

Tibet Oral History Project

Interview #27B – Dawa Dakpa
January 2, 2014

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INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

1. Interview Number: #27B
2. Interviewee: Dawa Dakpa
3. Age: 80
4. Date of Birth: 1933
5. Sex: Male
6. Birthplace: Phenpo
7. Province: Utsang
8. Year of leaving Tibet: 1959
9. Date of Interview: January 2, 2014
10. Place of Interview: Private home, Old Camp 4, Bylakuppe, Mysore 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:

Dawa Dakpa's family were *samadok* 'farmers and herders.' He recalls herding animals as a child and played a game called *apchu* with ankle bones of sheep. He was sent to join Sera Monastery at the age of 11. Dawa Dakpa learned to play the *dhung* 'longhorn' and *gyaling* 'clarinet,' and gives a demonstration. He speaks about the selection of such players and the training required.

Dawa Dakpa was in Lhasa during the March 10th Uprising of 1959, when tens of thousands gathered to prevent the Dalai Lama from going to the Chinese Headquarters. He describes the general public's antagonistic feelings towards the Tibetan Government officials and the stoning to death of an official believed to be a Chinese collaborator. Dawa Dakpa was admitted with many other monks into Norbulingka as volunteer guards.

Dawa Dakpa was determined to sacrifice his life to protect His Holiness the Dalai Lama from the Chinese. The volunteer guards felt useless without weapons and demanded that the Tibetan Government provide them with arms. Dawa Dakpa witnessed the Chinese' shelling of the Norbulingka and the Potala Palace, and the depressing scene of dead bodies after the attack. He and the other monks were greatly relieved to hear that the Dalai Lama had already safely escaped to India. There was no reason to remain and they also fled from Lhasa.

Topics Discussed:

Utsang, childhood memories, monastic life, government/administration, Dalai Lama, Norbulingka, March 10th Uprising, Chushi Gangdrug guerrillas, escape experiences.

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Interview #27B

Interviewee: Dawa Dakpa

Age: 80, Sex: Male

Interviewer: Marcella Adamski

Interview Date: January 2, 2014

Question: Please tell us your name.

00:00:23

Interviewee #27B: My name is Dawa Dakpa.

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?

#27B: Yes, you can.

Q: Thank you for offering to share your story with us. During this interview if you wish to take a break or stop at any time, please let me know. If you do not wish to answer a question or talk about something, let me know.

#27B: I see.

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

00:02:13

#27B: There will be no problems because it is a true story. I will narrate a true story in an honest manner. So there will be no problems.

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

#27B: Okay.

Q: Please tell us how old you are now and when you were born? What year? I mean how old you are now and where you were born?

#27B: I am 80 years old this year. [I] will be 81 after the *Losar* 'Tibetan New Year.'

Q: What's the name of your birthplace?

#27B: My birthplace is the place called Phenpo.

Q: How many people were in your family?

00:03:27

#27B: There were around eight members in my family.

Q: Where were you in the children? Were you first or in the middle, where?

#27B: I am the oldest child.

Q: From how many?

#27B: Four children.

Q: The oldest among four children?

#27B: Yes.

Q: *Pa-la* ‘respectful term for father,’ what did your parents do for a livelihood?

#27B: When the parents were alive, there were animals on the mountains and farmlands in the valley. [We] were *samadok* ‘farmers and herders’ doing both fieldwork and nomadic tasks. That was how [we] earned a livelihood.

Q: What kinds of crops did your family grow?

00:04:50

#27B: [We] grew wheat, peas, barley and mustard in the fields. [We] also cultivated potatoes and radishes.

Q: It sounds like there was a lot of variety in your family’s diet then. Was there always enough food to eat for the family?

[Interpreter interprets as: Was there always no problem with food?]

#27B: There was not.

Q: When you said your village was Phenpo, how many families lived in Phenpo at that time when you were growing up?

#27B: Members in my family?

Q: How many families were there in Phenpo?

#27B: Are [you] asking how many people were there in the village?

Q: Yes.

#27B: We used to live in clusters then. There were not groups of hundreds. [We] lived in many clusters of five, six or 10 families.

Q: Can you describe some memories of your childhood? What are some of your pleasant or favorite memories?

00:07:01

#27B: As a child one had no problems and played about in the dust or in water. One played about in the dust or played *apchu*. [I] liked such things as a little child.

Q: What's *apchu*?

#27B: *Apchu* means...there is the *apchu* 'ankle' in the leg of sheep with which a game called *thapoelukti* can be played, wherein one either gets a sheep or a horse, *thapoelukti* using *apchu*.

Q: What kind of games did you play with the ankle of a sheep?

#27B: It is played like this. One yelled *thapoelukti* and threw it and it showed either a horse or a donkey. *Thapoelukti*, what to offer the deity? A horse. What will be given in return? A goat. Children played such games, the *thapoelukti*. An *apchu* can be played to show a horse, sheep, donkey or goat. There were four different sides: horse, sheep, goat and donkey. One can play four games with an *apchu*. Children played such games.

[*Apchu*] is found between the sheep's ankle.

Q: What was the point of the game if you got one or the other?

00:09:16

#27B: [After throwing the *apchu*] getting it to show up [the side symbolizing] horse is good and so is sheep but if it showed goat and donkey, donkey is considered bad.

Q: And then what is the point?

#27B: One played with it. If one had several [*apchu*], you mixed them and on throwing some will show horse side up and some will show sheep side up and some the goat side up. One having the most number of horse sides up is the winner. One loses on getting goat and sheep sides up. And getting donkey is a definite loser. It is a "win or lose" type of game.

This children's game was very popular and [the *apchu*] were painted. It was played a lot.

Q: You know, you also mentioned that you took care of...Your family had a farm and animals. So what kind of herding did you do? What were your responsibilities?

#27B: As a little one around the age of 10 one went to graze goats, sheep and cows. And then as one grew to around 15 years of age one engaged in herding *dri* 'female yaks' and yaks far away.

Q: Did one have to go a greater distance?

#27B: Yes. [I] became a monk at the age of 11.

Q: Can you tell me about that? What happened that made you become a monk at age 11?

00:12:05

#27B: The tradition in our village was such that it was mandatory for each family to have a monk because this would bring grandeur to the family and someone to take control of it. [He] would be head of the family and it was necessary to have a monk as someone to look up to. Therefore, one was made a monk at a young age as somebody the family could depend upon. This was prevalent in my village.

Q: Where did you join the monastery? How close was it to your home?

#27B: It was Sera Monastery.

Q: How close is Sera to home?

#27B: It seems these days one can reach Lhasa from home by vehicle in two hours but in those days it took us three days on foot.

Q: To get to where?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Phenpo to Lhasa.

Q: From Phenpo to Lhasa. So you went to Sera Monastery in Lhasa at age 11?

#27B: Yes, Sera.

Q: How long did you remain a monk at Sera Monastery?

00:14:07

#27B: [I] lived as a monk in Sera for around 30 years.

Q: In Sera?

#27B: Yes, in Sera as a monk. [I] was 30 years in Sera until [I] became a layperson. [I] served Sera in many capacities.

Q: When your family selected you to become a monk and you said it was a form of respect, were you pleased to be selected or did you wish you could stay home with the family?

#27B: There was not anything like that. We were village children and felt happy to become monks. One must do a lot of work at home like herding cows, goats, sheep, pigs, cattle, everything and do fieldwork. It was a lot of hard work. Everybody remarked that by becoming a monk one could study and be happy. So [I] was happy.

Q: How did you get from your farm to Sera Monastery? You said it took quite a while to go.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Three days.

Q: Three days. Who accompanied you and who was there to greet you?

#27B: From Sera...?

Q: Those accompanying [you] from home to Sera...?

#27B: My relatives and friends brought [me] to Sera from home driving horses and mules that were laden with fuel and *tsampa* ‘flour made from roasted barley.’

Q: Was the fuel and *tsampa* to be shared...for your journey, or were they gifts you were required to bring to the monastery for your survival and sustenance?

00:17:20

#27B: No, no [not gifts]. These were to be used while you lived there. The fuel was for making fire and the *tsampa* for your consumption. [The fuel] was to be used for your fire and not to be offered to the monastery.

Q: So it was for the journey, for your own use?

#27B: These were meant for my own use while I lived and studied at the monastery.

Q: Was there anyone that was assigned to you as a teacher or a guide in the monastery?

#27B: Yes, there was. There were many like the *toptsang* ‘communal eating unit’ teacher, *paycha* ‘scripture’ teacher and *khakhya* ‘surety’ teacher. There were three or four teachers.

Q: What was life like in the monastery with very different routine than farming? How did you feel about that change?

#27B: Then there was very little work and [I] was very happy. A great many monks lived together and there were only general rules and no particular rules for each one. One felt relaxed and very happy.

Q: Did your life in the monastery begin to change at any time or did it continue that way for many years? What happened?

00:20:12

#27B: For a month or two in the monastery one felt empty because one had to become accustomed to the people and everything. You had your parents and siblings and lived at home. Having come suddenly to the monastery, one did not know the teacher and the monks. So for a month or two one felt empty since there was nobody you knew, and one missed the parents.

Q: And then what happened?

#27B: And then one became older in the monastery and together with studying the scriptures undertook duties like serving tea and other tasks, and learned [to play] the *dhung* ‘longhorn’ and *gyaling* ‘clarinet.’ One had to learn [to play] the unique *dhung* and *gyaling* in the monastery and those of our age group were obliged to learn [to play] the *dhung* and *gyaling*. One learned to play the *dhung* and *gyaling* and continued to play the *dhung* and *gyaling* for around 12 years.

Q: It sounds like you must have had some kind of a natural talent for these instruments.

#27B: One played for 12 years. In our *datsang* ‘section in a large monastery’ were 80 students, 40 that played the *dhung* and 40 the *gyaling*. The 80 students must hold the responsibility for 12 years, for exactly 12 years. And just before the 12th year, around the 10th year [we] must train new ones. After the completion of 12 years one generation has passed by and the [responsibility] is handed over to others. There were 80 *dhung* players and 80 *gyaling* players.

Q: The longhorn I can understand, but what is the *gyaling*?

00:23:45

#27B: The *gyaling* is this long [gestures off camera] and can be played like this [moves fingers of both hands].

Q: Just a minute. We have a sample of a *gyaling* here somewhere.

[Someone hands interviewee a *gyaling*]

Q: *Gyaling*?

#27B: Yes. This one is played. This is how it is played. [Holds *gyaling* to mouth]

Q: Beautiful. That’s a very beautiful instrument. How long was the longhorn?

#27B: The *dhung* is long. These days *dhung* are shortened in India but in Tibet there were huge *dhung* like we see [in the monastery] at Camp Number 4, the big *dhung* that are played normally. Similar ones were [played in Tibet]. It is the same *dhung* that is played in the monasteries these days that used to be played in Tibet. [They] were long.

Q: Were the longhorns that you played as tall as a tall man?

#27B: Me? The *dhung*?

Q: Were the *dhung* as tall as a man?

#27B: [They] were taller than an average man. A *dhung* can be folded at three levels. After folding at three levels it would reach around here [points to neck] and it can be pulled out; pulled out once and pulled out again and pulled out again and becomes long.

Q: Were they difficult to get sound? Did you need a lot of lung capacity to make that happen?

00:26:39

#27B: Yes, a *dhung* and *gyaling* player must eat a lot of healthy food. In Tibet it would mean consuming a lot of meat, butter and *thue* ‘soft creamy cheese.’ If one did not eat well to become strong...One must continue to blow and it used to be said that blowing weakens the body.

Q: Were there musical notes that you played? Were there definite readings that you had to get, play the music from?

#27B: In the past the *dhung* notes could be written on paper. The notes were written on paper [makes different notes from throat]. The *dhung* notes were written on paper. In the case of *gyaling* the notes must be memorized. There were the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th *gyaling* notes. The notes must be memorized that will signify the movement of fingers and you could not refer any books.

The notes of the *dhung* were written in symbols in books like a long symbol for a long note [makes different notes from throat] and by looking at it one played the *dhung*. The *gyaling* notes must be memorized for it was not on paper, as it depended on finger movements.

Q: How frequently in like say a day or a week were the instruments played? How often did they need to be used?

00:29:20

#27B: It was not like that. It is an accompaniment for ritual offerings. Since it is an accompaniment for ritual offerings, except for religious purposes it cannot be played indiscriminately. Regarding the religious purposes, earlier in Tibet there used to be monthly playing of *dhung/gyaling* requested by the Tibetan Government. Other than that during the *choeshuk* ‘initiation into religious life’ of lamas and *tulku* ‘reincarnate lamas’ at monasteries or *geshe* ‘Buddhist philosophy degree’ [graduation] ceremonies of lamas and *tulku* or when His Holiness the Dalai Lama came at a prayer assembly. Except on such occasions, it cannot be played indiscriminately.

When lama and *tulku* performed *choeshuk* or made offerings on the graduation of *geshe*, during such occasions, if [the ceremony] was to take place the next day, [the players] must be informed tonight. The *dhung* and *gyaling* has to be played three times the next day. The next day when [the lama/*tulku*] came to the prayer assembly ritual offerings must be made. [The *dhung* and *gyaling*] will be played at the time of [the lama/*tulku*] arriving at the prayer assembly, when [he] sat down and was offered tea, when ceremonial rice was offered and when [he] took debate tests. [The *dhung* and *gyaling*] must be played at such times. Except for religious purposes, the *dhung* and *gyaling* cannot be played indiscriminately or for worldly reasons.

[Interviewee plays a *dhung*]

Q: *Pa-la*, thank you very much for that performance. Could you please tell us again the name of that instrument and when would you play that kind of music?

#27B: That is the note of the *dhung*, the *dhung* notes. During a *cham* ‘religious dance performance by monks’ there is a note when [the performer] lifts the leg, another when the leg is down and another when turning around. [Sings the notes] It is similar to acting. They should synchronize. The notes of the *dhung* and the *cham* performers’ leg and hand movements should synchronize. Yes, that is the main thing.

Q: How old do you think these instruments were, for how many generations or centuries do you think Tibetans were playing this music?

#27B: It has been in use in the past, many centuries ago by our ancestors. It was greatly popular.

Q: *Pa-la*, you entered the monastery when you were 11 and obviously you had to practice the instruments for many years and also do other monastic practices but when did things start to change in the monastery? When was there something different?

00:34:19

#27B: [I] was in this monastery and then the change happened from 1959.

Q: What happened in the monastery in...1959 is when Lhasa was invaded and attacked. Was there anything different in the monastery before 1959 or did it stay the same until then?

#27B: There was not anything in particular that changed in the monastery prior to the attack. The learning continued and everything remained peaceful as before. No bad changes took place.

Q: And no Chinese came to the monastery before 1959?

#27B: No Chinese came to the monastery before 1959. The Chinese did not come to the monastery but had arrived in Lhasa. The monasteries are located separately. The three great monasteries are located on mountains. [The Chinese] did not come there.

Q: Please tell us what happened then but we would like you to tell from what you saw and what you experienced and what you felt, not the general history, which is known to many people but tell us about your story. What happened when Lhasa was invaded?

#27B: My experience and what happened during my time was that after the completion of the Monlam ‘Prayer Festival’ in Lhasa, after the Monlam of ’59, His Holiness the Dalai Lama gave the Geshe Lharam ‘Doctorate in Buddhist Philosophy’ examination in the three great monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Gaden and the Chinese intimidated His Holiness

that in order to celebrate the occasion [they] wished to invite [His Holiness] to a banquet. His Holiness had replied in the affirmative.

Q: Where were you? What was happening to you when that happened?

00:38:11

#27B: I was staying in Lhasa then, staying in Lhasa and then all the people [were moving] from Lhasa to the Norbulingka, where His Holiness the Dalai Lama's palace is located. All the people were going to the Norbulingka and so did we. When we went to the Norbulingka the Phala Kungo Donyer Chenmo 'Your Presence Lord Chamberlain' arrived in His Holiness' presence along with two Chinese authorities to escort His Holiness to attend a celebration banquet at the Chinese Headquarters. "His Holiness the Dalai Lama has accepted the invitation and hence, it is in the hands of the people who have gathered here today whether to allow [the Chinese] to escort [His Holiness] or not. What do you want to do?" Phala Kungo Donyer Chenmo announced to the people. Then the people raised [their] hands [raises both hands in the air] and said vehemently, "[We] will not allow [the Chinese] to escort [His Holiness]." [To interpreter] Shall I narrate all or stop?

Q: Tell us about that scene. What is the exact question he asked and what did the people shout back in response?

#27B: He [Phala Donyer Chenmo] was the principal bodyguard of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and knowing the danger he said, "[I] cannot take any risks. The Chinese are always bullying and besides, it is dangerous times." "[We] are inviting His Holiness but only with a few security personnel and without any grand numbers. His Holiness can have just a few attendants and weapons will not be permitted." Since they [the Chinese] made such announcements *Kungo Phala Donyer Chenmo* could not take risks, which was the reason [he] asked the people.

Q: How did he ask the questions?

00:41:28

#27B: "The Chinese are stating that [they] are going to escort His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Hence, it is in the hands of the people that have gathered here at Norbulingka whether to allow [the Chinese] to escort [His Holiness] or not." [He] made this announcement to which the people raised [their] hands [raises hands in the air] and said, "[We] will not allow His Holiness to be escorted." Then Kungo Donyer Chenmo said, "That is it. If [the Chinese] will not be allowed to escort [His Holiness], an escort vehicle arriving for His Holiness will have to be stopped."

Q: And then what happened?

#27B: And then beneath the main gate of the Norbulingka, really there were many tens of thousands of people moving around with discontent below the main gate and creating whirring sounds when the Tibetan Government aristocrats' *dungchi* 'lay and monk officials' meeting that began at 10 o'clock ended around 11. As the *dungchi* meeting ended, as the aristocrats of the Tibetan Government ended [their meeting], the main gate of the

Norbulingka was teeming with people. The people astutely knew which of the aristocrats of the Tibetan Government were interacting with the Chinese. So, they remarked that such and such had interaction with the Chinese and they hurled rocks that left [the aristocrats] bleeding and bruised. Those that were coming out of the main gate of Norbulingka, among the aristocrats that were coming out at the end of the meeting, some were stoned and some assaulted. Bruised and bleeding, [they] returned to Lhasa.

00:44:20

At that time the Phakpala's *khenchung* 'rank of clergy in the Tibetan Government' that was also a *tsidung* 'monk official' who was dressed in *gothoe* 'official attire of government clerics' rode a motorcycle and moved towards Lhasa. Yes, went towards Lhasa. Then [he] came from Lhasa riding a bicycle and wearing a cap, a pair of glasses and a scarf over the mouth and arrived beneath the main gate of Norbulingka. [To interpreter] Shall I narrate the whole story?

Q: [He] was wearing a cap, glasses...

#27B: [He] had changed the Tibetan Government aristocrats' attire and arrived beneath the main gate of the Norbulingka wearing Chinese clothing. Then he moved here and there. The people instantly recognized him and said, "The Phakpala's *khenchung* left earlier after the meeting wearing *gothoe* and now is here to observe what the people are talking about, what the plans are and will take the information to the Chinese Headquarters. This is the man." And then the people hurled rocks and slashed and killed [him] beneath the main gate of the Norbulingka.

After the killing the people threw dust, clapped and flapped *pangdhen* 'striped aprons indicating married status of women' screaming, "You Chinese, enemy of the dharma, take that. [You] reported information of the Tibetan Government to the Chinese Headquarters. You took boxes containing thousands of *dhayen* 'Chinese silver coins.' Now take this. Consume the *dhayen* and enjoy." [People] clapped, spit and flapped *pangdhen*. The killing took place under the main gate of the Norbulingka where there are two stone lions. The people assaulted him indiscriminately. He was armed with a gun and fired in the air. [He] was carrying a pistol.

Q: What did people think he was going to do with that pistol?

00:49:03

#27B: His objective must have been to do something very bad. Other than that [I] cannot pinpoint because though he fired none among the people was killed or injured. Perhaps he [purposely] fired in the air or was frightened. [I] do not know. Yes, [he] was carrying a gun. Then he was killed there, the legs tied with a rope and dragged to the Bakor 'Square.' The Chinese remarked, "A person may not have an owner but a corpse has an owner. Hand over the body to us." The Chinese had said so to the Tibetan Government. So the body was buried at the Sungchoerawa 'Dharma teaching courtyard.' And then we remained in the Norbulingka, remained there to stop the vehicle.

Q: The Chinese, could they actually see that he had been stoned to death and they then...? Where were they watching from that they could see this and then they requested that the body be returned to them? So where were these Chinese officials who said that?

#27B: At that particular time there was no interaction between the Chinese and the Tibetans. [I] do not know how they [Chinese] relayed the demand whether through the loudspeakers or how else. We were in the Norbulingka while the body was buried there. They might have been speaking through loudspeakers or how else, I do not have correct information.

Q: I wanted to clarify something. When you said the Tibetan Government officials were leaving and that you said the people targeted those that had interactions with the Chinese, can you...did you see with your own eyes what was done to those officials and how seriously they were attacked or injured?

00:52:20

#27B: [The aristocrats] were stoned, slashed or whatever, and bruised and bleeding they were taken on their motorcycles or vehicles from Norbulingka to their respective residences in Lhasa. We were still in the Norbulingka at that time to know about their injuries or the seriousness. So I cannot give a clear picture. It is certain that [they] were assaulted saying, "You are the culprits that did everything." [They] were injured and sent away. I do not know the seriousness of the injuries or how they were treated there.

Q: They were taken away on motorcycles back to Lhasa by whom?

#27B: They had valets, attendants. There were drivers for the vehicles and motorcycles; [the aristocrats] had valets who drove the vehicles and motorcycles. Some aristocrats rode motorcycles themselves. Some brought along drivers or attendants.

Q: So they weren't taken by the Chinese; they were taken by themselves or their own drivers.

#27B: Yes, yes, yes. [They] were not taken by the Chinese. [The aristocrats] indulged in such activities because of their greed for money.

Q: About how many people were having that meeting and how many that came out among that group, how many of that group were targeted? How many in general and how many were targeted?

00:54:36

#27B: I cannot say clearly how many aristocrats attended the meeting.

Q: How many came out?

#27B: When [the aristocrats] came out...there are four gates to the Norbulingka. Most of those heading for Lhasa emerged from the main gate of the Norbulingka. Likewise, there are the south gate, the north gate and west gate and residences [of the aristocrats] were located in the four directions. [I think] there were around 10 aristocrats that emerged from

the Norbulingka. Since there are four gates, one would not know from which side [they] left.

Q: And the man that was stoned to death, you said that he had changed back into Chinese clothes not Tibetan. Did he think...I mean it seems like Chinese clothes would make him more of a target instead of wearing Tibetan clothes. What do you think of that?

#27B: Exactly. Actually removing the Tibetan dress and wearing Chinese clothes that are different would make him conspicuous. Perhaps his time of death had arrived or whatever. While leaving [Norbulingka, he] had been wearing the Tibetan Government attire and [people] knew it but returned dressed like a tramp. Perhaps [he] wore another dress hoping no one would recognize him or the time had come for his death.

Whatever it was, people were astute and recognized [him and remarked], “He left wearing the *gothoe* earlier. Now [he] is wearing a pair of pants and shirt, a Chinese cap with a scarf over the mouth. What could be the reason for coming dressed like this?” The people understood. He was also acting differently. While people in the Norbulingka were standing and shouting, he was moving here and there on a bicycle. [He] moved there to a group of people to hear what was being said and then listened to what was being said this side. Thus [he] had come to spy. [He] came after changing [his] attire.

Q: And then tell us what happened to you inside the Norbulingka?

00:57:46

#27B: While inside the Norbulingka...we were the volunteers. As volunteers we were determined not to allow the Chinese to invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama and sat beside the gate of the Norbulingka as volunteers. Having come from afar, we did not have any place to stay and slept beside the gate of the Norbulingka for three nights.

Then the Tibetan Government said, “If you are volunteers, it is not simple for everyone to enter [Norbulingka]. If you are monks, which monastery do you belong to, which *datsang*, which *khangtsen* [smaller community within a monastery, in which monks of one geographical area live], who is your teacher, the name of the teacher, and likewise, where you stayed during the Monlam in Lhasa, the name and address of the house.” After supplying the information, then one by one [we] were allowed inside the Norbulingka. And then [we] had entered the Norbulingka as volunteers.

Q: *Pa-la*, at that point when you left Sera to come to participate in the people who were trying to prevent His Holiness from going, were you still wearing your monk’s robes or had you left them behind?

#27B: Me? [I] was not wearing monk’s robes. [I] was not wearing monk’s robes. [Do you mean] whether [I] was wearing monk’s robes?

Q: Yes.

#27B: [I] was not wearing monk's robes. [I] was wearing regular clothes and carried a knife up the sleeve. We were five colleagues. Between the five men was a small gun with 16 bullets. Actually [we] possessed Palmolive guns but left them at the rented place since they were long and would not be allowed inside. I had a knife of this length [gestures off camera] that I carried in the sleeve. We entered the Norbulingka wearing ordinary clothes. And then [we] were inside the Norbulingka.

Once inside [we] informed the government, "We need weapons. Without arms, it is not right to keep us inside like this. Please supply weapons." We requested but the Tibetan Government did not issue weapons for the time being. After two days an English-made short barrel rifle was issued for every four men. "This is not sufficient. We are not guarding dogs. Kindly provide weapons. Otherwise, [we] will raid the Tibetan Government's armory." That was how [we] pleaded.

Q: "If not supplied with more guns, we will raid the armory."

01:02:37

#27B: We requested later, "Supply weapons for time is running out. If not, what is the use of the Tibetan Government's armory? We will raid it. [We] will raid the armory and get guns." After our request, each of our groups was provided with a machine gun, an English-made short barrel rifle for each man and a box containing 1,000 shells. Along with an English-made short barrel rifle, each person received 40 bullets. The group received a machine gun and a box of 1,000 ammunitions. Such were distributed.

It was not enough just to supply the weapons. When removed from the government armory, the guns would not function because of the presence of grease. At that time we did not know how to dismantle and assemble guns, all the monks and lay people as well. There were three soldiers of the Drapchi Division amongst us. The three Drapchi soldiers taught us to dismantle and assemble the guns. [They] boiled water and then washed with soap and water. After washing the guns were dried on the floor and then assembled. They taught us to dismantle and assemble the guns. After providing weapons, finally they had trained us to fire. So in this way the weapons were supplied.

Because of the grease you could not pull the cock.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: That was the *Chushi Gangdrug* [Defend Tibet Volunteer Force] who were there who trained them?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: The Drapchi soldiers.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Drapchi soldiers?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Tibetan Government soldiers.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Tibetan Government soldiers. Thank you.

Q: You were 25 years old and you said five men had left with you from Sera. Had you decided to renounce your monks' vows at that time and join the fight or was that something you decided on the spot?

01:06:22

#27B: At that time all of us were monks. Now there was no time to think about giving back the vows. It was a matter of life and death. Should the Chenrezig 'Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the patron saint of Tibet' [the deity whom each Dalai Lama manifests in human form] be captured by the Chinese, [we] were ready to forego the vows. There never was any thought over the vows. "If the Chenrezig is taken away, we are as good as dead. [We] will risk our lives. [We] shall never accept the Chinese inviting the Chenrezig."

At that time there was never any thought about the vows, just that it would be a disaster should the Chinese secretly take the Chenrezig and do away with [him] for it was ordered that there be only a small retinue. [I] never had any thought about the vows then because of the dread in [my] mind. There was no thought about yourself or overstepping your vows. You had sacrificed everything by then. One was determined to sacrifice one's life.

Q: At that point there was still no shelling of Norbulingka or Potala Palace, had not occurred yet but it sounds like there was a great deal of fear that you're going to actually have to by force protect His Holiness from being taken away.

#27B: Yes, [we] had given up [our] lives. [We] were determined to sacrifice everything. We had already given up our lives. Should the Chinese take away the Chenrezig we would be in darkness. So we gave up our lives and entered the Norbulingka. [I] will talk about how the attack happened there.

Soon after reaching there, the colleagues in our group left oral wills with each other like consuming the precious blessed pills [at that moment], not to remain helping an injured companion and to shoot one who is seriously injured for remaining with an injured would mean getting yourself killed. Our group of colleagues made this final oral will, "If [you] have blessed pills, consume now. There will be no time to give each other blessed pills or help each other. Once inside the Norbulingka [we] have foregone [our] lives. There is no knowing when the Chinese will enter, start shooting or whatever." That is how it was.

01:09:26

And then [the Chinese] attacked at night. [I] will talk about this. The Chinese sent up different kinds of flares. We Tibetans did not possess any such flares except for blowing a trumpet, a military trumpet. The notes of the trumpet must be understood and [I] asked, "Teacher, what does it say?" "It says there is danger in the south and in the north," [he] explained. All of us inside the Norbulingka had been divided, divided to the four gates.

We were assigned to the south gate. Among us were people from Shota Lhosum, Dayab, Markham and likewise, monks of Sera, monks of Drepung and monks of Gaden. There were numerous monks and our commander-in-chief was Kungo Shakapa. What Kungo Shakapa instructed was, "Protect your assigned area. No one should abandon your area and move elsewhere." Kungo gave this instruction.

So some stood on ledges within the Norbulingka and some outside the Norbulingka after digging trenches. [We] formed rotations of spending one night in the trenches and another on the ledge created on the compound wall of the Norbulingka. [We] formed the rotation, so when some went outside, some came inside. When it was [your] turn to move outside, the motor road was very close by where [vehicles] plied up to Northoelingka [park located in the upper part of Lhasa towards Gaden Monastery] and down to Dip Tsecholing. Vehicles continued to ply the whole night.

We kept guard inside the trenches but spitefully pulled cables and destroyed the wooden planks of the bridge. However, the following day their [Chinese] tanks appeared with guns drawn and with a few coolies repaired the electric cables and placed new wooden planks that we had pulled from the bridge. They came during the day in that manner while we created destruction in the night. They came driving during the day without any fear.

Q: The Chinese repaired the destroyed cables and bridges the next morning...

#27B: Yes, [they] did.

Q: And then...?

01:14:56

#27B: Yes, they repaired. We remained in the trenches and in that manner inside the Norbulingka for around a week. And then one night...as [His Holiness'] bodyguards and all of us were there in the Norbulingka—[I] seem to be skipping [parts of the story] but—as we were there the Chinese beamed different flares that seemed like daylight. The beaming of white, yellow and red flares was to indicate whether danger lay in the easterly, northerly or any other direction. They sent messages through the flares. It was terrifying in the night with the flares making it seem like daylight when one could see people moving about. There was only one trumpet that relayed messages to us. When the trumpet sounded, [we] enquired, “Teacher, what does it say?” “There is danger to those at the south [gate]. Be careful. The notes of the trumpet indicate it.” You guarded your assigned area in the night and passed along such messages.

And then one night a check was carried out and instructions issued, “Tonight not one man is allowed to move outside. Everybody must remain inside for the policemen will arrive. Should the policemen come and make an arrest, there will be danger. Hence, nobody is allowed to venture outside.” All doors were locked and keys taken away. Not one person was allowed out. Therefore, [I] wondered why this was so, “How strange that nobody is allowed to go out today,” but didn’t take much notice. Thus everyone stayed put commenting about the policemen’s coming. Then after three days had passed by we were back to normal with those assigned outside [duties] moving out and some remaining inside in rotation.

01:17:12

Then in three days at around 2 o’clock in the night machineguns were fired, *br, br, br...* [I] thought, “Oh, what has happened?” [The sound] grew louder and louder. At around 2

o'clock in the night it grew louder and louder. Then one could hardly hear the sound of gunshots but of cannons. Cannon shells continued to land from the sky. There was [His Holiness'] Security Division in the Norbulingka, which possessed cannons and they put up a challenge to the Chinese. Otherwise, we had no knowledge where Tibetan Government military bases were located in the area, as we were inside the Norbulingka. The Security Division put up challenge. Cannons were fired throughout the night.

[I] went around to have a look the next morning around 8 o'clock. There are beautiful trees within the Norbulingka. Artillery shells had cut down all the trees. Shells had been fired everywhere inside the Norbulingka. The boundary wall where we were positioned was flattened and huge craters formed on the ground. That was the scene in the morning. Then the injured and the dead...most of the security forces in the Norbulingka had been killed.

Likewise, our general public had been killed. One dare not venture out because someone cried, "Give [me] water," and there were others dragging legs or dragging head or dragging body. It was overwhelming. One dare not go because it was depressing. Then [I] returned to the assigned place and said, "We are going to die. It is depressing. You must not go around."

01:19:19

Then the Potala [Palace] was shelled at around 8 o'clock. The Potala's parapet was hit but it did not catch fire. It was hit once again. It was struck twice but did not catch fire. Then gradually by 8-9 o'clock the sound of shelling subsided. And in the night at... Then it became quiet during the day. There was not any firing from the Norbulingka but the shelling upon it continued unceasingly. There was not any retaliation. The day passed in that manner and around evening...

At the Norbulingka were numerous people from Amdo and Golok in the direction of Northoelingka. We were in another direction. There were [people] in all the four directions. And then they said, "Must go, must go, must go." [They] had saddled government horses and created reins from ropes and came trotting. On being asked, "Where are you going?" the reply was, 'His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been escorted to India. Now [we] must go, must go.' Therefore, [we] commented, "If His Holiness the Dalai Lama has left and we continue to remain like this, they [the Chinese] will kill us like pigs here. There is no point remaining." Then all of us moved out of the Norbulingka.

Just as we were out walking on the road, the Chinese shot many people dead. We just about managed to stay alive thanks to the gods and came out of the Norbulingka. That night [we] fled from the Norbulingka amidst gunfire into a swamp. Shells landed in the swamp and burst up into the sky. Every time a shell landed in the swamp, it threw up mud into the sky that flattened people.

[I] did not have clothes to wear, just a gun and 40 rounds and nothing to eat and no clothes whatsoever. [I] emerged from the Norbulingka almost naked. [I] left from the Norbulingka to Sera that night. [I] informed those] at Sera, "Norbulingka is lost and there's no point in staying." The Amdo men trotted away saying, "Must go, must go, must go. His Holiness the

Dalai Lama has been escorted to India.” Then everybody said, “It is pointless to remain. Let us flee.” And then we fled and returned to Sera.

Q: What was your reaction when you heard the Dalai Lama, His Holiness had left? What did you feel in your heart?

01:27:20

#27B: We believed that His Holiness the Dalai Lama was living in the palace and were wholly determined [to protect him]. When they [people of Amdo] said, “Must go, must go, must go. His Holiness has been escorted to India and [we] must go now” [I] was suddenly filled with incredible joy. “Now [I] am satisfied. This is what we want. We are facing the problem of not being able to escort His Holiness out of here as the enemy has surrounded from all directions. How to escort [His Holiness] out? We are inside the Norbulingka and His Holiness is living in the Norbulingka. How to escort [His Holiness] out to a foreign country?”

These thoughts had been troubling [me] a great deal and suddenly, like in a dream [I] was told, “It has been three days prior to the attack on Norbulingka that His Holiness was escorted to India.” In three days His Holiness would have covered quite a distance; [he] maybe somewhere around Tsona and nearing the Indian border. So [I] was overjoyed, “Now [I] have no regrets even if [I] died. Once the Chenrezig has been escorted out [I] have no regrets in dying.”

Nevertheless, each one must fend [for himself] and leave. Waiting for each other would mean risking death before one’s time. So each one left the Norbulingka trying to fend for himself. [I] was incredibly happy, overwhelmingly, really.

Q: *Pa-la*, you came to Norbulingka with five people, five monks from Sera. Can you tell us what happened to them during the shelling of Norbulingka? And were there any other monks that came from Norbu...I mean from Sera, excuse me. Were there any other monks from Sera that joined you or were you the only five?

#27B: There were numerous people then. The five [of us] were in a *toptsang* ‘communal eating unit’ but there were many others [we] knew that were in different units. There were many, yes.

Q: But were there other groups from Sera or were you the only people from Sera, the only monks from Sera?

01:30:51

#27B: There were numerous monks. There were numerous monks and lay people as well. It was a mixed group. [We] formed one unit but there were many such there.

Q: How did the five people in your group, how did they survive?

#27B: The five of us? From the five [we] lost two men. The Chinese fired as [we] emerged [from the Norbulingka] and [we] lost two men; three survived.

Q: Did you have any special protective amulets that you wore as part of this defense?

#27B: Yes, [I] did. There were many protective cords. The protective cords were [pieces of] clothes of protective deities and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. There were many such protective cords because these would resist bullets and ammunitions. [I] possessed a *jigshay* protective amulets distributed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Lhasa to soldiers] and *mahe*. The *mahe* are blessed pills that [I] had already consumed. I have the *jigshay* here now.

Q: Oh, I would like to see them. Would you be willing to show...?

#27B: [Interrupts] Today I am revealing it to you. Otherwise, this should not be out in the sun nor revealed to other people. It is desperate [times] and should be utilized for today's important occasion and I am going to reveal it.

[Unties string on circular protective amulet box]

01:33:46

#27B: This is the only thing I brought from Tibet and a gun. There were no food items, nothing at all. One trekked depending upon the protective amulet.

[Tries to open the protective amulet box]

01:34:10

#27B: There were many other blessed items but these were damaged from [my] having to venture in rains and all.

[Takes out a piece of cotton from amulet box and opens it]

[Displays a small clay image to the camera]

Q: Little lower. Can you please move your finger a little? Yes, that's right.

Q: *Pa-la*, thank you so much for showing that.

[Interviewee wraps and places image back in amulet box]

#27B: Okay. One does not normally do this but today is an important occasion. [I] have to seek forgiveness [for this act].

Q: Was it okay that we...?

[Interpreter interprets: Yeah because this is a very important occasion, so I'm going to seek forgiveness for doing this.]

Q: *Pa-la*, who gave you that amulet?

Before he puts it away, can we see the cover of it?

[Interviewee holds up amulet box that has a black and white picture of a young Dalai Lama]

Q: Is this the Dalai Lama?

#27B: It nis a picture of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

[Displays amulet box to camera]

Q: Was this the original picture, the original picture that was in that box when you carried it?

#27B: It is the old one. It is very old.

Q: Was it there when [you] brought it from Tibet?

#27B: It was.

Q: The picture?

#27B: Yes.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: The amulet that was in there that he showed us, who gave him that?

01:38:03

#27B: His Holiness the Dalai Lama presented the *jigshay mahe*.

Q: Did he give it to you in person or did he distribute it to the monastery?

#27B: [His Holiness] gave to the monastery and the monastery distributed to each person.

Q: Did the monastery distribute?

#27B: Yes.

Q: His Holiness gave to the monastery...

#27B: Yes.

Q: ...and the monastery distributed to each monk?

#27B: Yes.

Q: Speaking of the monasteries, was there any way that the Chinese tried to understand something about the monk population or the numbers because it's my understanding that they

were fearful of the fact that there were so many monks? So was there any way they tried to assess this population?

#27B: It is like this. Since the monk population of the three great monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Gaden was large, they [the Chinese] were very suspicious [believing], “For one, the monk population is very high. Secondly, [they] are very enthusiastic, brave and determined.” The villagers and lay people had children and the aged and they [Chinese] did not give them any value. They greatly feared the monks since long ago and were highly suspicious. Therefore, in order to assess the strength of monks...

Finally and in desperation though they [Chinese] greatly love money, yet when the monks assembled for the Monlam...All the monks of the three great monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Gaden, and the local monasteries arrived at the Monlam to receive *gey* ‘distribution of money to monks.’ Apart from the Chinese, there were many Tibetan patrons that offered *gey* during the Monlam. Hence, the strategy they formed to assess the strength of monks was to distribute *gey* in the form of a *dhayen* ‘Chinese silver coin’ each. [The Chinese] made the announcement, “There will be a big *gey*. [Everybody] must attend the prayer assembly.” This was how they tried to assess the monk population.

Q: And what happened?

01:42:20

#27B: When the *gey* was offered, they could instantly calculate the number of monks by the amount of *dhayen* spent. Without having to explore the strength of monks in each and every monastery, they were able to gather the collective number of monks including nuns living in and around Lhasa like the three great monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Gaden, the local monasteries and everyone that was clothed in red [robes].

Otherwise, they dare not approach the monasteries to seek the population. The monks did not have any interaction [with the Chinese]. However, we did not do anything without provocation. Therefore, in order to assess the strength, they spent the money and did this very easily without having to approach the nunneries, Drepung, Sera or Gaden and in one instant made the *gey* during Monlam and easily assessed the number of monks.

Q: So no one suspected this was a ruse to get the numbers of people.

#27B: Generally, when [the Chinese] distributed *gey*, the people and the entire monk population were suspicious saying, “Their making *gey* is is not a good sign. It is not a good sign.” [The Chinese] dare not approach each of the great monasteries and hence, made the announcement of a large *gey* to the entire monk population believing that desiring money [all monks] would arrive. That was why they made the announcement. They made this announcement in order to assess [monk] population.

Q: Was there anything that happened as a result of that?

01:45:26

#27B: [The Chinese] got the figure of population. However, they had not yet been able to assess the courage and attitude of the people.

Q: We can continue with that story, but I want to not forget what happened to you. You left Norbulingka and you went back to Sera. Were you the first people to come back to Sera to give the news that His Holiness escaped or did they already know at Sera? Can you tell us what their reactions were?

#27B: Yes, [returned to Sera] from Norbulingka. In general, all the monks of the monastery had been deployed to various directions on the *tseri* ‘mountaintop.’ Some were at the *tseri*, some had gone to Norbulingka and some had gone to the Potala Palace. [They] had gone to the Potala Palace to fetch guns from the government armory.

There was hardly anyone living in the monastery. It was almost empty. Some had gone to guard the Sera *tseri*, some to the Norbulingka and some had gone to fetch guns from the Potala. Everyone had left except for a few children. When I left Norbulingka in the night for Sera, around the main gate of Sera—Sera has three gates, the main gate, the north gate and west gate—except for a monk or two in the yard, there was none to be seen.

01:47:30

[I] told them, “There is no point remaining like this. Your remaining like this is futile. Should the Chinese arrive [they] will capture and take [you] away. Where are the others?” [They] replied, “Some went to the Sera *tseri* and some to the Potala Palace.” “Norbulingka is lost and His Holiness the Dalai Lama has left for India. There is no point remaining here for the Chinese will arrive now. Announce this to your teachers,” [I] said. Then I fled to the Sera *tseri*, went to the Sera *tseri* in the night.

People sent messages to the Sera *tseri*, “[We] have got back Northoelingka. Come back. Do not run away.” Such messages relayed by the Chinese were received. The Chinese now thronged Lhasa. At Ramoche [the Chinese] set fire to the Gyuto and Gyumed Monasteries and a fight was on, hand-to-hand confrontations. The monks did not possess guns while they [the Chinese] were armed and could do anything. The monasteries of Gyuto and Gyumed are located in Lhasa and they [the monks] were fighting hand-to-hand, for [they] had no guns. Gyuto Monastery was set on fire and [I] could see the fire and smoke, as we looked upon Lhasa from the Sera *tseri*.

Q: So where did this message come that Norbulingka, that the Tibetans had captured Norbulingka from the Chinese?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Northoelingka.

Q: Northoelingka. Where did this come from?

#27B: The message was relayed through one person to the other. There were no telephones and such. Spies made efforts and sent people [with the message], “You should not run away. [We] have got back Northoelingka. Do not run away. You must come back.” Men

were being sent since there were no telephones. [Messages] were sent from person to person. We could not believe it and remained in doubt.

Q: Who do you think...were these spies Tibetans who were seduced by the Chinese or were they Chinese posing as Tibetans or somebody?

01:52:14

#27B: Most of the spies were Tibetans. Otherwise, [the Chinese] would not be able to communicate. Most of those that relayed messages back and forth were Tibetans.

Q: The Chinese...?

#27B: The Chinese having influenced the Tibetans by saying, “You will be given this much money. You should relay this message from here to that place.” [The Chinese] sent them in this manner. Hence, messages were received. Else, had the Chinese come [they] would be killed. And they could not speak proper Tibetan for the Chinese had recently arrived in Tibet then. However, these days Tibetans can speak Chinese while in the past Tibetans could not speak even a word of Chinese. The Chinese are different. There is no similarity. Those that relayed messages back and forth were Tibetans.

Q: What happened as a result of being given that false information?

#27B: After spreading false information, everybody remarked, “Once His Holiness the Dalai Lama is escorted, there is no point listening to any kind of message, whether good or bad. They [Chinese] are trying to lasso us. [We] should not return. The main thing is that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been escorted to India. Now we should not remain but fight the Chinese at the border. [We] must not stay here. Their telling [us] to return is not a good sign. They are trying to kill [us] by asking [us] to return.” This was in everybody’s mind, “His Holiness has been escorted away. We should move out and fight from the border.” So all the people were dispersing outside and fighting.

Q: And what happened to you next, *pa-la*?

01:54:43

#27B: I had come out of the Norbulingka in that manner. Then I went to Phenpo from the monastery. In Phenpo Chinese planes flew and started shooting wherever [we] went. Then there was the *Chushi Gangdrug* in Phenpo. [I] joined the *Chushi Gangdrug* and fought along with the [guerrillas of] *Chushi Gangdrug* and then moved to Samye, Tsona, Tsethang, Tandu and also Woga. [We] continued to fight and move and then reached India.

Our Commanders-in-chief were Ratuk Ngawang and the Chinese Lobsang Tashi. And of course, Gonpo Tashi-la [founder of the *Chushi Gangdrug*] was there.

Q: *Pa-la*, this has been a very informative and story of great bravery at Norbulingka and I think that because of time, we’re going to end this part of your story now, but we think we could hear many, many more hours of your experiences and your courage on behalf of Tibet.

#27B: Okay.

Q: I would like to just ask, just a few questions at the end. *Pa-la*, why do you love the Dalai Lama so much that you would risk your life to save him? Why is he so important to you?

01:57:34

#27B: I will give the reason clearly. I can sacrifice my life for His Holiness the Dalai Lama because I took the *gelong* ‘fully- ordained monk’s’ vows from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I took the *gelong* vows from His Holiness’ hands. When it was said that the Chinese were going to take away His Holiness, I [was ready to] sacrifice my life, really. [I] took the *gelong* vows from His Holiness and the *getsul* ‘novice monk’s’ vows from His Eminence the Trijang Rinpoche. My root guru is His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I took the *gelong* vows from His Holiness with my keeping my hands upon His Holiness’ hands. That is the reason I did it. [His Holiness] is my root guru, the Chenrezig. That is when I was a monk.

That is how [His Holiness the Dalai Lama] is my root guru. Now this [question] can come about, “You being a *gelong*, why are you doing this?” After coming to India I joined the [Indian] army. While in the army from the time one goes to sleep to waking up, one must dwell upon your winning, others losing and killing people. That is the job of a soldier and it was against the *gelong* vows.

There are 223 vows of a *gelong* and it is against the vows. Therefore, my *gelong* vows...otherwise, I cannot do anything negative with what His Holiness the Dalai Lama has bestowed upon me. I was desperate. I was a soldier and as a soldier I had to think about killing. So I was forced to give up my *gelong* vows; [I] gave up to another lama.

Q: *Pa-la*, you very kindly and generously offered to share your story with us. Can you give us your ideas about why you think it is important to record the stories about this oldest generation of Tibetans alive today?

02:00:54

#27B: Yes, because the stories are about how it was when Tibet came into being, what the livelihood was, how the [people] lived, functioned, ate, drank and interacted. In order to broadcast these stories to other countries, it is the older people that have the experience. You have interviewed [me] and I am extremely happy to talk about what I have experienced because the experiences of one or two people cannot be known to all. However, you are collecting each of these stories and broadcasting them for which I am very happy and would like to say thank you.

Q: Thank you.

#27B: Thank you.

Q: We are honored to record your story and do appreciate your participation in this project and I want to ask you one more time to be sure. If this interview was shown in Tibet or China, would this be a problem for you?

#27B: There will be no problem at all in regard to this. I have spoken about true happenings and not created it, like relating something [I] did not do as having done or talking about having witnessed what [I] have not witnessed. I have spoken about what actually happened to me and this should be broadcast to the world, which could not be done earlier. There will be no risk whatsoever.

Thank you.

Q: Thank you for sharing your story with us.

#27B: Thank you. You are broadcasting this to other countries and wherever you [broadcast it I] wish to thank you. This is what is needed. Thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW