

Tibet Oral History Project

**Interview #17M – Sherap Jungnay
April 7, 2010**

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INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

1. Interview Number: #17M
2. Interviewee: Sherap Jungnay
3. Age: 86
4. Date of Birth: 1924
5. Sex: Male
6. Birthplace: Lhasa
7. Province: Utsang
8. Year of leaving Tibet: 1959
9. Date of Interview: April 7, 2010
10. Place of Interview: Home for the Aged, Doeguling Settlement, Mundgod, Karwar District, Karnataka, India
11. Length of Interview: 2 hr 03 min
12. Interviewer: Marcella Adamski
13. Interpreter: Tenzin Yangchen
14. Videographer: Pema Tashi
15. Translator: Tenzin Yangchen

Biographical Information:

Sherap Jungnay was born in Lhasa to a Chinese father and a Tibetan mother. He became a monk at the age of 6 by joining Meru Monastery, which is believed to be the first monastery built in Tibet. His father's livelihood was making Chinese boots known as *shurtsi* and his mother engaged in jewelry trade. He describes the intricacies of the jewelry business in Lhasa.

Sherap Jungnay first saw the Chinese presence in Lhasa when he was around 12 years old. At age 14 he sang in a traditional opera as part of the installation ceremony for the 14th Dalai Lama.

The people of Lhasa decided to organize secret resistance movements under the pretext of different activities such as Serti Mimang 'Peoples' Golden Throne,' Sangrup Mimang 'Peoples' Incense Group' and Dupthola Mimang 'Peoples' Saint.' Thousands of people joined the meetings to secretly discuss how to deal with the Chinese. Sherap Jungnay describes how the plans formulated were executed and how the ultimate plan to kill two Chinese officials failed.

Sherap Jungnay likens the attack on Lhasa in 1959 to “a tragedy similar to hell on earth.” He joined a group escaping to India, which included Gyerong Khen Rinpoche and relates his success in escorting the incarnate lama safely to India along with a book of scriptures.

Topics Discussed:

Childhood memories, trade, monastic life, Dalai Lama, religious festivals, resistance fighters, escape experiences.

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Interview #17M

Interviewee: Sherap Jungnay

Age: 86, Sex: Male

Interviewer: Marcella Adamski

Interview Date: April 7, 2010

Question: *Gen-la* ‘respectful term for teacher,’ please tell us your name.

00.00.16

Interviewee #17M: It is Sherap Jungnay.

Q: His Holiness the Dalai Lama asked us to record your experiences, so that we can share your memories with many generations of Tibetans, the Chinese and the rest of the world. Your memories will help us to document the true history, culture and beliefs of the Tibetan people. Do you give your permission for the Tibet Oral History Project to use this interview?

#17M: Yes, you can use it.

Q: Thank you for offering to share your story with us.

00:01:25

#17M: Okay.

Q: During this interview if you wish to take a break or stop at anytime, please let me know.

#17M: Okay.

Q: If you do not wish to answer a question or talk about something, let me know.

00:01:48

#17M: Okay.

Q: If this interview was shown in Tibet or China, would this be a problem for you?

#17M: How do you mean?

[Question is repeated.]

00:02:12

#17M: There will be no problems.

Q: We are honored to record your story and appreciate your participation in this project.

#17M: Okay.

Q: *Gen-la*, can you tell us where you were born in Tibet?

00:02:40

#17M: In Lhasa.

Q: Who was in your family when you were born?

#17M: There were my father and mother and my older sister. There were some younger children, too.

Q: *Gen-la*, what kind of work did your family do?

00:03:20

#17M: My mother used to sell gold and silver items. There was a group of people who sold gold, silver and turquoise jewelry. She was one among them.

Q: And your father?

#17M: My father was engaged in making Chinese boots known as *shurtsi*.

Q: Where did your mother obtain the ornaments from?

00:04:15

#17M: She used to go to get them. There was a group which dealt in this trade. Someone would say, "I have a gold *gawu* 'neck piece.' Could you find a buyer?" Someone would remark, "Yes, somebody asked me to get a gold *gawu*, so that is perfect. I will take it." [She] will do the deal and ask, "Do you have anything [for sale]?" The reply might be that she had a *patu* 'head ornament' or a necklace of *dzi* 'special beads made of agate stone.' This information was exchanged among the traders.

Some of them decided and purchased on their own, while others took [ornaments] from the noble families to be sold on their behalf. Some [rich ladies] of the noble families might say, "This *gawu*'s design is not good. I need one with a new design." So they [the traders] made a new *gawu* from the old according to the design of their [customers'] choice. That's how they made the deals. In some monasteries, there might be pledged [ornaments] and they [the traders] made inquiries and met together to discuss. That's how they did.

Q: What would be some of the kinds of ornaments from the monasteries that your mother would sell?

#17M: Some people who faced difficulties would pledge their ornaments [and take a loan from] the monastery. These pledges ornaments which were not retrieved [by the debtors] would be sold.

Q: What kinds were they?

00:07:02

#17M: Whatever the pledged ornaments, they should be of the same value as the loan.

Q: What type of ornaments?

#17M: The ornaments could be gold rings, earrings and all other types.

Q: Were these gold rings and earrings—were they gifts from the people to the monastery that the monastery then could sell and use for their well-being, their support?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: We are talking about things that were pledged on loan, which the people could not clear and then the pledged ornaments became the property of the monastery, which the monastery sold later.

Q: Were the ornaments from the wealthy people—were these wealthy people who lived in Lhasa or were they wealthy people from all over Tibet?

00:08:24

#17M: They came from in and around Lhasa. If someone wanted an ornament, [she] heard that a person owned this [ornament] and another person owned that [ornament which were on sale], so people from the villages might also arrive. There were rich people [in the villages].

Q: And then these people would purchase these items and bring them to your mother?

#17M: She bought [the ornaments] and then she sold them. The group [of jewelry traders] discussed among themselves, "What do you need?" and she would reply, "I need this or I need that or I need a *patu* or I need an *ako*." She would receive what she needed and then another [trader] would be asked, "What do you need?" She would reply, "I need this or I need that." So each one received what she needed and then she set off to sell them.

After the sale, they met and discussed the items that were sold and if there were other [ornaments] available. They exchanged the ornaments among themselves. If you had a gold *gawu*, I would ask you to give it to me because someone [a customer] required a *gawu*. I would give you the ornament that I had. That was how they did it.

I think this type of [information] is not necessary.

Q: Did the women, did they sell their items and then wish to buy more items from your mother or from other people?

00:10:36

#17M: After selling the ornaments, they [the traders] went to look for more items to sell.

Q: Were these necklaces and ornaments, were these very, very old from many generations or were they more recently made items?

#17M: Those [families who wished to sell] gave either their old or new [ornaments].

Q: When your mother sold gold and silver ornaments, did any of these ever include religious items or were they mostly decorations for women?

00:11:39

#17M: Everything, including men's ornaments.

Q: What I meant was, were there religious items too?

#17M: Yes, there were.

Q: Like silver butter lamps...

00:11:50

#17M: Everything was there, whether they were golden butter lamps or silver ones.

Q: Can you tell us some of the types of religious items that they would be selling?

#17M: The religious items were just as you mentioned, silver and golden butter lamps. There were many kinds. Every type was available.

Q: How many wealthy families were there in Lhasa when you were growing up and your mother was trading?

00:12:51

#17M: There were many.

Q: If there were many, how much of the population would be wealthy like one in a hundred people or five in a hundred people?

#17M: I would not be able to say all that.

Q: And where did your mother sell these items? Did she have a store or from her home?

00:13:51

#17M: [The traders dealt] from their homes. When there had been a lot of trading, they met at one particular house and divided the profits. They gave treats to the children and then went to look for fresh items [to sell].

Q: And where did your mother go to sell these items, from her house?

{Interpreter to interviewer}: From the house.

Q: So there were no marketplace where you would sell gold and silver?

00:14:54

#17M: There was no such place. They carried all the items in their *amba* 'pocket of traditional dress.' There would be crowds at intersections where they [the traders] met each other and discussed [their wares] and exchanged them. When they were hungry, they ate in the restaurants and they hardly had any time to stay at home.

Q: Was there any danger of carrying so much wealth in your *chupa* 'traditional dress?'

#17M: [Smiles] There were dangers. Though there were dangers, they were careful.

Q: And where would the danger come...

00:16:12

#17M: [Interrupts] If a person was not trustworthy, really there was a great danger. If you gave an item to someone who was not trustworthy, there was a great danger that he might take it and go away, in which case you would have to make good the loss. It was possible that such a case or two could happen.

Q: If somebody stole your items, was there any protection from the law that could get them back or punish the person?

#17M: That was very difficult. It was difficult.

Q: Difficult to get them back?

00:17:17

#17M: [Speaks before question is interpreted] One could approach the law but it would be difficult.

[Question is repeated.]

#17M: If it was an extremely valuable item which one could not risk [losing], then one would be forced to approach the law. It was imperative as one would not be able to take the risk. If the law took its course and found the culprit, it would be returned. One would have to pay a fine, but would get [the ornament] back.

Q: If you got it back, what would they do with the thief who took it?

00:18:13

#17M: He would receive a punishment depending on the seriousness [of the crime].

Q: Can you tell us what were some of the punishments that would be meted out to people who committed crimes?

#17M: If one was a very bad [criminal], he would be lashed and imprisoned. There were no fixed sentences. Later, if anyone sought release on his behalf, he might get [released]. Otherwise he would remain in jail.

Q: Who is responsible for the whippings and the imprisonment? What body of government?

00:19:42

#17M: There was the judge who did that.

Q: If someone stole a valuable ring, how much whipping would they get?

#17M: Since it was a small [crime], it would not be many.

Q: What would be a big crime for lashings?

00:20:31

#17M: The serious crimes were stealing and killing. There might be cases of bandits looting certain families. If there were such serious crimes, there would be [lashings].

Q: So the punishment for killing would be a whipping?

#17M: Killing a person was considered a very serious crime and he would get a whipping. He would be whipped for killing and would be imprisoned. Though there was no fixed sentence, he would land in prison.

Q: Would it be a life sentence?

00:21:19

#17M: There was no life sentence as such, but he would be handcuffed and shackled at the feet. I do not think this information is important.

Q: Just to conclude this, would the imprisonment be for a life or a short period of time?

#17M: He might be in prison for five to six years. There might be one or two cases of life imprisonments.

Q: Who was there, the government or the monasteries, who administered the law for criminal activity?

00:22:39

#17M: No, no. Religious and political matters were separate.

Q: Was there a system of trial where someone would bring evidence and they would be found guilty? Was there a court?

#17M: Yes, there were courts. There were many courts; it was not just one or two. There were many courts.

Q: In Lhasa?

00:23:30

#17M: Yes, in Lhasa as well as in the other districts. They were there in far away districts too. Every district had such [courts].

Q: Who were the judges? Were they appointed by officials or the people?

#17M: [They were] appointed by the government.

Q: Just overall, was there very much crime in Lhasa because it was such a busy place with lots of commerce or were things relatively safe? Can you give us some idea?

00:24:40

#17M: I cannot fathom a guess.

Q: You mentioned that your father made boots. Can you tell us what kind of boots he made and who he made them for?

#17M: There were many people in Lhasa who bought the boots. There was a group who engaged in selling boots.

Q: What kind of boots were they?

00:25:13

#17M: The boots were Chinese boots called *shurtsi*. They reached up to here. [Interpreter translates as 'up towards your calves'] At the base were five to six leather pieces. One type of boots was entirely made of leather and another kind by using *puma* fabric.

Q: What was the rest of the boot made of and the inside of the boot?

#17M: There were some which were made entirely of leather and others of fabrics. Leather was used in most cases.

Q: How did your father come to make Chinese boots instead of Tibetan boots?

00:26:30

#17M: I think I should leave aside the story about that. Actually we were a part of China. My father was a Chinese. There were regions like Gyerong which was located on the border with China. They had relations with the Chinese and there were many such Chinese people. My father's father was a Chinese official and after the war with Tibet, all the Chinese were wiped out and they could not return to their country. They remained in Tibet and formed relations and I am the child of such a union. We were called *Kong-ya*.

Q: Who bought these Chinese boots that your father made in Lhasa and were they very expensive or reasonable? What was it?

#17M: [The buyers were] Tibetans.

Q: How expensive were they?

00:28:12

#17M: I am not able to guess the price.

Q: Your mother was a trader and your father worked in boots. So what kind of a living was your family able to make and in what level of society were you in?

#17M: We were not very rich nor were we poor. We had enough for our survival.

Q: And your mother, what country was she from?

00:29:06

#17M: My mother was from Lhasa.

Q: How did father and mother meet?

#17M: I told you just now that there was a war in Tibet long ago and the Chinese were wiped out from Tibet. Those that could not go back to China remained in Tibet, so they met in Tibet. There were many such [Chinese].

Q: Was it because he had married a Tibetan woman?

00:30:00

#17M: [He] could not return to China after the war. So [he] settled in Tibet and met [mother].

Q: So they met later?

#17M: Yes. [He] could not return to China and those who were left behind in Tibet met [their women].

[Interviewer to interpreter]: This is after the earlier war, not the invasion.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: No.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: I understand.

Q: Were families where one parent was Chinese, were they accepted in the same way in Tibetan society?

00:31:00

#17M: No, there were no problems at all. There were no problems whatsoever.

Q: Where was your family home in Lhasa? What part of the city?

#17M: My home was near the Samdup Phodang.

Q: Samdu Pora?

00:31:21

#17M: Samdup Phodang was the name [of the estate/family] in which one of the earlier reincarnations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama had taken birth. It was a huge house and we lived close to that.

Q: What kind of a house was it? Can you describe it?

#17M: It was a humble house and not very large. Later there was some progress.

Q: *Gen-la*, when your mother was working outside the house, what were you doing all day as a child, like say when you were 4, 5, 6?

00:32:49

#17M: I became a monk when I was small.

Q: What age were you about?

#17M: I became a monk about the age of 6.

Q: Why did your parents decide to make you a monk?

00:33:27

#17M: Let's not go into all that. These are known facts.

Q: Oh, but not everybody knows in other countries, only in Tibet. We're telling this story, so we can help other people understand things that you take for granted or easily understand.

#17M: The reason for becoming a monk, say politically, there is no better education than to learn to read and write. That is political [thinking]. Much more than that, in order to escape from the vicious cycle of existence, there is only the Triple Gem of the Buddha dharma whom one can take refuge in. So becoming a monk was considered the best as one would have both the dharma and education. That was the reason I was made a monk.

Q: Do you remember the first day that you went to the monastery?

00:35:03

#17M: I will not relate that as it is too much. This [interview] is going to take a long time.

Q: What if we talk about what you are interested in talking about?

#17M: Yes, that is right.

Q: So what are some of the experiences that you wanted to talk about that you had in your life in Lhasa?

00:35:49

#17M: I will mainly relate about my opinions. Earlier the Chinese arrived in 1936. However, until 1959 there were no untoward incidents that occurred. Finally a most critical happening occurred in Tibet that has never happened to any country in the world. A most terrible event occurred. Everybody would know about that.

Q: So if the Chinese arrived in 1936, you were at that time maybe 12 years old. So you remember seeing Chinese when you were around 12 years old?

#17M: Yes, I do. However, they came and said that they would help Tibet and their deception was endless. Well, I do not have to relate all of that. The whole world knows that they deceived us. And finally we had to escape.

Q: So what do you want to tell us about that the whole world maybe doesn't know about?

00:38:18

#17M: So in the year 1959, a tragedy similar to hell on earth happened in Tibet which had never occurred anywhere in the world. It continued in Tibet for about two to three months and then the war ended. They [the Chinese] fired on the escapees from the airplane and on the mountain passes and rivers. When that ended, the gist [of the story] is that there was the highest Chinese army official who was responsible for the attacks in Tibet—in the Indian army you would call him the General—he made this statement to Mao Zedong, "From this day Tibet is completely destroyed. Communist China has become victorious." He sent this [message] to Mao Zedong.

China is said to have a population of 1.3-1.4 billion and Mao Zedong was the supreme leader—he cannot be called a lama because he knew no religion—however, he was the king or the absolute and he posed this question, "What happened to the Dalai Lama?" When he was told "The Dalai Lama has escaped." Mao Zedong said, "In that case, we have not been victorious. We have lost." He was the supreme among those billions of Chinese and none can trust his words. So what can one say about the others?

Q: After the Dalai Lama escaped, or even before, was there any plan to organize resistance to the Chinese who were invading the country before 1959?

#17M: By the time [resistance] was organized, Tibet was conquered.

Q: I mean before that happened, was there any resistance to the Chinese organized?

00:42:13

#17M: That was earlier and [we] are erring in the sequence. Organizing the Serti Mimang 'People's Golden Throne' was part of the plan.

Q: If you could tell us the story, the time sequence does not matter. The question is, before Lhasa was conquered, was there any resistance to the Chinese organized?

#17M: First the Serti Mimang was constructed. Now we have come to the Serti Mimang [smiles].

Q: Yes, yes.

00:42:49

#17M: When the Serti Mimang was being constructed, there was an official called Ku-ngo Thompo. He made plans and had a trustworthy ally called Alo Chonzey. He told Alo Chonzey, "When you are gambling, you do so with rich people and high officials. So you must take the initiative and announce there, 'If a golden throne is constructed, I am going to make a contribution of this much gold. Is there anyone else who will donate?' You must then discuss among yourselves." So after that there were many who said, "I am going to donate." In that way there were many donors.

And then it was announced in the Bakor 'Central Square' of Lhasa and contributions were sought for the construction of the Serti Mimang. Donations were collected. During the donation collection drive, there were many people in the Bakor—we would call it a bazaar in India—and some people immediately removed the gold earrings from their ears and gave as donation. It was not just collected as donation but detailed information was taken, like "What is your name?" and the one who offered the earrings answered that such and such was his name. "How many children do you have?" He answered that he had such and such number of children. "What are the names of your parents? And which region do you come from?" He gave his answers. "You have made this contribution and this will be announced later." So the collection was very transparent. They did a great job and countless donations poured in.

00:44:41

After the donations poured in, there was a huge place called Shira which was located below the quarters of His Holiness the Panchen Rinpoche. Goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, ironsmith, every smith assembled in it. The golden throne had to be constructed and it was necessary to have all the smiths. Likewise there were those that fixed the precious stones and painters. Donations poured in and the golden throne was constructed. [They] constructed a breathtakingly beautiful golden throne.

It was planned that they would meet in the evenings on the pretext of doing the income and expenditure accounting and discussed thus, "These days the Tibetan government's Kashag 'the cabinet' has no power. Now that the Kashag has no power, what shall we do? The people must do something." So the people met in secret. They could meet together thanks to the [construction of the] golden throne.

When that was being organized, [word] had to reach the noble people that lived far away and we did not have telephones. So letters were written and sent across long distances on horseback. There were many important people at the borders and it was not easy to assemble all of them. The distance was great and there was the fear of the secret leaking out. That was how it happened.

Q: So the golden throne was being constructed for the Dalai Lama to sit on and where was it going to be placed?

#17M: [It was to be placed] at the Norbulingka [summer palace of His Holiness the Dalai Lama].

Q: Was this unusual to plan a throne like this for His Holiness or did this happen frequently?

00:49:29

#17M: There was no golden throne, but there were many other thrones [for the Dalai Lama]. No one had ever constructed a golden throne.

Q: There were two reasons if I understand you, there were two reasons to build the throne. One was to bring people together to give more strength to the Tibetan Kashag, the government of Tibet?

#17M: [Nods vigorously]

Q: And you're saying the undercover reason was to provide a place for rebels to get together to discuss their plans against the Chinese?

00:50:42

#17M: Yes, that was a secret and the construction of the golden throne was the cover. The influential people met in the night to discuss the secrets.

Q: Everybody who contributed gold to build the golden throne, did they know there was a secret reason?

#17M: They would come to know of it because it used to be announced in the evenings. They did try to keep it a secret from the Chinese but there were no telephones and the secret was leaking out. When the secret leaked, the Chinese came to know of it and said, "Your construction of the golden throne is not good. Now that the construction of the golden throne is over, [the committee] must be disbanded." They said that they were going to close the committee.

Then [the committee] said, "The construction of the golden throne is over, but we have to make golden and silver butter lamps for the Jowo Rinpoche [statue of Buddha Sakyamuni in the Central Cathedral of Lhasa]. We have to make tea pots of silver and brass for the monks." In this way they extended the period. Finally the Chinese came to know of the secret and closed it.

Q: In what year was the committee started to build the golden throne? Was it a few years before the Dalai Lama left or right before? When was that?

00:53:17

#17M: His Holiness the Dalai Lama had already arrived. His Holiness arrived at the age of 4 years.

Q: No, I mean to India.

#17M: Oh, he had not left for India. The war had not even started yet.

Q: About which year was it when the golden throne was constructed?

00:53:33

#17M: It was around the beginning of '59. I do not know the month or the date.

Q: The people and the gambling people all donated their gold. Was there enough gold to actually build a throne?

#17M: Yes, there was.

Q: Did you see with your own eyes what the throne looked like?

00:54:16

#17M: [Speaks before translation is completed] I saw it with my eyes. My home and the place of construction were very close, like neighbors.

[Question is repeated.]

#17M: Yes, I know everything about it.

[Question is repeated.]

00:54:31

#17M: Yes, that is right.

Q: What did it look like? Can you describe it for us?

#17M: The golden throne was of amazingly good craftsmanship. The “design,” as one would say in India, contained the Tashi Tagye, Gyalsay Na Dhun, Nyeway Rinchen Dhun [religious emblems] and various other patterns. It was not just gold, but had designs that were in accordance with the dharma.

Q: Can you show us with your hands what size it was; about this big or this big or how big?

00:55:40

#17M: The golden throne was higher than that one over there [points off camera].

Q: Okay. That looks like about five foot. So it was maybe 10 foot high, double the size?

#17M: No, it was not double that. It was a little higher than that.

Q: Somewhere in the middle. So it looks like, maybe 6-7 feet.

00:56:22

#17M: That is right.

Q: Was this throne, it was completed in this place away from Norbulingka, yes?

#17M: It would not take more than an hour and a half by walk from Norbulingka [to the place where the throne was being constructed].

Q: Did you ever attend any of the meetings with the people when they were constructing the throne and having plans how to resist the Chinese?

00:57:17

#17M: I did not attend the meetings.

Q: *Gen-la*, do you have any idea how many people would come to those meetings?

#17M: I am not able to give you any information on that, as they were meeting in secret.

Q: Maybe in the daytime the people were constructing it and then the people came at night secretly?

00:58:19

#17M: Yes, the meetings were held at night. There were many leaders. There were the designers and many high leaders and all of them assembled at night.

Q: *Gen-la*, who were these leaders and where were they coming from?

#17M: There were some aristocrats among them. Some high aristocrats joined but most of them were influential people from the population. Finally when the secret was revealed, [the committee] was disbanded.

Q: You said that it was an open secret and the Chinese actually knew that you were building the throne and also planning resistance activities?

00:59:47

#17M: When they [the Chinese] initially came, they arrived like cats. They were incredibly humble for a year or two. They observed the laws of Tibet and how [the Tibetans] lived. When there was a show, they requested, "Can we watch? Would we not be beaten?" They deceived exceedingly in every way. This went on for three or four years and then the number of Chinese rose and their arrogance increased. They demanded that they did not have enough land in Tibet and needed more. The government had provided them with very good land but they still demanded more.

There were some noble people who said, "[Recites a proverb but is not discernible] They have been given so much land but still are demanding more. We cannot oblige them." I

cannot tell you everything nor can I recall them. The Serti Mimang committee was disbanded and closed. Then there were no more meetings. So another plan was formed.

Q: Were the meetings stopped by the Chinese because they knew that they were planning a counter revolution?

#17M: Yes, that is right. [They knew] the secret.

Q: How did they find out the secret?

01:02:30

#17M: There were many Chinese spies.

Q: When they closed the meetings, what happened to the golden throne?

#17M: The golden throne was already constructed and taken away.

Q: So where was the throne placed after they constructed it?

01:03:15

#17M: The golden throne was placed in the Norbulingka.

Q: Was there any ceremony for the installation of the throne and did His Holiness come?

#17M: His Holiness was escorted to Lhasa at the age of 4 from his birthplace. At the age of 5 he became a monk and embraced the dharma. Only at the age of 6 did he sit on the golden throne.

Q: A golden throne was constructed later and taken to the Norbulingka. After it was placed in the Norbulingka, did His Holiness sit on the golden throne and was there a ceremony?

01:04:32

#17M: A very grand ceremony was performed. I just told you about the ceremonies when His Holiness came to Tibet [Lhasa] at the age of 4. He studied the scriptures at 5 and then at 6, he sat with the monk congregation. Those were all very grand ceremonies.

Q: A golden throne was constructed later which was taken from Shira to the Norbulingka. Did His Holiness sit on this throne and was there a ceremony?

#17M: Yes, I just told you about the ceremonies.

Q: I don't mean the golden throne when His Holiness was younger. A golden throne was constructed just prior to 1959. Did His Holiness sit on this throne and was there a ceremony?

01:05:18

#17M: Yes, yes, a very grand ceremony was performed.

Q: *Gen-la*, were you able to attend that ceremony?

#17M: There is a lot to say about that ceremony but I will relate it in short. The enthronement ceremony was conducted when His Holiness was 6 years old.

Q: The question is about the golden throne that was constructed later.

01:06:00

#17M: No.

Q: We are talking about the golden throne that was constructed later. The golden throne was constructed at Shira and taken to the Norbulingka. Were you able to attend the ceremony when His Holiness sat on this throne?

#17M: There was to be a very grand celebration when His Holiness was 6 years old. His Holiness the 13th Dalai Lama loved the *lhamo* 'opera' performance very much. Our monastery could perform four historical dramas called Jinpa Chenpo, Jigten Wangchuk, Thepa Tenpa and Chungpo Dhonyoe and Dhondup.

Q: Were you able to see that installation of His Holiness?

01:07:36

#17M: Yes, I was there. When His Holiness sat on the throne, we had to perform a *lhamo*. The government had sent word to the monastery about it and we learned the *lhamo* at the monastery. So during the installation ceremony, we enacted the historical drama called Thepa Tenpa. The prince Thepa Tenpa was the manifestation of the Chenrezig 'Avalokitesvara, patron saint of Tibet.' We enacted that performance.

Q: What monastery did you belong to?

#17M: It was called Meru [Monastery].

Q: And where is that located?

01:08:33

#17M: It was located on the rocks in Lhasa. Meru Monastery and Gyumey Monastery were located next to each other. Only two people walking very close to each other could pass on the path.

Q: In which part of Lhasa was Meru Gonpa 'Monastery'?

#17M: Ours was said to be the first Meru Monastery. I do not mean the other Meru Monastery [located near Gyumey Monastery]. There is the Lhasa Tsuglakhang 'Central Cathedral' where the [image of] Jowo is housed. It has four gates: east gate, south gate, west gate and north gate. [Meru Monastery] was attached to the east gate. That was the old Meru.

The monastery was small and the monk population was large. Therefore the new monastery was constructed near the Gyumey Monastery. After the construction of the Tsuglakhang, all the surplus wood, stone and earth was used to build our monastery. It was attached to the Tsuglakhang. That was the first monastery [in Tibet]. At that time Sera, Drepung and other monasteries had not yet been established.

Q: Is it under one of the monasteries like Sera or others?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: The Meru Monastery was established before the Sera and Drepung Monasteries came into being.

Q: It was very old.

01:10:34

#17M: [Raises one finger] Number one.

Q: The first monastery?

#17M: [Laughs]

Q: It's the best and the first?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: The oldest.

01:10:45

#17M: It was said to be the first monastery.

Q: *Gen-la*, you told us of something very exciting that you saw the installation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and you were there that day. Can you describe the ceremony and what happened and what you saw with your own eyes?

#17M: The ceremony was incredibly opulent. We performed the opera. I was the main character among the performers. The prince Thepa Tenpa 'Unflinching Faith' was the manifestation of Dom Tonpa. I played that role.

Q: Can you tell us what opera that was and what character you were?

01:12:03

#17M: [It was called] Domdhe Gyalwe Jungnay.

Q: Yes?

#17M: He was a manifestation of Dom Tonpa.

Q: Which was the character that you portrayed?

01:12:11

#17M: There was the prince called Thepa Tenpa. I was 14 years old and His Holiness the Dalai Lama was 6 years old.

Q: And how close was the performance given to where His Holiness was sitting?

#17M: It was close. It was very close. There was this gate near the Gyumey Monastery and if one walked from our monastery to Norbulingka, it hardly took an hour. It was that close.

Q: *Gen-la*, you were performing the opera that day and His Holiness was watching. So how far was it from where you performed to where His Holiness sat on the day of the ceremony?

01:13:21

#17M: There was a stage at the east of Norbulingka where every *lhamo* performance was given. His Holiness' room was close by from where he watched. That's where we performed, on that platform.

Q: Did the opera have a title or a name?

#17M: The opera was called Gyalsay [Prince] Thepa Tenpa. The king [in the story] was from Assam Bengal [in India]. It is a very long [story] to relate. He was the king of Assam Bengal.

Q: What happens in this opera? What's the story?

01:14:39

#17M: [Speaks before question is interpreted] The mother [queen] is called Norjin Ma.

[Question is repeated.]

#17M: To put it shortly, he was the manifestation of the Chenrezig.

Q: You mean the king?

01:15:00

#17M: Yes.

Q: And then what happens?

#17M: It was [about] the prince Thepa Tenpa. We performed it for two days during the ceremony. The order from the government was to perform for a week, but we sought permission and performed for only two days. A grand ceremony was held during those two days.

Q: Did you sing in the opera? Was that part of and did you wear a costume?

01:15:58

#17M: The costumes belonged to the government and were brought from the quarters of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. They were not just any costume but ones that were worn by [the members of] the Kashag during ceremonies. The costumes belonged to the government and were what the Kashag wore during the official ceremonies. The costumes, ornaments and footwear were what the aristocrats wore. The monks had to play the role of the real aristocrats during the performance. All the costumes and props, including food and tents for the monks at Norbulingka were provided by the government. There were many monks [performers], about 260 of them. There is such a lot to relate and I am telling you in short.

Q: If it's an opera, did people sing and were you one of the singers?

#17M: Yes, [that's what I told you] that Prince Thepa Tenpa was the main character who sang the lines.

Q: Were you the one who sang?

01:17:40

#17M: I was not the only person who sang. There were the father, the mother, and the princes—there were about four princes—similarly there were the ministers and many other characters who sang.

Q: And *gen-la*, did you sing?

#17M: Yes.

Q: Did you see the Dalai Lama's face and what did he look like?

01:18:27

#17M: He was looking down from there [points upward]. There was a room close to the stage and he looked down from there. And we were performing on the stage.

Q: Was that the first time you were so close to His Holiness?

#17M: I had seen His Holiness many times before. Annually all the monks of Sera, Drepung, Gaden and every other monastery received an audience called *dungyur* in His Holiness' quarters after the *yarnay* 'summer festival.' Likewise His Holiness has given many teachings where I received the opportunity to see him and also because I lived in Lhasa.

Q: His Holiness was a little boy. You were 14 and he was 6. Did it seem strange that someone younger than you could have such an important position?

01:20:17

#17M: It was not a position. It was the opera...

[Question is repeated.]

#17M: I believed I could do no bigger service because though I could not excel in my religious education, I had a good voice and I felt happy that I could pay my service to His Holiness through my voice.

Q: How did you learn to sing opera and have such a good voice?

01:21:35

#17M: [Smiles] When I was about 12 or 13, I did not have to learn to sing opera [because] people in Lhasa used to sing a lot. I could sing the opera songs when I was about 12. However, the songs for this particular opera [that we performed] were different and had to be learned. The *namthar* 'chorus' was different. The *namthar* of the usual opera and our opera was a little different. I think that's about it because it is too long to relate everything.

Q: When people used to sing in Lhasa, where did they do this singing?

#17M: They sang during weddings, *losar* 'New Year's day' and many other festivals of Tibet and during Zamling Chisang 'Universal Prayer Day' in the 5th lunar month. There were many festivals and people sang on those occasions.

Q: In the monastery, did you have any particular role as a monk?

01:23:29

#17M: Let [me] not relate about all that. I would like to give my opinions and [to the interpreter] if there is need for any change in the sequence, please do so. In my opinion the terrible tragedy that we underwent in 1959 that had never been faced by anyone, has been a very good thing. I feel happy. The reason I feel happy is not for the hell on earth that we suffered. I do not feel happy about that. However, I feel happy for the fact that His Holiness the Dalai Lama could come to a foreign country, to India.

His Holiness was able to come to a foreign country because of the terrible tragedy that occurred. The Indians would call it *kismet* and Tibetans' *sonam* 'virtuousness.' I feel that that is the *sonam* of the world. It is the world's *sonam* because had not the attack taken place, His Holiness would not have come.

Q: When hell came to earth in Tibet, did that follow the meetings you were having to build the golden throne? Can you tell us what happened to those men who were meeting secretly? What happened next with them and the Chinese?

#17M: [Laughs] Now we have come to the latter part. We are mixing up the questions. After that [committee of Serti Mimang] was closed, a new one was formed. When that was closed, they had to form a new one; they could not leave it at that. So the Sangrup Mimang 'People's Incense Group' was formed.

The objective of Sangrup Mimang was that nearby Lhasa was a huge river with parks all around it and hundreds and thousands of incense burning prayers was to be offered there. It was announced that only two members of a family could stay back home while all the

rest were to come to offer incense burning prayers. It was said that since there was a lot of danger to the life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the incense burning prayers had to be offered. That was the Sangrup Mimang.

Q: And then what did they do after they offered incense?

01:27:46

#17M: As a pretext, it was announced that hundreds and thousands of incense burning prayers had to be offered around the river.

Q: What happened after the incense was offered?

#17M: So after the incense was burned, people met in many groups and then the secret discussions were once again started. Many people had arrived.

Q: What kind of plans were they discussing when they met among themselves?

01:28:27

#17M: The Serti Mimang was disbanded and so the Sangrup Mimang was being formed. That was the plan.

[Question is repeated.]

#17M: [It was said,] "They [the Chinese] disbanded the Serti Mimang and we cannot leave it at that. The people must meet once again. We must have the same plan." So the Sangrup Mimang was formed.

Q: So they managed to set up the Sangrup Mimang and they offered incense burning prayers...

01:29:09

#17M: They offered incense burning prayers and after that they discussed secret talks.

Q: What could the talks be?

#17M: They discussed, "The Chinese have become authoritarians. We have no power. What is the best solution for that? Each one must make his own suggestions." Even during the time of the Serti Mimang, the Chinese had captured all the important points in Lhasa by constructing shelters, which were high round structures to shoot from in all the four directions. They made such shelters in the four directions. They stacked sand-filled bags in front of the windows of their houses. They were suspicious from the time they arrived. Finally the people were sure the Chinese would attack and they were planning what was the best strategy to counter them.

Q: Where were they putting the sand bags?

01:30:43

#17M: They blocked the windows of their houses with sandbags leaving holes for the guns. They were always doing that. They were always making such preparations.

Q: The houses of the Chinese officials were putting sand bags in their own homes?

#17M: They were not only the houses of the Chinese officials, but every house where the Chinese lived that such was done. The [place] where the Chinese officials lived was called Kyidhuk.

Q: What do you think they were preparing for, *gen-la*?

01:31:33

#17M: [Speaks before question is interpreted] Leave aside anything else, even when we were performing the *thogya* ceremony and fired country-made guns, they became suspicious and questioned, "What is that? You cannot fire." However, on their part they were building shelters at all the intersections. They were always preparing for a war. So unable to bear such activities, the Sangrup Mimang was formed.

Q: How were the Tibetans preparing for the Chinese who were going to go to war? What were the Tibetans doing?

#17M: The Sangrup Mimang was formed and like the earlier Serti Mimang, they assembled and were making plans.

Q: What plans were they making?

01:32:42

#17M: The plans were, "How are we going to prepare to counter the enemy? How are we going to fight? How do we confront them?" Such were discussed in secret by the Sangrup Mimang. Otherwise [people] could not assemble. People could not assemble and the pretext was the incense burning prayers.

This secret too came to the knowledge of the Chinese. Coming to know of it, they banned the Sangrup Mimang and it had to be closed. The Chinese disbanded the Sangrup Mimang too saying that they were using it as a front. So the Sangrup Mimang came to a close.

Q: Were you at that meeting, *gen-la*, for the incense offering?

#17M: At that time I was living in the monastery and did not go. All the common people attended it. I was not there when the discussions were going on.

Q: Did the resistance ever continue on? They kept having meetings and they are getting the meetings closed. So what happens? Does the Tibetan people ever try to make a plan that they are going to carry out?

01:34:40

#17M: After the Sangrup Mimang was closed, the Dupthola Mimang was organized.

Q: Duthopla Mimang?

#17M: Yes, Dupthola Mimang 'People's Saint.' There was a lama who was a *duptho* 'saint.' I heard he'd arrived in Nepal and was living there. Dupthola Mimang was established. Once again secrets discussions occurred and letters were sent across to various monasteries.

Once when we were discussing something in the monastery one evening, a letter was received from the Dupthola Mimang, "If anyone is willing to accept, you are welcome [to join]. The monk leaders and authorities cannot punish you as this is in connection with the protection of our dharma." Later signatures were collected [of those who wished to volunteer]." So the Dupthola Mimang was able to assemble a lot of people secretly.

Q: By accept, do you mean volunteer?

01:35:48

#17M: Yes, yes, volunteer.

Q: Was it volunteering to fight the Chinese?

#17M: Yes. [Smiles]

Q: And did your monastery get an invitation like that?

01:36:26

#17M: Yes, [such a letter] arrived. I also planned to go and gave my thumb impression [fingerprint used in place of a written signature].

Q: What were you going to do if you joined this resistance?

#17M: The thing to do would be to fight the Chinese. We would have to fight the Chinese.

Q: How were you going to fight them? You were just a monk?

01:37:11

#17M: It was not just the monks, but all the people who were doing the same thing. It covered everybody.

Q: So you gave your thumb print and what happened next?

#17M: [Speaks before question is interpreted] There was a monastery called Shidhi in which the Dupthola Mimang used to hold meetings at night. That was the place where they gathered in the night for the meetings and discussed their plans and the peoples' suggestions. However, once again there were Chinese spies [in the group]. It was very

difficult to assemble an army because if there were telephones, one could have talked to people wherever they were, but we did not have such facilities. Letters had to be taken by people on horseback and it was very difficult to gather people.

Then it was suggested to the Kashag by Duptho-*la* that he would kill the two Chinese officials. "When I shoot with my gun inside, you should kill all the Chinese that are outside the building." People were told to gather around the Tsuglakhang: some pretending to have come to offer prayers and some pretending to be circumambulating. They carried guns in gunny sacks. Such people were also left around the Bakor. Everything was thus arranged after the discussion. In the Bakor, some people looked as if they were gathering dung and some were in various other disguises and never showed their guns.

01:39:13

Duptho-*la* had said, "It is impossible for us to overcome the Chinese by assembling an army. They find out our secrets and stop us. The Chinese are Chinese and the Tibetans are Tibetans. I will go to the Kashag and kill the two Chinese officials by shooting them. When you hear the sound of gunfire three times from the Tsuglakhang, kill every Chinese in sight. It is no use waiting to assemble an army. After this [we'll come to know that] the Chinese are Chinese and the Tibetans are Tibetans." That was the main plan.

Q: What happened next?

#17M: He [Duptho-*la*] said he would initially kill the Chinese leaders. He said he would go to the Kashag where there were two Chinese leaders. They were there along with the Tibetan noblemen. Duptho-*la* volunteered to go and kill the two Chinese leaders. There was a gate to the Kashag [office] where two guards were posted. After killing them, he was to go atop the Tsuglakhang and fire three shots, after which everyone who were stationed in the Bakor or anywhere else was to shoot every Chinese in sight and then the Chinese would be Chinese and the Tibetans would be Tibetans. That was the main plan.

Q: And what happened then?

01:42:25

#17M: He could not kill them. The reason he could not kill them was that as Duptho-*la* sat drinking a cup of tea in his home after having worn his protective amulet, the Chinese who had come to know about his plan captured him. That was the reason he did not succeed. Duptho-*la* was on the verge of leaving for the Kashag, having worn his protective amulet and sat drinking a cup of tea.

Q: What was the reaction of people when he was captured?

#17M: [Speaks before question is interpreted] After Duptho-*la* was captured, he was taken to the Kashag and the Chinese said to the Kashag, "You people cannot...[not discernible]. You cannot [control] your own people. You never listened when I told you that the rebels are doing such terrible acts. Just look at him. He has a gun in his *amba* 'pocket of traditional coat.' Duptho-*la*'s hands were tied and he was held by a few Chinese. However, Duptho-*la* thumbed his fist on the table of the Kashag and tried to kick at the Chinese. The

Chinese threatened to kill him immediately. The Kashag said, "He is not the only one. There must be many like him. A lot of dissent will result for the Chinese. Therefore you cannot kill Duptho-*la*. We, the Kashag will take full responsibility that he does not escape. He must be released." The Kashag was able to say that.

Q: Did you feel the Kashag represented the people or did they represent the Chinese?

01:45:08

#17M: The Kashag had their regular place where they met. They regularly met at their office. There were Chinese officials present in the Kashag. They were powerful and dominated the Kashag.

Q: So the Chinese were coming into the meetings with the Kashag?

#17M: Yes, they always attended the meetings along with the Kashag. They ordered the Kashag and the Kashag put that in writing. They oppressed them [the Kashag]. Actually the Kashag was just in name as the Chinese were holding the meetings. The Kashag could not avoid the meetings.

Q: You said there were two Chinese members of the Kashag that Duptho-*la* was going to kill. Who were these members? Were they new members or old members of the Kashag?

01:46:31

#17M: Those two were the highest Chinese authorities.

Q: Had they been in Tibet for many years or were they newly installed after the Chinese invaded?

#17M: No, no they were there since long ago. After they seized power, they entered the Kashag. However, they had been there since long ago.

Q: Were there two Chinese in the Kashag?

01:47:11

#17M: There were more than two Chinese [in Tibet]. There were many.

Q: There were many Chinese in Tibet, but when the Kashag held its meetings there were no Chinese present?

#17M: They were present in the Kashag. It was the Chinese who made the Kashag in Tibet powerless.

Q: Were they there since a long ago?

01:47:26

#17M: It was the Chinese who created that story. The Chinese were definitely there. However much the Kashag pleaded, they oppressed them and did not listen to them.

Q: Was it after the Chinese invaded [Tibet] that they entered the Kashag, but they were not in it a long time ago?

**#17M: They were not there before the invasion. They were not there before the attack.
[Sighs]**

[Interpreter to interviewer]: He is tired.

Q: He is tired. Why don't we just kind of see how this draws to a close? *Gen-la*, can you please tell us how does this part of the story finish? What happens? The Kashag says "You must release him because there are many like him..."

[Interpreter to interviewer]: "...and we'll see that these things are not repeated."

Q: We will see these are not repeated. So can give us how this part of the story develops?

01:48:49

#17M: The Chinese told the Kashag to bear responsibility on account of Duptho-*la* and the Kashag did so. The Kashag kept Duptho-*la* under house arrest at the headquarters of the Tibetan police. When he was under house arrest, the people went to see him like he was a religious icon and made offerings of tea and treats. They arrived at the police headquarter unendingly. Such things happened.

Q: And what happened to Duptho-*la*?

#17M: Duptho-*la* was under house arrest and told, "You cannot go outside the boundary walls. You are free to move within." He was now in the hands of the Kashag. That was how Duptho-*la* was able to escape.

Q: Was he able to come to India?

01:50:06

#17M: He had gone to Nepal. I do not know if he is still living there.

Q: Was he able to escape from the house arrest?

#17M: Yes, he was able to escape.

Q: *Gen-la*, did you ever get to fight in the resistance?

01:50:34

#17M: [Laughs] I did not get to fight because when Duptho-*la* got killed, we could not do it.

Q: But Duptho-*la* did not get killed.

#17M: I mean when Duptho-*la* did not get to kill the two Chinese officials. That was why we did not get the chance to do it.

Q: How long do you stay in Tibet after this?

01:51:02

#17M: Then His Holiness the Dalai Lama left on the 8th day [lunar month unknown] and I left on the 11th day. That was how we escaped.

Q: When you say we did, who did you leave with?

#17M: There was one called the Gyerong Khen Rinpoche, a lama of immense knowledge and his five stewards. Then there was a friend of mine, a monk of Drepung Monastery named Yeshe Phende who hailed from Phenpo. And his teacher, a *ngagpa* 'shaman' called Gesur-*la*. We made up [the group].

I was living in a *ritoe* 'cavern in the hills.' There was a *ritoe* located behind Drepung Monastery and I lived there. I was told, "The Gyerong Khen Rinpoche is arriving on his escape journey. He is under a lot of difficulty. Wearing only inner clothes, while a steward carried his outer garments; he is trudging across the mountains." He was coming towards the path on the mountain where I lived. Yeshe Phende and I had a talk, "If he is your teacher, I will go to escort him. Since I have been living in this cavern for quite a while, I know the way and I can escort him." So I went to escort the Khen Rinpoche.

He was very tired and I directed him along to the cavern where I lived. There was a main room with six pillars, which was the room of the late lama and I requested him to stay there. I offered him tea and Khen Rinpoche asked me, "What do you do?" I told him that the late lama had left many valuable things and I could not go away leaving these behind. "If the Chinese arrived and if the need rose, I would even use the kitchen knife on them." Khen Rinpoche laughed, "Ha, ha. The Chinese are like sand. It is no use killing one of their men. One must save oneself. It is better to flee." So I requested Rinpoche to take me along with him.

01:53:54

I did not get time to take anything except a *lamrin* scripture. I owned a set of good clothes but I did not wear that. I thought if I had to beg, nobody would give alms to a well-dressed person. I wore poor clothes and left. However, due to the grace of the late [lama], I did not have to beg and reached India.

Q: *Gen-la*, you mentioned that you stayed in a *ritoe*. What was it like?

#17M: The *ritoe* was called Chuzeling.

Q: Was it a cave?

01:54:37

#17M: It was not exactly a cave. There were proper houses and living quarters for the lamas.

Q: What were you doing there?

#17M: I was the caretaker there. I did my prostrations and lived there.

Q: What was the size of that amount of scripture you carried?

01:56:10

#17M: It was one volume. It might contain about 500 pages.

Q: Did you get it safely to India?

#17M: Yes, I was able to bring it. I was able to bring the scripture to India. I wished to offer it to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and I could do so. I was able to offer the scripture to His Holiness. Many monks commented that it was very good. When we arrived in Punjab, we did not have anything and our *tsampa* 'flour made from roasted barley' was exhausted.

There were others who had a bag or two of *tsampa*. Monks of the Lama Gyupa [Monastery] were living in tents. There was a monk called Dakpa Lama, who told me, "You have brought a scripture with you, please lend it to me. If possible please give it to me. I will give you food, clothes and a bag of *tsampa*. Similarly I will give you robes that are completely new and any amount of *dhayen* 'Chinese silver coins' that you ask."

I told him, "I cannot offer it [to you]. If it is possible, I wish to offer it to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. If I cannot do that I hope to be able to offer this scripture to the two tutors of His Holiness." He remarked, "Oh, you do not agree even though I offer to give you so much." It was very difficult to carry [scriptures] and not many had done it. The [Gyerong] Khen Rinpoche, Shako Khen Rinpoche and Gen Pema Tenzin, a lama of immense knowledge read the scripture in turns while we stayed in Punjab. Then they returned it to me.

Finally when I reached Missamari [Assam, India], I met a *tsidung* 'a monk government official' from my monastery whose name I have forgotten. His Holinesses favored this *tsidung*. I asked him, "I would like to offer this scripture to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. How do I go about it?" He said that's fine and the scripture was handed to either Taktser Rinpoche or Tara Rinpoche who had arrived on a visit to Missamari with a request to offer it to His Holiness.

Q: This was a very great joy for you to be able to do this?

01:59:42

#17M: I felt very happy. Not just that, but I was able to see the scripture [again]. His Holiness had presented the scripture to Tiwu Kyabgon Rinpoche, who is the second Jetsun Milarepa.

Q: Where is he?

#17M: He was like a wild animal and always lived in the mountains. He was a monk of vast knowledge and compassion. He had been presented with it. I recognized the scripture from its double *peray* 'cloth cover.' There were two layers covering it. There was an inner cover of brocade and an outer brocade cover of two colors. There was this square thing called *dodhen* which was made of *tsering chungdhak* 'brocade.'

His Holiness the Dali lama had asked Tiwu Kyabgon Rinpoche to give the *lamrin* teachings in Dalhousie. I saw the scripture there once again. [Laughs] I thought, "There is my scripture with the Tiwu Rinpoche!" I was immensely happy.

Q: *Gen-la*, in conclusion, what do you hope will be preserved about Tibet for future generations?

02:01:39

#17M: What do I say? There is nothing more to preserve than following every word of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Our supporters are filling the whole sky with light. The world is full of light. Whatever the Chinese might think of themselves, they are the ones who live in darkness. There is nothing more which can be done than following the words of His Holiness. I wish to request you to please [support] us.

Q: *Gen-la*, thank you very much for this interview. If this interview was shown in Tibet or China, would this be a problem for you?

#17M: No.

Q: Can we use your real name for this project or do you want to use an alias?

02:03:05

#17M: You can change it or leave it.

Q: Thank you for sharing your story with us.

#17M: [Nods] Okay.

END OF INTERVIEW