 years old. So my mother brought him up like her son.

Q: So you have an older brother, a half brother. Who grew up with you in your family?

00:05:36

#28M: There were my parents, my older brother and myself. That was all.

Q: There were only two children?

#28M: Yes.

Q: Was your father a very religious man?

00:06:05

#28M: He did not like to practice the dharma. He did not like to practice dharma and loved fighting in the war. He was a great sinner. He has killed many Chinese.

Q: When you say he loved the war, can you tell us a little bit about the kind of fighting your father was doing?

#28M: When he was serving as the leader, the Chinese conferred the rank of *thop* on him. Do you understand what *thop* is? It means he was given a promotion as a leader. The Chinese came inside and destroyed the monasteries. When the monastery was to be destroyed, he was asked to come to lead the destruction. He was told to bring along his people. However, he refused to go saying, "We will not destroy the monastery. We are Buddhists and practitioners of the dharma. We will not destroy the monastery." So he was demoted. After his demotion, he was oppressed and beaten many times. He dared not stay at home and fled into the hills. Then he fought and killed many Chinese in our village.

Q: In the beginning, in earlier days, was your father fighting on the side of the Nationalists against the Communists? Are you just talking about fighting against the Communists from the Tibetan side?

00:08:57

#28M: It was the Communists. They were the present [Communist] Chinese.

Q: So when you were growing up, were there Chinese Nationalists in your area—the KMT?

#28M: I do not recall. I do not think they were there. No, they were not there.

Q: If your father was such a fighting man, why do you think he wanted you to become a monk?

00:09:50

#28M: My mother was very domineering. My mother was determined that I be made a monk. My mother wished it and they both agreed and I became a monk. My mother was very religious.

Q: Do you remember your first day joining the monastery?

#28M: I do not remember. Initially I was taught the scriptures at home. At that time, there were no schools. There were no schools and a teacher taught me the scriptures for two to

three years. After one had learned the scriptures, he was taken to the monastery. I lived for about three years in the monastery and then the Chinese attacked.

Q: What happened after the three years?

00:11:34

#28M: Then the Chinese waged a war.

Q: Can you tell us more about that—in as much detail as you can remember?

#28M: Lhasa is the capital of Tibet. We did not use the Western calendar in our country then and used only the Tibetan calendar. It was on the 10th day of the 2nd month of the Tibetan lunar calendar of 1959 that Lhasa was attacked. They waged a war in Lhasa and His Holiness the Dalai Lama had already left for India. We were not aware of that. The Chinese restricted the people from talking about it. We were still fighting in our region. The battle took place on the 14th day of the 5th Tibetan lunar month.

Q: Where?

00:12:50

#28M: In my region. A battle took place in my region. By my region, I mean the region called Serta. Serta and Tiwu shared a border. When the battle took place, there were three divisions in the fighting unit, commanded by the leader of Serta, the leader of Tsangma Sharchik and Tiwu Gundatsang, who is now in Bylakuppe [Tibetan Settlement in Karnataka, India]. The three divisions jointly fought the battle and the divisions of the leaders of Serta and Tsangma were annihilated.

Q: Annihilated?

#28M: Yes, annihilated. The two leaders were killed and my father was captured during the battle. Initially he fought, but he ran out of bullets and he was captured. My father and I were together. After his capture, my father was taken to Tiwu. He was kept there for a few days and then he was murdered in cold blood [points finger to the center of forehead]. I was able to escape.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Okay. That's a huge story in a very short time. We lost some years there because he was born in '43 and he became a monk, he said at the age of 9, so that would make it '52. Then he said three years later we were attacked, so that would have been 1955, but now we're certainly in 1959. So we've lost four years. I'm just wondering if he can clarify that.

Q: *Gen-la*, you joined the monastery at the age of 9 and you said you stayed there for three years, which makes you 12. When did the battle at Serta and Tiwu take place?

00:16:16

#28M: [The battle] took place when I was 15. It took place when I was 15 years old. We could not stay in the monastery and fled into the mountains. We spent about two years that way.

Q: Can we go just back a little bit. You know we have some time to talk about this, so please don't feel we have to rush through and condense everything quite so much because it is the details that make it so interesting. So you are in the monastery and the Chinese came. What did they do to make it so that you have to leave the monastery? What did they actually do at the monastery?

#28M: Chinese soldiers entered the monastery. They set up huge artillery in each of the four directions on the roof of the monastery and fired from the guns. So, all the monks fled into the mountains.

Q: Were they actually firing at the monastery?

00:18:37

#28M: They did not fire in the monastery. They set up the artillery in preparation for firing. So, when that happened, the monks could no longer stay back and then they fled into the mountains.

Q: So they got you under the impression that they were going to attack the monastery?

#28M: Yes.

Q: How many monks were there?

00:19:19

#28M: There were about 1,000 monks.

Q: What is the name of the monastery?

#28M: Thaklung Gonpa.

Q: You said you all fled into the hills, 1,000 monks. How long did you stay hiding in the hills?

00:20:04

#28M: We all fled to our individual homes. All of us had our homes and that's where we fled to. No one remained in the monastery.

Q: So that's when you went back to your family, yes?

#28M: I fled into the mountains because my father was there. I fled into the mountains with my father. Army [resistance] camps were set up in the hills. There were no houses, as we had left our houses behind. The Chinese had occupied the region of Tiwu. We put up

tents and cooked our food and thus stayed in the hills. We had our guns and horses with us in the hills.

Q: Oh, really! Your father was up in the mountains. How did you know where your father was? Who told you where he was?

00:21:36

#28M: There was a *lama* 'a learned teacher' in a monastery in the region of Tiwu, who was my brother's *lama*. This *lama* could not remain in the monastery and fled to the hills. He had many belongings including horses and yaks. My brother sent word to me and asked me to come immediately, as the animals needed to be grazed during the day in the hills. So I left for the place upon receiving the message.

Q: So you went to look after the horses and yaks in his father's unit in the mountains. So your father was in charge of a fighting unit in the mountains, is that right? And how many people were fighting with him?

#28M: As I told you, [there was] the army of the leader of Serta. I would say that there were over 1,000 people including monks, laypeople and fighters. There was a division of the Serta leader and a division of the Tsangma Sharchik...

Q: Could you please repeat that?

00:23:27

#28M: Tsangma Sharchik. That was the name of the leader. There were these two divisions. They were entirely killed or captured by the Chinese.

Q: What kinds of weapons did they have?

#28M: They had guns.

Q: What kind of guns?

00:24:29

#28M: They had very good guns. Each gun had the capacity to hold five bullets. There were many types of guns like *bura*, *ripay ra-nga*, *nangshi*, etc. At that time one would have to give 40-50 animals in exchange for a good gun. It was so because the war was going on and weapons were very expensive.

I, my brother and the *lama* escaped from there. Among [the crowd of people] there, we were the only three who made it to India as I found out after landing in India. From the 1,000 people who escaped, only the three of us [survived]. At one point the Chinese kept on firing and my horse was killed. After my horse was killed, I had to leave it behind and flee on foot. As I walked on, I felt something behind me and when I turned to look, I saw a horse whose rider had been killed. I caught the horse and rode it on my escape. In that way, my life was saved.

Q: So you were one of the three people who managed to escape out of the 1,000?

#28M: Yes.

Q: That's amazing. Who were the other two people?

00:27:34

#28M: We were three of us. The *lama* has now expired. He expired due to old age.

Q: The other was your half-brother?

#28M: My brother is 80 years old and he is here now.

Q: So they were a *lama*, your brother and you?

00:27:45

#28M: Yes, that is right. During the escape journey, for two to three days we were without food. We had nothing to eat and our stomachs were empty. We continued to flee and met up with the Tiwu Gundhatsang army. We came along with them and they provided us with food. Then we traveled on and on and arrived at Zachukha. There's this place called Zachukha. We reached Zachukha.

After journeying for sometime, we met the Commander of Zachukha who was leading an army. The name of the leader was Bachung Nyalo. He was an extremely courageous and clever man. We joined them and relied on them. What the leader of Zachukha had the foresight to do was to bring from his home—there is a huge river in Kham called Drichu [Yangtse River] and another in the province of Amdo called Machu [Yellow River]; there was the huge river called Drichu in Kham and one had to cross the rivers in boats; you could not ride across them on horses—a coracle, he'd made and dried. He'd loaded it on a *dzo* 'animal bred from a yak and a cow' and journeyed for about a month.

Then we arrived at the bank of the Drichu. When we arrived at the Drichu, it was summer and the river was flooding. One could not hear a person from one side to the other side of the bank. That was how [huge] it was. The coracle was used to ferry over 200 people to the other side of the Drichu. That's how we came.

Q: Two hundred people cross the river in one boat? Two hundred or just like a bunch of boats?

#28M: People had to be ferried in turns. The coracle could take 10 people. A coracle is made of leather, the skin of animals. It is stretched over a wooden frame. We sat in it and there was one person who rowed the coracle. Not everyone knew how to row. There were two young men in the group, who knew to row the coracle. They took turns to row the coracle and ferried for seven days. It was made of yak skin.

Q: During those seven days, were there any attacks by the Chinese?

00:32:44

#28M: No, they did not. We were extremely fortunate. We feared that they would arrive. [If they did] half the people were on one side of the river and the other half on the other side. Had they come at that time, we would have been finished. There was nothing but defeat. However, they did not arrive.

Q: So all 200 people made it across safely?

#28M: Yes, they did.

Q: I really want to explore what happened at this point onwards. I just want to back up a little bit. When you went up into the mountains the first time and you met the 1,000 people from the two different units, were there monks from your monastery, from Thaklung Monastery who were also fighting?

00:34:05

#28M: Yes, there were monks. They were there. The monks were there, but they were either killed or captured; everything was destroyed.

Q: Yes, but they were fighting. You yourself, were you given any kind of training in how to use guns?

#28M: No, I was only 15 years old then. Though I did know how to fire a gun, I was not allowed to go with the men as I was very young. They did not allow me to go for fear that I might get killed. The others carried good guns and were accomplished fighters. Little children were not sent to fight.

Q: Did you want to join in fighting?

00:35:24

#28M: [Laughs] No, I did not wish to join the fight.

Q: I just have a couple of more questions about the weapons. You said that they were very expensive. Of this 1,000 people, did everybody have a gun? Or were the guns kind of limited?

#28M: No, they did not. There were women, *lamas* and monks; every kind of people was there. Most of the people did have guns. Those that owned guns were fighting and those that did not have guns like women, *lamas* and monks were fleeing.

Q: So no monks were actually using guns.

00:36:40

#28M: No.

Q: Where did they get these guns from?

#28M: You mean us?

Q: Yes.

00:36:53

#28M: We owned guns since early times in our region. The families had many guns with them. They had very expensive guns with them. The Chinese had already arrived and I do not know whether they were purchased from the hands of the Chinese or elsewhere. There were innumerable guns.

Q: So they have them already. This is Kham, right? So you get a gun when you are born if you are a boy. Do you know what happened to the rest of the people who were captured?

#28M: The leaders were killed and their corpses were taken to the fort. Do you know what a fort is? [Makes a mound with hands]

Q: Yes.

00:38:03

#28M: They were taken to the fort and hung up high in front of the people, "Look at your leaders. If you revolt against Communist China, this is the only way you can go." They did this in full view of the public. As for the people, some were killed during the fight and those who were not were forced to work in the commune, which had been formed. This was what we heard because we have not seen it. We were on our escape journey then.

Q: So one of those leaders was your father?

#28M: Yes.

Q: What other members of your family were captured?

00:39:26

#28M: [Speaks without waiting for question to be interpreted.] There were many leaders who were captured and all of them were killed in cold blood [points finger to the center of forehead], by shooting them in the forehead in front of the people.

Q: And then hung up?

#28M: Yes.

Q: What other members of your family were captured along with your father?

00:39:58

#28M: My mother was left behind and she was forced to work in the commune, along with the other people. She was not particularly oppressed.

Q: None of your brothers were captured?

[Interpreter to interviewee]: Only two, himself and the other who escaped.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: They escaped. In the notes it says that his father and brothers were killed. I'm just wondering, but he didn't have any other brothers that were captured. Okay.

Q: So let's go back to the river. You just crossed the river miraculously, 200 people taking seven days. What happened when you got on to the other side of the Drichu River?

00:41:00

#28M: After crossing to the other side of the river, we continued our journey. It was summertime and the region was beautiful with grass and flowers. As we traveled on, at one point we saw a whole lot of people walking. We thought they were the Chinese and the leaders asked some people with guns to go there. There were two leaders: the Tiwu Gundha and the leader of Zachukha. They gave the command for them to go. When they left, flags [raises right hand up]—you know what a flag is? Red flag—Chinese flag. They [the group of people walking] raised two red flags like this [continues to raise right hand up]. They believed we were the Chinese and so they raised two red flags.

When we neared them, we found them to be Tibetans whom the Chinese had brought across the Drichu in a boat. They were forced by the Chinese to gather *doma* 'type of tiny sweet potato' with the order, "You must gather this much quantity of *doma* in a week. This is a must." There were 22 people who were sent there to gather *doma*. We counted them, for if they escaped from us, they would immediately sneak to the Chinese. We seized them.

It was towards evening time and we were near a tributary of the Drichu. It was evening and we made camp there. The two leaders interrogated them, "What food do you have?" They had with them corn *tsampa* 'flour made from roasted grains.' It was not exactly *tsampa* but coarsely ground flour. This was added to hot water with some salt and drunk. They did not possess anything else, not even *tsampa* [of barley]. They drank a mug full of that mixture in the morning, noon and evening. It was a very thin gruel. Then they spent the whole day looking for *doma*.

Once a week on Sunday the soldiers came in a boat to collect the *doma*. The people told us honestly about what was happening. Poor things, they told us truthfully. On asked when the Chinese were coming, they replied "*shinshie*." We inquired, "What is *shinshie*?" and learned that it meant Sunday in Chinese. They said they would be arriving on *shinshie* and when we asked when *shinshie* was, they replied, "Tomorrow."

That was good, we said. We did not have many animals with us for we had been killing our animals and eating them as we continued on our journey. We did not have anything else to eat. So that night we killed an animal for the 22 people, boiled the meat, fed them to their hearts' content. In the night some of our men surrounded them, so that they did not escape. If they fled, they might sneak to the Chinese. So they were guarded. Among the group were two girls who'd been holding the Chinese flags. [To the interpreter] They looked about your age. All the rest were boys in the age range of 18, 19 or nearing 20. So that night, they were given good food.

00:45:17

The Drichu flowed a little further away. [They were told], "Tomorrow you must go to the bank of the Drichu and hold up the flag like this [raises right hand] to indicate [to the Chinese] that they can come without any suspicion and that there are no enemies around. If the flag is not raised, the Chinese will not come suspecting something amiss. So you must do likewise. The Communist Chinese are our enemies and we will kill them. You will not be harmed in any way." So early the next morning, we had our breakfast and then about 10 young men who were sharp shooters were sent to the bank of the Drichu. The sands on the Drichu bank were dug and the men lay in it. No one could have spied them with their guns aimed ahead. The two women stood close by raising the flags.

I heard that the Chinese then arrived on the other side of the river. There were a boatful of soldiers and they began to row. Just before the boat touched this side of the bank of the Drichu, the two girls jumped into the river. They who raised the flags jumped into the water. They had sold [betrayed] the Chinese and they knew there was nothing but death for them. They jumped into the water. At this time the Chinese became suspicious. [The guns] were ready to fire [makes action of aiming a gun] and there was such a lot of firing that I heard the sides of the boat were red with blood. All the Chinese were killed and the boat was pulled ashore and the weapons taken away. The corpses of the Chinese and the boat were dumped in the river. That's how we came away.

When they returned [to the camp] they were filled with terror. The boys were filled with terror.

Q: You mean those *doma* gatherers?

00:47:50

#28M: Yes. The two leaders told them, "It is no use for you to stay back. You will not find food and they will not treat you well. Come with us. We are all together in times of good or bad. Those that do not own a horse will be given a horse, those who do not have anything to eat will be provided with food and those who do not have clothing will be given clothes. Our group is like one family. You are young in age and you should join us. Wherever we escape, you shall reach there." They replied, "No, we will not go. There is nowhere to go because the whole of Tibet is filled with Chinese. There is nowhere to go." They would not come with us. That was it. We could not delay and set off at once. That is it.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: So the two people that they met with the flags gathering sweet potatoes, were they women?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: They were women with several young boys.

Q: Were all the Chinese killed who were in the boat?

#28M: Yes.

Q: And then?

00:53:35

#28M: So the *doma* gatherers refused to come with us. We left them there with a good quantity of meat. Then we went on our way. We traveled along the banks of the Drichu and the journey took us a whole year. It took us exactly a year to travel from Kham to the Indian border. We left our village on the 14th day of the 2nd Tibetan lunar month and reached the Indian border in the 5th lunar month of the following year. It took us an entire year because we could not go to Lhasa. So we traveled northwards through Nagchukha and Shanglam Parma [?]. We encountered the Chinese 33 times through our journey until we reached the Indian border. We fought 33 times.

Q: Wow. Wow. That night on the river, did you lose people on your side, too?

#28M: No, no one died. We lost a total of three men on our journey from our village until we reached the Indian border. The Chinese killed three of our men. The reason was that most of us had a protective amulet on us. If a shot was fired at you, the bullet fell into the *amba* 'pouch of traditional coat,' while the person remained unharmed. The man fell backwards but the bullet did not penetrate him. He was protected by the amulet.

Q: The bullet would fall into your pocket?

Interpreter: The pocket of the *chupa* 'traditional coat.'

Q: The pocket of the *chupa*. So you could actually pick the bullet out of the *chupa*?

00:57:15

#28M: Yes, as the bullet fell into the *amba*. Before the war in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama gave protective amulets of Jigshay and Mahe. The Jigshay was a protection from arms and the Mahe shielded the force. When a gun is fired at a person, he falls on account of the force of the gun. It protected one from this force. His Holiness distributed many such [protective amulets].

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Okay. He is not talking about them bouncing off something, right? He's actually talking about...He is not saying that it was like a *gawu* 'an amulet with an image of a god within' or something that it bounced off. He's saying it actually protects.

Q: So this Jigshay Mahe, what did it look like?

#28M: The Jigshay is an image, an image printed on a mould. The Mahe has the physical shape of a *mahe* 'buffalo.' His Holiness gave away many of these in Tibet.

Q: Was the Jigshay Mahe a portrait or a figure?

00:58:54

#28M: It was not a portrait. It was clay.

Q: Was it a figure?

#28M: It was made of clay, molded clay. The clay contained a mixture of many holy ingredients. That was it.

Q: Was it a *chorten* 'stupa'?

00:59:18

#28M: No, it was a deity.

Q: What deity was it?

#28M: Jigshay.

Q: The deity was Jigshay?

00:59:28

#28M: Yes.

Q: What about Mahe? Was it another deity?

#28M: Yes. Mahe is a deity which, we have the *mahe* here...

Q: The animal *mahe*?

00:59:42

#28M: Yes, it has the physical features of the animal *mahe*.

Q: It was a buffalo deity?

#28M: Yes, it was.

Q: Was there a picture of a *mahe*?

01:00:09

#28M: The *mahe* was made of clay. It was formed by wet clay imprinted on a mould. Then it was dried.

Q: It was not just an ordinary buffalo but a buffalo like, as a being?

#28M: Yes [it was the animal buffalo]. There is the protective deity of Tibet called Dhamgay Chogyal. Its head is the head of a *mahe* and it rides on a *mahe*. The Dhamgay Chogyal looked like that.

Q: Is that a special protective deity associated with Lama Tsongkhapa [Founder of the Gelug sect of Tibetan Buddhism]?

00:01:43

#28M: Yes.

Q: How big was it?

#28M: It was small, only about this size [shows a size of two inches].

Q: Did everybody have one in your group?

01:02:09

#28M: I think some of them had, but I did not have one.

Q: You didn't have one.

#28M: None of my colleagues had it.

Q: When did His Holiness distribute these amulets? Do you know the year?

01:03:04

#28M: I was in my village at that time. I heard that they were distributed prior to the attack by the Chinese. It was just before the attack on Lhasa that they were distributed. I heard about it but I have not seen it [being distributed].

Q: So in 1959.

#28M: However, I have seen a Jigshay Mahe given by His Holiness.

Q: Do you know anyone here who has one still?

01:03:55

#28M: I do not know. The newcomers [from Tibet] will not have them. I wonder if the older monks have them.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: They were given to the monks as well as the army? He said they were given to the army.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: The monks were also fighting in the army.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Yeah, but they weren't officially in the army at that time, well, in 1959.

Q: Were they given to the monks as well as the army?

#28M: I think they were not given to the monks. I heard that the [Tibetan] soldiers [serving in the Indian army] at Dehradun [Uttaranchal, India] were also distributed [with amulets] but they were not the Jigshay Mahe.

Q: In your group, this 200, how many monks were in your group?

01:05:22

#28M: There were three *lamas* and I think four monks. All the rest were...

Q: None of the monks ever fought during all this period?

#28M: No, they did not.

Q: Did any of them want to fight or was this the decision of the *lamas* to say "No, you can't fight"?

01:06:16

#28: They did not have weapons and also the two leaders would never allow them to fight. The leaders would never allow the monks to join in the fight. It was because they [the monks] were dressed in the red robes and that [fighting] was never permitted.

Q: Were you aware that there were monks who were fighting in Tibet?

#28M: Yes, there were. Tiwu Gundhatsang, who was a leader back in the village, fought the Chinese and was killed. They were two brothers and the other brother was a monk. He was a very good monk. He carried a gun and wore ordinary clothes. When his brother the leader was killed, since he belonged to the family of leaders, the people requested the monk, "You have to head the army." He started to lead the army and took part in every encounter. He had a weapon and he killed Chinese.

There was this *lama* with us and they used to converse at times. He [the monk leader] would ask [the *lama*], "*Rinpoche* 'respected teacher', there cannot be any sin in killing Chinese, right?" The *lama* would reply, "It is a sin as they are humans and you are killing them. That is a sin." "How can one liken them to humans? They are the enemies of the Buddha dharma. They are the destroyers of the dharma. They cannot be likened to humans. Of course, killing humans is sinful, but they are the enemies of the Buddha dharma. There is no sin. There is no sin in killing Chinese." He was a monk, but he never accepted that killing Chinese was sinful. [Laughs]

Q: That's very interesting. What do you think about that conversation?

01:10:21

#28M: There must be sin [in killing Chinese]. It is definitely sinful. However, there must be a difference though everything depends on your mind. For example, if His Holiness the Dalai Lama was walking on a road and if a Chinese pursued him in order to capture him and if you stopped the Chinese by killing him—if you succeeded in stopping the Chinese by killing him and His Holiness succeeded in escaping, that is something extraordinary. So, definitely there is a difference. I think there is a difference; though it is hard to say that there is no sin. However...

Q: Do you think it is possible to destroy the Buddha dharma with guns?

#28M: It looks like that is happening, when lamas and monks are not allowed to live in the monasteries. The Buddha dharma is based on *lung* 'energy' and *tokpa* 'transmission of insights' and just having some images and scriptures does not mean that is the Buddha dharma. If *lamas* and monks are destroyed, that is destroying the Buddha dharma.

Q: *Kusho-la*, your descriptions are so vivid and it's so exciting. I kind of see it almost like a movie when you are talking to me. So you said that you had 33 encounters with your group with that year. A year and seven months, was it?

Interpreter: A full year.

Q: A full year to get to India. We probably don't have time to talk about all 33, but can you talk about some of those encounters that stand out in your mind particularly?

01:14:06

#28M: We journeyed on and on, along the banks of the Drichu. At one point the Drichu became fairly small, where one could cross it on horseback. We had come this far. As we traveled, we came across a tiny pathway. We continued on this pathway. On one side were *zari*. [To interpreter] Do you know what a *zari* is?

Q: Yes, rocky mountains.

#28M: There were rocky mountains with the Drichu flowing close by. We continued on our journey and when we found the narrow pathway, the leader wondered, "What could this be? Is it a pathway for humans or could this be a trail by wild animals? This looks very strange." After we had covered quite a distance, we found that it was a trail made in the *zari* by wild animals like Tibetan gazelle and wild sheep, which resemble a [domestic] sheep. It was a pathway for them and not humans. The leader said, "This is not the way. Now we have to retrace our steps. Some of you who have guns go ahead quickly. If the Chinese are pursuing us, they will destroy us today. The Drichu is flowing by the side."

We continued and saw that the Chinese were right behind us. We were many people in the group and they knew we had passed that way and the Chinese soldiers were pursuing us. So the men readied their guns and lay in wait while we crossed the Drichu at a shallow part to the other side. We were able to reach the other side. As we reached the other side of the river, we heard the sound of gunfire. The Chinese fired from their side and our men fired back. Now the fighters were on one side of the river while we were on the other. The group was divided into two.

01:16:55

Then the leader took the men atop a hill on the other side and started firing directly at the Chinese from across the river. They fired on the Chinese *thasung*, which are the horse keepers. While the cavalymen fought, their horses were held by the *thasung* who could be in any number. The *thasung* held the horses while the fighters engaged in fighting. It was similar in our case, too. They said they could view the *thasung*, so they fired at them and the Chinese horses bolted. They ran towards us and we caught them all. The Chinese could

not come as they were being shot at from across the river. The Chinese horses came to our side of the river.

Oh my God, the Chinese army's horses were magnificent and their saddles excellent! They carried long sacks [shows a length of three feet] containing food items like butter, *tsampa*, boiled meat etc. There were also sets of warm clothing tied on the horses' backs to be worn during the ride. If they wore such clothes during the battle, they might get shot. There were such kinds of things on them. We caught all the horses. We were so fortunate because we were facing problems due to lack of horses. So that day, we captured all the horses of the Chinese troops and then continued on our journey. We did not face any losses that day. The Chinese were not able to do anything to us.

01:21:14-01:21:48

[Interviewer to interpreter]: So they killed the Chinese who were looking after the horses, right?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: They shot at them.

Interviewer: I was going to ask you this question. I think I got lost at some point. These 200 people or 197, plus the three of them that escaped from the 1,000—did he say where they met up?

Interpreter: They met some people at Zachukha.

Interviewer: Okay. They sort of met up with them and they were sort of escaping and they joined them.

Interpreter: These people were very kind as to give them food when they didn't have food.

Interviewer: I see and then they joined them.

Q: Your group, were you mostly traveling at night?

#28M: We traveled mostly at night. If we traveled during the day, the Chinese might spot us. So we slept in sort of pits in the daytime. At night we ate something and journeyed throughout.

Q: Were there many people who helped you along the way?

01:22:42

#28M: No, never. You know Mount Kailash? The whole of Tibet extending from Mount Kailash and the entire three provinces of Tibet was occupied [by the Chinese]. There was no one who helped us. If we saw a Tibetan walking by, we immediately caught him. Otherwise he could be a Chinese spy. I forgot to mention this. At the time when we got out of the coracle at the Drichu, we had arrived from the direction of Kham and had crossed the Drichu to its other bank and there were 13 people we had captured. We told them, "It is better for you to accompany us. If you come with us, you will be happy if we are happy and you will reach wherever we reach. Come [with us]." However, they refused giving

excuses like they had wives and children. All of them returned. We had caught 13 people then.

Q: Were those the *doma* gatherers?

#28M: No, no. They were Chinese informers. They were sent to the hills to look for people like us who were escaping. So we caught them. We caught any person we espied. If he escaped, he'd immediately sneak to the Chinese.

Q: What happened to the 13 people you caught?

01:24:24

#28M: We let them go. They returned to their village. We might have brought them along for about a month's journey.

Q: On the period of this journey, how many Tibetans did you capture on the way?

#28M: You mean how many we captured?

Q: Yes.

01:25:42

#28M: After we crossed the Drichu, we captured 13 prisoners. Besides that, we caught people and let them off after traveling for 20 days or a month when they refused to come with us. Once we'd brought them along for 15-20 days and then let them off, there was nothing much they could do. In that way, we'd captured many people.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Because they were not in their territory?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Yes.

Interviewer: That's very clever.

Q: So your leader was from your village, Tiwu, correct?

#28M: We were from different villages.

Q: What kind of person was he?

01:27:07

#28M: He was a monk. After reaching here, he wore his monk's robes. There is the monastery of the Penor Rinpoche in Bylakuppe [Karnataka, India] where he lived. He belonged to the Nyingma sect of Buddhism. He practiced meditation and retreat and passed away there from old age. The leader had a *lonpo* 'minister.' Do you know what a *lonpo* is?

Q: Yes.

#28M: There is a *lonpo* under a leader. He was an old man, a very courageous man. He too passed away in Bylakuppe due to old age. The *lama* I told you about lives here. They had come together from the village in Tibet. His name was Kusho Alak and he [the minister] said, "Please request Kusho Alak to come as I am dying." So he [Kusho Alak] went to Bylakuppe and found that he [the minister] could still talk, "I am dying now. *Rinpoche* 'a reincarnate lama,' please save me from going to hell. I have seen and counted 30 Chinese die at my hands. I do not know how many Chinese I killed from firing upon a crowd. I have seen myself kill 30 Chinese." He too died there.

Q: Who was this person?

01:29:17

#28M: He came from the region of Nyarong. His name was Gumdhue Tsewang.

Q: Was he a leader?

#28M: He was the minister.

Q: He was the minister to the leader of Tiwu?

01:29:30

#28M: Yes, that is right.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: *Gen-la* [teacher] already explained about the monk leader of Tiwu group because he said the brother had been killed and the people had requested his brother, who was a monk to take charge. So that's it.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: I was kind of interested in the kind of person he was. What kind of qualities he had. Sometimes that's a very difficult thing to translate. It's sort of like, the qualities of the person. Was he a natural leader to people? Did they have a lot of trust in him? I think that was more my question.

Q: The monk leader of Tiwu, what kind of a person was he? I don't mean the minister, but the monk who was the leader.

#28M: He was a real spiritual person. He did not speak much. The people feared him very much. They respected him like a reincarnate *lama*. He was such a man. He did not speak much. He carried a gun, fought the Chinese and killed them. He did not accept that killing Chinese was a sin. The name of the leader was Gunda Tenzin.

Q: The monk?

01:32:13

#28M: Yes. The name of the leader of Zachukha was Bachung Nyalo. He was an extremely brave man.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: This is different. This is not the deputy, this is somebody else?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: This is the deputy and this is the monk leader.

Interviewer: Bachung Nyalo is not the deputy.

Interpreter: This deputy is the deputy of the Tiwu leader.

Interviewer: So when he died, he called Alak Rinpoche, to sort of, for his last confession kind of thing.

Q: Do you know what Alak Rinpoche said to him when he said "I felt very concerned because I might be going to hell because I killed so many Chinese"?

#28M: [Laughs] He might have said that he would pray for him. [Laughs] What else?

Q: Bachung Nyalo. Has he died?

01: 33:42

#28M: He lived in the settlement in Bir in India. Much later he said he was going to his village [in Tibet] to meet his relatives. I heard he fell ill during the journey and passed away. We never met [again].

Q: Okay, tell us anything else you want to tell us about what happened during your escape.

#28M: Then we reached the Changthang. Have you heard of Nagchukha?

Q: Yes.

#28M: Nagchukha in the north?

Q: Yes.

00:34:50

#28M: We journeyed onwards from Nagchukha. [Once] we were in the tent of the Gundha leader. We were four boys who were responsible for grazing the horses of our *toptsang* group who cooked and ate together like a family.' There were 300-400 horses in the caravan and we kept our horses on one side because in the event the Chinese swooped on us, the horses had to be ready. That was our responsibility.

We had an early breakfast and walked down. The sun rose from that side. My colleagues were playing, wrestling and laughing as we walked on. At one point, I heard the sound of a vehicle. It went *vrrrrr vrrrrr*, the sound of a vehicle. I thought, "How strange! What could it be?" I felt suspicious. Actually, there was no need for roads in the Changthang as tread marks of Chinese vehicles were everywhere. I felt suspicious and looked far out. The sun was shining and we were going this way [gestures in the opposite direction of the rising sun]. Then at a distance, say from here to Mundgod village [?], I saw two large black objects appear.

Q: From where?

#28M: It was at a distance where the eye could see, though it was far away. I wondered what it was and kept staring. After sometime a reflection from a glass shone. The bright light shimmered. I told another boy, "Look, a Chinese vehicle is coming. A Chinese vehicle is coming." They too looked carefully and it was indeed a Chinese vehicle. Oh my God! There were three huge Chinese army vehicles. Nobody else had seen them as everyone was at the army camp drinking tea and relaxing.

Then we started screaming to those at the camp, "The Chinese have come. The Chinese have come." Everybody came rushing to their horses. They immediately caught their horses and rode on them. Bachung Nyalo, the leader of Zachukha ordered the troops, "Come at once. We have to shoot first before the vehicles get here. Once the vehicles draw close, it is over. Once they reach close to the camp, there is nothing but defeat for us. We have to shoot before the vehicles get close." He rode his horse and sped away carrying his gun.

01:38:29

Then one after the other, all the men sped away. When the vehicle drew nearer, they got down from their horses, tethered them and [lay on the ground] kept their guns in readiness. I heard that the vehicles came directly. The leader of Zachukha ordered, "Do not shoot at the vehicles. Shoot at the tires." So everybody shot at the wheels and tore them apart. The vehicles could no longer go. That day we were again lucky and escaped. Otherwise, we would have been destroyed that day. I think there were 50-60 Chinese soldiers in one vehicle. So in that way, we were able to escape that day.

Q: Wow. They should have been training those monks at Gaden Jangtse. So they're really good fighters. That's amazing. How far away were the trucks when they managed to blow up their tires out?

#28M: I heard that they were very, very close. I did not take part in the fight. However, the fighters aimed their guns and I heard they were close.

Q: You were not there? Where were you?

01:42:39

#28M: We were loading things on the horses. We were at the army camp. We were carrying things belonging to our individual *toptsang* and fleeing.

Q: I am looking at your route, following the Yangtse, the Drichu, and so I guess you knew that was eventually going to head west, in the direction you wanted to go. But you are crossing some of the coldest regions in Tibet. What time of year was it, when you got to the Changthang?

#28M: It was winter. I was 15 then. I left my village when I was 15 and we celebrated *losar* 'Tibetan New Year' somewhere in the Changthang and I became 16. We said that we should enjoy ourselves that day on account of it being the day of *losar*. And we rested that day.

Q: Okay. Please tell us what it was like to celebrate *losar* in the Changthang with this group of people?

01:44:26

#28M: We did not have anything except meat. So we fried the meat in butter and ate that. [Laughs] We did not have tea leaves [to make some tea]. And as for *tsampa*, it was way beyond.

Q: Did people sing songs, dance?

#28M: No, no. There was no dancing or anything. In the Changthang, when we traveled from the region of Amdo Tomar, we were riding our horses. When the horse's nose ran, it did not reach the ground, instead it froze right there. It turned into a long icicle. We had to break it off to enable [the horse] to graze. Such was the cold weather.

Q: Wow. Wow. Did the horses have grass to eat?

01:46:30

#28M: There was sparse grass. Snowfall was stopped; I told you that three were three *lamas* with us. One of the *lamas* had the power to stop “the sky.” He did not let the snow fall. He recited a *ngag* 'mantra' and passed it on to a stick and did not let snow fall in one entire winter season. Had snow fallen, it would have been over for us. All of us would have died in the Changthang.

Q: He was a *ngagpa* 'shaman'?

#28M: He was not a *ngagpa*. He was a *gelong* 'a celibate monk.'

Q: Did he have power?

01:47:42

#28M: Of course, he did.

Q: So it would start to snow and he would be able to stop it?

#28M: Yes, that is right. When it looked like it was going to snow, [forms rotating motion with hand to indicate how the *ngagpa* rotated the stick] he stopped it.

Q: How did he do this?

01:48:18

#28M: [Laughs] I would not know that. There is this thing called *ngag* which he recited. He recited the *ngag* many times over and passed it [motions blowing air] into the stick. Then he did this [rotates hand]. We would not know [the secret].

Q: What kind of stick?

#28M: It was a piece of bamboo of this length [shows about a foot and half]. Ngag was passed onto it and then he did this [rotates hand].

Q: Did it not snow the entire time across the Changthang?

01:49:27

#28M: No, it did not. Had it snowed, we would have died. The animals would have, of course died; even humans would have died. The weather was immensely cold.

Q: Can you describe the effect of the cold a little bit more? I mean how it affected the people?

#28M: For clothes, we wore the skin of sheep. We wore gloves on our hands, pants, warm shoes, caps and a covering over the mouths. The exposed skin here [shows part of cheek bones] next to the mouth covering swelled due to the cold. It became swollen. The cold was that intense. When we prepared tea, we sat next to the fire like this [indicates palms facing the fire and applying the warm palms to the swollen area] and the swelling gradually subsided. Yes, it was that cold.

Q: How long did it take to cross the Changthang?

01:51:36

#28M: Since the Chinese were everywhere [in Tibet], our objective was to go to Mount Kailash. The people of the region told us that it would take us only seven days to reach Mount Kailash. When we enquired if there were Chinese at Mount Kailash, we were told that the Chinese had already arrived there. So we could not go there.

When we could not go to Mount Kailash, we turned to go to Mustang [Nepal], where there was a very holy pilgrim site called Lo Monthang Gonpa. Then we reached the border of Nepal. We were stopped at the border for almost a week. They frisked us there. We tied all our guns in many bundles and hid them in the ground. The older ones broke their guns in front of the lamas. I believe breaking a gun is spiritually meritorious because it is a weapon meant to kill humans. So in this way, they broke the guns. The younger ones hid theirs because they needed their guns when they returned to their village the following year. So we went to Nepal without any arms.

We found the Nepali soldiers waiting at the border when we reached there. They asked us, "Why have you come?" We replied, "We came because the Chinese made it impossible for us to stay." "How did you come? Which way did you take?" "We have escaped. We do not possess any weapons to fight them nor are we in a position to take them on. We have fled." Then they did a thorough check, frisking us minutely. They could not find any weapons on us and so there was nothing for them to do [to accuse the group of any crime]. Then we went to Mustang and to Pokhra where there is an airport. The airfare to India was 28 Nepali Rupees per person [laughs].

Q: Where did you go from Pokhra by the plane?

01:56:21

#28M: To the Indian border. We left the place called Pokhra for Gorakhpur [in India].

Q: Anybody in your group been on a plane before?

#28M: No [laughs].

Q: Can you describe what that was like? Were people really afraid?

01:57:10

#28M: Of course, we were afraid. Some started throwing up, some sat covering their heads [covers face with hands] and could not open their eyes [laughs].

Q: Were they praying? Were they doing prayers?

#28M: [Laughs] Then from Gorakhpur we went to Darjeeling [West Bengal] by train and stayed there for a few months. Next we went to Buxa where His Holiness the Dalai Lama had assembled monks of the three great monasteries [Sera, Drepung and Gaden] as well as Sakya, Nyingma and Kagyu [sects of Buddhism]. Buxa was a large prison set up by the British to imprison Indians. We lived there for 10 years.

Q: Ten?

01:58:30

#28M: Yes.

Q: I just want to go back to the Changthang for a second. Where were you sleeping in the Changthang? I mean did you have tents? Where were you sleeping in the winter in the Changthang?

#28M: There were tents. We were divided into *toptsang* with each *toptsang* consisting of 10, three or four members. Each had their individual tents. We set up the tents and slept in them. We made tea, ate our food and slept in them.

Q: I'm trying to understand if you didn't trust anybody on the way, so you didn't let anybody on the way help you, how were you able to feed almost 200 people for a period of one year without receiving any outside help?

02:00:32

#28M: We sort of plundered like bandits. The Chinese had set up commune system in the whole of Tibet. In the commune, the Chinese gathered together all the assets and properties; horses, cattle and every animal. People could not say "This is your property or this is my property, this is your animal or this is my animal"—everything belonged to the commune. We pounced on it, taking away a horse if we required one or driving away any animal that we needed. So we looted from the Chinese [laughs].

[Interviewer to interpreter]: I'm just wondering if they had a bit of a reputation, this group.

Q: So all these people in the beginning, some of you knew each other probably, but I'm sure a lot of you were strangers to one and other but by the end of the journey I would imagine...maybe I should ask differently, what kind of feeling was there between everybody in the group?

#28M: Oh, we were like one family because the two leaders were exceptionally good people. The army camp needed to be guarded and for that the leader of Zachukha allotted different times of the night to the men. Suppose we were to set up camp here tonight; men in groups of two took turns every two hours to keep watch in the night. If there were three hills around [the camp], six men were assigned to the hilltops. And if there were four hills, eight men were sent to the hilltops. In that way, it [the camp] was guarded throughout the entire night; if not, in case the Chinese arrived, they would have destroyed us. The security was extremely tight. It is due to these things that we were able to escape; otherwise it was impossible to get away.

Q: Really organized; just amazing organization. The people who were in your group, who came out with you; was there like a name that you called yourselves; a name you identified yourselves, we are the people from this group? Did you give yourselves a name?

02:04:40

#28M: Most [of the people] were part of the Gundhatsang [family]. Most of them belonged to Tiwu Gundhatsang. There were many other groups with 20-30 people but they did not have a name. Most of the people were the Tiwu Gundhatsang.

Q: Are there any people from your group who are surviving in exile today?

#28M: Most of them have passed away now. The survivors live in Camp Number 2 of Bylakuppe Settlement. There are just a few of them; not many as most of them are dead by now. There are two sons of the Gundhatsang; one who lives in Bylakuppe and the older one in the United States. Apart from them, most of the others have passed away.

Q: You said a long time back that your father was not a religious person, that he refused to destroy the monasteries when he was ordered to do so by the Chinese and he must have known the kind of penalty that he could expect to get for refusing an order like that. Why did he refuse to destroy the monasteries when you said he was not a religious person?

02:07:12

#28M: When the order was initially given, my father fled to the hills. He took his gun, rode his horse and fled to the hills. Three monasteries in the region of Tiwu were completely destroyed and the assets of the monasteries like gold and silver articles, which were large in number, had been housed in a family's home by the Chinese. The Chinese took them [the things] there. He [father] came to know about this. He went and brought an army with him to the place where the three monasteries' articles were kept and surrounded the area at night. Early the next morning, they fired and killed all the Chinese. After killing the Chinese, he sent word to the monks who were hiding in the hills to come to collect articles belonging to their respective monasteries, which they did. They took all the articles and left. That was the main reason for his cold blooded murder.

Q: Where did you get those scars on your right arm?

#28M: This is the bite of a dog. There were very ferocious dogs in our village. I was bitten by one. Dogs were tied with chains and one got away and attacked me.

Q: If there is anything else you want to tell us about your experience in exile then feel free to share.

02:10:46

#28M: So I lived in Buxa for 10 years. The place where we lived for 10 years was a British jail for Indian prisoners. The windows were covered with iron bars and the rooms completely dark. 30-40 monks lived together in one such room. The Indians provided us with food rations and we lived like that for 10 years. His Holiness the Dalai Lama could not come there as the area was located at the border of India and Bhutan, so he sent a message through a cassette, "You must go to the settlements. The Indian government will provide land and houses and one must fend for oneself. The aid has come to an end."

So we came to the settlement here. When we arrived, the whole area was covered with forest. Except for a few Indians living in huts, there was not a soul to be seen. Drepung [Monastery] and the Camps were a vast forest. Gaden [Monastery] and all the rest was a forest. We put up tents in the forest and three people lived in each tent. Then we were instructed to get to work. The Indian government cut the forest and using large instruments, pulled out the huge roots of the trees and piled them up. The monks were instructed to burn them. We burned all of that and cleared the area. All the woods like sandalwood and teak were burned. Various types of precious woods were found and we set fire to all of that. The Indian government instructed us to set them on fire.

We made clearing for construction of houses and fields for farming. Then we cultivated the fields in summer and built houses in winter. The work that the Indian coolies are doing now, like mixing sand and cement, we did all those work then. We made bricks and traveled to the seashore to transport sand. We worked so hard then. Oh, my God. It was incredible. [To the interpreter] You can translate that first.

Q: Such a tough life. Do you feel like you are being adequately looked after now?

02:15:17

#28M: You mean now?

Q: Yes.

#28M: I am very happy now. Due to the grace of Tatsa Rinpoche, we are very happy. In summer we used to cultivate the fields. In those days there were no Indians or oxen we could hire like we do now. There were no Indians then who could be hired. The instrument called a plow had to be pulled by humans, by the monks. One monk pressed down the plow into the soil and two men pulled it like oxen do. That was how we cultivated the fields in summer.

Q: Okay. Thank you very, very much. It was so interesting to talk to you, really.

02:16:24

#28M: Okay. Shall we end now?

Q: Sure. I think there's enough.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Yangchen-*la*, do you have any other questions?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: No, I don't.

Q: Could you just tell us first of all, what it was like to tell us your story?

#28M: I was very young then and it is difficult to relate a complete and clear story. If you could have done this with people older than me, say three or four years earlier when the elders were living, the story would have been very detailed and good. I was very young then and do not remember much and I told you whatever I could recall. That is it.

Q: I wish that too.

02:17:52

#28M: Yes.

Q: I just need to ask you again, *kusho-la*. If this interview were shown in Tibet or China, would this be a problem for you?

#28M: No, there will be no problem; nothing at all.

Q: And it is okay to use your real name?

02:18:14

#28M: Yes.

Q: Thank you so much. It was really, really fascinating.

#28M: Thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW