

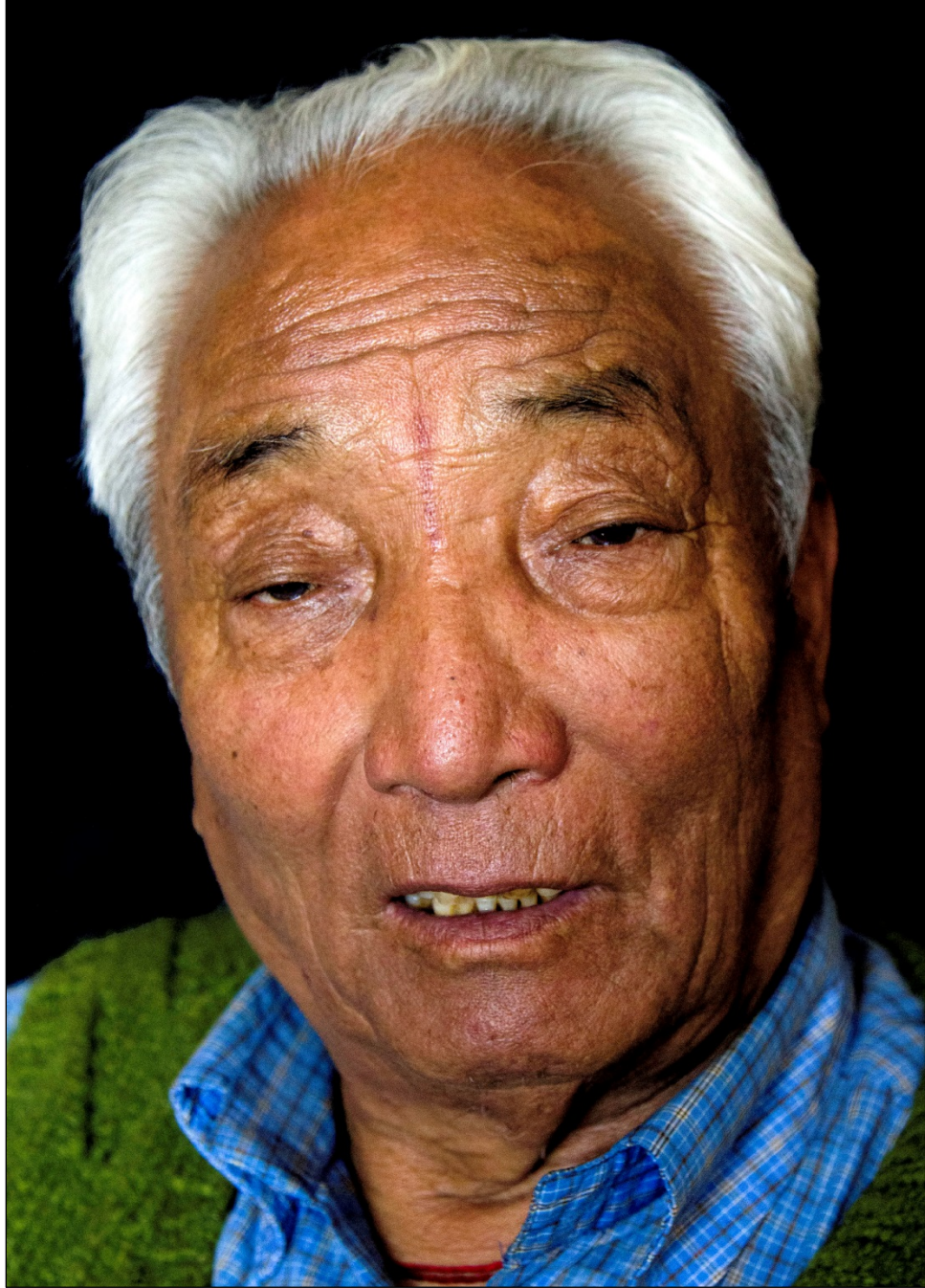
Tibet Oral History Project

Interview #7D – Lobsang Tashi
May 21, 2012

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INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

1. Interview Number: #7D
2. Interviewee: Lobsang Tashi
3. Age: 74
4. Date of Birth: 1938
5. Sex: Male
6. Birthplace: Shidong
7. Province: Dhotoe (Kham)
8. Year of leaving Tibet: 2005
9. Date of Interview: May 21, 2012
10. Place of Interview: Hotel Tibet, Mcleod Ganj, Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India
11. Length of Interview: 2 hr 01 min
12. Interviewer: Marcella Adamski
13. Interpreter: Tenzin Yangchen
14. Videographer: Pema Tashi
15. Translator: Tenzin Yangchen

Biographical Information:

Lobsang Tashi was born in Shidong in the Gongka Lama District. He was the third in line of eight siblings. His parents were farmers and he began working at the age of 12 by herding cows. His first experience with Chinese was in 1949 when there were skirmishes between the Nationalist Chinese and the forces of the Gongka Lama in his region. He talks about the conflict between the Nationalist Chinese and the Communist Chinese as well as the regional authority of the Gongka Lama.

The Communist Chinese took over Lobsang Tashi's region in 1959 and he recalls that his father and uncle who fought against the Chinese were killed by grenades. Lobsang Tashi then joined the resistance movement at 18 years of age. Armed with a rifle from a relative, Lobsang Tashi took part in 13 encounters with the Chinese, during which he was shot in the face and the leg.

Lobsang Tashi narrates the events that led to his capture and subsequent prison term. He recounts how the prisoners were falsely implicated, forced to confess, beaten brutally and starved to death. They were forced to labor on the construction of the electricity plant in Chamdo. After five years he was released from prison and returned to his village, but remained under Chinese surveillance until he finally fled to India along with his daughter in 2005.

Topics Discussed:

Kham, childhood memories, first arrival of Chinese, taxes, resistance fighters, imprisonment, forced labor, thamzing, brutality/torture, commune system.

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Interview #7D

Interviewee: Lobsang Tashi

Age: 74, Sex: Male

Interviewer: Marcella Adamski

Interview Date: May 21, 2012

Question: Please tell us your name.

00:00:12

Interviewee #7D: Lobsang Tashi. [I] have two names. In my village I used to be known as Ponga Tashi. Ponga Tashi. I have two names. I am also called Lobsang Tashi. It is Lobsang Tashi after arriving in India. It used to be Ponga Tashi in Tibet. The family name Ponga goes ahead of my name. So, [I] was Ponga 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, 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?

#7D: [Nods] Yes.

Q: 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.

#7D: [Nods]

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

00:02:28

#7D: There will be no problem for me. [I] have family members in Tibet. All of them are there in Tibet—my children, grandchildren and wife.

Q: *Aku-la* ‘respectful term for paternal uncle,’ where were you born in Tibet?

#7M: I was born in my village.

Q: The name?

#7D: I was born in Shidong in Markham region under the Gongka Lama District.

Q: How many people were in your family and what kind of work did the family do when you were a little boy?

03:03:30

#7D: Farmers. [They] were farmers.

Q: And how many people were in your family?

#7D: Eight children and the parents.

Q: Where were you in the list of siblings?

#7D: Five daughters and three sons. I was the third in line with two older sisters.

Q: What kind of a little boy were you? Were you lively, mysterious, what kind of a little boy?

00:04:35

#7D: I was quite naughty and engaged in fights as a little boy.

Q: Who did you fight with?

#7D: There were other little boys with whom I fought, as [I] was naughty.

Q: When you were a young boy, say 5-8, did you have any responsibilities on the farm?

#7D: One just wandered around as a 6 or 7 year old. One was not even given the responsibility of herding cows. And there were no schools then.

Q: When did you begin to have responsibilities, at what age and what did you do?

00:05:52

#7D: [I] began working around the age of 12 by herding cows.

Q: How would you describe life on your farm and in your family? What kind of a life was it? Can you tell us about it?

#7D: Parents engaged in cultivating the lands, as the children could not do much. The parents brought up the children.

Q: When did your peaceful life begin to change? When did your farming family life begin to change?

#7D: What changes?

Q: [You] were engaged in farming but could not continue to do it your whole life. In the meantime certain changes did take place, when did that change come about?

00:07:28

#7D: The change took place when I was about 18 years old. I was 18 years old in '49. It was in '49 that there were skirmishes. The Nationalist Chinese fled into the region and there was a combat at Tindhu and also at Dhartsedo. Around 1,000 soldiers of the Kuomintang Army arrived in our region [led by] Thentuthay. Mistaking them for Communist Chinese, the Gongka Lama force attacked them, believing them to be Communist Chinese.

Q: Communist Chinese?

#7D: Yes, believing them to be Communist Chinese. They were Kuomintang soldiers. They had been pursued and expelled by the [Communist] Chinese. Around 1,000 soldiers arrived and the Commander was called Thentuthay. They fled into Tibetan territory and wanted to flee to Taiwan through Zayi. Chang Kai Shek had escaped to Taiwan.

Q: Did the Gongka Lama troops attack the Kuomintang Chinese or...

#7D: Initially they fought the Kuomintang soldiers, mistaking them for Communist Chinese.

Q: Oh, by mistake?

#7D: Yes, by mistake. When the Chinese arrived, they thought they were the Communist Chinese and attacked the Kuomintang soldiers.

Q: And what happened?

00:09:26

#7D: They [the Nationalist Chinese] requested the Gongka Lama for passage to Zayi and that they planned to go to Guwahati in Assam and from thence to Kolkata and escape into Taiwan. They pleaded for passage. However, the Gongka Lama replied that they would have to inform the Tibetan Government. The Minister then was Lhalu.

Q: Lhalu?

#7D: It was during the time of Lhalu. He [Gongka Lama] refused passage saying that the Tibetan Government must be informed. So, the Gongka Lama blocked their route. Many Chinese were killed. [They] requested for passage. Were Tibet a part of China earlier, they would not have to seek passage, as it would be their territory. Because Tibet was not a part of China, the Kuomintang had to seek passage.

"I cannot let you pass through because there are other higher authorities. There is the Tibetan Government and [I] will not let you through." So, the route was blocked and the Kuomintang pushed back towards the direction of Khawakarpo. They were pushed back. Then they encountered the Communist Chinese and were routed. The Kuomintang was defeated. Around 40 of them had already reached Taiwan through Assam.

Q: And how many were killed?

00:12:25

#7D: Fifteen to 20 Kuomintang [soldiers] might have been killed. Later, after the Chinese troops encountered each other, the Kuomintang once again arrived and the Gongka Lama gave them food, tailored clothes for them and treated the injured Chinese with medications. Only later when the two Chinese sides battled did [the Tibetans] realize that they were the Kuomintang and gave help. Some might still be surviving. There might be some aged ones in Taiwan. The Commander was called Thentuthay. The Chinese called him Thentuthay.

Q: Why would the Tibetans want to support the Chinese Nationalists and not the People's Liberation Army?

#7D: A lot of stories used to be heard during that time about the liberation and killing of people in Sadam and Yunan by Communist Chinese. [We] heard many stories about Communist Chinese being terrible people. [We] knew that the Communist and Kuomintang Chinese were fighting each other. After learning about that, the Kuomintang was given help in the form of medication, clothing and everything by the Gongka Lama. He even sent a person as escort to reach them to Gyayul, which is near Assam.

Q: Prior to this conflict, what was the relationship of the Tibetan people with the Kuomintang soldiers?

00:15:28

#7D: The main relationship at that time was that the Kuomintang was based in the [eastern] side of the Drichu [Yangtse River]. The Kuomintang had occupied the region [to the east] of the Drichu. The region of Ba was occupied and even our region was held, until Gongka Lama evicted them. Tendharing, Dhutsamo, Linletang, these were the armies of Tindhu Leuchudang. There were Kuomintang soldiers in Tsakha where salt was found in Ba region. The Gongka Lama ousted the Kuomintang Chinese. [He] confiscated their guns, gave rights to the married and expelled the unmarried soldiers.

Q: Did the people that lived in that region, the Khampas, did they have any obligations to the Chinese nationalist soldiers? Did they have to pay taxes or have any kind of requirements?

#7D: The *chu-dhun* 'ten-seven' [was paid] to the Kuomintang at that time. If one cultivated an area of ten acres of land, one was required to pay a seventh of that. Seven portions out of 10 acres, *chu-dhun*. Seven *khel*...kilo...what is it called in Tibetan...

Q: *Gyama* 'measurement of weight'?

#7D: Yes, it is *gyama*. One was required to pay 10 units of 25 *gyama* to the Kuomintang then.

Q: Do you mean grains?

00:17:51

#7D: Yes, grains. It is *chu-dhun*. Later during our times, it was paid to the Tibetan Government and not to the Kuomintang.

Q: Earlier [was it paid to the Kuomintang]?

#7D: Yes, earlier. Then the Chinese routed them and there was no Kuomintang.

Q: When was the time it [was paid to the Kuomintang]?

#7D: That was in historical times, as I have not seen [taxes] being paid to the Chinese. During our times, we paid to the Tibetan Government.

[Interpreter interprets tax as 10 measures for every 25 measures of grains harvested]

Q: That sounds like a high tax. Did the people consider that a very high tax to pay to the Nationalist Chinese?

#7D: No, the tax *chu-dhun* depended upon the size of land holdings.

Q: If one held ten acres of land...

00:19:26

#7D: If one held ten acres of land, he paid *bo*...10 kilograms annually.

Q: One was obliged to pay 10 *bo*?

#7D: One was obliged to pay 10 *bo* of grains.

Q: Ten *bo* of grains?

#7D: Ten *bo* of grains annually.

Q: You mentioned 25?

#7D: That was 25 *gyapho*. The *bo* is bigger than *gyapho*. It is 25 *gyama*, which is 12.5 kilograms.

Q: I see. Ten acres and that would be 10 measures. Was that considered excessive or doable, feasible?

00:20:31

#7D: It is seven. One paid seven *bo* [for every 10 acres].

Q: So, it's seven *bo* and not 10 *bo*?

#7D: No. It is seven *bo* for 10 acres.

Q: Was paying seven bo for 10 acres not high tax?

#7D: The tax of seven bo for 10 acres is not high; it is low. We called it *khel* [instead of *bo*] in my region.

Q: Not high tax, okay. And so after the Chinese Nationalists fled through your territory, they were given permission and they did flee, what happened next in your region. Did the Communists come into your region or what happened?

#7D: And then the Communists captured the region to the east of the Yangtse River up until Khawa Karpo.

Q: The whole area to the east of the Yangtse River...

#7D: ...was captured by the Communists. The Communist Chinese had captured the area extending from Dege Kangtho, along the Yangtse River up until Khawa Karpo and Gyuepa Dechen District.

Q: What did you see during that period? What did you witness with your own eyes?

00:21:25

#7D: During that period we knew we had to counter the Chinese. The Gongka Lama group pushed the Communist Chinese towards Yunan...you know, Pha Lekshay of Bylakuppe [India]? The people of his area fled into our region, it being Tibetan territory with no Chinese presence. When the liberation process and the struggle began, they fled into our village.

Q: Who and where did they come from?

#7D: They were people from Gyuepa.

Q: What did they tell you about what happened in their region?

#7D: There were physical struggles in their region. The rich were tortured and their wealth confiscated. It happened in the Kham village of Pha Lekshay, the father of the [present] Gongka Lama. They could no longer endure and fled into our region. After they arrived, the Gongka Lama force went to attack the Chinese. They ambushed and killed Communist Chinese soldiers. This group was like the Defend Tibet Volunteer Force of Gyuepa. I was around 14 years old, perhaps 12 or 14 years old. Then the Chinese attacked our region at the place called Tsalithi.

Q: The Chinese arrived?

00:24:35

#7D: The Chinese arrived and occupied Tsalithi. The Tibetan Government had given many arms to the Gongka Lama then. From the regions extending from Shagongla to Chamdo, Gongka Lama was the only person who had been provided with arms. The

Tibetan Government gave many arms, the *enji khadhun* ‘English-made short-barrel [rifle],’ similar to the ones used by the Indian police. Many [arms] were given.

Q: And what were you doing at that time, *aku-la*?

#7D: My father had gone then.

Q: Your father?

#7D: [My] father was in the force as I was a child, perhaps about 12.

Q: And what were you doing?

#7D: I fled into the mountains upon learning that the Chinese were arriving. I drove the cows, *dzo* ‘animal breed from a yak and a cow’ and horses into the mountains and later, came down.

Q: And then what happens next in your life? Continue the story?

00:26:38

#7D: I was around 18 years old—perhaps not 18 but around 15—the Chinese and the Tibetans of Yunan, Gyathang of Dechen District and Gyuepa---there were 500-600 soldiers under the Chief and the Gongka Lama and later Tsalithi was invaded by the Chinese. When the Chinese occupied Tsalithi, [they] were fired upon with *Kyishang* guns, which the Gongka Lama’s group possessed.

Q: Yes?

#7D: The *Kyishang* guns.

Q: Guns?

#7D: Yes. They were fired upon and the houses set alight. The Chinese were expelled. The tips of the bullets ignited and set the houses on fire. The Chinese fled at night.

Q: From Tsalithi?

#7D: From the place called Tsalithi.

Q: Were you there?

#7D: No, I was not. My father was there and I was a child then.

Q: Were you in that battle and can you tell us some more details about what happened and where was it fought and what weapons did you use?

[Interpreter interprets as “You said you were not at Tsali when the battle was fought and the Chinese evicted. How did you...”]

00:28:43

#7D: It was my father. My father had joined the force. One member from each family was required to join the force and it was my father.

Q: Oh, I see and what was happening to the rest of your family? Your brothers, sister, mother, what was happening?

#7D: The condition in our village was such that when the situation calmed down after an encounter with the Chinese, [we] came home to work in the fields and when [we] heard that the Chinese were coming, [we] fled to the mountains.

Q: Did you run up the mountains with your animals as well as the women and children? Did they go with you?

00:29:53

#7D: Everybody went up the mountains, stayed for two to three days and then came back home. We used to leave the houses empty.

Q: How long did this back and forth between the Chinese coming and being...Did they go away because they were shot at and how long did that continue?

#7D: [We] fled because of the Chinese' mistreatment.

Q: Did you flee because they mistreated you or due to fear that they would?

#7D: [We] fled because we had heard that the Chinese would cause suffering.

Q: Did this kind of skirmish happen for many years?

00:31:02

#7D: This situation continued until '49.

Q: And then what happened in 1949?

#7D: And when '49 dawned, the Chinese arrived in Chamdo.

Q: Yes?

#7D: The Communist Chinese arrived in Chamdo. The Communist Chinese arrived in '49.

Q: And then what happened?

#7D: The Chinese arrived in the border area of the district of Gongka Lama. That was the real Communist Chinese. The earlier ones were the Kuomintang but those that arrived

later were the real Communist Chinese. The Kuomintang was completely routed and those who could, fled to Taiwan or India. The Kuomintang was completely routed and the Communists took over Peking.

Q: When did your life change? Do you ever join the army and how old are you when you do that?

00:32:56

#7D: After my father was killed in the early days of 1959...My father and maternal uncle were killed on the 13th day of the 4th Tibetan lunar month during the same encounter. My mother's elder brother and father were killed during the same encounter.

Q: Do you mean '59 or '49?

#7D: '59.

Q: We are now in '49.

#7D: Yes, we are in '49 now. The Communist Chinese had completely taken over in '49. They implemented liberation there [Lhasa] in '59 and His Holiness the Dalai Lama fled to India. That was the time the Liberation Army, as the Chinese calls it, arrived. The Chinese and the army of Gongka Lama, which numbered 1,400-1,500, travelled to the north of Markham towards the region of Dayab. Then in the 7th Tibetan lunar month of '59, the Chinese pushed it out of the north after many encounters. The Gongka Lama group did not overlook any chances of a fight. Starting in '56, they continued to resist until the 7th month of '61.

Q: Seventh month?

00:34:34

#7D: Yes, [the Gongka Lama unit] continued to fight until the 7th month of '61. And then it was over. Gongka Lama was the leader of our region. There were five monasteries and five villages [under him].

Q: *Aku-la*, can you please tell me how did you learn that your father and your maternal uncle were killed? How did you get this news? Who told you?

#7D: The news?

Q: Yes.

#7D: I was in my village then. I was present there. After father was killed, I joined the army.

Q: Where and how was father killed? How did you learn this news?

00:36:03

#7D: We were all in the mountains. The Gongka Lama army was moving in the mountains. The Chinese had occupied the village. When the Chinese occupied the village, the army was moving in the mountains. [They] encountered the Chinese in the mountains and clashed. Two men, my maternal uncle and [father] killed 12 Chinese. They were killed too. [They] killed 12 Chinese, 12 Chinese soldiers.

Q: Was your family able to recover your uncle's body and your father's body from the mountains?

#7D: The bodies were recovered once the Chinese left. The Chinese did not stay in the mountains but left for the village. After a search, the bodies were recovered and were cremated in the mountains.

Q: What was the name of your village again, please?

00:37:38

#7D: The site of the killing?

Q: Yes?

#7D: My village?

Q: Yes.

#7D: Jangmar. It is called Jangmar.

Q: Jangmar?

#7D: It is called Shidong. The actual village where I lived is called Jangmar.

Q: Jangmar?

#7D: Yes, Jangmar as in *Jang chok* 'North direction' *marpo* 'red.'

Q: Did the women and children and you come back down into the village? And then what happened next?

00:38:48

#7D: [The women and children] came back to the village. After father was killed in '59, the army left for another region to the north of Markham. After the killing of father, I joined the army. I was exactly 18 years old in '59.

Q: When [the army] went to the north of Markham, were you there?

#7D: Yes, I was [with it]. I did not have a gun. The guns belonging to my father and maternal uncle had been taken away [by the Chinese soldiers]. I was given a gun by a

relative of my mother's family, who is the paternal uncle of Tsela and Kalsang of Bylakuppe [Tibetan Settlement, India]. Armed with this gun, I joined the army. Two of our guns were lost to the Chinese.

Q: Can you talk about what kind of feelings you had in your heart and in your mind when your father was killed and your uncle was killed? What did that make you think about?

00:40:27

#7D: After the Chinese killed my father and maternal uncle I despised the Chinese. [The Chinese] have caused me great sufferings later.

Q: What kind of a man was your father?

#7D: Father was big structured like me. So was my maternal uncle.

Q: Was he a good fighter your father or would he rather be a farmer?

00:41:32

#7D: Fighting?

Q: Yes.

#7D: [He] was extremely fierce when engaged in a fight. Had they [father and maternal uncle] not been...they both died. They killed 12 Chinese and died themselves. [They] died during the same encounter. Had grenades not been flung at them, they were not hit by gunshots. Grenades were thrown and [they] were killed by that.

They [father and uncle] made barricades by piling stones of such [gestures off camera] sizes, very sturdy barricades. Barricades. Barricades. Barricades. The Chinese make such things against the wall by heaping stones. Because of the sturdy [barricades], they were not hit by gunfire. Then the Chinese started using grenades on them. Each time a Chinese arrived, they [father and uncle] shot him dead and in this way killed 12 of them. Then they were killed when bombs were thrown at them.

Q: Where did the bomb come from?

00:43:01

#7D: There was no way the Chinese could come from above due to the presence of rocky cliffs and every time someone came up from below, [father and uncle] fired at them. The Chinese army is very strict. Each time a Chinese [soldier] retreated, he would be shot at by his superior. Army chiefs killed their subordinates. If an ordinary soldier turned back to flee, [he] would be killed. So they used bombs to kill them [father and uncle]. [The Chinese soldiers] flung bombs as they came crawling.

Q: Bombs like grenades?

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Grenades, right.

#7D: There was no other route except from below due to the cliffs.

Q: Were the families in the mountains when your father and uncle were killed, I mean, had the women and children also gone to the mountains?

#7D: [They] were not in the mountains. They were living in the village. Except for men, there were not many women on the mountains. The girls were living at home. My mother and all the girls were living at home. Boys above the age of 18 were required to go.

Q: Can you continue the story and tell us what happens after you cremate your father and your uncle? What happens next?

00:45:42

#7D: My mother performed them [the last rites]. My mother did it.

Q: Yes?

#7D: Mother performed those [rituals], as we were moving in the mountains and not present where father was killed. Ours was a different army unit.

Q: Not with...

#7D: I was there.

Q: *Aku-la*, where were you?

#7D: I was moving separately with my paternal uncle, a brother of my father.

Q: So mother performed [the rites]?

#7D: Yes, mother performed the cremation and everything. She took help from the poor people and the *tobden* 'person who performs sky burial.' There was religious freedom then. A few monks were present in the monastery, perhaps 30 to 40.

Q: What were you doing in that region? Tell us about what your experiences were?

00:46:55

#7D: [I] was a soldier and moving in the mountains. It was called Sixty Eighteen [men enlisted in the force were below age 60 and above age 18]. I was above the age of 18 then in '59.

Q: Can you tell us some of your experiences in the mountains? How long were you in the mountains and what were some of your experiences?

#7D: [I] joined in '59 and was in the mountains until the 6th month of '60. I was captured on the mountain in the 6th month of '60. [I] got hit here [indicates right leg] and here [left side of face].

Q: What hit you?

#7D: Gunshots. [I] was injured and still bear the scars. I got hit here [right leg] and here [left face].

Q: *Aku-la*, can you please tell us about that encounter when you were shot in the face and in the leg? What was happening at that time?

00:49:18

#7D: I've fought the Chinese in around 13 encounters since I joined the army after my father's death. Thirteen encounters after father was killed. [I] engaged in 13 encounters with the Chinese; 13 times. The Chinese captured me during the 13th encounter on the mountain.

Q: Can you tell us what happened in that situation?

#7D: I have it in writing, so what's the use [of speaking about it]?

Q: *Aku-la*, please tell us.

#7D: The very first encounter among the 13 encounters took place at Nendo in the north of Markham.

Q: Nendo?

#7D: Yes, an encounter took place at Nendo and then we came down to Nangjay Gonkha, where there was another confrontation.

Q: Where?

00:50:35

#7D: At Nangjay Gonkha.

Q: Nanjay Gongkha.

#7D: A confrontation happened at Nanjay Gonkha. There was a place called Gongthang where [we] battled.

Q: Rongthang?

#7D: Gongthang.

Q: Gongthang?

#7D: Gongthang. Another encounter took place on a mountain pass called Tagu Lakha.

Q: Tog?

#7D: An encounter took place at Tagu Lakha. [We] intentionally went to wait for the Chinese during these encounters. [We] went to ambush the Chinese as they passed on the road. Then another confrontation ensued at Shiri Phichi Lakha, and at Nyabo. Many people of our village were killed. Every time an encounter took place, around 4-5 people got killed. There were 11 people in the group I was fighting with when I got shot. From the 11 men, five were killed and three, including me, were captured. The Chinese killed all.

Q: Five were killed and three captured, that's eight. The three...

00:52:06

#7D: Three managed to escape. It was like that. There were 11 men.

Q: *Aku-la*, what were you fighting with? What kind of weapons and what were the Chinese using?

#7D: The Chinese had sophisticated guns. The Chinese owned Baktu, Borabapa and all sophisticated ones. We only possessed Tseno guns. I owned a Tseno gun, a Kuomintang gun. Tseno.

Q: Tseno?

#7D: Yes, it is called Tseno.

Q: Did other people in your group have weapons from the Nationalist Chinese?

00:53:39

#7D: Yes, there was not anyone in the Gongka Lama force that did not possess a gun. The guns of the Kuomintang soldiers who were evicted had been seized. The Chinese were defeated and their weapons confiscated. And the Tibetan Government allocated guns to the Gongka Lama group.

The Tibetan Government supplied weapons on two occasions: the first time 160 and later 200 English-made short barrel rifles similar to the type used by the Indian police and vehicle-loads of bullets. Of course, there were no vehicles then. [They] were carried on the back. Each box contained a belt of 25 bullets, ready to be worn around the neck. Guns were aplenty in my region.

The responsible person was the *chanzoe* 'treasurer/business manager' of Gongka Lama. Of course, the lama did not go to war.

[To the interpreter] Please mention that the Gongka Lama did not go to war. He never touched a gun. The chief leaders of the region were the two *chanzoe* of the lama. There were five monasteries and five villages, ten in all.

Q: Were there 10 leaders?

#7D: No, not 10 leaders. There were five monasteries and five villages, ten in all under the jurisdiction of the Gongka Lama. The Chief was the *chanzoe* while the Gongka Lama, of course, did not go to war. He would never have touched a gun.

Q: And where was the Gongka Lama?

00:56:39

#7D: The lama was hiding in the mountains together with servants and 15-20 soldiers. [They] hid silently in the forest.

Q: How were you hit? Do you remember the actual time you were hit in the face and leg?

#7D: It was in the 6th Tibetan lunar month of 1960, [corresponding to] around the month of July. Yes, it was in July of '60.

Q: What happened after you were shot? What happened?

#7D: Then the Chinese caught [me] and tied [my] hands behind my back and led [me] away. [They] applied medicine to the wounds. [Laughs] After the capture, [they] did that.

Q: Where were the wounds? Can you show me on your face?

#7D: It is here [touches cheek below left eye].

Q: Did you feel lucky that you were not killed?

00:58:59

#7D: Oh, [I] just did not die! [I] was sure of death many times. [I] was in the water and a lot of other things.

Q: In water?

#7D: [I] was in a boat on the Zachu 'Mekong River' in Chamdo when the rope broke. [I] thought I would die but fortunately did not. [I] reached the other bank. [I] have undergone many hardships.

Q: Was that drowning before or after you were shot, almost drowning?

#7D: That was before [I] was shot. We had to cross the river Mekong, as there was nothing to eat for us there. We wished to go to the village and the rope broke in the river and the canoe got washed away. Then once again [we] tried to cross the river.

Q: Did you know how to swim?

01:00:53

#7D: No, [I] did not know to swim.

Q: How did you get out of the river?

#7D: The Mekong River is huge and the water current rushed against the rocks. The rocks pushed the current in the [opposite] direction. The canoe was made of animal hide. Thank God, the water current flung [us] to the riverbank. There were four men in the canoe and none of the four died.

Q: You mentioned that the rope broke...

#7D: The rope broke.

Q: Where was the rope?

#7D: The rope [gestures as if pulling a rope] was acquired from India that's used in planes [parachutes]. Such ropes were attached with the purpose of pulling [the boat] to the other side. The aircraft [parachute] ropes were as thick as the fingers. The ropes used to pull canoes were called *natha*.

Q: What was the reason to go to the other side? Was there food you could gather and where were you getting the food from?

01:02:44

#7D: There was a village on the other side. Climbing over a mountain, one could reach a village located on a pass. [We] could get food from the village. We were hungry since there was no *tsampa* to be seen in the region and were looking for food.

Q: To go back to your story, you said that you were shot and the Chinese applied medicine to your wounds and then what happened?

#7D: And then [I] was led there and imprisoned.

Q: And then?

#7D: Initially [I] was taken to [my] village and thrashed. After terrible beatings, [I] was locked up for around two months in a horse shed belonging to a family of the village. Then [the Chinese] took [me] to a prison in Markham District, Markham Gathok. The Wooser Monastery had been converted into a prison in Markham District. The prison was the Wooser Monastery. From Markham District, [I] was taken to Chamdo where [I] stayed for five years.

Q: In Chamdo?

#7D: Yes in Chamdo.

Q: In the prison?

01:04:20

#7D: Yes.

Q: Can you describe some of the conditions in...First of all, when you were beaten, who was beating you when you were taken back to the village? Who did the beating?

#7D: The people were instigated. [They] were told that [we] were terrible people, rebels who opposed Communist Chinese by going to the mountains as soldiers.

Q: *Aku-la*, who did the beatings?

#7D: They were the people that had been instigated. The people had been trained by the Chinese to do the beatings.

Q: So they did the beating?

#7D: There were officials. For instance, we have the parliamentarians who visit the villages. They [the Chinese officials] instigated the people and told them to carry out the thrashings. The physical struggle continued for 5-6 days. The house belonging to the father of Tsela, who [presently] lives in Bylakuppe was used as the residence of the Chinese officials. [I] was beaten for a few days in this house and then taken to the state prison. There were 100-200 people in the prison.

At the nearby Kandha Monastery of the Gongka Lama, an encounter ensued for a day starting just before daybreak and by this time of evening, at around 6, the Chinese had killed 212 Tibetans. And the number of Chinese killed [was innumerable]. Blood flowed in the lanes within the monastery's compound walls. [The encounter lasted for] just a day.

Q: Where was this? At Kandha Monastery?

01:06:56

#7D: At the Kandha Monastery.

Q: Where were you at this time?

#7D: We were in the mountains.

Q: But you told us about your being in the prison just now.

#7D: This was earlier in '59. The event in Kandha Monastery happened in '59. We've reached Chamdo when I spoke about our being in prison. During a day's encounter, 112 [212?] Tibetans were killed and innumerable lives were lost from the Chinese side. Blood flowed on the stone steps of the monastery. The clash happened within the monastery.

Q: Was that 212 killed?

01:08:28

#7D: Two-hundred and twelve were killed during one encounter in a single day.

Q: That was in 1959 but what year are we talking about you going, being beaten in your own village by the common people? What year was it?

#7D: '60.

Q: *Aku-la*, what do you think would happen if the common people refused to beat you? What would happen to them if they said they wouldn't do it?

#7D: [The Chinese] will say, "You are supporting them" and they will get beaten. All the bad people would do the thrashing. After the death of my father and maternal uncle, my family was known as a rebel family because they had killed numerous Chinese.

Q: How did they beat you during that period in the village, with sticks or whatever? What happened?

01:10:12

#7D: They slapped, hit, kicked and pulled by the hair. There were kicking, pulling of hair and slapping.

Q: Did you recognize some of the people that were doing that and did you have any thoughts about them or did you say anything to them?

#7D: Of course, [I] recognized them. Of course, [I] recognized them, as some of them were my friends.

Q: Were you mad at them for beating you?

#7D: I thought, "How could they be blamed when the Chinese instigated them?" I did not feel mad at them.

Q: What happens after that short time in the village? You said that you were moved and you went to...

[Interpreter to interviewer]: Markham Wooser Monastery and then Chamdo.

Q: Two months in the house and then you went to Markham. How long were you in the prison in Markham?

01:11:43

#7D: A little over half a year in Markham, around six months.

Q: And then?

#7D: And then to Chamdo.

Q: At the Wooser Monastery...

#7D: Yes, in the Wooser Monastery prison.

Q: In the Wooser Monastery in Markham?

#7D: Yes, that's right. The Wooser Monastery was converted into a prison.

Q: *Aku-la*, were there many people in this monastery that was now a prison? Were there many people like, were they in the cells of the monks? How was it organized?

01:12:36

#7D: I was number 1,426. There were that many prisoners. [Prisoners] were numbered.

Q: Were the prisoners in the dormitories of the monks?

#7D: No, no. The prisoners were housed in rooms where oil used to be stored. The houses were built using wood because metal was rare, there being no vehicles then. Kerosene lamps were lit at night. Each room housed 25 men and there were 100-200 men imprisoned.

Q: Were the prison houses newly constructed?

#7D: No, it was not newly constructed. The existing monastery building had dormitories for the monks on the upper floor. The small rooms on the lower floor were demolished with just the pillars left standing. These were walled and each room housed 25 men.

Q: [Housed] below the monastery building?

01:13:43

#7D: Yes, below the monastery. The Chinese had constructed prisons in the monastery, as there were no monks left there.

Q: Who were the people that were in prison? Were they fighters or villagers? Who were they if there were no monks?

#7D: They were people who had rebelled against the Chinese. They were the wealthy and the so-called oppressors of the people. There were different types of people. However, the majority were those who had rebelled against the Chinese.

Q: What were the conditions like and what happened to you in that prison during the 6-month period?

#7D: Oh God, to tell you the condition in the prison...the food we got to eat in a day was roasted *sowa*. Do you know what *sowa* is? *Sowa*? Have you heard of *sowa*?

Q: No, I haven't.

01:15:53

#7D: It is barley with its husk.

Q: I see.

#7D: It is grain with its husk. [We] were given roasted *sowa*. A day's measure of roasted *sowa* was this [gestures off camera] full. Due to the lack of food, the stomach became smaller and smaller. The intestines shriveled and I suppose they grew small and narrow. One day it was announced that [we] were to go to work. All the young ones were ordered to get to work. All the *dhopung* 'cairns' were demolished and the rocks engraved with *mani* 'mantra of Avalokiteshvara' were split and used in the construction of Chinese shops. Then [we] build walls for the prison.

The laborers were rationed a ladle full of *tsampa* 'flour made from roasted barley.' A ladle full of *tsampa* may equal three measures of this [gestures off camera]. When we ate *pa* 'dough made from *tsampa* and tea,' not having had *tsampa* for a long time, eating it immediately led to diarrhea. It did not digest. Initially one should have eaten it in tiny quantities. [We] suffered having to remain hungry. There was never any time that they [the Chinese] would leave us without suffering.

It was much better once [I] arrived in Chamdo. One worked in the fields for the Chinese in a place called Tayue in Chamdo. Tayue Shingra is located on the way to Dege from Chamdo. [I] worked in the fields there.

Q: Please tell me more about Chamdo then? You went to Chamdo and now...this is six months later. What happened in Chamdo?

01:19:13

#7D: [Speaks before question is interpreted] What is the use of speaking of these? While [I] was in Markham, daily 5-6 dead bodies had to be taken away; [they had] died due to starvation. Some [makes gesture of cutting neck], you know the pork can...

Q: Pork?

#7D: Someone stealthily found an empty pork can while answering nature's call and cut his neck himself. Some died due to starvation. Daily [we] had to take away 5-6 bodies.

Q: Was this in Wooser Monastery?

#7D: Yes, in Wooser Monastery. Everyday there were 5-6 bodies and this was a continuous process.

Q: Were there any torture...Were you subjected to any torture in that prison, monastery prison? Were you beaten or were other people tortured in that prison to give information or anything?

#7D: During the period the interrogations were going on...At Wooser Monastery, [the prisoners] would be called for interrogations and one must be present. If one failed to give a satisfactory reply, there were beatings. At times we were forced to admit to killing Chinese that we had not. The Chinese [interrogators] questioned as to how many Chinese we had killed. I replied that I had killed two. [I] confessed to killing two Chinese during the course of the 2-year period of resistance. I have killed only two Chinese and no more. There were others who claimed killing 10 or 20 Chinese. It was not easy to kill Chinese. The Chinese were trained and smart in combat. It was not easy to kill the Chinese.

Q: Were the prisoners, were they all men or were there men and women?

01:22:14

#7D: There were women and women with children. There were all types, perhaps half...In general, the offense of the women involved providing news about the Chinese whereabouts. Most of the women in prison were women who delivered such messages. When the Chinese were present in the village, they burned juniper atop the house to indicate, "Do not come. There are Chinese here." They burned incense atop the houses to tell [us] not to come to the village and that the Chinese were present. Burning incense atop the house meant that there were Chinese. That was the signal that [we] should not go there. There were no telephones then. [Laughs]

Q: When they were interrogating you, were there any techniques that they used to try to get information from you, any torture techniques?

#7D: At the time of interrogation, right from the onset, one straightaway confessed to killing the Chinese if one had...I was quite young and not having caused suffering upon others on account of my young age, [I] was not questioned much. I was the youngest among the prisoners. Oh yes, there were two Chinese policemen in the jail that were younger than me. Otherwise, I was the youngest. Two Chinese policemen were imprisoned. Prisoners had fled while they had been on duty. While they kept watch over the prisoners at night, three prisoners had escaped which was why they were in prison. Apart from the two Chinese, I was the youngest among the prisoners.

Q: So two people in their custody escaped and they were punished by being put in jail.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: That's right.

Q: How old were you at this time then?

01:25:26

#7D: [I] was around 20 years old then.

Q: Did you think that you would be released or always be in prison? Did you have any hope of ever escaping or getting freedom or were you feeling hopeless?

#7D: [I] thought I would get out one day [because] some were being released. Those with smaller offences were being released. Had one killed any Chinese, it was better to admit to

it promptly. When a bunch of people were captured and if someone among them accused you of killing a Chinese whom you had killed, it was worse. If you had killed, confessing to the number you had killed promptly was a little bit better.

Q: When you were moved to the next prison, did they tell you how long you're going to be there?

#7D: They did tell [me] when the verdict was given.

Q: [How many] years...?

#7D: The sentence was five years.

Q: What was the crime?

01:27:22

#7D: What?

Q: What was the crime, the reason?

#7D: [The reason] for being in prison? For release after five years?

Q: The reason for being interned for five years?

#7D: The reason was that [I] had gone to the mountains and rebelled against the Communist Chinese and for having killed two Chinese.

Q: Please tell us what happens at the next prison? What is it like and what do you do?

#7D: [I] worked in the fields at the prison in Chamdo. [We] were provided with enough *tsampa* to satiate [us].

Q: *Aku-la*, were there many people there? What was the size of the population? What was the prison? Was it a monastery or a building? What was it in Chamdo?

01:28:25

#7D: The prisoners in Chamdo...it was the prisoners that constructed the electricity building of Chamdo. There were Chinese prisoners and Tibetan prisoners. The prisoners in Chamdo numbered 5, 6 or 7,000 then. Those working at the *lokhang* itself constituted over 2,000 prisoners.

Q: What is *lokhang*?

#7D: Electricity plant. Electricity building. Electricity [points at lights above].

Q: They were making electricity?

#7D: Yes, they built a dam across the Mekong River to generate electricity.

Q: Oh, I see. What was the prison in Chamdo? Was it a monastery?

#7D: At Chamdo it was a monastery and everything else. The Chinese also constructed prison buildings. All the monasteries were converted into prisons then since there were no monks.

Q: Were prison buildings also constructed?

01:29:15

#7D: Yes, prisons were also constructed.

Q: Mekong River Electricity Plant. Tell me about your farming. First of all, this was in a monastery. There were 5, 6 or 7,000 people.

[Interpreter to interviewer]: [In] monasteries as well as constructions by the Chinese.

Q: They were doing both in Chamdo and you were in a prison that was a monastery?

#7D: I was engaged in working in the fields.

Q: The prison house?

#7D: The Chinese had constructed the building.

Q: Constructed...?

#7D: ...by the Chinese.

Q: What were conditions like on a daily schedule? What did you do?

01:30:49

#7D: One started work at 8 o'clock in the morning, hoeing the fields, channeling water and weeding.

Q: And then?

#7D: And then after five years...

Q: *Aku-la*, can you tell us what you did on a daily schedule? When did you eat, when did you work?

#7D: Lunch was at 1 o'clock. [We] went to work at 8 in the morning. No, it was at 9. First thing in the morning was jogging. [We] had to exercise early in the morning. After the exercise, [we] washed and then were provided *tsampa* with which [we] ate *pa*. There was no proper tea. [We] were given black tea. [We] drank the black tea and got to work.

Q: Can you please tell me what were conditions like in this prison and what was your daily schedule like?

#7D: There was exercise in the morning and then breakfast after exercise. [We] went to work at 9 o'clock and ate lunch at 1 o'clock. Work finished at 6 in the evening.

Q: How were the prisoners treated by the guards?

01:33:11

#7D: The officials at that time would beat us even for a tiny mistake. If one went against the rules, even if it was a small mistake, one would be thrashed. The rules to be followed were written on posters and stuck on the wall. Breaking even one rule mentioned in the prison rules resulted in a beating. However, one was not beaten if one did not break rules.

Q: What would be an example of a small mistake?

#7D: A mistake, like if one was working in the fields and for instance, wanted to answer nature's call, one was allowed only 30 minutes. Only 30 minutes to go to toilet.

Q: How many minutes?

#7D: Thirty minutes, half an hour.

Q: In order to go to toilet?

#7D: Yes, 30 minutes to go to toilet. It was 30 minutes.

Q: Thirty minutes is half an hour and that's a lot of time.

#7D: Yes, 30 minutes is half an hour. Is it not half an hour for 60 minutes?

Q: It's one hour.

#7D: Yes, 60 minutes is an hour. [I] do not think it was one hour.

Q: Thirty minutes is half an hour.

#7D: It is not one hour or half an hour. It was mentioned in the rules. I think it is about half an hour. Yes, it was 30 minutes.

Q: Were you in anyway in chains or shackled or were you free to just walk and do your duties and come back?

01:35:42

#7D: We were in chains in the village prison. And even in Gathok. While in the prison in Markham, [I] was not shackled. [I] was handcuffed in the village. [I] was not chained in Chamdo [because] one must attend work.

Q: You seem like a very strong man, so was the work—you had been a farmer—so was the work easy for you to do or was it difficult?

#7D: Compared to the village prison, Chamdo was good. Chamdo prison was big and it was better in bigger prisons. Lhasa [prison] was better than Chamdo [prison].

Q: So you were in Chamdo prison from age 20-26?

#7D: Yes, that is right. [I] was released in December of '65.

Q: What did you do in 1965 when you were released? Where did you go?

01:37:34

#7D: After release, [I] begged for *tsampa* from the people of Chamdo. There were no vehicles and [I] walked.

Q: Where?

#7D: [I] came through Dayab.

Q: Dayab.

#7D: Dayab. [I] came walking through Dayab until [reaching my] village, begging along the way. When [I] mentioned about having been a prisoner, [people] gave good food. Dayab is on the border of Markham. If Chamdo is here [gestures off camera], Dayab is here.

Q: How long did it take to walk back to your village?

01:38:39

#7D: The journey took 14 days. [I] thought I would be happy once I reached back but I was given the “hat,” the *seliphing*. [I] was a person the officials and people must observe. The work performed in a week must be reported. I must visit the office once in a week and give an account of everything I had done in a week. [I] had been given the “hat.”

[Upon release from prison I] was given a letter that was written in Chinese and stamped. I did not know Chinese. It was better to have been in prison. While in prison one worked for only eight hours a day, however back in the village, [I] had to channel water and work in the night. [I] suffered a lot. It was better to have been in prison then. [I] felt happy to be back in the village but it turned out that [I] had to suffer.

Q: What kind of work did you do day and night?

#7D: During the daytime there were duties like looking for firewood, cutting *bulo* ‘leaf of the *bhu* tree’ [used for fertilizer], transporting fertilizer and whatever work that was connected with agriculture. At night, [I] must go to water the community field. This was at night and without wages. Then for the people’s meeting place...[I] must go to cut *doma* trees. You know, *doma* trees, like you have in Bylakuppe. [I] went to cut pine trees. [I] must go to the mountain pass to search for firewood for which there was no wage. Of course, for doing one’s own work there would be no wage. Except for living with my parents, I suffered more in the village. [I] suffered more after returning to the village.

Q: Not [paid] for farming or for irrigating?

01:42:22

#7D: Working in the fields during the daytime pertained to my family’s livelihood. After the commune was started, it was different. At that time each [family] earned independently, as the People’s Commune had not begun. The People’s Commune was formed in 1970.

Q: Because you were labeled wearing the “cap,” how did people in your village treat you?

#7D: They [the Chinese] claimed that [I] was an opponent of the people and a dictator, one who must be kept under observation. “You must bow your head, accept [your situation] and be good. If not you will be beaten and bound. You will be subjected to physical struggle.”

Q: How did the people treat you? People like your friends?

01:43:36

#7D: [My] friends secretly gave food and tea, but they dare not do so where people could see. All the friends were good away from people’s sight, giving [me] food and tea. They dared not be good where people could see. They would be told, “You are keeping in touch with bad people. You are bad to contact bad people.”

Q: *Aku-la*, you then got out of prison. You said in 1965, is that correct?

#7D: [Nods]

Q: What did you do for the next few years? What kind of work did you do?

[Interpreter interprets questions as: “You were released in ’65 and for the next few years, did you continue to work in the fields during the day and channel water in the night?”]

#7D: Right. [I] was released in ’65 and the People’s Commune was formed in ’70. [I] lived there until the formation of the People’s Commune. Since my family was considered bad, at times we would be included in the Aid Committee and at times be expelled.

Q: And then what happened next?

01:45:49

#7D: After the People's Commune was started, [I] worked but received lower wages. The work was more compared to others. It was bad. One's *tsampa* was rationed. A person received 12.5 kilograms of grains per month and no more. It was only 12.5 kilograms per month.

Q: It couldn't be kilograms.

#7D: It was 25 *gyama*, which is 12.5 kilograms.

Q: And could you live on that?

#7D: That was it for a month whether you could live on it or not.

Q: I understand what was happening during the Commune System that started in 1970. When did the Commune System end that you were aware of?

01:47:53

#7D: That came to an end around '80.

Q: And what happened to you then?

#7D: I came to Lhasa in '79.

Q: And then?

#7D: After arriving in Lhasa, initially [I] carried goods and traded them. [I] purchased goods in Lhasa and went to the villages and to Kongpo. When the trade improved, [I] travelled by vehicles to Ngari. Mother lived in Lhasa and I travelled around on trade to Thoe Ngari and to the north to Nagchukha.

Q: And then what happened?

#7D: And later when the unrest occurred in Lhasa in '87, I joined it. When I joined the protest, I was once again imprisoned for four days. [I] was in for four days. My mother pleaded and pleaded. She had white hair and my mother pleaded with everyone [for my release]. There was an official called *Jampa-la* whom we knew and with his help, I was released after four days.

And then I sent my mother back to the village fearing that it was no good. I loaded all my goods into a vehicle and sent it back home. [I] told my sibling to come. [I] paid 4,000 [Chinese currency units] for transporting the things to the village. Then I lived alone in Lhasa. [Laughs] I was planning to protest against the Chinese.

Q: So you were imprisoned for several days, for four days and then they released you and after that you sent your mother back home. Is that correct?

01:51:52

#7D: Yes.

Q: Why were you put in prison for those four days?

#7D: [I] flung stones. [I] threw stones during the riot.

Q: Where?

#7D: The regional officer had witnessed the stone-throwing.

Q: Where did you throw stones?

#7D: The stones were thrown at the Chinese police.

Q: Was your mother's petition to the administrators, was to the Chinese administrators, and do you think that had an effect to get you released?

01:52:47

#7D: She pleaded that she would be left starving if her son was imprisoned. There was a person named Jampa-la in the police department with whose help [I] was released.

Q: And then you sent your mother back to her village, but what happened to you next?

#7D: And then Dawa Tsering, a relative of mine who hailed from the same village, and I engaged in political activities.

Q: And what happened?

#7D: And then he had...[swears] what he had done...I do not know exactly but Dawa Tsering had planted bombs.

Q: What had he done?

01:54:07

#7D: I believe he had planted *bazi*. [I] do not know [swears]...I believe there was someone called Semchen Lobsang Gyaltzen, who took the Panchen Lama to Jiang Zemin [Chinese President]. Semchen Lobsang Gyaltzen was living in Beijing. It was in the 5th or 6th month of 1995 that Lama Tsering, the *turing* 'official' of Tashi Lhunpo Monastery and Semchen Lobsang Gyaltzen, who was a high official in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and was to be appointed to the *turing* of People's Assembly or some such thing.

These two lamas took the Panchen Lama to Beijing, which was transmitted over the television in Lhasa. The television broadcast showed a red car being given and Jiang Zemin offering a *khata* 'ceremonial scarf' [to the Panchen Lama] and the Panchen Lama offering a *khata* [to Jiang Zemin]. Angered by seeing this on television, he [Dawa Tsering] planted a *bazi* in Semchen's house. I had no knowledge about it [while in] Lhasa.

Q: What's *bazi*?

01:55:25

#7D: *Bazi* is bomb. He was sentenced to 15 years.

Q: What happened to you?

#7D: Alleging that we were in contact, I was also arrested. I was in for a year, though in fact it should have been six months. I was [jailed] exactly for a year supposedly for being in league [with Dawa Tsering]. It was futile to deny our association.

Q: What were conditions like in prison?

#7D: It was very strict in the Samye prison, as strict as it can be. One could not even take in a metal bowl, but a wooden one. One was not allowed a *ker* 'waist band' or a shoelace. It was solitary confinement.

Q: Did you have enough to eat? Were you tortured at all during that time?

01:57:32

#7D: Food was provided on time. Initially it was difficult, but once you got adjusted, it became better. I faced problems initially.

Q: Why do you think you were accused of this crime by somebody? Why?

#7D: They [the Chinese] did not have any proof. Dawa Tsering clarified that he did not have any connection with me. I asserted that I had no knowledge of what Dawa Tsering had done. They did not have any proof but [I] was helpless.

Q: And then what happened after you were released?

#7D: After being released in a year, everybody in Lhasa sympathized with me for being in jail and gave [me] money. Taking this, I left for Kongpo. My younger sister was with [me]. My sister had come to Lhasa to take care of me believing that I would be jailed for a long time. I took my sister along and went to Kongpo. There I purchased a house of this [looks around room] size, perhaps twice as big as this room. It was built of stones. [I] bought the house by paying 15,000 Chinese currency units.

Then [I] opened a shop and my sister engaged in brewing *chang* 'home-brewed beer.' [I] spent my time in trade as well as selling wood. However, even as [I] lived like that, they [the Chinese] came sometimes to see what I was doing. They followed me wherever I went and thinking that they would do me no good, [I] fled to India along with my older daughter.

Q: Maybe that is a good place, for now at least, to end your story and I want to thank you for giving such a good understanding of your experience of Tibetan history.

#7D: Okay.

END OF INTERVIEW