

Tibet Oral History Project

Interview #52D – Gyendun Tashi
May 18, 2012

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INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

1. Interview Number: #52D
2. Interviewee: Gyendun Tashi
3. Age: 80
4. Date of Birth: 1932
5. Sex: Male
6. Birthplace: Bora Amcho
7. Province: Dhoday (Amdo)
8. Year of leaving Tibet: 1959
9. Date of Interview: May 18, 2012
10. Place of Interview: Community Hall, Tashi Jong, Himachal Pradesh, India
11. Length of Interview: 2 hr 30 min
12. Interviewer: Rebecca Novick
13. Interpreter: Thupten Kelsang Dakpa
14. Videographer: Ronny Novick
15. Translator: Tenzin Yangchen

Biographical Information:

Gyendun Tashi became a monk at the age of 11, but left the monastery at age 17 due to the Chinese invasion. He recalls that Communist Chinese first appeared in his village in 1951 guided by Kuri Rukhong, who was formerly a Tibetan monk and later a Chinese spy. An uncle of Gyendun Tashi and an associate killed Kuri Rukhong because he declared that the monasteries must be destroyed. The villagers harbored Nationalist Chinese refugees and were able to resist the Communists for a few years. During a pilgrimage, Gyendun Tashi witnessed the forced sterilization of Tibetan young men and women near Tso Ngonpo.

In a most elaborate manner, Gyendun Tashi narrates the various facets of life in his village since the occupation by Chinese, which included numerous skirmishes, hide and seek with Chinese soldiers in the mountains, dropping of arms by Nationalist Chinese to help the Tibetans' resistance movement in his region, and the surrender of weapons. Gyendun Tashi even travelled to China with a group of Tibetan delegates to meet with the Chinese in 1957.

Gyendun Tashi went to Lhasa where he joined the *Chushi Gangdrug* Defend Tibet Volunteer Force to resist the Chinese onslaught. He describes how the Force was initiated, its Chief Andrug Gonpo Tashi, the many encounters with the Chinese, the risks, perils, the scarcity of food and his narrow escape over snow-covered mountains into Mon Tawang, India.

Topics Discussed:

Amdo, first appearance of Chinese, destruction of monasteries, invasion by Chinese army, life under Chinese rule, sterilization, Chushi Gangdrug guerrillas, life as a refugee in India.

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Interview #52D

Interviewee: GyendunTashi

Age: 80, Sex: Male

Interviewer: Rebecca Novick

Interview Date: May 18, 2012

Question: Could you start by telling us your name?

00:00:11

Interviewee #52D: Gyendun Tashi.

Q: His Holiness the Dalai Lama asked us to record your experiences, so that we can share your memories with many generations of Tibetans, Chinese and the rest of the world.

#52D: [Nods]

Q: Your personal memories are going to help us to document the true history, culture and beliefs of the Tibetan people.

#52D: That is true.

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

#52D: [Nods]

Q: Thank you very much.

#52D: [The project] is extremely good.

Q: During the interview if you want to take a break or stop at any time, let us know.

#52D: [Nods]

Q: If you don't want to answer a question, that's fine.

#52D: [Nods] Is it okay for me to tell [my story]?

Q: If you don't want to answer a question, that's fine.

#52D: Should I start by talking about the Chinese?

Q: You can speak about it gradually.

#52D: Is it okay to start now?

Q: Yes?

00:01:35

#52D: Is it okay for me to speak about the Chinese now?

Q: We'll come to it soon.

#52D: Okay.

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

#52D: Yes?

Q: This video recording, if it is shown in Tibet or China, would it be a problem for you?

#52D: There will be no problem for me. I am here and there will be no problem for me from the Chinese.

Q: Thank you. We are very honored to record your story.

#52D: This is a very good [project to broadcast] to the world.

Q: We appreciate your participation.

00:02:13

#52D: Thank you. Thank you very much.

Q: *Pa-la* 'respectful term for father,' I want to start asking you about when you were a monk and you first started to notice the Chinese presence in Tibet.

#52D: Initially the Chinese...Mao Zedong was the victor in '49 and the Communists arrived in '59. We lived on the border of China. Tashi Gomang in Amdo is known as Shangkhashai in Chinese and called Kanentu by us...Shall I tell you now? Is it okay to speak? The region was called Bora Amcho.

Q: Bora Amcho?

#52D: Yes, Bora Amcho. It came under Tashi Gomang. Bora Amcho. The village was called Amcho Nyimalung. I was born there. I became a monk at the age of 11. The Communist Chinese arrived in my village in '51. Among the Chinese was a person named Kuri Rukhong. He was earlier a Tibetan and a monk.

Q: A Tibetan?

00:03:51

#52D: A person called Kuri Rukhong who was a Chinese spy. He was called Kuri Rukhong, the person who brought along the Chinese to the village. He seemed to be the main person for the Chinese. We had no knowledge whether the Chinese were bad or good. He said that according to the Chinese constitution monasteries were bad and that monasteries must be destroyed. He came and stated that. Bringing along the Chinese army, he spoke such evil things about the monasteries. There was a maternal uncle, a sibling of my mother at home. Led by him, they went and secretly killed him.

Q: [Your] maternal uncle killed him?

#52D: [My] maternal uncle and a partner killed him. They went stealthily and killed Kuri Rukhong, the Chinese leader. I was small then. When I was 17 years old, the Communist Chinese came to our village and said...They called the United States of America as Miko. It is Miko in the Chinese language.

Q: Miko?

00:05:15

#52D: Yes, Miko or something. They said, “Miko and Taiwan will be liberated.” By liberation they meant that they would capture them. “Taiwan and Miko will be liberated. Make way for the army to pass through.” They told us to give way for the army to pass through and that was how the Chinese came to our village.

A paternal uncle lived at our home. There was a monastery near Bora Amcho called Amcho Gonpa. The Chief Lama was called Alok Seratsang.

Q: Alok Sera...?

#52D: Sera. Seratsang. That was his name. My paternal uncle had been appointed the leader of our village.

Q: Maternal uncle?

#52D: Paternal uncle, Aku ‘Paternal Uncle’ Tsultim. He was called Sera Tsultim; Sera being the name given by the lama. Sera Tsultim was appointed our leader. He opined that if we fought against the Chinese, we would not be able to withstand them. So we had to find a way to negotiate. If [we] agreed to construct roads, the land would be dug up. [The Chinese] wanted roads to go to Lhasa and onwards to Taiwan and Miko or some such thing. The Chinese said they were going to liberate them and wanted roads.

We refused to give them roads because, “If we give you motor roads through our village, earth must be dug up. We are nomads and depend on animals for our livelihood. And the animals depend on grass to survive; else the animals will die of starvation as grass grows on land.” If a foot or a meter of land was used [for the road], how much grass would the

animals be deprived of? The animals will become weak and the people will suffer problems. So [we] opposed the Chinese.

00:07:29

By rejecting [their demand], the Communist Chinese was left with only a path for horses to trek but no roads for vehicles. The cavalry arrived to go to Lhasa or Taiwan or wherever. I was young then, 17 years old and the children used to play around. The Chinese army arrived. Back then we had no knowledge whether the Chinese were bad or good. I was small and that was as far as I knew.

Then the Chinese cavalry arrived. There were horses and mules. The [Tibetan] nomads were camped with their horses and animals in an open ground and one day, a mule belonging to the Chinese became loose. The Chinese could have caught the mule since it had its leash. Later they caught it and what did they do?

All the children were playing and watching. The men [Chinese soldiers] sat on the ground with the runaway mule in the center with its feet tied. Then one by one, the men stood up and accused the mule, pointing their fingers at it like they do with people. Each of the Chinese spoke to the mule.

Q: Spoke?

#52D: Yes, to the animal. They must have been accusing it. [We] could not follow Chinese language. A while later the mule began to shiver. We were children and just stared, as we could not understand Chinese language. After sometime, the Chinese shot at the mule's forehead and killed it. They killed it. Since then my heart turned against the Chinese and how much ever they claimed to be good, I detested them.

00:11:26

We refused to construct roads. The paternal uncle of Chiang Kai-shek of the Nationalist Chinese was an army commander called Mala. He came to seek refuge in our home. He stayed in our home. They were Muslims. They possessed a telephone.

Q: The Chinese had them?

#52D: Yes, they had brought one. He was a senior leader and the paternal uncle, while Chiang Kai-shek had gone to Taiwan. He had escaped to Taiwan earlier when the Communist Chinese arrived. They [the uncle of Chiang Kai-shek and others] stayed as refugees in my home. Now we had to oppose the [Communist] Chinese but did not possess good arms and ammunition. So all the men of the village left for the mountaintop with only women and children staying home. Everyone was away revolting against the Chinese saying, "[We] do not permit building of roads. We will not give roads on our land. The Chinese cannot come into our region." We were resisting them and the chief person was my paternal uncle, the leader; the one called Tsultim was the leader.

00:12:57

He [Mala] had telephoned Taiwan and they helped us. During the night arms had been dropped atop the mountains and barren fields from planes. At daylight the arms had to be collected from the mountaintops. They were dropped in the dead of night. When the planes came, a fire was lit and wherever there was fire, they dropped the arms from the sky. They came from Taiwan. The Chinese called us Malathupi. The Chinese called our people Malathupi. Malathupi means something like a terrorist. Mala was his [the uncle of Chiang Kai-shek's] name.

Q: Malathupi.

#52D: Malathupi. My paternal uncle Tsultim was the leader among the Tibetans. Among the [Nationalist] Chinese was the one called Mala. There were about 300 [Nationalist] Chinese soldiers and people who had sought refuge with the Tibetans, and around 500 Tibetans.

Q: Were there 300 Chinese soldiers?

#52D: Yes, there were around 300. While we were there, we did not have a photograph and had no awareness [of a certain Communist Chinese spy's identity]. However, a telephone call was made from Taiwan, "A Communist Chinese spy has entered your domain. He must be caught." Even if one had a photograph of a Chinese, one would not recognize him. Many new people used to arrive in [our village] like the Nationalists and so on. So, suspecting two people, they were caught and killed.

However, the real leader [spy] was not caught. This came to light only much later. We revolted against the [Communist] Chinese and...I was 17 years old then. I was given a small gun, a pistol that was from Taiwan. I used to move around with the pistol tucked in my belt.

Q: I just wanted to ask you about these phones.

00:17:44

#52D: We did not possess phones. Mala, who I told you about earlier, was a leader and had fled bringing a telephone with him. They had it and not us.

Q: The Chinese possessed the phone?

#52D: Mala possessed the phone. He was the paternal uncle [of Chiang Kai-shek] of the Kuomintang. They were Muslims and it was a long time ago. He was a leader of the Nationalists. They possessed it and not us.

Q: They were supporters of the Tibetans.

#52D: Just like we are refugees in India, he [Mala] came as a refugee to our village. So, when we revolted [against the Communist Chinese] he offered help. The telephone was like this [moves finger in circular motion], used by moving the finger.

The Communist Chinese wished to annihilate the Muslims. They wished to destroy Islam as well as the religion of Tibet. They had destroyed all the temples in China. The Muslims were destroyed. There was a huge number of Muslims in Mainland China that they destroyed.

The Muslims did not eat pork on account of their belief. Later they used to eat pork covertly saying that as long as the sky did not witness, it was fine.

[I] told you about our revolt and about not permitting the [Communist] Chinese to construct roads, fearing the animals would die for lack of grass. The Tibetan nomads survived on their animals, which needed grass and so permission for the construction of road was denied. Building roads would have consumed a huge area of land. So for the entire duration of two years '51, '52 and '53, we resisted.

Q: From '51 to '53?

00:19:56

#52D: For about two and half years we resisted the Chinese. We were called Malathupi. [I think] Malathupi was something like a terrorist. [Laughs] Then either in '53 or '54, the aristocrats of the Tibetan Government in Lhasa arrived through the south and accepted Mao Zedong's representatives. They accepted them while we were fighting there, as were those in Kham. Guns and bullets had been distributed. Similar to the counterfeit money that Taiwan sends into India, like counterfeit money that is sent into a country to cause it harm, likewise Taiwan dropped counterfeit Chinese currency by planes and we were to circulate and take them everywhere. I was young then and was given the responsibility of circulating them. If fresh, they could be recognized. Being a nomad, I stuffed them into my boots. A week or two later they became old and [I] circulated them everywhere.

00:21:07

There was a paper note of 10 units. It had the picture of a person plowing a field and carrying a whip in his hand. The whip that is used to hit the oxen [on the fake note] had a missing piece. Except for that everything was present. The note looked exactly the same except for the missing part in the picture. We had to circulate the fake notes. Letters were sent to Kham and everywhere that we must resist the Chinese and destroy them.

The Chinese arrived and surrounded us on all four sides and there was no way but to surrender to them due to limited space. There was a relative of Amdo Jamyang Soepa's previous incarnation called Apa Alo who was held in high esteem in my village. He was a relative of Jamyang Soepa's previous incarnation and hailed from Lithang.

Q: What's the name?

#52D: Apa Alo.

Q: Apa Alo?

00:22:13

#52D: Yes, Apa Alo was a most revered lama. He was the leader of our village and the *tushi* 'leader/commander [?]' of the Chinese. When I was a small, he loved me like his child. However, he was working for the Chinese. Keeping [our feelings for] the Chinese within ourselves, my paternal uncle and they discussed and decided, "Let us surrender; otherwise we will lose our men. Chinese troops have surrounded us." We were in no position to either overcome them by battling or match them in arms and ammunitions. The Chinese, when informed of it, were very happy.

So we went to Tashi Gomang driving along horses and mules, as there were no vehicles then. We surrendered at Tashi Gomang. What do [I] say? Well, we surrendered. The Chinese told us to give up the canons and other bigger artilleries that had been airdropped as well as all the guns. But we did not surrender the guns saying, "We will not give up the guns and pistols because thieves might steal our cattle and wild animals could eat them. We need our guns to protect them from wild animals." So we did not give up the guns. The Chinese then said, "If you surrender, there is no need to give up the guns but surrender the machine guns and bigger arms." These were given up and we surrendered at Tashi Gomang. The Chinese gave a party and sent us off. It was around '54 that [we] surrendered.

00:24:00

After the surrender, I was living in the village. Since my paternal uncle was involved in the surrender, the Chinese appointed him as a *chethang*, like a leader of the village, since otherwise it would not be possible to control the people. He was given the rank of a *chethang*. The Chinese gave him this rank of a leader of the area. Uncle was the *chethang* and he had to...[not discernible] and knew the custom and routine of the Chinese, but what he said orally was different from the feeling within.

The constitution of Chinese Communism, how did it originate? You may know. However, the constitution of the Chinese Communism originated from Russia. There was Okis [?] and Marx and then later Stalin, who developed it. After the development by Stalin, they waged a war and conquered the whole of Mongolia, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Xinjiang. Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-shek of the Nationalists, they were like the Congress and the other party in India.

Q: The B.J.P. [Bharatya Janata Party].

00:25:35

#52D: The B.J.P. There are two parties. Mao Zedong hailed from a poor family but was educated. Being from a poor family, he was sent to Mongolia. He was not permitted to live in China but sent to Mongolia. There was a temple in Mongolia whose monks became the soldiers of Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong was living in a dugout cave in a mountain. That picture is printed on a currency note. The constitution originated from Russia. It claimed equality for all people but that was just spoken about orally. Later after the constitution was formulated, they spoke otherwise, "Monks are not good, influential people are not good." The homes of the wealthy people were confiscated.

There was a certain type of Chinese people called *shorma*, whom the Chinese [soldiers] brought along. All the wealthy people of our village were evicted [from their homes] and the Chinese lived in them. We revolted for three years. After revolting for three years...let me stop this story here.

In '57, I went to Je Kumbum for a pilgrimage. The Communist Chinese had occupied Je Kumbum and the surrounding regions. A revolt had taken place. All the monks of the monastery had been evicted. [Some were] forced to marry women. The monastery was overrun with weeds and in ruins. I was young then but it affected my heart.

Q: Where was the monastery?

#52D: It was the Choesang Monastery.

Q: Choesang Monastery?

#52D: Yes, Choesang Monastery at Tso Ngonpo. There were three monasteries Choesang, Sertung and Gonglu. Apart from Gonglu, monks in the others had all been evicted.

Q: Where was the monastery located?

00:27:52

#52D: Near Tso Ngonpo.

Q: Near Tso Ngonpo?

#52D: Under the jurisdiction of Selen...[not discernible].

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Let's stop there just for one minute. Let's find out what weapons they were dropping, okay?

#52D: There were machine guns and many other types. [I] do not know the names.

Q: Were they big guns?

#52D: They were not big. They were of this size [stretches hands apart 2 feet].

Q: Were they the short-barrel ones?

00:29:33

#52D: No, they were not short-barreled. There were machine guns and pistols. There were numerous machine guns and mortars. Two men were parachuted.

Q: Two men?

#52D: Two men were parachuted because we did not know how to use the artilleries. They had airdropped two men from Taiwan. There were two men [to teach us] to operate the

artilleries. They were [Nationalist] Chinese. [I] do not know whether they were captured by the [Communist] Chinese or what happened to them later. They extended help to us.

Q: Did you see any markings on the planes?

#52D: The planes arrived only at night and dropped [the weapons] in the dark. We heard below the drone of the plane at night and made a fire. Then they dropped where the fire was lit.

Q: How did you know for sure they were Taiwanese planes?

00:30:45

#52D: [I] do not know what they were. [The Taiwanese refugees] said that they had come from Taiwan. [I] would not know that. There were the central figures called Mala and Mahesha Ramen, who had earlier been an army commander.

Q: The Chinese army?

#52D: The Nationalist Chinese army.

Q: Were they Chinese Muslims?

#52D: They were Muslims, those called Mahesha Ramen and Mala. They were earlier Nationalists Chinese. We received help through them and were able to continue the resistance.

Q: Can I just confirm who they were surrendering their guns to exactly?

00:32:39

#52D: All the big guns like the machine guns and canons were given up to the [Communist] Chinese.

Q: Who were the Chinese?

00:32:43

#52D: [I] do not know. [The surrender] took place at Tashi Gomang. I was small and had no knowledge.

Q: Were they army commanders?

#52D: There were many army commanders. The surrender took place at Tashi Gomang. We were given small documents. [Laughs]

Q: Yes?

#52D: We were given pieces of paper mentioning that there would be no penalty for having revolted against the Chinese for the two years. Each of us was issued a paper. Perhaps it was to praise us for surrendering. It excused us for having killed Chinese or [their] horses.

Q: Did the Chinese issue the papers?

00:33:26

#52D: The Chinese did. [We would] revolted for 2-3 years killing Chinese as well as horses. [The paper] mentioned that those [offences] stood exonerated and that from thence, [we] were not to do such things.

Q: Why did you decide to side with the Kuomintang and not with the Chinese Communists?

#52D: Earlier we did not know if the Communists were bad but the way they acted, like killing the animal...Orally they said that the Communist Constitution was good for the people and stood for equality of everyone but the way they practiced it...banning religious practice and saying monks were bad. [The Chinese] said that the riches of the wealthy must be [given] to the poor. [They] were lying.

There was the border, the cause of dispute with China. One must cross Tibet to go to China. A little away from our region was the border, which in ancient times...to relate the story...if I cannot finish now I can relate it later. The border between Tibet and China, you see it on the television known as the Great Wall of China. That is the real border. It was a day's horse-ride from my village and called Wartsi Chakgo Kharga.

00:35:43

You have the barbed wire fencing on the borders between nations. Likewise, it was fenced at Wartsi Chakgo Kharga. It was during the reign of King Shangtin Tsenpo of China that the demarcation line between Tibet and China was created. You know Ling Gesar Gyalpo 'King Gesar of Ling'? Ling Gesar Gyalpo had attacked and occupied [the territory] up to Beijing. The Chinese moved here and there and became mixed up. Many people had been killed then. That is mentioned in our history.

Numerous skirmishes occurred during this period, killing men and horses. The actual border between Tibet and China is at Karchi Choktha Karpo. We have Mount Kailash in the west of Tibet, towards Afghanistan. In the east is Choktha Karpo. The north borders Turkistan and Mongolia and also there is Xingjian as you go northwards. Xingjian borders Tibet. Then there is Afghanistan. Across India is Pakistan. Afghanistan, Xingjian, Turkistan, and Mongolia have [borders with Tibet]. The real border [with China] is Wartsi Chakgo Kharga, where the Chinese have built a fortified wall and an army barracks.

00:37:21

If we traveled a little distance from Tashi Gomang, journeying along here [draws line on the floor] one reached a river. This place here is called Hortsang Shingo. Hortsang Shingo. The name of the place is Hortsang Shingo. Long ago when the border was created, there used to be a wooden door through which people traveled to and fro. That was why the name *shing* 'wood' *go* 'door.' Travelling along further was Karchi Choktha Karpo with

Tibet on one side [points to left] and China on the other [points to right]. Towards here [indicates left] are Tso Ngonpo and Riko, which is presently under Tsongon. Further down the way was Mongolian territory.

The Chinese arrived and along [draws on floor] here is Tibetan territory. If this were Hortsang Shingo, Wartsi Chakgo, located to its south is close to Beijing. The *chak* ‘metal’ *go* ‘door’ was named so because perhaps there used to be a metal door at that place in the early days. Of course, there is no door now because that was during the ancient times. The name of the place is still Wartsi Chakgo and there is Hortsang Shingo near Tashi Gomang.

We used to call the border as Wartsi Chakgo Kharga. You have advertisements on Indian television showing the Great Wall of China. We used to call it Wartsi Chakgo Kharga. That is the true border of Tibet. It is historical, thousands of years old. I have seen it in movies. [I] saw it only after coming here. My parents, paternal uncle and the elders used to speak about history during meetings. Later, the real Tibetan border was at Karchi Choktha Karpo, leading towards Wartsi Chakgo Kharga. Wartsi Chakgo Kharga, which is the border. We used to say, “You are a Chinese. Go to your territory. This is our territory. [You] cannot come here.” That is the principal reason for our revolt because the Chinese army came to our territory.

Q: Is the border at Wartsi Chakgo Kharga?

00:39:35

#52D: Yes, Wartsi Chakgo Kharga.

Q: On one direction lay Tibet and...

#52: On one side was Tibet and on the other, China. That was the reason we revolted. Though they claimed that the constitution of Communism was good, later the intention of Mao Zedong was to occupy the whole of Tibet. Tibet was a huge region with scant population. Is it okay for me to relate about the meetings?

They held a meeting and during the course of the meeting Mao Zedong asked, “The cat must be taught to eat chili pepper. How can it be done?” That was [the agenda] of the meeting. Some suggested that it must be mixed with the cat’s food. Unless it was mixed with food, it would not eat [chili pepper] on account of its taste. Each one gave his opinions. Then Mao Zedong said, “That is not right. The way to teach the cat to eat chili pepper is to apply it on the cat’s bottom. When the chili pepper is applied to its bottom, it will feel the burn and lick at it. That will teach it to eat chili.” [He] spoke these statements.

The Tibetans were compared to the cat. The poor people, the bad people and little children...for instance, little children playing about in a village, you make them come to you and give them candies. You gave food to those children that spoke well and not to those that were shy. Children will then disclose everything. What is your father’s name? Who is the leader? How rich is your family? How many people? Children will disclose everything and they [the Chinese] will learn everything. The Tibetans were likened to the cat. All the poor people among the Tibetans were provided with money and aids. Later, [the Chinese]

negated everything. They spoke about the constitution. We Tibetans were not like that. In the year '56, I went on a pilgrimage to Tso Ngonpo. All the monasteries were [destroyed] as I told you earlier.

Q: Was it in '57?

00:41:54

#52D: It was in '56. During the course of pilgrimage, I spent a night at a village. One did not have the freedom to cook and eat one's food! The Chinese Government had rationed each person with a piece of bread or so and one could not eat more. That was not the case in our village as we were revolting. These people were abiding by the rules of the Chinese. So, they did not have the freedom to eat. When we cooked something, we hid the food and placed the government allowed food on the top and ate surreptitiously. They were not allowed to eat and might be jailed [for breaking the rule].

That night Chinese soldiers surrounded the area. I did not think much about it. They were said to be doctors and what doctors they were! In the night all the boys and girls, young men and women of the village were rounded and put into a house. They were forcefully sterilized, so that they could not have children. I witnessed it. [I think] I was about 20 years old then. By witnessing this, I felt...

After the surgery for the removal of their eggs, the women were laid in the hospital. The women and girls were made incapable of bearing children. Later when we escaped to Lhasa, some of them came through our village. They were from near Tso Ngonpo where I went on the pilgrimage. The region is called Rikon. The place of pilgrimage is called Tandri Yangdi, where I stayed for a night. The Chinese did such things, due to which I came to detest the Chinese.

00:43:52

They utter that Communist ideology is good but that is how [differently] they acted. The Chinese brought their own people as *shorma*, as refugees. I witnessed this with my eyes and even though I was a child, [I] despised them. That is why I came to loath them. Then [I] returned to the village and lived there. I will talk about that later.

In '57 Communist Chinese took people [representing] the three provinces of Tibet for a meeting to China. They called it *tsango*, which [I think] means meeting. My paternal uncle had been appointed leader, the *chitang* of the village by the Chinese. He had to attend the meeting. I was 21 years old then and was taken along to China. [I think] there were around 200 Tibetan people belonging to the three provinces. Aba Along was living in China and he told my uncle, "Take Gyendun to China. There are things to see."

Well, one cannot just go on a visit. He [Aba Along] was a leader and during a meeting it was noticed that a person representing a certain area was missing. I was made the substitute. I was the replacement for the missing person. When the *tushi*, the [Chinese] leader, was informed that I was attending the meeting, he asked to bring [me]. The meeting was held in a large meeting hall with [people] sitting in rows. I sat there and...

Q: Was it in China?

00:45:58

#52D: Yes, in China. It was in the year '57 and I was 21. [The Chinese leader] was informed that [I] was attending and he said, "He is young of age but it does not matter. Let him attend the meeting. After returning, he will be awarded with the rank of *ven*." Perhaps it means a *chupon* 'leader of 10 people'? "He will be entitled to that rank and a monthly salary of 300 *dhayen* 'Chinese silver coins'." Being given the name would mean working for the Chinese and in my heart [I was against the Chinese]. I replied, "I will not work for the Chinese." And shaking my head, I left it at that.

Later when we were to return to the village, he [Chinese leader] pointed his finger at me and said, "He is a small child but his thoughts are old." I knew the Chinese ways a little and replied, "You talk about the Communist ideology. Where is it mentioned about a small child with old thoughts? True, I am young but my thoughts are not old. You Communists talk about development of the people and service to the people. My family is the leader of 5,000-6,000 families in my village. The lama, being a lama, practices dharma and there is my paternal uncle, who being appointed to *chitang* by the Communists, is engaged with the Communists. Now who will take care of the family? There is nobody to look after the family. It is I who has to take care of it. Fifty to 60 people come to visit the family kitchen and the monastery, drink tea and leave. I am responsible for taking care of the family. I will not go [to China to attend the meeting]." Really I did not wish to go with the Chinese. That was '57. I did not go home but came directly to Lhasa.

Q: When did you come to Lhasa?

#52D: In the year '57. I was 21 years old.

Q: When you refused the leadership post, were you expelled from Beijing?

00:48:16

#52D: They said I could not go back and expelled me. I did not wish to go [along with the Chinese] actually.

Q: Let's continue with this.

00:52:43

#52D: Then I came to Lhasa. [Looks at watch] Time is running out. [I] arrived in Lhasa and stayed there for a year, until '58. [I] do not want to talk much about Lhasa. And then the *Chushi Gangdrug* [Defend Tibet Volunteer Force] began. If I relate everything, it will become lengthy.

Q: Let's do it fast.

#52D: After I came to Lhasa...His Holiness the Dalai Lama...let us leave those [parts of the story] out. I needed a place to stay in Lhasa. I engaged myself in selling petty goods on the streets. An old man used to visit the bazaar. Among the goods I sold was a type of

Chinese tea. This is my story about “karmic causes and effects.” I thought to myself, “Poor thing. The old man wants to taste this tea since he is asking the rate but does not have the money. Let [me] give it to him.” I gave him half of the tea. It cost 50 *dhotse*, perhaps it is equivalent to 50 *rupees*. He said he would pay me later for the tea.

Later when I did not have a place to stay in Lhasa...being an Amdo, I did not know the Tibetan language well. I sought his help in finding a place to stay. We used to live in tents but by then all my colleagues had left. So I requested from the old man that he rent me a room in his house. Later [I realized] he was the older brother of a member of the Security Army of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Q: Security Army?

00:54:29

#52D: Yes. Long ago there was a very old man. He was famous here in India, the principal [security member of His Holiness]. He [old man in Lhasa] was the older brother of this person. He [security member] was trying to get me into the Security Army of His Holiness. I wished to join it. But then the *Chushi Gangdrug* began.

[I] was informed about the *Chushi Gangdrug* and how to join it. Andrug Gonpo Tashi, Amdo Jinpa, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government had altogether formed the *Chushi Gangdrug*. When the *Chushi Gangdrug* was established, we, the Amdo people, did not possess weapons. You know the spear? The metal head of spears had been fashioned. Some did have guns but others did not. Very few owned guns, perhaps one in ten possessed a pistol since [we] were all traders.

The three provinces [of Tibet] formed the *Chushi Gangdrug*. As for men, there were the traders of Dhomay [Amdo], and the Utsang Government undertook to provide all other assistances. After discussion with His Holiness, the *Chushi Gangdrug* was established at Diguthang. We left for Diguthang at night by crossing the river in a canoe. Then we walked, armed with spears to join the *Chushi Gangdrug*.

After a few months in the *Chushi Gangdrug*, I do not know how long, we left for Shang Gaden Chokhor [a monastery]. The Tibetan Government’s armory was located at Shang Gaden Chokhor. Many guns like *Enji-khadhum* ‘English-made short-barrel [rifle]’ were stored at Shang Gaden Chokhor. [I] think we were 100 or 200 men with Andrug Gonpo Tashi. We drove along 300 horses and mules to carry provisions.

00:56:32

Journeying over mountains, [we] encountered the Chinese. A colleague of mine was killed during the skirmish. One or two people hailing from the Chating region were also killed. They were Khampa traders that were very daring. Though warned about the Chinese presence, they rushed in. The Chinese lay in wait around a mountain bend. The Chinese troops had arrived earlier and occupied the region. They [the Khampa traders] were shot dead. However, we were without weapons. So, some [men] climbed up the mountain and rolled down boulders. [Laughs] That was how we fought the Chinese.

Long ago in historical times, there was a Mongolian king in India—the one who ruled over Delhi. The Mongolian king had passed through Tibet from Mongolia. He had built stone mounds in which the Chinese had set up artillery and lay in wait. The barrel of the artillery was aimed through a peephole and an Amdo and a person from Lithang called Lodoe, who was my colleague, were killed. The Amdo was hit and wounded but the *dhodhop* ‘warrior monk,’ though the bullet hit him here [points to center of chest], except for a reddish color, it had not wounded him due to the protective amulet that was worn. He was dead.

00:58:12

There were an old Khampa and me and we ran to [the stone mounds]. We reached near but what could we do? They [the Chinese] were inside and the door shut. What to do? The old man said, “Let us throw stones.” We hurled stones towards the wall. Whether it was the stones that did it, there were two Chinese killed. Then we got the artillery. The artillery could be pushed on two wheels like a bicycle. The wheel was changeable. We took it with us. There were two Chinese dead inside and we continued our journey. Believing that there were no more Chinese around, we came down but there had been one hiding that rushed upon me and held me. He had a gun while I did not. [I] felt helpless but immediately remembered my small waist-knife and stabbed him. Poor thing, he was killed.

Q: Stabbed to death?

00:59:25

#52D: Yes, I killed him. He was the only Chinese to die by my hands. Numerous Chinese were killed by gunshots, but many people fire and you do not know whose bullet killed someone. [I] killed one [by stabbing]. And then we continued [our] journey after the encounter. We were unable to move directly ahead and retraced our steps. By then everyone was gone.

Near a riverbank was an injured person. He sat there and said he was thirsty and wanted water. I went to the river and brought some water in my hat. My colleagues were gone while I was the one bringing up the rear. He had been shot at and the bullet had entered here [points to head above right ear] and exited here [points to head behind right ear]. [He] was not dead but could not stand up. [He] was a Khampa. It had entered here and exited here. I told him to come along but he said, “I cannot. You go ahead. Just give me some water.” I gave him water in my hat and left.

My colleagues had climbed the mountain and taken another route to go to Shang Gaden Chokhor. The pathway to Gaden Chokhor was very bad but we carried on for many days.

[We] arrived at Gaden Chokhor. I shall not dwell over the journey to Gaden Chokhor. The Tibetan Government’s armory at Gaden Chokhor had a stock of different types of arms and ammunitions. There was a type of a small canon of this size [stretches hands apart about 1.5 feet]. It could be placed on a horse and fired. It was a small one with shells no bigger than this [gestures off camera]. I received one of these. Each one of us was given an English-made short barrel rifle.

I was the flag-bearer of the Amdo group. There were 10 people of Amdo origin and the rest were Khampa. Andrug Gonpo Tashi was present. Then we had to return to Diguthang in Lhoka. However, on the way we heard that the Chinese troops would be arriving from Tsang Tashi Lhunpo. So we went ahead and waited to ambush. Having gone to fetch the weapons, we were a large number of people and animals.

01:01:44

However, unknown to us, Chinese soldiers had arrived from Lhasa and Nagchukha on foot. The horses were being brought in vehicles. We had no knowledge about it and waited by the roadside with our guns. We fired at it [vehicle] and might have killed horses. Two of the drivers were killed and another fled to the mountaintop. Then we proceeded on our way.

I was young and liable to take part in the combat. We spent nights on mountaintops. It was very cold in the snow on the mountaintops. [I] owned just one pair of shoes and the clothes [I] wore. Whether it rained and became wet or dried, that was the only one. With just one pair of shoes, the toes froze and became numb in the ice. When it froze, you had no feelings once you stood up. One did not feel the warmth until much later when the tips of the toes began to burn. When the warmth moved up to here [the knees], the burning sensation vanished. This little toe was frozen and numb. That was how we continued.

01:03:02

[We] came to Nemibu. On one side of it lay the village of Tsang and on the other the town of Lhasa of the Tibetan Government. It was like the different states you have in India. We spent a night there planning to go to Diguthang. However, we could not go to Diguthang as the river, which the *Chushi Gangdrug* men present there should have watched but had not. The Chinese waited there. We could not go across due to the Chinese presence. There was an encounter and one Amdo and two people from Lithang were killed.

There were two Amdo associates with me. [We] ran into the village but Chinese troops were there on the upper floor of a house. [They] fired and both my colleagues fell but I was not hit. Perhaps it [the bullet] hit a pillar or something. One of them was called Aku. He was older to me. I was young at that time, perhaps 21 or 22. He got up, called out "Gyendun, Gyendun" and died. The other one was also down. I waited for some time. He possessed a pistol. I could see someone moving in the house in the starlight. I immediately took the gun and fired all the shots. After a while everything became still.

01:04:

I then looked at the old man. He had been hit by a shell in the chest and was killed. [I] took his gun and helped the injured colleague up. [I] carried his gun and mine too. My colleague, while firing his gun had severed his finger [shows right thumb] and a bullet had entered here [points to right side of midriff] and exited here [points to left side of midriff]. The flesh was open. He was injured but I was not hit. And then someone threw a hand grenade. It was like a firecracker. I took the name of God and kicked at it. It exploded further away. Nothing happened to me. Really there is God.

Leading the old man and carrying the guns—all our colleagues had left by then—we had to find a place to stay. The Chinese had fled to the other side while we remained on the opposite side. I led him to where another colleague called Amdo Tamo was. I said that he was injured but there was no medicine. They collected some leaves and pasted them on the wounds, as there was no medicine. I thought to myself, “He is shot here and it exited here...”

Q: Were you the only one who was unharmed?

01:06:01

#52D: I was the only one. I handed over my colleague to them and wanted to go and die. [I] swear [I] did not want to live. [My] colleague had been shot here and his intestines were destroyed. He would definitely die in a day or two. I thought it was better for me to die. Carrying my gun, I left for where the action was. [I] sprinted towards where the Chinese were. Two of my associates followed me and shouted, “What happened? Do not go. Why do you want to go? One person may die but why should you too?” I replied, “I am going to die. [Our] colleague is dying. It is for the cause of Buddha dharma. Whether we are at home in the village or here, we have to die.” [They] would not listen and took me back.

Poor thing, [the injured] had a sort of bandage over the wound. There being no medicine available, herbs were applied on it. That night, we were told that we had to go back to the mountaintop. [We] had to retrace our steps. By dusk everyone left. The injured was lying there, as he could not get up.

Q: Was he still alive?

#52D: He was still alive. The other one was dead while he was not. Poor thing, I placed him on his horse and led it in the night. The Chinese lit some sort of lights in the sky, which allowed them to see everything. Then [they] started firing. They lit the lights and fired. Everyone had gone ahead while I advanced slowly. After covering quite a distance, I saw a small monastery. He [injured colleague] said, “Leave me here. You go ahead. I am bound to die. Give me the pistol and I will remain here, even if there are Chinese around. You go ahead.” I replied, “If you wish to stay, I shall. Let both the horses go. Both of us will stay back. Should you die, I will too in front of you.” Then he agreed to proceed.

We traveled throughout the night over the mountain, with [me] leading his horse. Fortunately, my horse could smell and follow those that had gone ahead because I had no idea where we were. Towards dawn we reached the mountaintop. Over the other side of the mountain was Nagchukha beyond Lhasa.

01:08:40

Then he [injured colleague] said that he wanted to answer the call of nature. I brought him down from the horse. There was blood on the neck of the horse from his finger and the wounds [touches around midriff]. He was sleepy and [I] let him rest for a little while. And then it was daylight and I placed him on the horse and continued. The journey was downhill and sandy. It looked like all the others had taken this route.

While moving downhill, the saddle hurt his wounds. So, I had an idea and placed him facing backwards. When the horse trotted like this [moves body forward and backward]...I put him facing backwards and letting my horse lose, led his horse down until we reached the plains. The sun was shining. A Chating friend of mine had recognized my horse and caught it. They were camped in the distance, having made a fire and prepared tea. They had left in the night while I did not know the way.

I continued to lead him [injured colleague]. When I had left my village for Lhasa, musk...Do you know what's musk? Musk, it is medicine. Long ago I had brought the musk from the village, which was in my *amba* 'pouch of traditional coat.' [I] continued to give him that. It is very precious. [I] continued to feed him that. Then [we] were in Nyechenthangla, which was covered in snow. Our toes became frozen in the snow.

Taking the route through the north, after many days [we] arrived at Nagchu. [We] once again had an encounter with the Chinese but there were not many of them; perhaps they were engaged in building roads. [We] did not have any food to eat except for some cheese the nomads gave us. [Laughs] The Chinese that had fled had left behind *tingmo* 'steamed bread' which I packed in my bag.

Q: Did the food belong to the Chinese food?

01:11:15

#52D: It was the Chinese' food. They had fled after the encounter that morning. I got some *tingmo* from some sort of a makeshift kitchen. The Chinese had cooked the food. I got some steamed *tingmo*. [Laughs] Something good to eat! Then we left directly and arrived at this monastery near Lhasa called...one reached it through the Gaden [Monastery] route...Degung Dhasathing. We planned to take the route from Degung Dhasathing to the place called Yarigong and through Kongpo Gyamda to the *Chushi Gangdrug* [base camp] at Lhoka. Then we fought the Chinese at Kongpo Gyamda, where they lay in wait.

We planned to camp near Kongpo Gyamda but the Chinese shelling injured Andrug Gonpo Tashi. I was with the injured colleague. Everyone turned back. A person from Amdo was killed. The artillery shells threw a mule up in the air and I saw one being killed. Everyone was shocked but later fled. I put the earlier injured one on his horse and leading the horse followed the others. Chinese planes hovered as [we] took the route behind Kongpo Gyamda to the mountain near Kongpo Nyitri.

01:21:06

We thought we would go to Diguthang from Kongpo Gyamda. [We] proceeded to Kongpo with the aim to go to Diguthang. After we left Kongpo, some nomads who were herding animals said, "Chinese soldiers have been waiting there since a week. Do not proceed." So Andrug Gonpo Tashi decided, "Let us wait here while we survey the area first." But what was there to see when the Chinese were hiding beneath the earth. [We] did not realize that and thought there were no [Chinese]. We had camped in the plains.

Andrug Gonpo Tashi was our principal leader and they were holding a meeting. I was with my companion who was injured earlier. While we camped there, the Chinese fired shells on

us. Andrug Gonpo Tashi was injured then. Andrug Gonpo Tashi, our principal leader was injured there. [We] could not proceed and retraced our steps.

Q: The injured accomplice who was injured in the stomach...

#52D: I was holding him.

Q: Had he died?

#52D: I was holding him. He was not dead.

Q: Was he on a horse?

01:22:15

#52D: He was on a horse that I led. At that time he was on the ground. His and my horse was tethered together as we sat on the ground. Everybody was gone. They had retraced their steps. So I immediately put him on the horse and led it. We crossed over a mountain pass and Kongpo and arrived in the northern region.

Q: The Changthang 'Northern Plateau'?

#52D: It was in the northerly direction. I do not know the name of the area. It was beyond Kongpo Gyamda.

Q: Beyond Kongpo?

#52D: Yes, beyond Kongpo. It was in the northerly direction. The nomadic site was behind Drepung [Monastery] of Lhasa. We kept [the injured] colleague there. Corpses used to be taken to the nomadic site at night but we were not aware of that. We had nothing to eat that night, absolutely nothing. Believing that the nomads were carrying a bag of *tsampa*, we took the body. Realizing that it contained a corpse, [we] dropped it. Someone said that it was a corpse and [we] dropped it. Those who were taking the body gave us some cheese. Then we proceeded. Now I will tell you.

01:23:42

Chinese planes pursued us. There was a place beyond Kongpo Gyamda where we made camp. The *Chushi Gangdrug* organization's flag, pack animals, provisions and everything had been lost at Kongpo Gyamda when the Chinese shelled us. A few of the Amdo had something to eat. Each person carried a pack with him.

I was solely engaged in leading the injured one. I told you that [I] had some *latsi* 'musk,' musk from the musk deer. Do you know *latsi*? I continued to give it to him. That was the only medication for him.

Then around a month later, we were to go to Jang Lharigo in the northern direction. We had nothing to eat and had arrived in the nomadic region. We made camp. In the morning two people from each group were assigned to beg butter and cheese from the nomads. I was

the youngest in my group, so I was given the task along with another person. [We] neither knew the region nor the Tibetan language well. At that time, [we] spoke the Amdo dialect.

Having been traders, the Khampa people had visited the region earlier. We followed them. When we requested, “Please give us alms,” the nomads did not and said, “What can we give you when we have nothing to eat?” However, the Khampa people bared their knives and were given [food] immediately. In this way, we carried on with my injured friend. Poor thing, he gradually became better. The wounds here [midriff] healed and he was able to ride by himself.

Q: Did the colleague become well?

01:25:40

#52D: He became well. We continued onwards to Jang Lharigo. While the main army was at the camp, the Chinese attacked. A colleague and I were in a village. There was nothing to eat but a piece of meat. [We] put it in a mug and was trying to boil it over a fire, when my colleague who was looking out of the door shouted, “The Chinese army is approaching!” “Where?” [I] enquired. “It is coming from there,” he said.

[I] could see the Chinese army in the distance. Abandoning the food, we immediately ran up the mountain behind the nomad camp. There was nothing to do but flee. It was 4 or 5 o’clock in the evening, just before sunset. We fled on seeing the Chinese at a distance. We fired but could not reach them. [We] climbed up the mountaintop and by then night fell. The Chinese was between our main army and us. They [main army of *Chushi Gangdrug*] could not advance and returned towards the north. They proceeded towards Jang Mirikha. We got left behind.

01:27:13

Early in the morning [we] could see some people walking far away on the mountaintop. [We] were not sure if they were Chinese troops. We went there and found that it was a Khampa, a person from Gyuepa. He was a trader who visited the region on trade missions. He was there to get a change of horses. He was called Gyerong Aka. We met. As we knew each other he asked me to his place.

There were several others and I asked if they were going to join the *Chushi Gangdrug* in which case I would go with them. They said they were and I went with them. They were a group and possessed cooking utensils while I had nothing. We travelled towards the northeast and arrived at Chara Penpa. There was another place called Chukushi. We halted a month in Chara Penpa and then...

Q: Where did you stay the month?

#52D: On the way to Chara Penpa the army became separated. They went towards the north to Jang Mirikha. We camped at Chara Penpa. Observing the rules [of the *Chushi Gangdrug*], we shared and ate whatever the villagers gave us, even food for the horses.

Q: How many people were there in the main *Chushi Gangdrug* force?

01:30:11

#52D: The majority of the men were stationed at Diguthang.

Q: Sixty people?

#52D: The main army was at Diguthang.

Q: Around how many men were there in the main army?

#52D: I do not know how many there were. There were Khampa and many others.

Q: How many were there with you?

#52D: There were a little over 200 men with us. We went to Shang Gaden Chokhor to get [weapons from] the armory with Andrug Gonpo Tashi.

Q: There were only 200 men with you?

01:30:32

#52D: Maybe around 200 men and 250 horses and mules for transportation.

[Translation of previous statements]

01:32:28

Then we were in Chara Penpa. We had become separated from the main *Chushi Gangdrug* unit. We were about 20 men.

Q: You were only 20 men?

#52D: There were 20 after we became separated. We had been sent to get food while the main army followed. When we were at Chara Penpa, 15 of the men arrived ahead to inform us that the army was approaching. Due to certain people with vested interests, we were accused, “They looted and stole 100 *khel* [a measurement] of grain and butter from the villagers.” When had we stolen that? [Laughs] So we were punished. They [the main army] arrived later and were informed about this. Among my colleagues were Zerong Aka and Rigpa Bhuchungwa. They were group leaders. Rigpa Bhuchungwa was a leader of a Khampa group while Zerong Aka was the group leader of Dhargay Gonpa. There were only two people from Amdo, my colleague and me.

Perhaps another [person from] Amdo stood up for us and explained that we were sent by the [Amdo] organization and that we were not looters. They told us, “Surrender your guns. You have been involved in killing and plundering.” “We will not give up our guns.” But they insisted. There were some frictions amongst us. [I] heard about conflicts among the Lithang people as well as among the Dhargay Gonpa people. A verdict was passed and Zerong Aka and the other one were killed.

Q: Who were killed?

01:34:17

#52D: [They] were killed within [by Tibetans]. Accused of being Chinese spies and such, they were killed. There was Chara Penpa and a fort called Chukushi. The Penpa Rinpoche was living there then. And then it was learned that the Chinese had arrived at Kongpo Nyitri. We were to go to Kongpo Nyitri and then the plan was to go northwards to reach Diguthang. The main army was yet to arrive. It was announced that one must volunteer to go to Kongpo Nyitri.

Q: Volunteer for whom?

#52D: We were to volunteer to go to fight the Chinese. Andrug Gonpo Tashi and the others announced after a meeting. I said, “How many people will volunteer? I put my life at stake since I left home. I do not need money. I shall volunteer. Yesterday you passed a verdict saying that we must surrender our guns. I shall not do so. Let us go [to war].” That night I do not know what was wrong with it but my horse became sick and died.

Then three of us went to Kongpo Nyitri. No, there were ten men. At Kongpo Nyitri we met the leader of Kongpo. He was involved in the revolt against the Chinese in Chamdo and had escaped. We held some discussions with him. He suggested way laying but we failed. The Chinese arrived in Kongpo Nyitri and a confrontation ensued. During the battle none of us were killed. Several Chinese got killed.

We fought for a whole day and night. When darkness fell, we turned back since there were numerous Chinese. We were only ten men and if one got killed, there would only be nine left. If there were 100 Chinese and how ever many you killed, they grew in numbers. They possessed a good stock of weapons. We turned back and crossed the river called Gyamo Ngulchu [River Salween] in the north and arrived at Kari Nari.

01:36:37

We halted for some time at Kari Nari. A huge Chinese army camp was based at Kari Nari. Perhaps it was a district headquarters of the government in the early days. The Chinese were inside and [we] surrounded it. The chieftain of Kari village was a very smart man. He had manufactured the chemical that was used in the guns of the olden days. We fought the Chinese. I was young and ignorant about combat. I did not know to evade during a combat. I forgot. [Laughs]

Andrug Gonpo Tashi used to tell me, “Bhukya, what is with you?” I used to wear a black *chupa* ‘traditional coat’ and he told me, “You run about in your black thing. The Chinese will kill you. Learn to duck as you fight.” However, due to panic you forget. So, several Chinese were killed during this combat. They had dug foxholes and entered right into and up the mountain. A Chinese and I confronted each other but he could not kill me. Some of us fired and killed him. We halted for around three weeks there.

A Chinese plane arrived. Its weapons were deadly. The bullet casings from its guns were this big [shows length from fingertips to wrist]. They were very big and dropped from the

sky. The bullets were like bombs that exploded *thak, thak, thak* when dropped on the ground. We were not hit as people hid individually on the mountaintop. The gap between the mountaintops was like this [holds up hands side by side] and [people] hid here and here [indicates both mountaintops]. The plane flew like this [indicates between mountaintops]. We fired at it and the aircraft fell.

Q: Did the plane fall?

#52D: Yes, the plane was hit and it fell. There were two dead Chinese in the plane.

Q: Who fired at the aircraft?

01:38:57

#52D: We did; we, the men of *Chushi Gangdrug*. There were many of us who fired. The mountains were like this [hold hands up side by side]. The plane flew between the mountains dropping bombs. It targeted the houses of the village down below. We looked and found two dead soldiers in the aircraft. [I] think we were there for almost a month. And then it was the 1st month of '59. Andrug Gonpo Tashi said that we must proceed to Lhasa. The areas of Chara Penpa and Kari Nari were in the Kham region. They were far away near Tsawa Pakshoe. The old man [another interviewee] who was here just now...

Q: What guns were you using to shoot at the plane?

#52D: It was artillery. The shell casings were this big and thick.

Q: No, no. What did you hit the plane with?

#52D: What we used?

Q: Yes.

#52D: The mountains were high and the aircraft came flying like this [indicates between mountain tops]. We were hiding among the rocks.

Q: What type of guns?

01:42:38

#52D: They were like the English-made short-barrel rifles but larger in size. One could load numerous bullets and it went *whrrr*.

Q: Was it automatic?

#52D: Yes. The English had supplied them to the Tibetan Government long ago. We had gone to fetch them.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: These weapons that he was using at this time, were they weapons that had been dropped by American planes?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: No, he said the automatic was British. So how can it...

Q: Where did you get the guns?

#52D: We went to fetch them from Shang Gaden Chokhor, which I told you about earlier.

Q: Did the *Chushi Gangdrug* provide them?

01:43:41

#52D: The Tibetan Government provided them. There are different provinces like Kham and Amdo under the Tibetan Government in Lhasa. The Tibetan Government agreed to provide the *Chushi Gangdrug* with weapons while Dhoday [Amdo] province arranged to send men. The organization was not called *Chushi Gangdrug* then. It was the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi ‘Soldiers of the Defend Buddha Dharma Volunteer Force’.

Q: Tensung Dhanglang Magmi.

#52D: Tensung Dhanglang Magmi. It means protecting the Buddha’s dharma by sacrificing your life. It was the army that sacrificed its life for the protection of our religion. *Chushi Gangdrug* stood for...There are *chu shi* ‘four rivers,’ like in India you have the River Ganga and Yamuna, and *gang drug* stands for the ‘six ranges’ that are located in Dhoday.

Q: Didn’t the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi join with the *Chushi Gangdrug*?

#52D: It is the same. Now we call it *Chushi Gangdrug* but initially when it began, the name was Tensung Dhanglang Magmi. Later it came to be known as *Chushi Gangdrug*.

Q: Can we just stop a moment? I’d like to hear about the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi and how it was first formed.

#52D: In the beginning the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi was formed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the aristocrats in Lhasa, Kungo ‘Your Presence’ Phala and Lukhang.

Q: Kungo Phala?

#52D: Kungo Phala who died after coming to India. He and His Holiness the Dalai Lama and there was Andrug Gonpo Tashi. From the Amdo side there was Amdo Jinpa. He was the central figure.

Q: Amdo?

#52D: Amdo Jinpa. Some people would know him as Amdo Jindhak but his name was Amdo Jinpa. All of them met and discussed. From the Kham side was Andrug Gonpo Tashi, who hailed from Lithang. There were others from different parts of Kham. [I] forget some of the names. Yes, there was Chating Dawa.

Q: Chating Dawa.

#52D: Chating is the name of the place. Different district have different names. He was called Chating Dawa. All of them gathered and established the *Chushi Gangdrug*. That was when the *Chushi Gangdrug* began initially. Once it was formed, you needed soldiers. There were traders and pilgrims from Kham and Amdo in Lhasa. These men were to join it and the Tibetan Government was to provide weapons like the English-made short-barrel rifles that were stored in its armories. These were to be supplied to us and the villagers were to give us change of horses and food. Documents to collect such taxes were made. That was how the *Chushi Gangdrug* was formed. The three provinces united to establish it.

Q: You are describing the *Chushi Gangdrug*. What's the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi?

#52D: They are the same.

Q: Are they the same?

#52D: The one and the same.

Q: Initially the name...

#52D: When it was initially established, the name was Tensung Dhanglang Magmi.

Q: In the beginning?

#52D: When it was initially formed, it was called Tensung Dhanglang Magmi.

Q: When did the name *Chushi Gangdrug* come into being?

#52D: It was called *Chushi Gangdrug* later because there are *chu shi* 'four rivers' and *gang drug* 'six ranges' in Tibet. So everybody called it *Chushi Gangdrug*. It is not right to say so but presently we speak about *Chushi Gangdrug* as consisting of Dhotoe [Kham] and Dhoday [Amdo]. A land comprises of four rivers and six ranges and it is called *Chushi Gangdrug*. It's inane. The three provinces of Tibet united and initially formed the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi and later it came to be known as *Chushi Gangdrug*. They are the one and the same. The initial name was Tensung Dhanglang Magmi.

Q: He said that giving up one's life for the principles of the Buddha. Is that what Tensung Dhanglang means?

01:49:21

#52D: It means giving up one's life. One is sacrificing one's life to defend the Buddha dharma. That is the meaning of Tensung Dhanglang Magmi. And [also sacrificing your life] for your land.

Q: Actually I have a few questions, so if you could just hold your narrative just for a little bit, I want to go back because I am building a list of questions.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: So just tell *pa-la* we just want to go back a little bit to make sure that I understand everything. Just a few questions. He does not have to give long answers.

#52D: Should I speak about the Tensung Dhanglang Magmi?

Q: No, no. It's something else.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: I just have a few questions. He doesn't have to give long extensive answers.

#52D: Okay.

Q: One of them is, Kuri Rukhong this man who went to destroy his *gonpa* 'monastery,' you said that your uncle and your uncle's friend killed him. How did they kill him?

01:50:54

#52D: Lukhang? That is the name of an aristocrat in Lhasa.

Q: The question is how was he killed?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: I think we got the name wrong.

#52D: Kuri Rukhong?

Q: Yeah. Your uncle killed him. How was he killed?

#52D: He was a Chinese.

Q: How did your uncle kill him?

#52D: He was killed at Tashi Gomang.

Q: How was he killed?

#52D: It happened long back, in '56.

Q: No, no. That is right but how was he killed?

#52D: What?

Q: We know his uncle killed him. That's clear. How did they kill him? They shot him or...

01:51:29

#52D: He was shot. He destroyed the Tashi Gomang Monastery.

Q: Under what circumstances did you leave the monastery because you were at the monastery for 14 years? Did you leave the monastery...were you at Tashi Gonpa? I'm assuming he was...Did you leave the monastery when Kuri Rukhong tried to come and destroy it?

#52D: I was a monk from the age of 11 to 17.

Q: From age 11 to 17?

#52D: Yes. At the age of 17, I left to fight the Chinese.

Q: Oh, six years. Okay, fine, but the point is under what circumstances did you leave the monastery? I'm not clear on that.

#52D: Because the Chinese did not let the monks to live [in the monastery] and were tormenting the people. I was not happy and was forced to join the fight. When you pick up a gun and kill people, you can no longer be a monk. So I left the monastery.

Q: Okay. Were you actually at Tashi Gonpa? Was that your monastery?

01:52:47

#52D: I was at Amchok Gonpa. My lama was called Seratsang.

Q: Did you actually give up your vows to your lama then?

#52D: I gave back the vows in my heart. I did not tell anybody. One must immediately go to fight the Chinese. So I went inside the temple, prostrated and gave it back to the deity. I expressed my regret because now [I] must kill people. [I] must fire a gun.

Q: Were the Chinese sort of at the door of the monastery at this point? You said there was not much time. So what was happening?

#52D: The Chinese planned to destroy the monastery and were killing people. I told you that during my pilgrimage [I witnessed] boys and girls being sterilized. People were being jailed in my village and there was no food. People were hungry and thirsty and drank each other's urine. Even now people say, "I gave you my urine." [The Chinese] did not provide drinking water. Everyone was imprisoned, including children and women. Everyone was put in, the door shut and locked.

Q: Whom? Where?

01:54:33

#52D: In [my] village by the Chinese. Such was the situation.

Q: Seventeen at that time, right?

#52D: Yes, 17.

Q: When you were taken to China and you were 21 years of age. How did you travel to Beijing? What form of transportation?

#52D: There were Chinese vehicles from Tashi Gomang.

Q: How were you treated when you were there?

#52D: We did not go to Beijing. [We] went to the place called Landu.

Q: Is that in China?

#52D: It is in China. It took a whole day's drive by vehicle from Tashi Gomang.

Q: Is Landu in China?

#52D: Yes, it is in China.

Q: How did the Chinese treat you?

01:56:00

#52D: Their nature was not good and [they] spoke...I told you that when I attended the meeting, the leader pointed his finger at me and said, "You are a child but possess an old brain." That is how he spoke. Their ideology was one thing and what they spoke was another.

Q: Were you with the other district heads?

#52D: Yes?

Q: Were you with the other district heads?

#52D: My associates?

Q: Yes.

#52D: You mean when [I] went to China?

Q: Were there other Tibetan leaders with you when you went to China?

#52D: There was my paternal uncle who was going to attend the Chinese meeting. I was taken along with him. I did not go the whole way. The others continued their journey to China. I told you that there were over a 100 people [representing] the three provinces of Tibet.

Q: Didn't you meet the other leaders?

01:56:52

#52D: I did not go there. [Instead] I accompanied Aba Alo to Lhasa on pilgrimage.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: He actually was kind of on his own. He was not with these other people.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: He was with his uncle.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: Just with his uncle. Okay.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: When he was turned away, he went to Lhasa.

[Interviewer to interpreter]: He was turned away because he didn't really kind of go along.

Q: How long were you there actually?

#52D: Perhaps a week.

Q: During that time what had happened?

#52D: They had to continue their journey while I had come to see off my uncle. I understood the Chinese ways, about what they did in [my] village. I told you [I saw] monasteries that were destroyed when I went on pilgrimage. Monasteries like the Gonglo Chosang that was completely ruined. I did not even go home to my parents but left for Lhasa.

Q: You were a week in China. What did you do during those days?

01:58:18

#52D: They attended meetings while I sat at home or wandered. [I] did not know to speak Chinese language.

Q: So it was actually your uncle who was talking to...

#52D: Uncle was a Chinese official and had left for the meeting. I stayed there until my uncle left. I did not stay once uncle left.

Q: The uncle was taken to the meeting in Beijing.

#52D: [After uncle left] I did not go home but left directly for Lhasa.

Q: Did uncle stay for a week?

#52D: Uncle left.

Q: Didn't uncle stay for a week?

#52D: He stayed for a week. All the people stayed there together. [I] think it was about a week.

Q: The uncle who was in Landu, was he the same uncle who killed Kuri Rukhong? Was that the same uncle or different uncle?

01:59:30

#52D: The one who killed Kuri Rukhong?

Q: Yes.

#52D: That was my maternal uncle and two other people.

Q: Maternal uncle.

#52D: There were other people but [I] do not know who they were. It was said that there were two others. The killing was done secretly.

Q: What position was this uncle like? What was he doing?

#52D: What?

Q: Your paternal uncle was a leader, right?

#52D: [He] was the leader of our village.

Q: Was he like a district administrator?

01:59:58

#52D: Like a district administrator, he was the chief leader.

Q: Just to be clear. Your uncle was never sent to Beijing, right? You both only stayed in Landu.

#52D: [Paternal uncle] went to Beijing. [He went] with everybody else.

Q: Were you wearing any kind of protective amulet?

02:00:48

#52D: I was wearing an amulet right from home, since I left my village. The amulet contained protective cords by my lama. Remember I was in the encounter at Chara Penpa? Bullets did hit me but when I checked my clothes in the evening, except for holes in the clothes, [I] was not injured. One day a bullet hit me here [points down towards leg] and my boot, which is long and laced, was frayed. There was a lot of pain, so I moved aside to check. Except for a red spot, not a drop of blood was shed. There was no injury at all. I had an amulet and probably that was the reason.

Q: Did it break your bone?

#52D: No, there was nothing but some bruises. There were holes everywhere. The pants and boot were frayed. However, there was nothing on the flesh but for the redness. There were many holes in the clothes, so bullets must have hit but [I] realized it only in the evening.

Q: Did your amulet have a name?

#52D: [I] do not know the name. It contained hair of the lama, and whatever the protective cords, they were all inside the amulet. [Laughs]

Q: Did you ever have any kind of conflict in your mind about having been a monk and then fighting and using violence?

02:02:56

#52D: As a child, I did not know much. However, war is not good and I do feel regret. But one was forced to when the enemy was killing us. All my colleagues were killed. Earlier I told you about my colleague in Nemibu, a person from Lithang called [nicknamed] *dhopdhop* who was killed. Remember we flung stones [at the Chinese] and took their artillery? The *dhopdhop* must have been wearing an amulet because he was hit here [points to chest] with shells but he was not injured at all. The flesh was all red and he was dead. There was no injury on the flesh [though] shells had hit him.

Q: When you guys managed to shoot down the plane, can you just describe how that felt?

#52D: There was nothing. The plane fell to the ground and we were atop the mountain. The plane was flying and then it fell. It was quite a distance away. In the evening our colleagues went to check and found two men dead. There were many guns [inside the aircraft], which were huge and long. A bullet was this [shows finger tips to wrist] long and thick. There were many but since [we] did not know how to operate them, [we] left them.

Q: We have perhaps about 15 minutes before we need to wrap up. Do you think you can finish your story in 15 minutes? [Laughs]

02:04:55

#52D: [Speaks before question is interpreted] Remember [I told you] we fought the Chinese at Kongpo Gyamda? Later we clashed several times when the Chinese ambushed us. During one incident a Chinese was injured. The encounter took place in a forest and there was exchange of gunfire. [I] heard there were around 15 Chinese but [I] do not know the exact figure. [We] killed several of them but did not lose anyone on our side. Then [I] saw a man, a Chinese soldier lying on the ground. Poor thing, I felt sympathy and did not harm him. Perhaps he had been hit and was injured. The Chinese soldier was calling out, “*Ama* ‘mother,’ *ama*.” I swear.

Q: Did the Chinese say, “*Ama*”?

#52D: The Chinese cried out, “Ama.” He was a Chinese soldier and perhaps injured. There was a dead man and an injured one. He was lying on the ground and calling out, “Ama, ama.” I did not do anything [to harm him] nor did I tell the others. [I] let him die [by himself] and we left. Really, [we do] feel sympathy.

Q: Were there around 15 Chinese?

02:05:55

#52D: [I] heard there were 15 Chinese, but we do not know how many were killed.

Q: How about if we came to the end of your story. We have only about 10 minutes.

#52D: I will stop soon. After coming to India, I served the Indian Government.

Q: You’ve reached India now?

#52D: [I] arrived in India later [in the story]. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was leaving [Tibet]. In ’59 we arrived in Lhasa from Kongpo Gyamda. His Holiness was going to leave. We escorted His Holiness to India and arrived here.

All the people were fleeing but we did not take even this much [handful] of *tsampa* ‘flour made from roasted barley’ from anyone. [I] had nothing to eat and the only clothes and boots were what [I] wore. Whether they got wet or dry, that was the only pair of boots. God really does provide on account of the karmic causes and effects. See, I am healthy now. God gives me health and does not let me become sick because of the karmic causes and effect. The boots on my feet were torn. My friends told me, “Gyedun, the boots...”

It is going to take some more time. Shall we leave it at that? [My friends] told me on the way, ...

Q: Can you please show your foot?

02:08:03

#52D: It was frozen. [Shows right leg and points to toes] This toe was frozen and became like this. Now it is somewhat okay.

Q: How did your foot become like that?

#52D: [We] used to be high up in the mountains at night because of the Chinese. [We] sat in the snow and they became frozen. During the day they remained wet while at night got frozen due to the ice.

Q: Crossing the Changthang ‘Noethern Plateau’ and getting out?

#52D: Fortunately, later I got shoes. There is the karmic causes and effect. [I] found a shoe here and another way away near a bridge...

Q: Just one shoe?

#52D: A pair of shoes. If one shoe was here, the other one was way away near a bridge, a distance of 20 kilometers.

So in this way we journeyed into India and reached the border of Mon Tawang and then onwards to Bomdila [Arunachal Pradesh, India]. I was in the new pair of shoes that I had found. They were short like the Indian ones whereas our boots in the village reached up to here [gestures off camera]. Snow and water entered them [the new pair of shoes], since there was no road except a trail through the snow. Someone had thrown a piece of cloth on the trail. Numerous people trudged on this track as had also His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I was exhausted and could no longer walk, but I thought to myself, “His Holiness has traversed the journey. In comparison, I am just an insect.” Thinking of this enabled me to carry on.

Q: Did [you] tie a cloth?

02:10:02

#52D: A wad of cloth was thrown there. I walked into the snow to pick it up and my friends discouraged me saying, “What are you doing? You could fall and die in the snow.” However, I went to pick it up. It contained fabrics of five different colors like the prayer flags, each about a meter in length; a piece of woolen cloth, about a meter in length; a lady’s pair of earrings; a pair of beads [indicates neck ornament]; a piece of turquoise and two small corals. They seemed precious but [I] had no knowledge about the others. I cut the woolen cloth in the center and wound it around my feet. Water and ice no longer seeped in and it was wonderful. [I] could come to India, until Mon Tawang in that condition.

There was nothing to eat and [I] swear that [I] ate grass. One ate grass and drank water from the border until reaching Mon Tawang. [I] just ate grass and drank water along the route whereas others carried provisions. Some carried *tsampa*. There were innumerable people fleeing. His Holiness the Dalai Lama had taken the same route.

The tribesmen of Mon Tawang had erected wooden ladders hewn from thick logs up against the cliffs. [We] led the horses there.

Q: Horses?

#52D: Yes, like cats, [I] swear. It seems strange now. A ladder was left against a cliff, perhaps to use by the tribesmen. A person at the top held a rope that was tied to a horse’s tail and another stood below. Some horses trod slowly but others were quick and fell headlong into the ravine. My horse managed through.

So we arrived in Mon Tawang like that. The Indian Government provided provisions like rice and such at Mon Tawang and I begged for alms too. From Mon Tawang I came to Bomdila and then to Assam. At Assam the Indian Government stated that the Chinese were arriving and roads had to be constructed for its army. The Indian Government requested His Holiness the Dalai Lama that they required the help of 500 men. His Holiness

the Dalai Lama asked the men of *Chushi Gangdrug* and 500 volunteered. I too volunteered and went there.

Q: Did you go to fight?

02:14:12

#52D: No, to construct roads in Indian territory. There were many monks and people joined us later. I went to Missamari in Assam, close to the border of Bomdila building roads for two months. There was a provision for payment of wages to the road crew. However, the contractor colluded with the overseer and misused the money that was meant for us. We were provided with food rations once a month and later when our people came to know about the money, we protested and left.

A little distance from Bomdila was a place called Chakshur where there was an Indian Army camp. Tibetan refugees received food rations at Chakshur. I stayed back [at Chakshur] while my companions left. I saw two Tibetans who were responsible for the distribution [of food] living with Indians in a huge hall. I went to receive my share of food consisting of some *tsampa* and a little butter. They [two Tibetan distributors] asked me, “Are you alone? Do you not have companions?” I replied, “I have no companions.” “Will you take our place?” They were traders from Kalimpong who had arrived in India long ago. They were originally from Tsang. “We have been here many months and wish to go back. Will you stay here? You are alone, so why not stay here? It is hot in Assam.” “I know it is hot in Assam as I have come from there.” While I lay in bed that night, I thought over the way they allocated the rations.

[Discontinuity in video]

There was a mug in which they sprinkled the wheat flour or sugar. [Holds cup in left hand and does sprinkling motion over it.] When it reached the top, it was cut off using a stick and then distributed. [I] reflected over this in bed at night. The world was donating us the food and surely they did not direct that it be distributed by sprinkling in that way. I thought over it. Butter [distribution] was fine but they distributed oil in ladles. What is there for the people to eat? I thought if I stay here, perhaps I can bring about a change. I reflected over this in bed at night. [I] approached them in the morning and asked, “What are the duties if I stay here?” They said I would have to distribute the rations. All the provisions were laid there and each day as the people filed by, food was rationed out. An Indian soldier stood by to oversee, so were I to take charge I would have to follow the way those two had done the distribution.

02:17:55

Therefore, I formulated a rule. While they had dispensed [rations] the whole day, I set a time limit that distribution would take place between 10:30 and 12 o'clock and not beyond. Everyone, whether there were 100, 200, 1,000 or 2,000, at least 50-60 came at the same time. There would be a rush and the Indian [overseer] would not be able to watch me in such a situation. I opened a bag of wheat flour, put my hand in and loosened it up. When the people filed by, [I] pushed the mug deep inside the flour [bag] and brought it out full. While earlier they cut the top with a stick, pretending that I was cutting off the top with my

hand, I pressed the [flour] down [into the mug]. There was a mound of wheat flour for the person to eat. I felt happy but nobody else except God knows the good [I did] for the people.

You know the former Prime Minister called Juchen Thupten who passed away recently? He was with me then. His family had come to work there and we knew each other. He said, “Do not make such rules. People are talking about beating and killing you. We have fled from the Chinese and here you are setting such rules. You will be beaten and killed. You can distribute food the whole day, so why limit to a few hours? Do not do that.” I said, “Okay” and left it at that. When I did not have work during the day, I went to the forest to look for firewood. When a new person arrived, I gave [him] the firewood. This went on for many months.

02:19:54

One day—perhaps word got around—two people arrived. Many people came but these two were looking for me; asking around for a youth. They were aristocrats of the Tibetan Government. One was a *tsidung* ‘monk official’ and the other had slight eye damage. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was living in Buxar [West Bengal] then. [They] said that His Holiness had personally sent them with instructions to locate a youth who was doing a great job of distributing food to the people. Somebody must have informed His Holiness. They were asked to find out who I was, my origin, birthplace and any problems I faced. They wanted information about me and wrote my parents [names], my stint in the *Chushi Gangdrug* and other details.

Once the camp gets closed, they told me to either come or write to the office at Buxar about where I wished to proceed. The Tibetan Government and His Holiness the Dalai Lama were sending many people abroad and to schools and wherever I wished, I would be sent there. They had been sent by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I did not know to read and write.

The Indian leaders taught me the Indian language and to read and write. They named me Ram. They could not pronounce my name and called me Ram. There was a leader who was really very good. I spent a few months there and then left for Assam. There I was selected to join a training group in Madhya Pradesh. I received training for a year, after which I was dispatched to Dalhousie in ’62. From Dharamsala I came to Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh and continued to work there for around 30 years from ’62 until ’95. I showed you these, [takes out a bunch of papers from pocket] which were issued by the Indian Government. I repaired a transformer that earlier ran on diesel.

02:24:49

There is something called karma. I told you that during the [escape] journey, due to lack of food I had nothing but grass and drank water. At that time I thought, if your karma is not there on your forehead...when it rained, I possessed just one set of clothes whether they became soggy or dry, while at home I had piles of clothes that the parents had acquired for the children. When I was in great difficulty, I could not find even a grain and resorted to eating grass and drinking water. I reflected that money and wealth was nothing when it is

not here [points to forehead] but if it is, one can find [money and wealth] anywhere. I swear there is karmic cause and effect.

Until now except for caring and giving to people, [I] never fight with anyone. With leaders, [I] question them but with common people, even if I am beaten, I do not react. Therefore, I have no regrets. Now I am old and everyone who has taken birth must die. I pray that everyone should not suffer any illness.

Q: Thank you so much. It was so interesting. We just need to ask you one more time. If this interview was shown in Tibet or China or anywhere else, would this be a problem for you?

#52D: What?

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

#52D: No, not at all.

Q: And also just lastly, so many memories you are bringing up again from such a long time ago, what is it like to tell the story again?

#52D: I have told you everything and it [feels] good. It is good for everyone to know the suffering. I told you now, whether it is the *Chushi Gangdrug* or anyone...we the people on this earth must observe the karmic cause and effect. The Chinese...The Buddha dharma and remain harmonious among nations. Whoever it may be...I feel pain when pinched and the other person too will feel the same. Keeping that in mind, one must think twice before hurting someone. My parents used to tell me that and I too feel the same.

Earlier my parents used to say that one must not reveal the flaws of others but look at oneself first. One must watch out for one's own shadow and not of others'. Speak about others by looking at your shadow, my parents advised me. That is true. There was once a man with a cleft on his lip, and another with two clefts. Still he [the latter] pointed his finger at the other and teased, "That man has a cleft in his lip." One should not say such things. I can recall my parents' advice.

Q: Did you ever hate the Chinese?

02:29:32

#52D: The reason for not liking the Chinese is that they do not allow religious practice and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. That is very bad. I do not have any other worry. If only His Holiness could go there...for a country can be governed by anyone. [I am] sincere. Mao Zedong killed so many of our people. When he died, his family was shedding tears. They should reflect. Similarly a terrorist kills people but if one of his people is killed, he will shed tears. They must contemplate but do not. I always say that.

I wish His Holiness could go back and there be religious freedom. It would be good if there was harmony in the world.

Q: Thank you so much.

END OF INTERVIEW