

Journey to Bhutan for Justice

Editors

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Tshinyen Meto

Journey to Bhutan for Justice : Articles collection on different aspects concerning Bhutanese refugee crisis written by exiled Bhutanese and Bhutanese peoples' well-wishers edited by N B Giri and Dr Khagen Sarma, produced by the social organization *Tshinyen Meto* and published by Purbayon Publication of Guwahati, Assam, India.

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Publisher's Note of Deliberation

According to the Sanskrit folklore, the ancient History of Asia and the World History the people of Koch tribe lived and ruled Bhutan between the 7th BC and 650 AD while it was under the tutelage of Kamrupa (Present Assam in India). Sharchops, Doyas, Totastec were the first tribes to be in Bhutan. And Ethnic-Nepali communities were present in Bhutan since from 8th century, who arrived from Tibet with **Padmasambhava**, an Indian tantric master who had played a major role in bringing Vajrayana Buddhism to Tibet in the eighth century. According to Nepalese scholars and Tibetan history, the daughter of **Amshuvarma**, the **Licchavi** King of Nepal, **Princess Bhrikuti Devi** was married to emperor of Tibet, **Songtsen Gampo**. Bhrikuti was a devout Buddhist and brought many sacred images and expert Nepali

craftsmen with her as part of her dowry. The Red Palace on Marpo Ri (Red Mountain) in Lhasa, which was later rebuilt into the thirteen storey **Potala** palace by the Fifth Dalai Lama, was constructed by Nepali craftsmen according to her wishes. **Padmasambhava, Guru Rinpoche** during 8th century when invited by a King in Bhutan took these Nepali craftsmen to Bhutan to construct Monasteries. These people remained in Bhutan as citizens. Likewise Nepali people were brought from Gorkha, Nepal by Shabdrung in 1624 and some were settled during British rule of India before 1947.

Bhutan at present has more than 20 tribes including Ngalung who fled from Gelugpa sages for being hostile to Dalai Lama, entered Bhutan during 6th and 8th century. These 20 tribes in Bhutan speak about forty dialects and languages. The Wangchucks from Ralung of Tibet established its autocratic rule in Bhutan in 1907, a surrogate of British-India. Although despotic rulers, the harmony and unity among the different ethnic groups of Bhutan was strong to the extent that there have been no civilian war, religious or racial conflict in Bhutan, until mid-1980s when the Royal Government came heavily to divide the citizens with the intention to reduce population to bring a majority in the rulers tribe, the Ngalungs. The Government began to screen the Ethnic-Nepali, Lhotshampas as potential political opponent and wanted to reduce the number before the wave of democracy embarrasses them. And thus the grand design to cleanse the population started and in 1990s thousands of Ethnic-Nepali Bhutanese citizens,

the Lhotshampas were brutally evicted, for the world is aware of this Bhutan eruption making hundreds of thousands of people destitute refugees, passing burden to the world.

It has been more than three decades the people of Bhutan were evicted and made destitute refugees. And similarly the Bhutanese movement for human rights, equality and democracy that echoed from beautiful valleys of Bhutan since 1990, reached refugee camps and the world, but then still it has not yet reached its goal. We have seen there were many political and human rights groups engaged in this movement since from the beginning. For all these decades the Bhutanese refugee issue was never addressed by Bhutan nor was it stalwartly supported by UN and the International Community. Nonetheless, after all these years “Tshinyen Meto” a social organization is born amongst Bhutanese intellectuals with renewed energy, visions and aimed to work from the foundation to its ultimate goal to Justice.

We are abetted to read substantially authentic draft of the book “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” edited by a senior army officer of Bhutan N B Giri the alumni of NDA and IMA and Dr. Khagen Sarma a Professor from Assam, India. The book has tried to focus on four major issues as conceded :

- a. In this book we have found Bhutanese refugees obediently imploring the King and the Government of Bhutan for reconciliation and amicable solutions to the evicted citizens.

- b. There is thoughtful concern about the perverse happenings in Bhutanese communities and detrimental policies casting a shadow against Bhutan in the International arena. Also there are epistles of distress from the Bhutanese citizens from the frightening days in Bhutan while eviction and transformations to the present statues in the resettled countries.
- c. There are also some exchanges of contemplations of Bhutanese refugees to the UNO and to some of the international organizations associated with Bhutan in various fields of developments, for their assistance.
- d. We appreciate intellectuals from India, Nepal and abroad, the well-wishers who had been observing Bhutanese dilemma and who are even today closely associated with Bhutanese refugees, their valuable testimonials with counsels for solutions to the problem.

After going through the edited draft of the book “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” we have become more conscious that in this 21st century peaceful approach and through the bookish communications which the intellect group of Bhutanese society has undertaken is very much welcoming and apposite to the basis for obliging dialogue. In this background we wholeheartedly and with great enthusiasm have decided to publish this book. We also feel the book will be a step

forward to the Bhutanese refugees to renew their striving for justice. Apropos these consequential words about Bhutan we would be much obliged for the people would read this book and give their valuable consent about humanitarian issues that the victims of Bhutan Government get justice and the problem solved.



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DEDICATION

*We Dedicate This Book To All
The Bhutanese People At Homeland And At
Diaspora Who Gave Their Lives To The
Nation-Building
The Brave People Who Risked Their Life,
Faced Torture, Humiliation, Eviction, And Death,
And Struggled For The Honor, The Dignity, And
The Identity Of Their People Without Caring Own
Future,
The People Who Lost Their Lives In Alien Places
While Struggling For A Dignified Return To
Their Country,
The Martyrs Who Sacrificed Their Lives For
Their Country And The People,
The Supporters Of Bhutan And The Bhutanese
People Who Keep Burning The Flame Of
Struggle For Peace, Humanity And Justice.*

Forewords

After more than three decades of our woeful exodus from Bhutan when majority of fellow refugees have left the refugee camps of Nepal to resettle in third countries and very few of us are remaining in the refugee camps in Nepal we, meticulously discussed and reached to an apposite resolution to write the insights and supplications of our minds and souls in words about the Bhutanese citizens who were ruthlessly evicted from Bhutan in 1990s, and publish in a book titled as “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” as a reminiscent of memorandum to the King of Bhutan, and a summon to the International Communities for inevitable understanding about the Bhutanese refugee dilemma with the sole aims and objectives to reconcile this crisis in amalgamated friendly background in the interest of our nation.

Providentially the book “Journey for Justice to Bhutan” is not designed at defaming our beloved country Bhutan and The Kings of Bhutan. The Bhutanese Royal Families are held in high esteem by the naive refugees, even being oppressed and away from Bhutan for all these decades in refugee camps and elsewhere. The innocent refugees then pray for the Royal Family and His Majesty’s Long Life and continuation in the throne as a kind leader of our motherland Bhutan with hopes His Majesty the King will restore our life in our homes in Bhutan and heal the wounds. **However, an attempt has been made in the book to reflect a true picture of Bhutan and put forward the witnesses concerning the Royal Government which signaled “a green light” for majority of the Ethnic-Nepali Lhotshampas and some Sharchops and Ngalungs to exit during 1990s which perhaps portends ‘Dark Days’ in the history of Bhutan.**

Furthermore, this book is not written for claiming our absolute rights in Bhutan but it is worded in a way so as to make the King of Bhutan aware that the previous policies “aimed for better Bhutan” were implemented in a changed version by the corrupt bureaucrats within the Government. The blame is primarily focused at the system and to those who are out to oust the Ethnic-Nepali Lhotshampas from the country, irrespective of their patriotism and qualification of nationality. In the name of the King’s doing, the privileged bureaucrats still seems to be ruining our

cultural heritage to defame the Monarchy and tarnish the image of the nation at the end.

Though Bhutan has established a democratic system of governance in 2008, constitution has been conceded and a Prime Minister is projected as the Government head, we are apologetic to state dissentient; there is no peoples' democracy no impartial judiciary system for the people to seek justice. The Government is obliged to serve the Royal interest with the King being the Commander of the Government. There is no such institution in Bhutan which would guarantee peoples' security and justice that would fall upon them if they raise voice for fairness in the system of the Government. We look forward to The King as well as the people and the conscious intellectuals would understand what it all means in present day Bhutan.

This book is brought into public as an attempt to make aware the people of the world about the atrocities of the Government of Bhutan, to let the world know about the Bhutanese refugee problem, to tell the world the truth about what goes inside Bhutan since ages, to assess the human rights situations in Bhutan and to call on the King of Bhutan and the International Communities to address the grievances of the Bhutanese refugees for bringing peace and national integrity and finally to assess and help repatriate the remaining refugees from the refugee camps in Nepal, and likewise consider union of resettled Bhutanese with

their families and fellow citizens in Bhutan to bring normalcy for the future of the Bhutanese generations.

By authoring this book, we are not trying to sell the history of Bhutan nor aiming at betraying the revered country. Bhutan must remain Bhutan in complete social harmony and united irrespective of ethnic differences. We, human beings all have come from the dust and unquestionably irrespective of our possession of King's Crown or a Beggar shall return to the dust in parallel dimensions. Practically in the face of death, man tends to the reality of inexistence, and attitude towards the basis of life sours in defiance snubbing end of life's journey. No one escapes death and nothing goes with the death rather than you are remembered how you existed with the people in the world. For this reason, as calm and ethically upright citizens, I virtuously express my insights to the King of Bhutan that we want to return to our soil and at the same time "we require 6 feet X 2 feet land in our country so that our mortal remains would manure Bhutan for all round socio-economic happiness for our coming generation".

While writing this book, many of our colleagues extended their sincere support for which I cannot remain without thanking them. Specially, I thank Late Dr. Bhampa Rai, Guardian of the Bhutanese refugees and the Chairperson of **Tshinyen Meto** for guiding us to the goal. And all the well-wishers of this organization like Mr. D S Kafley who expressed the notion and

managed the intellect body to write this book; and many others who have shared their insights in collecting accounts and extended remarkable help by contributing their own effectual articles required for the purpose of this book. In the meantime, we editors of this book declare this statute that the contributors of the articles or the writers of personal accounts in this book are themselves responsible for the contents in their write-ups.

Finally, on my personal behalf and on behalf of the Bhutanese refugees I extend my deepest respects and say thank you to Dr. Khagen Sarma and the Purbayon Publication, Assam, India, who has helped us to publish this book. And I am in no doubt about the readers that after going through the contents of this book the King of Bhutan, our well-wishers, human rights groups and the International Authorities will endorse their valuable judgments for an amicable resolution of the Bhutanese Refugee crisis.



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TSHINYEN METO



Dr. Bhampa Rai & N.B Giri

Message from The Chairperson of Tshinyen Meto

It gives me some contentment to convey the people of the world and our Bhutanese citizens that a book named “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” has been published by the sheer hard work of my fellow Bhutanese refugees of the social organization ‘**Tshinyen Meto**’ and with the significant succor of our well-wishers from India, Nepal and other countries. The book is not an everyday recitation material, and it is not written to earn our personal reputation to proliferate courtesy in the public but it is the voice of the agonized Bhutanese refugees specially the Ethnic-Nepali Community the Lhotshampas who were brutally evicted by the Royal Government of Bhutan in 1990s making them desperate destitute, refugees. There was so much cruelty in the eviction process where everything, money and valuables they had, including

their citizenship cards were snatched by the oppressive Bhutan Government. Torture, rape, burning of houses, imprisonment and threat to killing were everyday criminalities carried out by the Bhutanese security forces and the bureaucrats when the naïve people were being driven out of Bhutan. This Ethnic-Cleansing and the Genocide of the Ethnic-Nepali communities the Lhotshampas of Bhutan that happened in the small land-locked country during the period of King Jigme Singye Wangchuck has never been heard or seen by the world in its accurate picture and degrees it was an cold-hearted delinquent thus, the true outbreak of barbarism should be studied by the world and all human rights and democracy lovers should extend valuable hands to bring the predator to justice and deliberate the Bhutanese refugees get justice.

The book is transcribed in courteous words, our effort to convey the grievances to all without distancing our love and respect to the King and the fellow citizens of Bhutan and being a companion of responsible world communities to resolve the predicament of human tragedy around the world like the one at concern the Bhutanese refugees with farsighted judgments. I hope the book will be judged by its aims and objectives and not by its small size and volumes.

Royal Family and its coterie of Bhutan are afraid of losing its Throne but not concerned in giving justice to the people and protecting Bhutan. The judgment of the King is that it becomes without doubt safe by

redundantly projecting Carbon Free and Gross National Happiness to win support for Throne. But how long the King deceives the people of the world? The king is leading the country towards an irrecoverable path, towards total disintegration; it is perceived he is ready to gamble existence of Bhutan like that of King of Sikkim did in 1975. If it is not so, why can't all the communities in Bhutan live together as brothers and sisters that they were living before? What is the harm for Wangchuck Kings to value citizens of other communities equally? History is a witness for peaceful living, security, justice, equality and human rights that people have chosen extreme path to free the country from the hands of tyrants. Bhutanese King should know that such act against the naive people who have roots in Bhutan since ages and have experienced both virtuous system of Shabdrung before 1907 and the despotic rules of Wangchuck dynasty after 1907 can turn other way round for retaliation and bring disaster to the nation. Thus, Bhutan Government should repatriate its citizens from the refugee camps in Nepal, allow the resettled Bhutanese to visit Bhutan and give justice to all the people and throw away all inequity and grievances and save Bhutan from international criticism and from outside power mongers.

*Thank you all
Dr Bhampa Rai*



Dr. Bhampa Rai

Tribute to Dr. Bhampa Rai

Dr. Bhampa Rai (1947-2022) is the son of father Late Aitaraj Rai and mother Late Bishnumaya Rai from Bara, Sibsoo, Bhutan. He was born in 1947 at Bara, Bhutan. During that period of time there were no schools at remote villages in Bhutan. Fortunately, in 1953 at the age of 6 years he was admitted in a private school of Bara established and managed by a village head Mr. K B Gurung. He studied there from kindergartens to class IV. Afterwards he joined Gola High School and completed primary level education. After primary education in Bhutan he joined Kumudini Homes Higher Secondary School, Kalimpong in India and completed Higher Secondary Education. While in Kumudini Homes in Kalimpong he was best known as 'Prince of Bhutan'. He was a good football player and participated in all types of school's curricular activities.

Despite of sports and physical engagements he was a talented student admired by all teachers.

After higher secondary education his relatives as well as the government officers wanted him to join army as the government needed more youths to join army. But he refused to join army because he wanted to become a doctor to serve people. This only ambition of him displays his kind hearts towards the people. He could convince all and the government officers for his interest of becoming a doctor. After knowing his ambition to become a doctor the Royal Government of Bhutan granted him scholarship for studying MBBS. He then joined Medical College of Guwahati, Assam and obtained MBBS degree from Guwahati, Assam, India in 1975. As soon as he returned with MBBS degree from India he and Dr. Parasmani Pradhan from Kalimpong, India, joined General Hospital, Thimphu as Physician Doctors on the same day.

Dr. Rai was very much a liked doctor in the capital. He was very careful and kind to treat the sick people. He was shouldered with additional responsibilities to take care of the Royal Family members in the palace. After some months of this he was declared as a 'Special Medial Attendant' to The King and the Royal Families by the King of Bhutan. In the hospital most of the serious cases were taken by him. People used to prefer his treatment despite of long queue at OPD. After some years of outstanding service in Thimphu Hospital, Teri Leki the health Minister asked him to sign a form for

his promotion. But, he refused saying that 'if he is eligible for promotion why was the form necessary'. The minister was annoyed with Doctor Rai since he refused his order to sign the form. The minister decided to punish him and Doctor Rai was sent to Kalikhola a remote place in Southern Bhutan as a punishment posting.

He went to Kalikhola to serve the people but in Kalikhola also he was liked by all the people and the hospital staffs respected him for his service. Similarly, Dasho Jigme Tshulten and Army Chief Lam Dorji who were staying in Kalikhola became very much like a friend to Dr. Bhampa Rai for his loyalty and sincerity. And after knowing the reasons about his posting in Kalikhola they reported the matter to the palace. He was then immediately returned to Thimphu Hospital with Royal command. And after few months he was promoted as 'Senior Doctor' by Royal decree and again granted further study on medical surgery. He then acquired FRCS in Surgery (Fellowship in Royal College of Surgery) from Dhaka, Bangladesh in 1985. He became the first Surgical Doctor of Bhutan. He served as Chief Surgeon and as Royal Medical Attendant until he left Bhutan in 1991.

During 1990 when he saw people were harassed and discriminated he became very serious about the despotic rules of Bhutan Government. The Lhotshampa population, the people mostly from Southern Bhutan and at villages was targeted and evicted forcibly by

the Government. He couldn't bear the atrocities to his communities from the King he loved and served so loyally. He couldn't speak nor did he feel safe in Bhutan so on his free will he left Bhutan in 1991 with his parents, wife and his elder sister to support the helpless people. Since then he is with the victims relentlessly serving the Bhutanese refugees as a doctor, as a guardian and as leader to fight for justice.

During all his refugee lifetime he gave free medical services to the local people of Jhapa, Nepal who were poor, old and handicapped including Bhutanese refugees. He is the main person to initiate most of the welfare services for Bhutanese refugees. He was also the important figure behind drafting and writing memorandum to invite UNHCR and many other International Agencies to support the helpless refugees. Through the Government of Nepal and the CDO, Jhapa he managed to find a place to shelter the refugees. He is the person to plan and create camp management system which was approved by The Government of Nepal and UHCR provided financial needs.

He was elected as the Chairman of Bhutanese Refugee Repatriation Representative Committee (BRRRC) the only genuinely founded organization of the Bhutanese refugee to this day. The organization though not registered is recognized by UNHCR, LWF, Caritas-Nepal, RCU-Nepal and all the organizations working for the Bhutanese refugees.

Today, he is the only man highly respected and recognized in the Bhutanese refugee movement. He is the most ethical person and senior most loyally working for the cause of the Bhutanese refugees and the nation. Unlike many other senior leaders of his age and time he has spent his whole life selflessly serving the refugees in all aspects. He never cared for himself though he could live in luxury had he been working as a doctor either in Kathmandu or in Jhapa. He is the most selfless Bhutanese in exile if at all we have to look for. His sacrifices cannot be enumerated in this Para. We feel proud of his contribution to Bhutanese Movement.

Today he is no more with us he left untimely for his heavenly abode before so many works he wanted to accomplish. He faced many types of pains like losing his parents, wife who cared for his life and he lost his sister also. But, he didn't loose his hopes to get Justice. He was concerned about the Bhutanese refugees in the refugee camps and those resettled in different countries for their justice from Bhutan. He left us on June 19, 2022, he was 75. He had very strong vision for our cause. He wanted to see at least some of the seniors and willing Bhutanese refugees reach Bhutan soil. We feel the Bhutanese Diaspora the intellect lots have not understood him in reality and did not come to help him when he was in good health. But then still this organization or many of us do not feel weak or we do not feel alone for he has shown ways, visions, and love for the country and taught us ethical values to live this life in glory. We will make his soul feel proud of us by accomplishing the mission he has left incomplete.

"Death is painful; however, death taking a precious jewel like Doctor Bhampa Rai in the Bhutanese Refugee Diaspora is more painful. Dear Doctor Bhampa Rai, you were and are a man with a good heart who cared so much about suffering Bhutanese People. You contributed to the development of intellect quality in every single Bhutanese refugee and other person you met on your path and you never ceased to be an inspiration to all. Thank you for living a great and fulfilled life. Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and others have greatness thrust upon them. Doctor, you were born great and also went ahead to achieve more greatness. You have shown every one of us what true greatness means even if we have to live a life in an alien place. Thank you for a life well spent. Adieu, Dr. Bhampa Rai".

Finally, we would like to express an opinion that to commemorate late Dr. Bhampa Rai and his deeds it would be fitting if 'Tshinyen Meto' or any group as 'we' could build a monument, a structure or a statue which serves as a focus for his memory.

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Tshinyen Meto : Organizational Structure

The human rights situation in Bhutan is very pathetic. The world has been fed with enough evidences about Bhutan's brutality since 1990. More than a hundred thousand citizens from minority community especially Nepali-Ethnic citizens from southern Bhutan were evicted. Despite of our repeated appeals international community is turning a blind eye to the ethnic-cleansing brutality and killing of people occurring in Bhutan. World Human Rights Institutions, International Court of Justice and all justice loving people are quite. We believe the victims should get justice. The evicted families who have lost their near and dear ones in Bhutan, whose relatives are languishing in the prisons and properties and valuables, were seized by the Government and who were badly hurt and tortured are seeking help from justice giving institutions of the world.

In this background “**Tshinyen Meto**” a social organization with few ad-hoc committee members has been founded by the Bhutanese intellectuals, rights activists, doctors, lawyers, academicians and well-wishers with the aims and objectives to get justice. There are greater field of responsibilities for ‘**Tshinyen Meto**’ apropos the issues of human rights violations, terrorism, refugee problems, injustice in different parts of the world yet this organization has taken Bhutanese refugees’ appeal for justice as its first initiative. And its primary responsibility after collecting the victims’ details and assessing the matter is to appeal the Governments, United Nations, International Court and all concerned. To make the organization a genuine force to reckon with, and to accelerate it in the principle of Human Rights and Justice a book titled “**Journey to Bhutan for Justice**” is been published herewith with the hopes it will be considered as a credible document for assessing the Bhutanese refugee issue to pave the way for justice.

Founder Chairman : Dr Bhampa Rai
Secretary General : N B Giri

Well-wishers from various countries :

1. Chandra Dev Joshi, Ex-Minister, Nepal
2. M B Dahal, Ex-Minister, Sikkim, India
3. Narendra Jung Peter Coordinator 'Imperialist Opposition Front' Nepal Chapter, Political Analyst and a senior Journalist.
4. Dr. Khagen Sarma, Professor, India
5. Dr. H B Chhetri, Ex-MLA, India

6. Himaldhan Rai, Nepal
7. Amrit Sharma, Lawyer, Nepal
8. Samsher Rai, Professor, India
9. Kamal Giri, India
10. J B Chamling, India
11. Resham Birahi, Nepal

Well-wishers from Bhutanese Diaspora :

1. D S Kafley, Australia
2. Dr. Naresh Subba, USA
3. Dr. B Rai, USA
4. Dr. Purna Chhetri, USA
5. Dr. Bedhnidhi Khatiwada, Nepal
6. Narayan Kattel, USA
7. Ex MP Loknath Basnet Australia
8. Ex-MP, Swami Narayan Adhikari, USA
9. Ex-MP K B Chuwan , USA
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17. Bal Krishna Sharma, New Zealand
18. Swami Damodar Acharya, USA
19. Tika Ram Timilsinha, USA
20. Narayan Poudyal, USA
21. Rangalal Khatiwoda, USA
22. Sriman Chauwan, Australia
23. Late Kishore Rai, Nepal

24. Kirtan Chhetri, Refugee Camp, Nepal
25. Tilachan Dulal, USA
26. Krishna Dhimal, USA
27. Arjun Ghatani, Denmark
28. Debi Charan Basnet, Netherlands
29. T B Chawhan, Norway
30. Khagendra Khatiwoda, Australia
31. Sunman Kafley, Australia
32. Aman Giri, USA



N B Giri

EDITORIAL

Bhutan Open the Door of Justice for Your People

We live in a time when the call for liberty, equality, human rights and democracy echoes across the globe. The world today is in a position to provide a blissful life free of poverty for its whole population. Our power over forces of nature, and the development of science and engineering have reached such a level that it has become feasible to satisfy all the material and spiritual needs of the people on Earth. But what do we see around in reality? Nature's most wonderful creation, man, endowed with the most varied creative talents, is not only deprived of the chance of developing them in a considerable part of the world but is crushed and strangled, incarcerated by exploitation and social injustice, is dying of hunger and disease and choking in the misery of refugee camps helpless, homeless

where poverty, sickness, death and sorrow dominate the mundane existence.

Concurrently while articulating simply the predominant behavior of man on this earth, Bhutan, the landlocked country located on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, bordered by the Tibet Autonomous Region of The Peoples' Republic of China to the north and India to the east, west and south is struggling to protect its image from being tarnished in the world due to its detrimental policies targeted against its citizens where 1/6th of the total population of Bhutan from its southern districts specially minority Nepali ethnicity were evicted in 1990s and made destitute refugees.

The resentment and peaceful movement in Bhutan was not aimed for political superiority nor was a move to destabilize the Bhutanese Society and create confusion. The Government is solely responsible to accelerate the issue knowingly so that the Lhotshampa population is marginalized on ideological grounds and create a permanent fear within the Lhotshampa populace and divide them. In many instances; the government resorted to harassment and use of physical force to make the people sign a "Voluntary Leaving Certificate" once they were declared illegal without any rhymes and facts. The "Voluntary Leaving Certificate" briefly stated that they are leaving on their own free will after being well compensated. The census team also used to make sure that they got their group photographs before they left for their undefined destiny. In some cases video

recording or tape recording is done to extract verbal confirmation of their forced voluntary departure. In most of the cases, the people were forced to sign the certificate at gun points and evicted without any compensation. There are reports that the people had walked all the way to the refugee camps on foot begging alms. Most of the forcefully evicted Bhutanese of Ethnic-Nepali Hindus preferred death than to brand a new status and hence many committed suicide.

Consequently, Bhutan of late, has become the focus of the world attention due to its unprecedented misuse of power, abuses of human rights and brutal eviction of innocent citizens by the repressive elements within its system. We believe, the government of Bhutan responsible for the heartrending episode is aware that the Bhutanese citizens when faced with horrific persecution had fled Bhutan and headed west over Indian Territory towards Nepal as Indian security forces antagonistically drove them to Nepal and today after many decades of woeful life in the seven refugee camps of Nepal thousands of them are resettled in various countries seeking protection to their children, absorbedly recollecting life's unkind voyage to alien countries obliged to live as strangers.

The hard working people of Bhutan irrespective of their ethnicity and ancestral background living in a harmonious state are the angels of peace with their respective culture, language, religion marked by serenity and sanctity. Bhutan-the treasure of the Bhutanese, the

infatuation of the outside world and the wealth of the Bhutanese is a land of awe and exotic beauty to everyone. Bhutan-the dreamland of the tourists, the fantasy and ecstasy of the nature lovers, and the poetic land of William Wordsworth may perhaps be aptly called 'The Land of Serene Shangri-La'. The visiting tourist pen picture the memory of Bhutan in his heart and the hospitality of the Bhutanese people in his soul to convey the message to his countrymen about the magic country Bhutan. The indelible impression of Bhutan is therefore, an appetizer to a seeker of nature's mystery.

Such a safe and peaceful country of yesteryears no longer displays its scenic beauty and her courteous people are living in lots of discomfort. The world is well aware that in 1990s, during the regime of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck the evangelist of Gross National Happiness (GNH), tens of thousands of the naive citizen of his country mostly Lhotshampas-Nepali-speaking minority groups from southern regions - had fled from Bhutan in the face of discrimination and forceful eviction. Since then the tears of these Bhutanese people are being carried by the rivers to the UNO to convey their plights for protecting their children and to seek justice. Until this time the Bhutanese refugee issue has touched many countries of the world and International Communities, and the Justice loving people have been voicing to repatriate these refugees to their country Bhutan with dignity and honor and give justice. Consequently in 1993 both Nepal and Bhutan agreed to meet for dialogue to solve the problem and they

held 15 rounds of ministerial level meetings at Thimphu and Kathmandu respectively but it could not work out any solution. We behold though the talk failed the spirit of goodness to solve the problem is alive both in Bhutan and Nepal Governments.

All over again, this is not my concocted or disloyal purpose of presenting this crucial concern of Bhutan in written and affirming my utmost sincere assessments to the Government of Bhutan and the International Communities about the suffering Bhutanese citizens in exile living in the isolated refugee camps in Nepal seeking justice. Certainly I do not want to achieve my personal enrichment and happiness or conquer anything from anyone by conceding long-standing beseeches of these refugees. But, I just like to seek relief, a permanent amity for these refugees who are endlessly waiting for amiable words from Bhutan to repatriate to their homesteads in Bhutan. For this reason, with utmost sincerity and modestly I would like to apprise the realities of these agonized Bhutanese refugees to the present King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, International Organizations and Noble Mentors to come together for helping appositely to repatriate these destitute refugees. *It would be total injustice in the history of mankind if we fail to repatriate these homeless depressed refugees to their native Bhutan where they belong.*

It is a matter of fact to comprehend for the Rulers of Bhutan and all of us that despite of all sorts of afflictions, upheaval happenings and frustrating situations Bhutanese refugees remained calm throughout

their stay in the refugee camps and never tried to defame their Kings and country. The loyalty of the Lhotshampas towards the Royal Family and the Government of Bhutan had remained unchallenged throughout the periods of history and the question of loyalty of this race remains unanswered. They used to rejoice on former King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's birthday on every 11th November and celebrated 17th December the National Day of Bhutan with pride. This is the testimony of love and respect of their Kings and the nation and it is the uprightness of ethical standards latent in the blood of the Bhutanese Lhotshampas and the refugees.

All the people of the world possibly understand that refugee is a simple word to pronounce but very difficult to live as refugee. No one else can know a refugee's suffering, 'only the wearer knows where the shoe pinches'. The true suffering of the refugee life can be experimented by experience in the camps only and not by simply scanning their problems through books and medias. This is the irony of fate of the human tragedy. The world in which the men are the masters with supernatural brain software has become a very difficult place to one's survival. The crux of these problems is the men themselves. Animosity, jealousy, material greed, weaponies power and a feeling of superiority complex of Machiavellian political chiefs of nations have tried to dominate the sphere of human existence. And in this perspective since 1990 the people of the world are witnessing impudence of the

Government of Bhutan vis-à-vis the Bhutanese refugees suffering in the refugee camps in Nepal hoping for repatriation to their country to live innately a respectable social life with their fellow citizen.

On the other hand, decades that have passed in bamboo huts in refugee camp is indeed a long period of time for the oppressed people and is equally tormenting by frustration. Within this period of time, many near and dear faces have left us forever due to intolerable climatic condition, lack of medical facilities, nutritional foods and due to mental devastation. Many have died of hunger, diseases, suicide and died of frustration. And today, our hopes are dying, and our will to live is also fading. Children walk bare-footed and semi-clad with hand sewn patches of multicolored rags in the dusty heat. Unrelenting pain and runnels of tears flows in our sore eyes to see our once happy family been torn apart. The children who are the future guardian of human society are languishing in the isolated refugee camps for want of nutritional foods, proper education, guidance and above all their identification with the world communities.

At long last, in 2007 after 17 years of wait when nothing succeeded to open the doors of Bhutan there was only one option of 'Third Country Resettlement' UNHCR had considered available as other durable solution like Repatriation was not in the sight and Local Integration was not apposite to Bhutanese refugees which was also perceived to be a heavy concern for

Nepal to accept. Bhutanese refugees were compelled to accept the dictates of their helpless situations and thus majority of them opted to resettle in third countries. Today, about 116000 Bhutanese refugees are resettled in eight different countries of the world and about 7000 are left in the camps where many of them wish to return to their homestead in Bhutan. A pall of gloom will soon engulf the Bhutanese refugees who are desperately waiting in the refugee camps to be repatriated and the image of Bhutan will be further overshadowed in the world if The King and the responsible leaders of the Government of Bhutan do-not come forward with profound conviction and definite resolution to repatriate the naive refugees and end this crisis.

Honestly speaking the figure of 7000 would have been much smaller if Resettlement was done honestly by the UNHCR. Many refugees who wanted to resettle could not avail the opportunity as resettlement was stopped abruptly in December 2017. Hundreds of willing refugees convening in front of UNHCR and IOM offices with their completed documents were forsaken. In the meantime, many families are split; some of them are left in the camps while some of their families are resettled abroad, and some are in Bhutan waiting for their loved ones to return to them. Many children and old parents are left behind in the isolated refugee camps without care. There is no one to look-after them. UNHCR, Bhutan, Nepal, Resettling Countries or all of us can explicitly **think through that** resettlement

without repatriation of the remaining refugees from the refugee camps in Nepal similarly, taking care of the abandoned children and old parents and re-connectivity to Bhutan by the resettled Bhutanese refugees is not a resolution that would give sigh of relief to this type of all-pervading, wounding refugee problem.

Despite the fact that ‘Third Country Resettlement’ has eased the pressure in the refugee camps, as accounted and verified by the camp authorities there are still about 7000 genuine Bhutanese refugees left unattended by any authorities. And ever since resettlement stopped in 2017 about 2000 of them from the two refugee camps in Nepal who have not taken the ‘Third Country Resettlement’ option want to return to their homesteads in Bhutan and breathe their last.

Today, the remaining Bhutanese refugees in the camps are left without any support from international donor agencies, there is no food and other necessary things provided to these refugees. The UN agency that had been assisting with its food distribution program stopped providing food from December 2018 after it said its priority has shifted from Bhutanese refugees living in Nepal to refugees living in other countries. The Government of Nepal is unable to provide any sustenance help. It has been quite some time now the situation of these refugees living in Nepal is deteriorating day by day.

Each and every one should understand this is purely a humanitarian issue which must be addressed

well-meaningly without more ado. The more we overlook to address the pathetic situations of these refugees more precious lives will be lost, and unquestionably blame goes to Bhutan, Nepal, UNHCR and International Communities for this catastrophe. Elderly parents are depressed; no one is listening to their 'last-will' to return and breathe their last at their homes in Bhutan. In the same way, the schools which were established inside the camps to educate the refugee children are all closed; today there is no schools nor free education facility made available by the government of Nepal to the refugee children who are in the camps except some overseas Bhutanese refugee organizations like Global Bhutanese Organization (GBO) helping these children for their education. Over and above, it is pretty upsetting as there is no health facility for them, the health sector relied on Nepalese doctors employed by AMDA is also closed.

As a result of our relentless entreaties and expositions of our woeful circumstances the Government of Nepal has decided to resume talks with Bhutan to repatriate the remaining 7000 Bhutanese refugees who are living in two camps in Jhapa. The initiative will be first in the last two decades after the 15th round of ministerial-level talks with Thimphu failed in 2003. The Cabinet meeting of the Government of Nepal on December 3, 2020 decided to resume talks with Thimphu and mandated three ministers and secretaries to prepare policy, strategy and work plans for repatriation of the refugees. But, it is more than

two years Nepal's Cabinet had decided to resume talk with Bhutan, nothing has happened on this issue from the Government of Nepal. Earlier, Nepal had also called on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to build pressure on Thimphu to accept the remaining refugees in the camps after repatriation stops who are willing to return to Bhutan. The UN refugee agency had said it was collecting data of refugees who wanted to return to Bhutan but so far nothing have been done on this matter. UNHCR do not seem to be sincere, it has not initiated any convincing diplomacies to this long-pending humanitarian problem till date.

All over again, we earnestly seek His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal to use all powers and accessibilities at your disposal to obligate The King of Bhutan and also engage the Government of India to repatriate the Bhutanese refugees who are in the camps of Nepal waiting to go to their homes in Bhutan. This would be an outcome for which Nepal will receive gratefulness of the refugees even as Nepal stands up for the highest principles of International Relations when it comes to serving refugees.

While remembering our glowing days, we believe the way of living this life can be harmonious and cheerful in our scenic Bhutan but due to some unforeseen misfortunes we Bhutanese have gone astray from the right way. Now we should look for the way which we all lost and bring back our peace and happiness by reuniting us together. We have spent many

years in exile in the refugee camps waiting for our King to comprehend his responsibility to repatriate us and restore peace and strengthen the nation. Still, we have hopes under the kind command of our present King and His Government the Bhutanese refugees languishing in the refugee camps in Nepal will be repatriated and the oblivious diplomatic demeanors between Bhutan and Nepal will be ended for forever.

In all honesty all the people living in Bhutan, Ngalongs (Dzongkha speaking community), Lhotshampa (Nepali speaking community), Sarchops, Khengs, Brokpas, Madhesis matters equally. We all the Bhutanese aspire to live together and help one another. Human beings are like that. We want to live by each other's happiness, not resettle in third countries against our will and nor live in the refugee camps in misery. We don't hate one another but live in unity and strengthen Bhutan. In our small Bhutan world, there is room for all born and brought up there. The good earth of Bhutan blessed by nature is rich and fertile can provide foods for everyone. And the kindhearted King abundant in wisdom would appreciate that whether it is Bhutan or any other place on earth human being likes to live in homogeneity, do not hate one another. Like so, repatriation of Bhutanese kinsfolk suffering in the refugee camps in Nepal would be a noble work for all of us and as well it will acclaim humanity of our rulers.

To arrive at a meaningful solution to this national problem it is our responsibilities also to apprise our

beloved King to realize that Bhutanese people are linguistically and by origin are Ngalongs, Nepali, Sharchops, Adivasis, Doya, Madhesis, Khengpas; with links in Tibet, India, Nepal, Arunachal Pradesh, Burma where their ancestors migrated to first; and they are settled in Bhutan, acquiring Bhutanese citizenship over time. These three dimensions of Bhutanese citizens must be borne for a solution to our national issues. Further, it is wise for Your Majesty to realize that in times' of grief-stricken stress and uncertainty a migrant population usually tends to return to its country of origin. Principally, an exiled citizen or a refugee who intends to return back to own country strategically bears unsurpassed safekeeping for the nation than a neighbor who may be dear in some respect and may be helpful in developmental issues of the nation.

Your Majesty's image as a benevolent King of Bhutan would ever remain engraved in the hearts of the Bhutanese people if the Bhutanese crisis is solved most amicably under a favorable conducive diplomatic environment between Nepal and Bhutan and with exiled Bhutanese senior responsible refugees and International Communities who have extended support to both Bhutan and Bhutanese refugees. In the ultimate analysis, as responsible citizens we appreciate that, it is always better for the Government of Bhutan to seek these solutions by it-self. And it is in the hands of His Majesty the King of Bhutan to design a forward looking system for the Government to resolve this refugee impasse which is inclusive of diverse issues of all the

communities and regions of Druk-Yul the West, East, North and South.

We believe and abide by Your Majesty that peace and happiness is something all the people desire and seeks to obtain. A happy and peaceful life is a life that is lived with a balanced harmony inside you, and around you. It means that you feel content with whatever is going on in your life or around you, and nothing, and no one can disturb your peace. Human being innately likes liberal life, harmonious social atmosphere in the country they live, where they are protected and treated equal by laws and the rulers. No matter what our status may be, rulers or general public, religion, social status, race or gender, we all want to experience and enjoy happiness. The fact that we share a universal desire to obtain and experience happiness tells us that it is something that is integral part of our daily lives and that each of Bhutanese refugee is justified to strive for returning to their homestead in Bhutan in quest for peace and happiness.

The mother earth of Bhutan is always attempting to provide us with anything and everything that might bring us peace, prosperity and happiness, but if we are honest about the reasons and circumstances of our people living as refugees in alien places, we have to admit that we are not truly happy; something important part of our family is missing from the nation. Your Majesty, separation of Bhutanese from their country has left them empty, incomplete, and with a void that nothing but Your Majesty can fill.

There are many options left at our disposal but the ONE AND THE ONLY ONE OPTION to re-characterize ourselves is through total solidarity with the Bhutanese refugees and a unanimous resolution to repair the broken image of Bhutan from the world arena. Let us all come together The King, The Government and all the people of Bhutan and reaffirm in words and deeds our love and allegiance to protect our people who have lived a hard life for all these years, let us help them live a normal life in peace, let us not compromise their life with any other matter that may be of importance in the political convictions of a ruler, a government, a political party or anything else. Life is above everything in this earth. And a nation cannot be of greater meaning than human life. It is rightly inscribed in the history of 'Civilization' of great philosophers and scientists that a regime under no circumstances can glorify its name and raise the standards of own country which advocates egotistical policies against humanity and subdues its own citizens. In this regard the great social scientists have described that Civilizations of human beings have been distinguished by their means of subsistence, types of livelihood, settlement patterns, and forms of government, social stratification, economic systems, literacy and other cultural traits. In view of all such vivacious commandments of human life we, Bhutanese must discard all grievances and differences now and for forever to restore our nation's popular repute and image.

Once again we are candidly urging, let these homeless and stateless people receive total justice. To be very immaculate in the words of judgment our neighbor principally India should not remain inattentive from this predicament of human being and watch the helpless people of valued neighbor Bhutan suffer and die in an alien soil without a piece of land to bury their mortal remains. Let the benevolent King of Bhutan perceive substantiation of this fact and come forward to give justice to these grief-stricken citizens of own nation living in the refugee camps in Nepal and in different countries of the world for return to their homestead in Bhutan with added hopes, compassion and with upright morale of new beginning of life and together with we all the Bhutanese sow the seeds of unity, national integrity and prosperity of our beautiful Bhutan.



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Pinjuli Primary School, Sibsoo Bhutan: 1963-67
Scottish Mission School, Kumai, Darjeeling : 1968-70
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Electronics and Mechanical Engineering Degree,
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Associate Member Institute of Motor Industry,
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**After eviction, while living in refugee camps
he has done the following works :**

Wrote an An Open Letter to the King of Bhutan:
1996

Scent of the Soil : Article, (Independent)
Kathmandu Post: 1996

Democracy & Bhutan, Something Amiss: Article,
Rising Nepal: 1996

Samajbad (Socialism), Booklet : 1997

Many Roads one Destination : Article, Kathmandu
Post: 1997

क्रान्तीको राँकोले सबैको घर भेट्न सक्नेछ। हिमालय टाइम्स : १९९७

Dashain for Bhutanese Refugees: Article,
Kathmandu Post: 1998

Repatriate Refugees: Save Bhutan, Article.
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Justice to Justice: Bhutan, Book. (Written in 1994
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“जनरव फिराद” प्रकाशनमा

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The Refugee Crisis of Bhutan : SAARC and the way forward

Humanitarian Crisis has become a common expression in all sectors of society and across international borders. Among the many, the refugee crisis is by far the most pressing issue that must be and resolved at the same time. South Asia has been undergoing a disastrous humanitarian crisis of migration and forced displacement as a direct consequence of unprecedented internal, regional or global disturbances. South Asia is home to over 3 million refugees. As a result of which, systematic infringements of the Global Human Rights mandate and International Humanitarian Law obligations have become inevitable.

The population of Southern Asia accounts for 24.89 per cent of the total population worldwide.

According to UNHCR, there are 9.2 million people in Asia and the Pacific who are vulnerable requiring humanitarian assistance. There are 4.4 million refugees and asylum seekers, 3.3 million internally displaced people, and 2.3 million stateless people. This displays the unprecedented challenges to a region that is under-equipped to deal with the contemporary refugee crisis.

When it comes to Refugees and South Asia, the last few decades in Bhutan cannot be ignored. Bhutan is a lovely description of the natural beauty of the region where many communities live, work, and sustain together. It is a nation that desires the notion of Gross National Happiness over Gross Domestic Product. Bhutan is one of the world's last remaining biodiversity hotspots, with much of its natural environment remaining immaculate and protected. It is the country whose main export is renewable energy. However, another part of the story gradually begins to paint a picture of Bhutan that most of us could never truly envision.

In the context of detainees and refugees, brutal laws and high levels of corruption resurface. The state's disturbing covert plot against specific communities began with the implementation of various government schemes, including the 'Green Belt Policy', 'One Nation-One People', 'National Security Act', 'National Dress Code', 'Tsa-Wa-Sum' and 'Citizenship Act.'

Bhutan is a good example of how a particular state utilizes torture against specific communities while remaining within the scope of the law.

The establishment of several regional organizations in South Asia, such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has facilitated the development process significantly. They contribute to the emergence of new possibilities for national, regional & international cooperation. These are relevant to their citizens' lives and well-being to strengthen sustainable and adaptable democratic institutions in their regions. They place a greater emphasis on and debate issues related to democracy, sustainable development, security, human trafficking, crimes-terrorism and human rights in international forums such as the United Nations, which has 193 member states from around the world.

SAARC is perhaps the most important regional organization in terms of the Bhutanese refugee crisis. SAARC, which involves Bhutan, Nepal, and India, as well as five other countries, focuses on establishing the five principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, political independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States and mutual benefit.

SAARC countries cooperate in areas such as “Social Affairs” and “Education, Security, and Culture,” among several others. Moreover, SAARC has its Secretariat, which participates in promoting the welfare of South Asian people and surveilling SAARC activities. Unfortunately, despite the formation of a Secretariat, the issue of the Lhotshampas (Ethnic Nepali Community of Bhutan) the Southern Bhutanese refugee crisis wasn’t ever brought up at the forum. The repatriation of these refugees is essential because the refugees are eager to return to their homestead in Bhutan, despite the “principle of Non-Refoulement” provision mentioned in Article 33 (2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention. The SAARC has an enormous potential to deliberate on the refugee crisis and repatriation. But, even after being such a major concern in South Asia, the agenda of SAARC was never associated with refugee challenges.

In addition to SAARC, India, Bhutan’s influential neighbor, can contribute significantly in favor of the persecuted population of Bhutan. As for instance, Article II of the Indo-Bhutan Friendship Treaty of 1949 clearly states that “The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India regarding its external relations.” Advice is not legally binding, and India has opted to remain out of the refugee issue and repatriation.

Moreover, SAARC has an Arbitration Council, which serves as a platform for arbitral proceedings as well as a legal forum within the region for the fair and efficient resolution of industrial, trade, banking, investment, and other disputes. However, it has managed to distance itself from the refugee crisis, especially refugees from the Kingdom of Bhutan. There is no doubt that the refugee crisis did begin in the 1990s, but Bhutan has not changed its rebellious approaches in the 21st century. Bhutanese refugees who have now been resettled and have acquired citizenship of resettling countries are still not permitted to visit their families and friends left in Bhutan. They are completely barred from entering the territory and meeting their partitioned nearest and dearest continues to remain a distant dream. Bhutan compelled the Nepali-speaking community that they were of Nepali ancestry and denied them citizenship. And Nepal refused to accept them as citizens, instead classifying them as refugees.

Surprisingly, Nepal also played a role in allowing Bhutanese officials to illegally detain a few democratic and human rights activists who were in Nepal. Torture of this magnitude has been or is currently being inflicted on political prisoners in Bhutan. SAARC's and the rest of the international community's response to such bitter realities appear insignificant and disheartening.

To summarize, there are several points to consider. So far, 18 Summit meetings of SAARC Heads of State or Government have taken place, with no mention of the 1990s Bhutanese Refugee Crisis. The SAARC countries can play a key role by focusing on this issue as a priority for a set period. SAARC can also cultivate agendas based on global causes such as terrorism, persecution, stigmatization, systematic oppression, and resettlement.

In terms of refugee repatriation, member countries should investigate the potential of SAARC in maintaining regional peace and stability. SAARC should be allowed to develop naturally, and the people of South Asia, which account for a quarter of the world's population. Bhutan should be held responsible for allowing all refugees who have not chosen third-country resettlement to return home. Along with repatriation, the focus of SAARC can also be shifted to reintegration and supportive remedies for the evicted citizens, providing rehabilitative services for illegally detained political prisoners and allowing the resettled non-resident Bhutanese to visit Bhutan and meet their fellow Bhutanese citizens.

Today, protecting humanity must be made an unavoidable requirement for survival, regardless of race, caste, creed, religion, birth, or nationality. Everyone has the right to a dignified and free life, and

everyone bears some responsibility for not placing others in jeopardy. We should all collaborate to raise awareness about Human Rights. Regional organizations such as SAARC will be lauded if they can provide a distinct voice for the unheard while also facilitating provisions to resolve legitimate problems of the South Asian population. Finally, I thank “Tshinyen Meto” a social organization of Bhutanese Diaspora with its first step to complete a book titled “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” missioned to reach Bhutan. I am happy my article is part of this book. I wish success to the mission of this organization.

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Demanding Human Rights

Hereditary Monarchy in Bhutan was established in 1907. Demand for justice, equality and democracy in the country started since 1947 soon after India's independence. History reveals the voice of the Bhutanese people was always suppressed by labeling them as anti-nationals. With the influence of global modernization, the Bhutanese uprising of 1947 and in 1950s proved to be a historical turning point at present day Bhutan.

Bhutan could not remain in isolation so it became the member of UNO in 1972. Since then some of the UN organizations are working in Bhutan as development partners. UNICEF, UNDP, ADB are some of them. These organizations are successfully functioning to help people raise their standard of living in terms of education, health and development enhancement.

Despite of all these Bhutan was neither in peace nor the people was happy as the rulers continued their dictatorial system. The Wangchuck Kings were becoming more and more biased and communal with the aims of safeguarding its Throne. They used state powers targeting against the minority citizens depriving fundamental rights as citizens of Bhutan. Thus, the people started expressing their grievances to the government. People came to streets and physically started sowing the resentment chanting slogans for justice and equality in the country. And soon after the peoples' demonstration against the detrimental policies, imprisoned importance of the government in 1990s there was brutal action by the government, people were arbitrarily arrested, tortured and imprisoned. There are still many political prisoners languishing in various prisons of Bhutan. They were imprisoned for the charges against demanding social justice, democracy and human rights. These prisoners are not released even after the declaration of democracy in 2008; neither are they allowed fair trial in the court.

After the 1990 commotion by the people many changes were introduced in Bhutan. Transition from absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy which took place in 2008 is also the result of the struggle of the people, the political parties, human rights groups and social organizations in exile and the involvement of the international community.

When more than a lakh of Bhutanese citizens were evicted and made refugees in 1990s most of them are resettled in third countries while a substantial number of them are in Nepal waiting for a safe return to their homeland. The core working group countries have helped the Bhutanese refugees by resettling them in third countries but the refugee commotion remains unresolved.

The lurching of “*Tshinyen Meto*” in the Bhutanese movement at this point of time has a big responsibility to initiate a wide-ranging effort in coordinating the international bodies and Bhutan Government in setting up mechanism to resolve this problem. It is only through a civilized humanitarian culture and peaceful dialogue the Bhutanese refugee problem can be resolved and pave way for national reconciliation. The book “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” is turning out to be a historical one in the Bhutanese refugee chapter. I extend my best wishes to the organization and to all the individuals involved in the initiative and to those well-wishers who have contributed their thoughts and truthful write-ups.





Damber Singh Kafley

A Humble Call for

Your Majesty,
The King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck
Tashichho Dzong, Thimphu, Bhutan

Your Majesty,
We, the Bhutanese Citizens evicted from our motherland Bhutan since 1990, some still living in the refugee camps in Nepal and the rest resettled in different countries around the world, and the well-wishers of Bhutan and Bhutanese people, submit this epistle for your kind consideration and pragmatic action now.

Your Majesty, this epistle contains writings from the Bhutanese refugees of different walks reflecting their heartrending experiences while they were made refugees in an alien place and their present state of

life in the resettled countries and their expectations of justice from the present king and the democratic government. In summary the expectations and requests include:

- a. Immediate repatriation of Bhutanese people from the refugee camps in Nepal and keep the door open for all the Bhutanese resettled in various countries of the world who wish to return or visit Bhutan, now or in the future.
- b. Grant amnesty to the political prisoners in Bhutan and rehabilitate them.
- c. Recognize the Bhutanese people in diaspora and their progenies as Non-Resident Bhutanese and consider them as Bhutan's ambassadors and allow them to visit Bhutan and meet their fellow Bhutanese citizens.
- d. Remove all detrimental policies that have created discontent in the people and caused national tragedy. Allow the Bhutanese refugees to return to their own homestead lands and restore their peace and happiness; eliminate all discriminatory conducts and mindsets and re-characterize ourselves to glorify our nation.

We, the members of Tshinyen Meto look forward to meet Your Majesty in person or your Government to

talk and solve the problem by upholding cordial relations with the Government and the people of Bhutan.

Damber Singh Kafley

Well-wisher,

Tshinyen Meto

From- Australia.





Kashi Adhikari Lamitare

CEO of Himalayan Adult Care Center

Board of Trustee for Charitable organization

The writer was a former candidate for Ohio, USA house district 22.

And AAPI commissioner for previous governor.

Justice Should Prevail for Bhutanese Refugees

Thousands of Bhutanese resettled and living in the United States of America, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, Netherlands, Australia, Britain, Norway and India were all evicted from their home country Bhutan through 1990s for the reason they demanded Human Rights, Equality, Justice and End of Racial Discrimination in the country. When they were evicted from Bhutan in 1990s they were given shelter by Nepal and lived in the refugee camps manned by UNHCR and Nepal for nearly two decades before they were resettled. They were compelled to resettle in these countries because Bhutan denied their rights to return to their country, all the more so they are not allowed to visit their families who are left in Bhutan despite of repeated appeal to the King of Bhutan.

Unpredictably, Bhutan apprehended, tortured and imprisoned many innocent refugees who went to meet their relatives and friends in Bhutan, before leaving the camps to resettle in third countries. And some of them are still in the Bhutan prison. When UNHCR abruptly stopped the resettlement program in 2017 many of them who had completed documentations and waiting for resettlement were abandoned.

Today, there are about 7000 refugees in the camps in Nepal. Bhutan is so annoying; it is not at all paying attention to take back these refugees neither allowing the resettled refugees to travel into Bhutan to meet relatives even with the US Passport.

Thus it has become very important to inform the International Community and the resettling countries to come forward to put back into working order the adamant stand of Bhutan and oblige Bhutan with the International Norms and rights of the people to visit their country. And allow the return of the willing Bhutanese refugees living in Nepal to their homestead in Bhutan with International Observations.

By this time the world should be well informed that the resentment of the people of Bhutan during 1990s against the anti-people policies of the monarchy was not new. Bhutanese history books have many pages where people have demonstrated against the atrocities

of Monarchy since it was established in 1907 by the British. The Monarchy of Bhutan was never in the interest of the people of Bhutan. At the time of India's independence in 1947 there was a democratic movement with the demands :

1. End of Racial Discrimination,
2. Allowance of Representatives from Minority Communities in the Government,
3. Religious Freedom,
4. Establishment of Hospitals at villages,
5. Establishment of Schools,
6. Construction of Roads and,
7. Agricultural Facilities.

It was organized by a Political Party named "Jai Gorkha" under the joint leadership of Sahabir Rai and Hajur Singh Rai in Samchi and again in Dagana, Bhutan respectively. This political party was established with the support of Indian leaders and Mr. Jasraj Gurung son of Garjaman Gurung of Samchi Bhutan was the main person behind this party. Garjaman Gurung was the direct appointee as envoy of the King Ugen Wangchuck with equal power that of Paro Penlop, Mr. Tshering Penjore. Later on, this movement of 'Jai Gorkha' was suppressed by the regime.

Immediately many of the supporters of 'Jai Gorkha' democratic movement were arrested. Some

managed to flee from the country. And those who were arrested some of them were killed and some were expelled from the country. After a year or so, the King felt the pressure from Indian political leaders and pardon to those who wanted to return to country. Some of them like D B Gurung, D B Chhetri and G P Sharma were allowed to return to Bhutan with the conditions that they would not participate in any kinds of political activity in future.

On the trail of 'Jai Gorkha' there was another political party "Bhutan State Congress" formed by **Mahasur Chhetri** in 1952. And it is a long-established fact that "Bhutan State Congress" was founded with the morale support from Indian Congress. The main person to lead the party was Mr. Mahasur Chhetri. And Devibhakta Lamitarey was one of the youth members of this party. This party organized a protest march in 1952 in Sharbhang, Bhutan with the similar demands that of Jai Gorkha. There were hundreds of people involved in the peaceful movement. The president Mahasur Chhetri was bold and dedicated leader for Human Rights and democratic cause of the people. This movement was also suppressed. When the news of movement reached to the King he immediately called Prime-Minister Jigme Palden Dorji to control.

However, the King summoned his order to Mr. Jhulendra Pradhan an agent, to take all necessary action

and wipe out the protestors for forever. Prime-Minister Jigme Palden Dorji though visited the site he only witnessed the tragic end of the movement. The protestors were dealt by Jhulendra Pradhan, father of Ex-Minister Mr. Om Pradhan. To carry out the Royal command Jhulendra Pradhan was supported by Mondal from Salami block Mr. Partiman Kafley. They cautiously invited army and police personnel who were stationed nearby. These forces were equipped with conventional weapons like 12 bore guns and 303 rifles provided by British. The protestors were invited assured for justified dialogs but the forces shot at them and killed 22 of them. Some protestors who were injured managed to escape, they were admitted at Kokrajhar hospital in India. Many were arrested. Girija Prasad Koirala of Nepal who was a political activist hiding in India had witnessed this mayhem.

One of the main protestors arrested was Mr. Mahasur Chhetri who was kept in Chirang jail but immediately he was packed inside a leather bag and thrown alive into the Sunkosh River under Royal Command. Since then the Devi Bhakta Lamiatre escaped from Bhutan and assumed himself as the president of the 'Bhutan State Congress' and campaigning against Bhutan's despotic government for justice and political freedom of the people. Until recently, Mr. Lamitare was in Haridwar, Utarkhand, India a shelter arranged by the Gandhi family. During

his exile period, Mr. Lamiatre continued the movement through conferences, media, and book publications. He has been a prominent political figure and President of Bhutan State Congress for all these years. He has been a strong advocacy for constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy in Bhutan. His writings and publications have one thing in common: Civil and Political Freedoms. Here are some of his publications of the Bhutanese movement for Human Rights and Democracy.

1. Murder of Democracy in the Himalayan Kingdom
2. Dankido Bhutan
3. Bharat Ki Kriti Aur Himalchal Darshan
4. Santou Ki Mahatva Aur Kumbh Parva
5. Ulja Hua Himalaya
6. Sikkirm Ki Mukti Aur Kaise
7. Press Matter
8. Raanko - A new letter for reform in Bhutan

Devi Bhakta Lamitare, passed away on February 5th, 2022 in Haridwar, India. We have lost a great personality and a political leader of Bhutan. We pray let his soul rest in eternal peace in heaven. Bhutan misses you but we have vowed to continue the movement for Civil and Political freedoms in Bhutan.

In 1980s the King of Bhutan enforced policies which were detrimental to the unity and integrity of the nation. Some of them are “One Country One People”,

“Green Belt”, “Citizenship Act of 1985” and “Driglam Namza”. They also removed Nepali language from School; Restriction was imposed on Hindu Religions cultures, they banned publicly celebration of Hindu festivals such as Dashain, Tihar, Krishna-Janma Astami, Maghe Sankrati-Baisakhi and any others. These types of discriminations were designed and enforced to erase Hindu culture and wipe away identity of ethnic Nepali minority community from Bhutan. This is not at all accepted by any human society on this planet but Bhutan King is doing such dirtiest things against own citizens who are with different racial backgrounds.

The world is aware and many years have passed that in 1990s Bhutan evicted more than 1/6th of its total population of minority community and made them destitute refugees. Today, after more than two decades most of these refugees are resettled in third countries because cruel Government of Bhutan wanted annihilation of its own people who were suffering in the refugee camps in Nepal.

The UN or the world is not able to speak or do anything. Today, about 1,16,000 Bhutanese refugees are resettled in eight different countries vis-a-vis Canada, Australia, Denmark, Norway, New Zealand, The Netherlands, Britain and United States of America. And about 25000 are living in different states of India. There are about 7000 Bhutanese refugees left in Nepal.

They need to be taken care of, they are without basic survival support. Some Bhutanese Organizations and individuals resettled in third countries are helping them but for how long they can do it. The Government of Nepal, International Communities and the resettling countries must find some ways to help them, find them a place to live in their own homes and resources.

Finally, I thank the Tshinyen Meto a social organization established to do some work for the Bhutanese refugees. You have done an excellent job by creating a platform for the Bhutanese intellectual community to continue their struggle for Civil and Political freedom in Bhutan. I thank Dr. Bhumpa Rai the Chairperson of Tshinyen Meto for his guidance and advises to accomplish the task. And I am honored and thank the veteran Professional Army Officer, NDA Alumni, an Engineer Mr. N B Giri, and the General Secretary of Tshinyen Meto for writing effective articles, editing and making this book suitable for publication. We also thank D.S.Kafley who is continuously working to unite people from all corners. And my special thanks go to Dr. Khagen Sarma and his team from Assam. Dr Khagen Sarma is a professor, a writer and a famous personality in Nepali Literature from India who is helping to publish this book “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” from Guwahati, Assam. Though small in size and written in summarized form we hope this book will carry our message to the World and also

help the people willing to explore the social, economic and political history of Bhutan and to learn about the present situation of Bhutan in its true picture. We also believe this type of principled or thoughtful work will build a strong coalition of Bhutanese Diaspora and pave a way for solution of Bhutanese refugee impasse.





N B Giri
General Secretary

Give Justice to Bhutanese Refugees

His Majesty,
The King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck,
Tashichhodzong, Thimphu,
Bhutan.

Your Majesty,

With profound sense of loyalty and dedication to the country and the people of Bhutan I, as a responsible citizen of Bhutan a professional Royal Bhutan Army Officer and an Engineer by profession albeit, living an agonized refugee life in the refugee camp in Nepal after being evicted from Bhutan without any crimes and reasons implore Your Majesty to review the contemporary Bhutanese refugee scenario prevailing in the world and around “The Dragon Shangri-La”- a haven of serene peace and tranquility not so long ago, for timely reconciliation.

We, the Bhutanese refugees have spent many years in exile in the refugee camps in Nepal expecting Your Majesty to comprehend the conscientiousness of great magnitude to repatriate us to our homestead and endorse reconciliation in our country but, decades passed nothing came to light only the sorrows, humiliations, starving and deaths waited for us in the unfamiliar refugee camps. Over these decades, many precious lives have been lost for good and many are added to face the worst. We experienced that death at least is better than being refugees without destiny and destination. With no solution in sight, the senior refugees have become frustrated, the youths have been politically exploited, the students and children have become vulnerable to 'ills' in the society. As decades past appealing for justice to return back to own terrestrial in Bhutan but, our appeal has not been heard. And today, when all physical and psychological power of enduring the pain exhausted more than 116000 Bhutanese were compelled to resettle in the third countries, so as to state Your Majesty that our Government of Bhutan stood adamant to its unbending policy of not complying with the call of the own Bhutanese people languishing in the refugee. There are still some refugees left in the camps in Nepal and in Indian states who wish to return to Bhutan despite of prevailing odds.

Your Majesty, we want Bhutan change from conceited system of governance to the altruistic

independent statute with equality and liberty of all the people enshrined to the constitution which is guided by Your Majesty and designed and drafted by the people of Bhutan for our country. And in view of that Bhutanese refugees should get justice. We aspire 'Justice to Justice' must triumph to set right our wrongs and for everything we do, to make real peace, happiness and prosperity of our nation. Time is still there to heal the wound. Your Majesty should reverse the unwarranted policy and embrace the idea that the country's future will be best protected by promoting diversity - economic and ethnic equality.

Bhutan is a multi-racial and multi-lingual society. And the Ethnic-Nepali or Lhotshampas are an integral community of Bhutan in theory and in practice. The people of Bhutan, irrespective of caste, creed, color and religion have remained unified throughout and contributed for the good of the country. There are many ethnic minority communities living in Bhutan since many centuries ago. They all need to be protected and treasured as equal human beings. And to be very honest and veritable most of the ethnic communities of today's Bhutan were there in Bhutan before the establishment of Monarchy in 1907.

The evicted refugees from Bhutan who are mainly from Nepali-Ethnicity-the Lhotshampa and some from Sharchop and Ngalung communities are now drawn

into a stupid political game between Nepal and Bhutan. In actual fact, the answer to which unambiguously lies with Your Majesty's Government of Bhutan. The Lhotshampas have their own identity and a distinct culture with a specified code of conduct. The hefty, sturdy, fair, loyal, kind and decent Lhotshampas have always maintained their being on Bhutanese soil. The unquestionable loyalties of the Lhotshampas towards the Royal Family have remained unchallenged throughout the ages. As follows, no words can express our real affinity with Bhutan and with the people of Bhutan. Throughout history, Lhotshampas have contributed a lot for the socio-economic development of the country. We have shed our blood and sweat to make Bhutan of today. We have made fatal malaria county to beautiful villages and towns in southern Bhutan.

In the light of events taking place in Bhutan since 1990, chronologically establishment of democratic system of government and with the political consciousness of all the people the Shar chop, the Lhotshampa and the Ngalung communities the stage is all set for Your Majesty to enact a methodology for the future of the nation. The empty fields, that once used to be the grain bowl of Bhutan, are now covered by thick under growth. During the period when Lhotshampas were living there our Bhutan used to export cardamoms, oranges and other food grains to

Bangladesh and India and even to other countries earning national revenue are all closed down today. Lhotshampas have always strived to fortify the national economy and glorify its image of Bhutan in the world. On the contrary, today we feel very sad for such misfortune and dilapidation happening to our progressing nation. Those fields that had housed Nepali-Ethnicity people or the Lhotshampas for generations and those glorious days of Bhutan are waiting for the return of their true owners who in all honesty have sweated and shed blood and have felt the scent of that soil.

Your Majesty, I believe all the Bhutanese people mostly Lhotshampa refugees and some escaped from Bhutan due to fear of being prosecuted without any reasons or crimes including Ngalungs communities who are resettled in third countries and have acquired citizenship of the respective countries are also willing to visit Bhutan for they love Bhutan they cannot forget Bhutan. It would be an internationally appreciated step for the Government of Your Majesty to work out an appropriate consular avenues for them to visit Bhutan on tourist visa or whichever way is admissible so that we all the Bhutanese become happy and together we would make our Bhutan beautiful and peaceful. These Bhutanese refugees who are resettled in third countries and have acquired the citizenship of the resettled countries are not by their choice but due to the

insurmountable situations they have been facing since they were evicted from the country or left Bhutan due to insecurity to their lives. In the same way, there are some refugees in the refugee camps in Nepal who want to return to their homestead in Bhutan. **I am of the convincing understanding that it would be a magnanimous demonstration and a very much upstanding providence on the part of Your Majesty to take these two forward steps about the exiled Bhutanese people and solve the problems.**

I am writing this open and sincere letter with my trust and confidence in Your Majesty and with utmost loyalty as a responsible citizen of the country and love for my country Bhutan, and for the well-being of Your Majesty to guide and lead our people and glorify our dear Bhutan. Your Majesty's concern for peace, security and prosperity of the nation can be achieved once we understand the humane peace. Peace is when the heart is no longer in duality, when the struggle for animosity and power within us has been resolved. When peace comes to the heart, serenity follows, and loves for people come flooding in, uncontrolled and in abundance. That is the peace and that will be felt, and then only we all feel joy of living together as equal human beings. And I am looking for such spirit and this type of affection in Your Majesty, in my King of Bhutan. Thus, I have both devotion and conviction in

the overall guiding responsibility of Your Majesty will govern our nation as reasonably as possible in the interest of the citizens first and the nation.

It is the duty of all the intellectuals, academicians and general people of Bhutan in the process to keep well-informed to Your Majesty and the Government about the thoughtful relates of the nation, to heed Government, to keep mind and judgment open, so as to resist the insidious spell of bad omen. I believe if the apprehension and cognizance of Your Majesty is open enough to perceive that a given policy is harming the people and the nation rather than serving self-interest, and self-confident enough to acknowledge it, and wise enough to reverse it that is a summit in the art of good governance. Your Majesty, “Give justice to Bhutanese citizens who have been exiled and made refugees.”



*–N B Giri ia an Alumni of AMIMI, UK, London
a Commissioned Army Officer, an Engineer and an
Expert in International Relation and Advisor In
Military Science.*



Tom Adhikari

We Just Want Our Rights Restituted and Justice Done

While appreciating the hard work put in by all the organizing members of *Tshinyen Meto* Movement in bringing out the book: “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” of significant, I thank for asking me to jot down a few words about Bhutanese refugee issue.

We all acknowledge that the then rulers in Bhutan far exceeded their authority in implementing the government’s nationalistic but anti-minority policies. Tens of thousands of innocent people were intimidated, incarcerated, tortured, deprived of citizenship, their properties confiscated and houses demolished and coerced into leaving their country of birth and nationality. Hundreds of families remain traumatized and separated!

We all know any agreement signed in fear or under duress has no legal validity. The Bhutan Government forced the people to sign the agreement like ‘willingly leaving the country’ before they were forcibly evicted from the country. Hence, if anyone signed any such agreement during those days when Southern and or other parts of Bhutan were under turmoil, the agreement has no legal standing in any fair and reasonable legal system.

However, good sense has prevailed now, and we are not demanding anything extra-ordinary. We just want our rights restituted and justice done. It is the responsibility of a democratic government to resolve such impending issues of national importance. Consequently, if the current government in Bhutan is democratic, I am confident it will facilitate the resolution of the Bhutanese refugee and political imbroglio.

Tom Adhikari

Educational qualification:

BA, LLB India: 1998,

Advocate, Bar Association of Delhi, India : 2001,

*Masters in International Human Rights Law,
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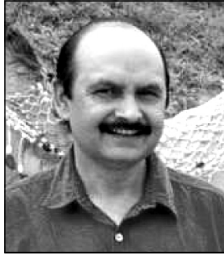
Tom Adhikari was born in Chirang Bhutan.

*While in Nepal he served as General Secretary
Druk National Congress: 2001–2004,*

After this he became solicitor (Lawyer) of the Supreme Court of England and Wales in 2005 he is still a lawyer there. He is living at: 61 Gerbert St, Broadmeadows VIC 3047, London, UK.

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Dr Khagen Sarma

Assistant Professor, Department of MIL and LS, Guwahati University, Assam, India.

All Human Beings are Born Free and Equal in Dignity and Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948, is the foundational document referred as Magna Carta of international human rights laws that protects the people from injustice. The atrocities and violations of human rights committed all through the World War I and World War II galvanized the international opinions and made human rights a global concern. Human Rights are fundamental rights and liberties that all the human beings have had from cradle to till the grave. These rights are based on values which everyone shares, such as dignity, equality, fairness, respect, and independence. The legislation or the constitution of all the countries is supposed to protect and define these ethics as

enshrined in the Declaration. When countries are incapable or unwilling to do so, often for political or prejudicial reasons, individuals or the general people may face such severe gross violation of human rights that they are compelled to evacuate their homes, families, and communities to seek refuge in another country.

As per latest information **of July 2022**, over 5.2 million Ukrainians have fled the country, and living a life of refugee across the world. Thus the global refugee population has more than doubled. According to the United Nations Human Commissioner for Refugees, 89.3 million people worldwide have been forcibly displaced as a result of persecution, conflict, and violence seriously disrupting the public order, of which 26.6 million are refugees as of July 2022. And as per UNHCR 68% of the world's refugees come from just five countries, namely Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Sudan and Myanmar but forgetting Bhutan which has evicted more than 1/6th of its total population during 1990s. Therefore, I am principally concentrating my reflection about Bhutanese refugees who are out rightly denied to return to their own homestead in Bhutan.

As per the general observation and public opinions Bhutan of today is not secured for minority ethnic-Nepali community. What is more is that this community is not protected by the class of democracy in Bhutan

instituted by the King in 2008 as many of them are deprived off citizenship, and nor they can form political party to vote for their candidates. Even though some of these Lhotshampas are elected as ministers and few are in the government services they cannot raise the matter about such disparities in the parliament for justice. Most of the children from Lhotshampas are denied Government school. The policies and programs introduced in Bhutan are such that it is meticulously framed against the minority Lhotshampas community. Tough healthy, able and qualified, jobs in important departments are restricted for youths coming from this community, and obviously they are denied entry into Police and Armed forces.

The forcibly evicted people the Bhutanese refugee history is fraught with complications that have impeded progressive lives of the people on numerous grounds. Looking at the past days despite its tyrannical rulers, the harmony and unity among various ethnic groups of Bhutan were strong until the middle of the 1980s. After the national census of 1969 and 1980s the Wangchuck Kings when saw the excellence of the Lhotshampas in education, social activities and their ability to accomplish even the most difficult responsibilities, they were nervous. The throne was troubled and without any rhymes and reasons started concocting that in-future Lhotshampas would become

a political threat to them. And thus the downfall of Lhotshampas began.

The Royal Government then started ordaining extensively to divide and reduce the population to bring majority to the ruling tribe, the Ngalungs. The government identified ethnic Nepali *Lhotshampas* as potential political opponents and began the treacherous strategy to reduce their number before the democratic wave embarrassed them. As a result, a massive population purge was launched, and thousands of Bhutanese ethnic *Lhotshampas* people were forcibly removed from their homes in the 1990s.

The severe breach of human rights in Southern Bhutan became off-the-cuff issues for the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's Government. The most precarious policy "One Nation One People" had stimulated a colossal humanitarian crisis by the end of 1990. The desperate people then had no choice but to flee and seek refuge in bordering India. But India unfeelingly denied refuge and they were forced to enter Nepal. Though small and poor country Nepal, it sheltered these helpless people, displaying its humanitarian heart. And to this day the Government of Nepal and UNHCR are managing each and every need of these refugees. And now, when many years of appeals and Ministerial level of talks between Nepal and Bhutan failed these

Bhutanese refugees are compelled to adopt resettlement in third countries.

The main international instruments' regarding the Status of the Refugees are the Geneva Convention of 1951 and alongside of this is the 1967 Protocol. However, the role of international human rights organizations in mitigating the plight of Bhutanese refugees appears inadequate or inactive. The UNHCR a part of these two international treaties of Refugees is responsible for providing support for repatriation of refugees to their parent countries besides managing their sustenance and protection issues. Unfortunately, the most persecuted Bhutanese refugees who had been appealing to return to their homestead since they were evicted from Bhutan are not considered they are denied justice. We perceive 'United Nations' the most powerful office of the world seems to be in nervousness in dealing with the genuinely protracted appeal of the Bhutanese refugees.

The plight of the humble people during the application of detrimental policies had gone unheard, the appeal was not at all discussed in the government, and instead the Bhutanese King came heavily on the innocent people and hardheartedly used all the government forces to discipline the people. The Government forces went to the extent of arresting, beating, raping and torturing till death. They confiscated

the valuable and burnt the houses making the helpless people homeless. There are no words to exactly describe the inhuman atrocities committed by the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan against the minority Lhotshampas. Bhutan, a member state of UNO has violated the essence of human rights and freedom of expression. The questionable facts are that Bhutan has violated 20 out of 30 articles as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human and Civil Rights. Meanwhile the quietness policy of the neighbor India during the persecution happening in front of its door in Bhutan during 1990s and keeping aloof with no words whatsoever about Bhutanese refugees till this day are the reasons that India being behind this scene cannot be ignored. We are confident that time will tell the truth to the world.

Decades have past the fundamental rights, and justice to the Bhutanese refugees *Lhotshampas* continues to remain unanswered. We believe The International Court of Justice (ICJ) could be very appropriate to help this issue. Similarly, legal assistance from influential nations to the United Nations to refer the Bhutanese refugee issue to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) could become a stepping stone. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is a vital prerequisite for ensuring justice for such refugee issue which has deliberate crimes committed by the King of Bhutan. There are enough evidences of violation of UN Human

Rights Articles by Bhutan. The imperishable Bhutanese King and his government should be brought to table for talk with the instruments of United Nations including Justice Bench and representatives from Bhutanese refugees. There is also a need to extend the space for the United Nations agencies inside Bhutan to ascertain peace and security for the remaining Lhotshampas and to provide basic humanitarian aid to all the Bhutanese citizens in need.

Finally, I convey my honest salutations to the progressive undertaking initiated by the '*Tshinyen Meto*', a special social organization founded by an informed congregation of Bhutanese rights activists from different professional backgrounds. The organization has initiated several programs globally to tackle the major issues of crimes against humanity, especially implicating Bhutanese refugees. Their steadfast actions for the legitimate cause and well-being of Bhutanese refugees are unparalleled. The role of Tshinyen Meto in selflessly voicing the opinion for such a worthy cause while remaining optimistic in any social, political or economic scenario is particularly notable. Furthermore, the book "Journey to Bhutan for Justice" is the first task of this organization and I hope it shall convey the voice of the Bhutanese Diaspora to the King of Bhutan and the International Communities and bring justice to the victimized people of Bhutan. I pledge to extend my support to the 'Bhutanese

Refugees', and this laudable cause should be endorsed and sustain till the task of ensuring justice to all the Bhutanese Diaspora is accomplished.

Thank You,
Dr Khagen Sarma

Dr Khagen Sarma is a very renowned personality in the field of education. He has contributed a lot in establishing Nepali Language in many institutions of India. Today Nepali Language is taught in some of the Universities as fully recognized national language where any students can learn Nepali language. He is also a great thinker of the society and a sincere social worker.





Damber Singh Kafley

Tashi Delek, Damber Singh Kafley was born at Damphu, Chirang, Bhutan.

He was educated at the native schools JPDSH of Bhutan.

**An open Letter to The King Jigme Khesar
Namgyel Wangchuck**

His Majesty,
The King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck,
Royal Government of Bhutan,
Tashichhodzong, Thimpu,
Bhutan.

I, Damber Singh kafley, originally from Bokarey (Kikorthang) Chirang, Bhutan would like to write to your esteemed office with the following entreaties about myself and our people.

When I was just 9 years of age, I came to my maternal uncle. In 1958, His Majesty the King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck visited the popular Sarbhang district that used to judicially look after six other districts in southern Bhutan, which I remember with clear pictorial

image in my memory even today. Ever since, the visit of the King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, the National Assembly of Bhutan had endorsed with facts and figures that Nepali speaking of Southern Bhutanese or Lhotshampas were recognized as the bonafide nationals of Bhutan.

Those days southern part of Bhutan used to be covered by dense forest, with hardly human settlements. The areas were infested with malaria and wild animals and the Ethnic-Nepali community people were settled by the Royal decree of the King Jigme Dorji wangchuk and the then contemporary constitution of Bhutan.

Before 1958, my paternal uncle Mr. Partiman Kafley was the Gup (leader of the village) was elected by the public at Salami which today known as Kikorthang Gewog. After that my paternal uncle Mr. Partiman Kafley was also elected as the National Assembly Member.

I still remember today, that my maternal grandfather Mr. Birdilal Pokhrel, the Gup, and my paternal uncle Mr. Partiman Kafley the National Assembly Member attended the meeting of the King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck in Sarbhang as representatives of the people of their areas of responsibilities.

After the demise of the third king on 21 July 1972 in Nairobi, Kenya, Prince Jigme Singye Wangchuck was crowned as the King of Bhutan at the age of 17 years on 02 June 1972. And in the same year, the King

visited Damphu village of Chirang with his elder sister Ashi Dechen Wangmo Wangchuck.

During Royal visit, my mother Mon Maya Kafley had submitted an appeal to the King and his sister about the land where there was some kind of disputes between the villagers. After going through the problems we were granted the land with Thram No 322 by the King in the name of my mother Man Maya Kafley in Bokarey, Kikorthang Gewog.

Those days our economic condition was not very good. I was studying at (JPDSHS) Jigme Palden Dorjee Secondary School in Damphu. After completion of my education I without delay started working in MEP (Malaria Exadication Program) under the Department of Agriculture as Section Officer. I worked there from 1970 to 1974 covering different regions of Bhutan until I got transferred to the HQ of Department of Agriculture in Thimphu.

During my service in Thimphu, I approached His Majesty the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck for some land for agricultural purpose where I was granted three acres of land at Bokrey of Kikorthang Gewog. For this Kidu I was accompanied by Gelpoi Zimpoen. Again after few months I was transferred from Thimphu to Chapcha-Bongo of Chukha District and then again to Norbuling in Geylegphug. The Kidu kaso of three

acre of land which was given by King at Bokrey of Kikorthang in Tsirang district was kept in the office. It was only in the year 1984 when I got transferred to Chirang district I acquired that three acre land given by the King. I still remember even today, those events and meetings with the King Jigme Singey Wangchuck were privileged one and extremely valuable.

Sadly in 1990 when the people especially those suppressed people from southern Bhutan minority Ethnic-Nepali and from the eastern Bhutan, the Sharchops started demonstration for Human Rights, Freedom and Justice they were **mercilessly** crushed by the government. And unfortunately people mainly from south were forced to leave the country by use of brutal force by the Government.

I remember the dark days that on 27th December 1990 at about 10:30 PM night, the Royal Bhutan Army and Royal Bhutan Police entered my house and manhandled us up very badly. They snatched our gold and silver ornaments, even took away our brass and copper utensils. It was our hard warked earned money and valuables from orange and cardamons fields.

After this incident the forces kept coming to torture us. To the rear of such dreadful occurrences, we decided to escape from the country to save ourselves and fled at midnight and crossed Bhutan border in the

morning hour. And after few days of travel we landed up in Nepal and lived many years in the refugee camp as destitute refugee. During all these years we fought tooth and nail and went through all sorts of hardships in the camps for more than three decades until we were resettled in third countries with the help of UNCR and the resettling countries.

I alongwith my family landed up in Australia. I have found this country governed by virtuous people unlike in my own country Bhutan. We are welcomed here as equal human beings and treated well with open arms. There is no racial **discrimination** in this country like in Bhutan. Bhutan is telling all lies to the world about its **Gross National Happiness**. No Bhutanese is happy in Bhutan. Except the Royal Families all the people including Ngalung fellow brothers and sisters are hiding their tears inside their Bokhu. They must not say disappointment to any visitors the King and the government would fall upon them heavily. Today, Australia has become our loving nation and we are extremely grateful to the Australian Government and the people of Australia. Had we not been resettled in third countries we would have been living life of hell in the refugee camps in Nepal or we would have been dead by now. We have come to understand Bhutan Kings and its Government is not concerned about human life, they are very cruel, since we not repatriated despite of so many years' wait and appeals

for justice, instead we are left to die in the refugee camps in Nepal.

My younger brother Mr. Gopal Kafley who was in the Royal Bhutan Army was apprehended by Bhutan Army in 1990. He was beaten all day and night in the Chamgang prison in Thimphu. He was in the prison for more than two years until he was released in 1992 and joined us in the refugee camps in Nepal. And today he is resettled in USA to continue living rest of his life.

The Royal Bhutan Army and Royal Bhutan police, not only tortured, molested our family they also looted our fertile land properties, buildings, orchards, gold and silver ornaments and money. Today, when we think of that horrible days and the way they raped women and made us to drink our own urine our heart pains severely and tears flows from our wrinkled faces. We still suffer trauma, dementia and above all the horrid death threat we get all the time, if we didn't leave the country Bhutan.

I was in the refugee camps of Nepal, Beldangi-II for almost 28 years, hoping to be repatriated to Bhutan. But, our Kings' heart never felt our sorrows; we knew there was no humanity in the blood cells of Wangchuck Family who are ruling Bhutan since 1907 after slaughtering Shanbdrung with the support of British people. Today, we are safe and comfortable for the

humane gesture of the Australian Government, we find ourselves reincarnated.

Though we are resettled in third countries we still feel we have deep love and affiliation with our country Bhutan where we were born, and our ancestors have lived for generations to make the Bhutan of today. We have our relatives and properties left in Bhutan and we hope oneday it will be judged by the world and the properties will be returned to its true owners.

Last, but not the least, we the refugees resettled all over the world would also like to appeal the International Community to help us to visit Bhutan so that we can see our relatives, neighbours, our fellow citizens.

While in Bhutan he worked at : Malaria Eradication Program: 1970 to 1974,

Agricultural, Department of Irrigation : 1975 to 1986,

His last service was to export fruits to Bangladesh : 1987 to 1989,

He along with his whole family was evicted from Bhutan in 1990.

Lived in the refugee camp in Nepal and resettled in Australia on 28/2/2018.

Today, he is 71 years living in Australia with his family.

Email : kafleyds4@gmail.com





Om Dhungel

Tashi Delek!

FAICD, MBA, B Sc. Engineering

Life is Beautiful let us not Allow Anyone to Sabotage it

With my movement within the country restricted and being kept under surveillance by the government for almost a year, it was the fateful day when I had to flee the country for fear of imminent arrest and torture. I then had to make the most difficult decision of my life - to leave behind my wife and two year old daughter and escape towards uncertain journey alone.

Many years have passed and we have come a long way since, living the life of refugee in Nepal, and now settled in this beautiful country Australiya, which has so warmly welcomed us. While our sole focus was to return home in Bhutan initially, after years of struggle and with no sign of progress towards achieving this objective, we had to make a difficult choice of resetting in a third country.

As citizens of the country we had the legitimate right to return to Bhutan, however we could not spend our lifetime struggling and living the life of a refugee. We had to take care of our ageing parents, take care of our children, their education and well-being and look for alternatives and hence the third country resettlement. It's a strange world- one government decides to carry out a policy of ethnic cleansing, evicting almost one-sixth of its total population; while some governments open their doors and warmly welcome and resettle us to live in peace and a secured life! Thanks to the government of Australia, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, Norway, The Netherlands, UK and the USA for their generosity in resettling the Bhutanese from the refugee camps in Nepal.

While a large majority of Bhutanese have resettled, there are others who do not wish to take this option but want to return home in Bhutan. I am pleased to learn that an organization named *Tshinyen Meto* has been established by the Bhutanese diaspora to deal with the broader refugee issue including the cause of refugees left behind in the camps in Nepal. They have waited for a long time with an unwavering commitment to return. So, first and foremost, the government of Bhutan should take steps to repatriate its citizens who are waiting in the refugee camps in Nepal. It is the most humane thing to do for the King of Bhutan.

Secondly, the Government of Bhutan should release all political prisoners languishing in the Bhutanese prisons for all these years.

Thirdly, the resettled Bhutanese who wish to visit Bhutan should be allowed to do so. It is the basic human rights to visit one's own country of birth to meet relatives and fellow citizens.

Finally, the Government of Bhutan should be accountable for the atrocities it committed on its citizens including evicting them from country and confiscating their properties, while torturing and killing others. As a first step, the government should either start refunding the seized properties to the rightful owners if any still remaining in Bhutan including the next of kin or compensate those who were evicted. In Buddhism, the ideal of practice is to selflessly act to alleviate suffering wherever it appears. We earnestly hope that the Government of Bhutan be accountable and start taking necessary steps to end this suffering, which was created by itself implementing **detrimental policies** and coercing the citizens.

Born and brought up in Lamidara, Chirang, Bhutan, Formerly, Head of Planning and Development in the Department of Telecommunications in the Government of Bhutan. Currently settled in Sydney, Australia and operating as a Consultant, Trainer and a Mentor.





Narayan Katel
USA

King

No one wants to be refugees. They either flee or are being deported by their own government or the dictators rather than by natural calamities. This is a story of Bhutanese citizens evicted by their government. During 1990s more than 100 thousand southern Bhutanese citizens were evicted from Bhutan by their own government and most of them were living as refugees till few years ago in makeshift camps in Nepal prior to their resettlement in US and other western countries. There are still approximately 7,000 of them in the camps in Nepal and over 50 as prisoners in Bhutan who have already spent over 30 years without any hearings yet. These refugees' houses in Bhutan were burnt, and land and other proprieties seized. The whole of southern districts from where they have come

was under martial law and the public there was suffering government atrocities.

The government was trying to project the king as benevolent and peacemaker and is still doing the same. With this background, the placed below poem is composed for publication in the book “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” of **Tshinyen Meto**.

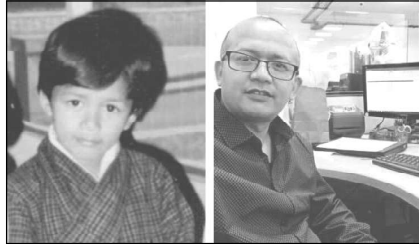
KING

King! Is there any humanity left in you?
What wrong did they do?
They have become refugees
Their shame falls on you
No one ever imagined
You would be so heartless
They wanted equal treatment
The people’s voice asked for their rights
You captured their properties
You did not bother to hear their voices
You did not regret your actions
Coming forward to punish them
Plundering and grabbing land
Imprisoning thousands
How do we forgive torture and eviction?
The rotten bread of your misdeeds
King, will you not repent for God’s sake?
And settle the issue benevolently

For the sake of the Dragon land!

Note : Mr. Narayan Katel is highly qualified in international relations, administration and politics. He was a diplomat, who has served as representative from Bhutan for Kuwait, India and Japan for more than a decade.





Aman Giri

Aman Giri was born in Ha Bhutan.

He is resettled in USA and working as Supervisor at Foxconn, Manufacturing Company, Texas. Email : amangiri1986@gmail.com

Few Earnest Words for Justice in Bhutan

On behalf of the people of Bhutan and on my personal behalf I, Mr. Aman Giri living in USA sincerely sends good wishes to all the people who buy this small but historic portrayal “Journey for Justice to Bhutan” ‘a very sincere gratitude and contentment reading this book’. I also thank the ‘TSHINYEN METO’ committee a platform of the Bhutanese refugees made available for the resettled refugees in various countries and to those remaining in the camps hoping to return to Bhutan someday, to articulate their lifespan’s memoir from Bhutan to present statuses. And lastly I salute all the well-wishers from India, Nepal and around the world who have written about Bhutanese refugee issue with the aims of extracting eye-opening observations about Bhutan rulers to consolidate the

dilemma of the suppressed people of Bhutan for expediting justice.

When, my family was evicted from Bhutan and made to suffer as refugee in an alien soil **I was only six years old**. The child photo above was taken on December 15, 1990 on the birthday of my father and the next is taken after 30 years in USA. My father who is an Electronics and Mechanical Engineer, graduated from India and UK, a professional Army officer, alumni of NDA, IMA, MCEME, India and IMI, UK was transferred to command the responsibilities of constructing a highly ambitious national workshop funded by UNICEF at Gaylegphug, was arrested without any reasons. My father was a very sincere, loyal and dedicated gentleman but, his loyalty and sincerity to the nation and to the three gems; King, Kingdom and Monarchy (Tsawasum) was questioned. Without any reasons my father was arrested on 20 December 1990 tortured and imprisoned at NIFH Gaylegphug, Bhutan. (NIFH) National Institute of Family Health a WHO funded institution at Geylegphug was converted into army detention center, where people were tortured and some hacked to death. My mother died a premature death because of mental and physical torture by the then **Dungpa, Chimmi Dorji**. I was not aware of all these adversities at that time, but, today I know why they did such ruthless crimes against us and I can realize today how much pain was inflicted to

my mother and father and thousands others who were tortured and brutally evicted from Bhutan. I do not want to go further into details about this grief-stricken account as many authors have similar stories to tell the world about what the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan did to us during 1990s. I honestly believe the world is seriously ready to act for that.

Dear readers, no words can express our real affinity with the people of Bhutan of all the ethnic minorities, and with Bhutan. The King of Bhutan undermined the aspirations ‘the call of the humble citizens for Equality, Justice and Human Rights in the country’, instead The King has gambled the sovereignty and integrity of the country by taking side of one ethnic group and crushing others by armed forces making them traumatized refugees. Ngalungs, the ruling community and other ethnic minorities Sharchops, Doyas, Khengs, Kurteps, Brokpas, Adivasis and we Nepali-Ethnic Lhotshampas all are the integral constituents of Bhutan. Bear in mind all the Kings, ‘devoid of our unified strength Bhutan will not survive.’ Bhutan is our motherland by birth we cannot live separated.

Our parents after eviction spent many years in Nepal with the hopes Bhutan would repatriate us and heal our wounds but, nothing good came from the King of Bhutan. Instead today, the situations in the country have worsened, people have become politically

volatile as corruption, crimes and self-seeking royal leaders have engulfed happiness and peace of the Bhutanese society; the youths have become less responsible towards the good of the country. Our relatives who are left in the country are not protected by laws; they are harassed by the administrative officers of the Government. They cannot voice about their teething troubles and unfairness of the Government. There are visual indications of fast deteriorating moral code of public conduct, and sense of belonging amongst younger generation in Bhutan are losing patience due to nepotism and vindictive functioning of the government. We though livings away from Bhutan have come to understand, Thimphu is growing with drug markets, rapes, burglary and publicly crimes are committed in many parts of the country.

Alas! Life has been very unfair to our generation and the youths at times resort to meet their ends by unfair means. *The seeds of vengeance, hatred towards the Throne who are to be punished for their inhuman deeds which made their fellow citizens to flee, to endure as refugee and die a humiliating death would then be permanently brought into being in the minds of the future generation.* Our fellow brothers and sisters in Bhutan irrespective of their racial backgrounds are concerned about the future of the country since the people are divided by the communal politics of the Throne. We, the youths living in exile have seen through

our mind's eye that due to the regretful policies of the Throne we are not only losing our country; but then again Bhutan a sovereign nation is starrng in the hands of outsider. Bhutan is being more vulnerable without us and without unity amongst Bhutanese communities. Hope the Throne would not undermine this very apprehension I prophesied and brought to the surface discussion.

Honorable intellectuals social activists, fellow brothers and sisters, Bhutan being a state guided by the commandments of Gautama Buddha "Non-Violence" cannot go against the sermon of Buddha by practicing violence. Non-violence is the supreme religion as advocated by Buddha and it is the backbone of any society. Buddhism as envisaged by Gautama Buddha was for the welfare of the mankind and not for making it a tool to meet some political ends. The Regime which practices violence and the Lamas who pervert the concept of Buddhism have created a period of mistrust, ill feelings and hatred among the people and uncertainty in Bhutan. Such trend is unproductive and the question of Bhutan as a Buddhist State becomes meaningless. Despite setbacks, one should remain away from capitalizing on this issue for personal interest; rather the aims and policies must be directed for the betterment of the Bhutanese society and for Bhutan. Once this goal is accelerated, only then will the popular

system of governance and peace sets in. And I believe, this is the prime task of all the Bhutanese.

The Bhutanese monarch held high by the loyal refugees as someone next to Buddha has grossly misinterpreted Buddhism for his own personal continuation to remain at the realm of affairs in the Bhutanese hierarchy. The crux of any religion is the unification of the people and not the division of the people on the basis of caste, creed or color. The Rulers must hold Bhutanese citizen above it-self and refrain from terrorizing people as terrorism involves violence. Even in an un-free society, it constitutes an outrageous assault on lives and property.

One cannot defend freedom by abusing it himself; the rights of the people must be defended by the law. One must not concede more to those who threaten someone with a gun. That is the end of democracy. ‘Service before self’ must echo from our hearts and the King must give up his egoist stance as a true campaigner of Buddhism and for the Gross Happiness of the people in the Nation.

The remorse for miserable existence in the refugee camps is the making of the Wangchuck Dynasty and if not his trusted lieutenants. Time has come for the Monarchs to shoulder the blame on them for the Bhutanese tragedy and to foster a close liaison with

the people. It is high time that the Monarchy realize the common aspiration of the people for greater national unity and all-round socio-economic development of the country instead of harboring and patronizing a group of select lots who are out to create bad image for Bhutan vis-a-vis the global context.

The Bhutanese citizens irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds yearn for their basic rights and freedom from oppression to live under a favorable social and political environment. The fabricated charges and the counter charges levied to the citizens are unfounded without any firm base and it must be withdrawn so as to establish a congenial atmosphere of human activities. The Government must have compassion with the people and identify them as Bhutanese citizens without categorizing some nationals and some as non-nationals from the same family.

Dear readers, I must write this as well that with limited coverage by media persons, a less is known about “what goes on inside” Bhutan. Few journalists who succeed to enter the gate to “Dragon Kingdom” exit with all praise for regime’s hospitality, gracious personality in a magnified version and a pocketful of hard currency and cases of Black and Red label whiskey. Few succeed in focusing the real personification of the King with a venomous mentality.

The media coverage on ‘suffering’ of the people in Southern and Eastern Bhutanese is neglected.

To find out the real sufferings and the extensive abuse of human rights, one should instead visit Southern and remote areas of Eastern Bhutan rather than spend times with royal guides lost in their temporary pleasure designs. The abject misery of the people and their horrible state of affairs will only then make anyone assess “who the real trouble shooters are”. Further, the insight of inside Bhutan will only then make someone think deeply about “the peace and tranquil image of serene Shangri-La”, and the call for “Justice” and “Human Rights”. The real scenario of scenic Bhutan will compel the outsiders to enquire “of all the places why call for justice, human rights, peace and return to Bhutan then” and the obvious answers of ours will be “because we have affiliation with Bhutan for generations”, and “we have deep affinity for Bhutan and with the people of Bhutan”.

I would like to ask a question that despite evidences by UNHCR, Amnesty International, The ASSR Jurists Commission Report, ICRC Reports and many others that there are severe human rights violations taking place in Bhutan, “why the International Community continues to pour money into Bhutan?” Does the establishment of Self-styled Democracy by a Monarch, who certainly do not agree with True Democratic norms is justified?

Does Bhutan deserve international understanding to brutally evict thousands of citizens of Bhutan to preserve the King's community culture, tradition, language, religion and supremacy in the country? Bhutan has committed serious crimes against humanity which should not be ignored but the perpetrators should be brought to justice.

After two decades more than hundred thousand of Bhutanese refugees were resettled in third countries because the Monarch of Bhutan did not want to repatriate us instead he wanted annihilation of the refugees from the refugee camps. For this reason, 'resettlement in third countries' has been unhappily agreed option by us. On the other hand, our 'resettlement in third countries' is not the end of this problem. We foresee that resettlement in third countries will certainly exposes further vis-à-vis cruelty of Bhutan King and will expedite the movement of the people for realizing human rights and justice in Bhutan.

We want Bhutan change from self-centered system of Wangchuckism to the altruistic independent statute with equality and liberty of the people enshrined to that constitution which is designed and drafted by the people of Bhutan for the country. And the Bhutanese refugees must get justice. We aspire 'Justice' must triumph to set right our wrongs and for everything we do to make real peace, happiness and prosperity of

our human society. World, please help us in structuring and edifying Bhutan as a morally upright nation, we belong to Bhutan, Bhutan needs ornamentation after disgrace by "all absolute rulers".

Qualifications :

Primary Education : Lalit Secondary Boarding School, Kathmandu: 1994-97

Kumai High School, Darjeeling: 1997-1998

Pre-University, SUMI, Kalimpong: 1999-2004

Bachelor's Degree: North Bengal University, West-Bengal, India: 2004-2007

Higher Education : Colorado Technical University, USA: 2021





Prajapati Sapkota

Tashi Delek Phuentsumtshong

Prajapati Sapkota

Syracuse, New-York, USA.

Land of Immigrants : Divine Rights against Fundamental Rights

Bhutan is a unique country in the world having a small ethnically diverse population of less than a million. Its exceptionally exquisite landlocked location makes it suitable to be called Shangri-la. The country is presently ruled by its institution of fifth generation monarchy established with the support of British Empire of India in 1907. Bhutan is probably the youngest monarchies in the world that is ruling the country with absolute power for a century. The fifth king is the constitutional head of the new democracy gifted to the people on abdication by fourth king who ruled tumultuously with iron-fist for 36 years. The four kings exercised their Divine Rights as the owner of the land, bestowal of Supreme Justice and *Kidu* (wellbeing). The Constitution of Bhutan promulgated

in 2008 paved way for a constitutional monarchy while still retaining the Royal Prerogative as the Divine Rights in subtle forms that encourages a majority of the less literate masses to literally worship the King. The Divine Rights have been a solid barrier against providing full-fledged fundamental rights to the citizens who are all settled immigrants including the royal family and the Nuevo aristocrats for more than 12 centuries. There may not be any country in the world that does not have immigrant population especially in this age of globalization.

Bhutan is a land of immigrants with various groups settling in the pristine land since the early eight century. The first group to settle was probably King Sindhu (*Senda Gyap*) from Assam and his subjects in Bumthang valley followed by the Nepalese followers of Guru Padmasambhava that assimilated in Ha and Bumthang. The next cohort reported to settle in Bhutan was Indo-Burman tribe from the east in eastern Bhutan the present *Shar chopas* (easterners). The third group mostly comprised Tibetans who entered Bhutan from the north after conflicts between various religious and political groups from the 8th to 17th centuries. They inhabit mostly the central and western part of Northern Bhutan. Most recently many Tibetan refugees entered Bhutan after the Chinese occupation of their land. The final cohort to settle in Bhutan were mostly Nepali speakers (of Indian and Nepali ancestry) as well as small

bands of local Indian tribes. This group inhabited mostly in the southern frontiers bounded on the west by the Jaldhaka River and the Dhansiri River to the east.

The first official settlers from Nepal were at the invitation of the spiritual ruler Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1624 comprising metal casters, farmers, artisans and craftsmen who have influenced farming, art, and architecture in Bhutan. The parallel can be drawn with the art and architecture in Kathmandu valley. Later settlements were prompted by the need to secure the frontiers from marauding tribes from across the border seeking to exploit natural resources from Bhutan - timber other forest products and limestone. It was after the annexation from Bhutan the Assam Bengal Duars by the British who began settlements and exploitation of the annexed Bhutanese territory mainly for tea plantations. Settlement contractors called *Thekedaars* (or *Dewans*) began the settling *raitis* throughout the southern frontiers beginning with Samchi district since 1857. Settlements became a source of revenue for the rulers while the settlers guarded the frontiers and developed the land into an organic belt of subsistence agriculture. It was the third monarch who ended all new settlements with the promulgation of the Citizenship Law 1958 that granted citizenship rights to all settlers in southern Bhutan now called Lhotshampa. However, after 30 years they claim that a large fraction of the naturalized settlers were

illegal immigrants was a beacon of smoke that regime was conspiring to partially depopulate the south using well planned strategies.

It is important to know how Bhutan's monarchy consolidated power and benefited from the diverse immigrant population that lacked modern education. Since from the inception of the monarchy, the institution sought unquestioned loyalty to the King, Kingdom and the Monarchy called *Tsawa-Sum* or the three gems of the nation. This loyalty was in line with the Divine Rights. The term *Tsawa-Sum* clearly leaves out the 'people of the country' of all ethnicities that should be the first gem with the King.

The Divine Rights of the Kings according to Buddhist monarchies gets encapsulated into the religious aspects as the Mandate of Heaven to govern the subjects. Though the Buddhist concept of kingship is governed by compassion and the *Vedantic* dictum of *Vassudiava Kutumbukam* or universalness as the Buddhist philosophy springs forth from the *Sanatan Dharma*. In case of the Bhutanese monarchy, this powerful noble maxim for a king was the reason that brought the "Lhotshampa" into the mainstream under the wise and benevolent leadership of the third King. Rightly called Father of Modern Bhutan, he pushed boundaries in the country's human development index while sowed the first seeds of democratic reforms.

He graciously brought all sections of the society into the national mainstream. However, his untimely death was a bolt from the blue for all Bhutanese though his successor held the flag despite various challenges that probably made the fourth king feel threatened at the beginning of his reign. He zealously guarded the throne against possible challenges by restoring absolute power despite various democratic norms and institutions previously used to bring about unity in diversity. After a decade or so, the welfare agenda was replaced possibly with the traditionalists and conservative power base perceiving threat from the educated and professional Lhotsampas and Sharchopas despite their honesty, integrity, and patriotism.

At the same time the winds of modernization with views on fundamental rights and democratic changes threatened the power of authoritarian rulers in several large and small countries. The suppressed masses were raising their heads and demanding changes to democratic governance and institution of fundamental rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948. The monarchy in Nepal too was shaken by the democratic forces; other autocrats were losing their 'Mandate of Heaven' causing tremors in the royal corridors of Bhutan. The royal regime to prevent possible dissension openly began to enforce the cultural hegemony as a part of the Divine Rights to follow the dictum of the ruler. As the Lhotsampas did

not easily assimilate into the mainstream Buddhist Drukpa culture despite various efforts at Bhutanization, the regime wanted to enforce its regulations to keep all in fear or was instigating dissidence to suppress any possible democratic movement. Or was it an excuse to implement various strategies to depopulate southern region by exercising the Divine Rights of giving and taking away citizenship and land to the *Raitis* or subjects?

The regime had begun openly discriminating Lhotsampas by denying senior administrative posts, compulsorily retiring many from key positions and had brought newer requirements for citizenship, marriages, land ownership and a scheme of displacement of population from the border with India. The Bhutanization laws and regulations caused a conflict between the universally accepted demand for democratic changes and institution of fundamental human rights under UDHR 1948 by the intellectuals mostly led by Lhotshampas and Sharchopas challenging the Divine Rights which was taken by the royal regime and its coterie as a direct threat to the institution of monarchy and its existence to continue the Mandate of Heaven supposedly received by the dynasty through various lineage of religious leaders of the past. While securing the position of the monarch as a 'dear blessed leader', the ruling elites felt threatened by the increasing assertiveness of the intellectuals

refusing to fully accept the cultural hegemony and begin seeking basic human rights as rightful citizens of the land. The consequence of the clash between Divine Rights and Fundamental Human rights was the ethnic cleansing of the Lhotshampa dissidents and the forced exile of the Sharchopa dissidents that was close to one-sixth of the total population of Bhutan. Both cohorts were equally oppressed and yet the majority are living by compromising their civil liberties with the Divine Rights exerted cultural hegemony. The xenophobia and ethnic cleansing created hitherto unheard of 'refugees from Bhutan' which is an indelible blemish to the Kingdom despite various methods to whitewash the humanitarian crisis thus created as its living proof are the refugee and the resettled Bhutanese Diaspora.

The dissidence against the suppression of human rights had targeted activists and dissidents resulting incarceration and many are still in various prisons since 1990 imprisoned without proper trial. The Divine Rights to incarcerate has been against basic rights after the declaration of democracy in 2008. Over 6,600 Bhutanese live as refugees in Nepal waiting for a safe return to their motherland while those who have resettled in western countries or living in India yearn to visit their country of birth and reconnect with their relatives and fellow citizens. However, the time has come to leave aside the murky past of the clash between the Divine Rights and Fundamental Rights

and seek a path towards reconciliation to pave way towards *Basudaiva Kutumbukam*.

I would like to congratulate the visionary leadership for the initiative of launching the *Tshinyen Meto* Movement to harmoniously advocate for repatriation of the refugees suffering in Nepal and usher greater degree of freedom in Bhutan. I am enthusiastic that this Tshinyen Meto will help initiate a dialogue with Bhutan to enable the Resettled Bhutanese to contribute to the country as Non Resident Bhutanese similar to how the external diaspora has contributed to the development of other countries in the region.

I urge Tshinyen Meto to appeal His Majesty the Fifth Druk Gyalpo to graciously grant clemency to all political prisoners incarcerated since the late 1980s and 1990s, grant *Kidu* to all the stateless entities mainly those with close relatives and families in resettled countries and ask the government to reach out to the resettled Bhutanese Diaspora as reconciliation enabling direct interaction with relatives and friends in Bhutan.

I extend my best wishes to all those working for Tshinyen Meto and extend support towards it to advocate for a reconciled Bhutanese Diaspora that can cast aside the past trauma and ethnic biases as a part of **Basudaiva Kutumbukam**.





Dr. Govinda Rizal

We wait in peace, We expect justice

There is no compromise. There is no exaggeration. There are limited but high expectations at this time-
“Journey to Bhutan for Justice.”

I wrote this article based on the title of this book and a series of interactions with Dr. Bhampa Rai, N B Giri, D S Kafley – the forerunners of the *Tshinyen Meto* Movement.

We, the Bhutanese people exiled from our homeland more than three decades back and living in refugee camps are waiting for a rescue. Save Our Souls.

We became refugees because of the Royal Government of Bhutan’s inefficient and prejudiced handling of the demographic issues followed by

excesses of the law enforcers, and we have been waiting for peaceful and judicious solutions.

We were supported by the UNHCR in Nepal until the end of 2017. UNHCR provided custodianship for about three decades and then the best solution it could give by facilitating resettlement in third countries. A big segment of our people was relocated to eight countries around the world.

While those of us in the camps in Nepal wait for the repatriation, we bear the expectations of people jailed in Bhutan wanting us to advocate for their release and of the resettled people that they and their children retain the right to return to Bhutan and regain their Bhutanese nationality. The resettlement is not justice to the injustice on us. Justice is long-awaited. Justice should prevail.

The refugee issue is a problem between “the king and his people,” several observers have said in the past. The Indian establishment-the one of the key holders of the issue- also shares its stand that the issue is between Bhutan’s king and his people.

The present effort to send the people’s expectations directly to the king and the Royal Government of Bhutan is expected to narrow the gap generated by the tangential misunderstandings. Our expectations are few and precise. We invite the Royal

Government of Bhutan and the king to come forward, meet the exiled citizens and sort out the differences. We will continue to expect :

- Repatriation of Bhutanese citizens turned refugees from the refugee camps in Nepal, reparation, guarantee of citizenships, equal rights and protection from the state.
- Release of all the political prisoners from jails in Bhutan with their reinstatement to their homes with reparation.
- Relocation of all the people resettled in southern Bhutan after 1990 to their original places to vacate the land for the original owners- and avail them timely support and justice.
- Dual citizenship status to all the Bhutanese who have acquired citizenship of the resettling countries.
- And reinstatement of citizenship to those Bhutanese who want to return to their homes permanently from their resettled countries.
- State's acknowledgment; that the children and their children inheriting Y chromosomes and mitochondria of the evicted Bhutanese citizens as the rightful inheritors of the Bhutanese nationality.

These should not be considered as the demand or baits of negotiations but the minimum expectations for justice by the evicted people, and exercise for the continuity to the state-building process.

No parties should compromise on the basic minimum. While many people resettled in the third countries may have the luxury to wait, the refugees in the camp who are in a degrading situation should not exacerbate further injustice through inactions.

May the *Tshinyen Meto* Movement provide a Bhutanese version of the olive branch offer from the people to their king and the Government.

Thank you.

Dr. Govinda Rizal,

Dr Govinda Rizal was born in Chirang, Bhutan.

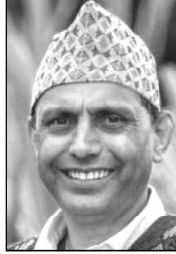
He has acquired his doctorate in the field of Agriculture.

He is presently working as Agricultural Consultant in Nepal.

He is living in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Beldangi, Jhapa, Nepal





Bal Krishna Ghimire

President, Bhutanese Society of New Zealand inc. (Manawatu)
Mobile: 02102925623

An Appeal to His Majesty the fifth Druk Gyalpo

I on behalf of the Bhutanese Society of New Zealand Incorporated (Manawatu) would like to congratulate our visionary leaders who made all the effort to bring this book into publication. We have seen and read this history of Bhutan in the past but none of those books reflect the reality of the country and its people.

I hope this book will help our readers understand the situation in depth and reflect the real history of BHUTAN. This will be a resource for the coming generation to understand the history, people and culture of Bhutan.

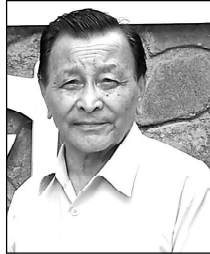
I am proudly excited that this book will help initiate a dialogue with Bhutan to enable the exiled and resettled

to physically contribute to the growth of the country as non-resident Bhutanese similar to how the external Diaspora has contributed its potential to the development of other countries in the region.

I would also like to appeal His Majesty the fifth Druk Gyalpo to graciously grant Amnesty to all political prisoners and grant Kidu to all the stateless entities mainly those with close relatives and families in resettled countries and ask the government to reach out to the resettled Bhutanese Diaspora as reconciliation enabling direct interaction with relatives and friends in Bhutan.

I extend my wishes to all those working to bring this book **Journey for Justice to Bhutan** into publication and extend support towards it to advocate for a reconciled Bhutanese Diaspora that can cast aside the past trauma and ethnic biases as a part of **Basudaiva Kutumbakam**.





Dr Gokul Sinha
Darjeeling, India

Bhutan and the Ethnic Bhutanese : A Paradox

“According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, 1959 edition, ‘The Tibetan troops invaded Bhutan at the end of the 9th century, drove out the Indian princes and their subjects, and then settled down in occupation of the land.’

‘According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India (vol.III) Oxford New Edition, 1908, Bhutan formerly belong to a tribe called Bhotia Telphu, who are believed to be of the same race as the Kacharis and Koch of the adjoining plains of India and who were subjugated by a band of Tibetan soldiers.’

‘According to the account of **Hiuen** Tsang the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who had come to

India during the reign of King Harshabardhan, Bhutan did not have a separate status outside the political frame work of India.

‘According to Prof. S S Bhattacharya, an eminent Indian Scholar, Bhutan was originally a Hindu state, inhabited mostly by the tribes of Indo-Mongoloid origin.

‘According to Sir Ashley Eden, the natives of Bhutan were the people from Cooch Behar (North Bengal). They were displaced by the invaders from Tibet.’”

Just this Pancha-Shila of history shows that the present Bhutan was a part of Indian continent, invaded and occupied by the Tibetan troops. History repeats itself: this adage was credited by none but the British Viceroy, Lord Curzon that the Tibetans (now the Chinese) might pounce upon Bhutan. So he wrote a letter to the Secretary of state for India, in the UK: “We cannot afford to let the Chinese establish influence in Bhutan. Bhutan rolls down the south in low hills and shades away over a mere geographical line to the Duars...” As pre-emption, the British encouraged more Nepalese to settle in Bhutan in order to restrain the revival of Chinese influence in Bhutan. Lord Curzon’s apprehension was not wrong when in 1939 Mao Tse Tung included Bhutan within the map of Republic of China.

Since early records of history the Nepalese inhabit in Bhutan. As a token of friendship between the two kings of Nepal and Bhutan the Nepalese were formally received by agreement by the king of Bhutan. The history records it as 1624 A.D. Subsequently, many Nepalese were recruited and migrated as laborers, artisans and skilled workers while building dzongs and monasteries and hydel-powers. But the Bhutan Government mistook their make for break and staged citizenship act as a tragic play. The citizenship act of 1958 when replayed in 1988 was meant only for those Bhutanese who were thickly populated in southern Bhutan and they were ethnically Nepalese. In Bhutan, at present there are more than fourteen different ethnic and linguistic groups. But the revised Act was implemented to the ethnic Nepalese only. This was a sheer discrimination, a sinister act. The Act deprived off the rights of many Bhutanese to be Bhutanese though most of them by birth.

First the Bhutan Government proposed a reserved forest all along the Indo-Bhutan border sometime for arresting soil erosion, sometime for wild-life sanctuary, sometime for national parks on the fertile and productive farm land of southern Bhutan. The plan had a dual game, one to squeeze funds from the foreigners and the other to evict ethnic Nepalese from the native land.

Next, the Government followed a saying: if you like to smash a community, obliterate their language. The Bhutan Government banned on the teaching of Nepali language in the schools of southern Bhutan, directly violating the UNESCO resolution of 1953. Nepali schools are now converted into detention camps. Language ban followed the induction of dress code of 'gho' and 'kira'. This is another assault on a particular ethnic culture in the country.

The discrimination in language, culture and polity obviously compelled the ethnic Nepalese appeal the King but in contrary the King took them as anti-nationals and their grievances as 'threat to nation.' In the absence of constitution, rules fluctuate in and frequent political instability has become a phenomenon in Bhutan. Till this day Bhutan remains an isolated country as the outer world is still in dark about the day to today happenings in Bhutan. The visitors are not allowed to visit the troubled spot and to collect the firsthand knowledge of the situations. Even the Amnesty International delegation was not permitted to visit the southern Bhutan where mass eviction was being done, saying that the area was unsafe for the visitors. However the Amnesty International issued its report in June, 1996 that the fate of 88,000 Nepali speaking southern Bhutanese people living in refugee camps in eastern Nepal was inconclusive. Many more were believed to have been forced to leave Bhutan as a result of

government policies which discriminated against Nepali speakers. As of June 1996 about 44 political prisoners were reported to be serving prison sentences and a further 70 were on trial.

Amnesty International continued to appeal for the release of Teknath Rizal and sought information about charges against Tashi Norbu. It further appealed to the government of Bhutan not to force southern Bhutanese people to leave the country against their will.

But the appeals of the Amnesty International, Red Cross Societies, Human Rights Commissions, Jesuit Refugee Services and from different countries as well have fallen flat. Imprisonment, torture and cruelty still persist in Bhutan. It is a matter of dishonor to the international welfare corps like UNO, ASEAN, SAARC etc. and a matter of distressed in their failure. But humanity is not dead and will not die altogether. We are very optimist that the world is changing, the problem between the pious king and his loyal subjects will be solved amicably very soon.

At the earliest, we as world citizens earnestly implore His Majesty to restore peace in His holy land and in the minds of His own peoples who are gasping either in foreign camps or in the domestic jails. Please have faith in Almighty which is quite close to humanity. I conclude this write up with the following words of

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is also suffering the same fate:

“As a first step, the Royal Government could begin by recognizing that its policy regarding the King’s subjects in the south has been unfair, immoral or wrong; accepting that a large section of the people, because of their ethnic background, have been deprived of their fundamental rights to nationality; and acknowledging that democratic reforms are necessary to protect the interest of the ‘all’ rather than ‘just a privileged few’.”

Lastly, I congratulate the team of the Bhutanese organization “Tshinyen Meto” for initiating to write this book titled “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” with the aims and objectives to reach the King of Bhutan and the world community for justice to the Bhutanese refugees. I am hopeful people will extend help and the appeal of the Bhutanese Diaspora will be given justice.

Dr Gokul Sinha is from Maharani Tea-Estate, Tung Darjeeling

Education: Margaret's Hope Primary School, Darjeeling

St. Alphonsis High School, Kurseong

B A, North Bengal University: 1964

M.A, North Bengal University: 1981

Ph. D: North Bengal University: 2000

Awards and felicitation

Arugi Puraskar, Kurseong, Darjeeling

Barrinaayan Puraskar, Doors

Nepali Sahitya Sanmelan Puraskar, Darjeeling.

He has written many books and articles of diverse social factors from religions to academic concerns.

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Jhagendra Dhimal
Melbourne, Australia
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Phone : 0422239604

Me and my bond with Bhutan

Before I start writing my testimonies I would like to thank all my honorable seniors and well-wishers who are involved in this mission (Journey to Bhutan for Justice) working to build a bridge of progressive understanding about the historical facts of our journey to our forthcoming generations. I have no doubt coming generations will dig in to this historical book to learn about Bhutan and their ancestors. So I would like to congratulate and wish good luck to everyone for publishing this book.

My name is Jhagendra Dhimal, born in 1986 at Lamidara, Chirang Bhutan. I was forced to flee my motherland when I was a child. Sometimes I feel so sad when I have to tell that I haven't seen my motherland till this day. I grew up at Pathri refugee camp, Morang, Nepal. I along with my families spent 18 years of awful

life in the refugee camp. The hope of returning back to our country was nowhere to be found. So we decided to resettle in Australia in 2010. Today, I am living in Melbourne as a proud citizen of Australia.

1. Bhutan inside me :

Bhutan always lives in my heart even though I don't know much about it and I never got chance to feel it closely. I respect Bhutan; because it is the country where I was born. I am happy where I am living today and I am doing the works that have connection with Bhutan. I can't take Bhutan out of me. I have a dream to visit my motherland. I wish to my motherland in whatever way I can. I can't imagine how blessed I would be if I get a chance to set my foot on my motherland Bhutan. I was very small when I left my country and I hope all the seniors who are involved in this project will be able to explain more about the situation of yesteryears Bhutan. I believe Bhutan will receive acclaim from the world about its GNH principle once Bhutanese refugee problem is solved. I also want to request the present King and the Prime Minister to understand how it feels to them being a refugee and discard all egoistic mindsets and solve the problem as soon as possible.

2. My thoughts for solutions :

Sometimes I feel we ourselves are not playing our part effectively to solve the problem. I would like to

keep my personal thoughts aside but I contemplate on as how we can visit Bhutan and reunite with our families and fellow Bhutanese. I perceive unity among resettled Bhutanese communities across the globe and those who are in the refugee camps can make same agendas. Similarly, the resettled one can approach with these agendas to their respective governments. At the same time we can write a petition to the King and the Government of Bhutan to let us reunite with our families and visit Bhutan. We can ask for support from International Medias to reach our voice to the King of Bhutan. Everything we do about this should be sociable. There are many areas we can blame the rulers of Bhutan who made us refugee but it may not produce constructive results. It is the time to act wisely to address our technical hitches.

3. My Journey in Australia :

Keeping the memory of my birth place on one side today, I am a proud citizen of Australia. It wasn't easy to get settled in an alien place but slowly I started to accommodate in this country. I started volunteering in my community work as soon as I was in Melbourne, Australia. To build harmonious relationship with local people and getting in touch with own community was my priority. Taking failures as lessons I kept working on different areas of my interest. Here are some of the fields I am engaged with till this date.

4. Social :

- **Bhutanese Funeral Support Group Melbourne.** (Initiated by with a group of volunteers from the community to help cremation and funeral in Melbourne.)
- **BHUTANESE NEPALI ETHNIC SCHOOL MELBOURNE.** (First Nepali Ethic School from Victoria, Melbourne to get accreditation at the Department of Education and Training in Australia.)
- **HAMRO CHINAREE.** (Hamro Chinaree media platform based in Melbourne which has brought out our talents, history, literature and much more. We also have interviewed many national and international artists through zoom at the time of lockdown. Hamro Chinaree broadcasts through Sunkosh TV.)
- **SUNKOSH TV** (Sunkosh TV is a common media platform broadcasting varieties of regular and non-regular programs. We have volunteers from all over Australia and beyond to keep this platform going.)
- **Bhutanese Community in Australia** (volunteered as a treasurer.)

5. Business:

- **OWNER : JAAM CO PTY LTD**

A company named after the initials of my family members which run **JAAM GROCERIES & SPICES** and **JAAM COLLECTIONS** together.

➤ **Reliable Community Care** (Disability Services Provider giving care to most of our disabled people from the community and outside.)

6. Literature:

➤ **CONNECTION:** (it's a song album brought out by Four Lyricists including myself, inaugurated in Melbourne.)

➤ **KANGAROO KO DESH BATA:** (Combined Gajal Book by Bhutanese literary personal across Australia including myself, inaugurated in Melbourne.)

➤ **KHAYAM LAI PRASHNA :** Combined Ruwai Sanghaha brought out by all the literary personal across globe.

➤ **DABAAIYEKA AAWAJHARU :** (combined Gajal sanghaha brought out by Bhutanese literary personals from all across the globe.

All of these activities and projects are directly or indirectly connected with Bhutan. I cannot take Bhutan out of my mind. Sometimes I think refuge life has given me many things except I am away from Bhutan. I want to return with all these knowledge and enthusiasm to

work in Bhutan. Today, I am a citizen of this great country Australia which has protected me and thousands of people like me who were victims of cruel rulers; I shall never betray this country which has become part and parcel of life. But then still, I have wishes in my life to do something for my mother country Bhutan.

At last I would like to thank the Tshinyen Meto chaired by our respected veteran leader, Dr. Bhampa Rai and Dasho N B Giri the General Secretary managing the whole affairs for giving me chance to express my thoughts and feelings about our whole journey. I also would like to thank Mr. D S Kafley for reaching me about this project. For the first time in the journey of my life, I got a chance to review my life and I am extremely grateful to Tshinyen Meto for giving me this opportunity to emancipate my life's relentless voyage.

I hope this historical book (Journey for Justice to Bhutan) will definitely play its role to reach our message to the King and the Prime Minister of Bhutan as well as the International Communities for their assessment and support to Bhutanese voice.





Jawala Prasad Regmi
608 Delmar Pl, Syracuse NY 13208
The United States of America.

An earnest appeal

His Majesty,
The King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck,
Tashichho Dzong,
Thimphu, Bhutan.

His Majesty,
I am Jawala Prasad Regmi from Bhutan; I served the country with total dedication and commitment in the Department of Education as a teacher and as an Inspector of Schools. However, due to the atrocities of our Government, I absconded from my birth-land with my family in September 1992. We know the history that Ugen Wangchuck your forefather founded hereditary Monarchy in Bhutan. Amongst all King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck was more liked by the people of Bhutan for his good works. However, the fourth King

Jigme Singye Wangchuck, your father in 1980s crafted a detrimental policy “One Nation One People” that deprived the citizens of minority community of their fundamental rights. Since then Bhutan is undergoing turns and turmoil. People are brutally evicted and made destitute refugees undermining security and future of the country. Today, I am a Bhutanese American settled here with my family and have been contributing to this great country with equal enthusiasm and patriotic feelings that had with my yesteryears motherland Bhutan.

With profound respect and honor I would like to write to your Majesty to review the ongoing scenario of Bhutan and about the Bhutanese refugee issue. I urge to re-coin “One Nation One People” to “One Nation Many People” to accommodate all the community living in Bhutan. I also implore your Majesty to generate a reconciliation policy to settle the protracted refugee issue that has been there for more than three decades. Although we are labeled us anti-national without any rhymes and reasons our patriotism will never weaken. Therefore, we implore your Majesty to welcome back the Bhutanese languishing in refugee camps in Nepal and allow them to become part of the strength of the country. Furthermore, your father’s policies have separated us from meeting and interacting with the families living in Bhutan. Therefore, please open a path for the resettled Bhutanese to meet and

extend help to their families, friends, relatives, and the Government as Non-Resident- Bhutanese. Also, please grant amnesty to all the political prisoners who have been incarcerated since the beginning of the agitation.

His Majesty's farsighted leadership and schooling, both religious and secular, not limited to the Asian continent, but being a scholar of the western world, would be able to visualize the practice of human rights and how they exercise their freedom for the people's happiness. Thus, considering all these civilized ways to treat people with dignity and honor, your Majesty will proclaim to every community living in the country their liberty and justice and allow them to practice their fundamental rights without fear.

1. Bhutanese Kings : A Legacy of Pride and Despair

First King: Ugyen Wangchuck: (June 11, 1862- August 26, 1926). Ugyen Wangchuck was installed as hereditary monarch with the support of British-India in 1907. He maintained relationship with British-India during his nineteen years of reign and developed relationships with monks through which he was able to establish Kargyupa sects in Bhutan.

Second King : Jigme Wangchuck: (Born in 1905 and ruled from 1926-1952). He received traditional Buddhist education, and also learnt English and Hindi.

He signed the Indo-Bhutanese treaty of 1949, revising the 1910 treaty of Punakha, strengthening the relationship with India, which laid the foundation of the journey of friendship between India and Bhutan. During his reign, he implemented administrative reforms and placed a more strict hierarchal system investing absolute power in him over all religious and secular matters.

Third King: Jigme Dorji Wangchuck: (May 2, 1929 to July 2, 1972). Like his father he had also learnt Buddhist principles, English, and Hindi. Some people call him “The Father of Modern Bhutan” for his progressive thoughts for the development of the country. Among many achievements, he made Bhutan a member of the United Nations in 1971. He was more judicious and liberal than previous kings for he issued royal decree about the Ethnic Nepali-Communities declaring them as Bhutanese citizens living in Bhutan since centuries.

Fourth King: Jigme Singye Wangchuck: (Born on Nov. 11, 1955 and ruled from 1972-2006). He abdicated the throne in 2006 to Your Majesty, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, you being his eldest son and today you are serving as The King of Bhutan. Your father administered many reforms in social and cultural aspects. He had education in India and the United Kingdom. His most significant achievement was

the adoption of the constitution in 2008, which paved the way for the transition from an absolute monarch to a constitutional monarchy. However, during his reign on 16 January 1989, he issued a Royal decree to formally launch the “One Nation One People” policy which essentially banned cultural pluralism in Bhutan. That was a sinister design to erase culture, tradition, religion and language of minority communities like Ethnic-Nepali. There were many anti-people policies which led people to oppose and in turn The Government used forces to crush the people to brutally evict them, and thus we were compelled leave our country.

2. An Unjust Campaign against the People

When the people raised their voices against that unjust policy the Government responded by imprisoning the village elders and civil servants with brutal torture and killings. The Government deployed military, police, and semi-trained, racially indoctrinated militia to create a reign of terror that ensued from 1990-1993. They acted with extreme racial discrimination, torture, arbitrary arrests, rape, and forced evictions. Schools, hospitals, business centers and post offices were closed in Southern Bhutan. All the brutalities were aimed at forcing the people to flee the country, which resulted in more than 100,000 evicted Bhutanese.

About 1/6th of the total population that sought refuge in adjoining states of India, but, again where we were driven out from there to Nepal by the Indian administration and security forces. I was one of them to be imprisoned and tortured for no reason. All the Government's draconian measures aimed to create terror and forced the people to flee the country, leaving everything we possessed.

3. Refugee

In 1992 on September 5, I left Bhutan along with my wife and four small children to save our lives. We left everything except the education that I had acquired. It was a painful and unforgettable journey to leave the homeland and become a stateless refugee. The Indian Government sided with Bhutan; we were driven out from India and dumped at Nepal border. Our refugee life began at the bank of a river Kankai at Maidhar bank in eastern Nepal. We witnessed heart breaking scenes as so many children and old people were dying due to starvation and lack of medial help. We took refuge in Nepal for around two decades under the protection of the Government of Nepal and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). We tried various repatriation means many times, but the regime of Thimphu thwarted our attempts. Finally, with no hope of repatriation to our country, with a heavy heart, we were compelled to go for resettlement offered by UNHCR and strongly supported by the

Government of USA including seven other countries in the core group.

4. Education in exile

During our stay as refugees in Nepal, one of the significant events was establishing schools incorporating Bhutanese and Nepalese curricula to educate our children at par with Bhutanese education standards. The credit goes to all our people and organizations for their farsightedness thoughts. The establishment of schools paved the way for the betterment and peaceful living in unfamiliar crowded refugee camps otherwise in an alien country. The schools were financed by UNHCR and CARITAS, where the Bhutanese Refugee Education Program (BREP) and Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) played a vital role in hiring and training volunteer teachers. We were entrusted with the curriculum and training teachers to maintain the standard of education at par with schools in Bhutan. We worked with dedication and commitment both on curriculum planning and teacher development. As a result, the standard of education was maintained by the diligence of committed resource teachers. However, I realized that my education back home, both academic and professional was not enough to address the needs of the time, so simultaneously, I studied and obtained a master's degree in English.

5. Camp Administration

After completing my master's degree, the public's demand made me compete for the post of a camp administrator. Soon, I was elected as a camp secretary of Beldangi II to manage the camp matters. I took this administrative job and administered with the support of diligent camp committee members, school administrators, teachers, and senior citizens. I worked in close cooperation with the Government authorities, UNHCR and CARITAS, Lutheran World Federation, World Food Program and Association of Medical Doctors of Asia (AMDA) to reform the systems and serve the people of their needs. I worked with a clear vision and priority of food, shelter, health, and education.

The camp committee was working well, and every community member was happy had secured feeling. However, it was unfortunate that suddenly one-day there was a clash with local neighbors. It is true in most of the countries refugees are considered to be a lowly living people. Refugees are always humiliated and insulted by some mischievous local people. Likewise local youths of Nepal threw stone and bricks to hurt us. In one incident the police station got damaged due to throws from both sides. Police officers were injured. I was negotiating for a peaceful settlement, but someone from the crowd threw a stone that hit me, fracturing my ankle. I was taken to the hospital for treatment and was released after applying medicine and

bandage. To resolve the issue and prevent future clashes with local people, I had a meeting with local leaders, police officers and the chief district officer.

Camp life was hard we have faced untold miseries. But commitment to serve the people did not decline. We used firewood and coal for cooking, several times it caused fire hazard destroying huts. The huts were made from bamboo and roofed with thatch which is very susceptible to fire. During the prolonged stay in the camp, we lost hope of repatriation. I had contemplated this for months and discussed with my wife and children. Finally, we decided to move to the United States of America for the future of our children. Before getting our things done, we had to go through a lengthy process with the Refugee Coordinating Unit, UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). We also had to have medical exams and cultural orientation to learn about lifestyle in the USA, including laws and norms.

6. Transition to America

In 2009 on August 28, we left the camp and stayed in Kathmandu for six days. We began the most unforgettable journey towards the USA on September 2 and landed in New York on the 3rd September. We were received by Interfaith Works. For six months they helped us. We faced some problems in the beginning but, overcoming them we started working normally.

Our experience had taught that there is nothing more significant than education, so we continued our education and upgraded our knowledge.

It was not easy to acclimatize to the new soil. We struggled to meet our day-to-day requirements with better hopes. We faced challenges in our academic and professional qualifications. I was a teacher by profession and even today, I am serving as a teacher in American schools. Thus, we are here today as Bhutanese Americans and getting integrated into the American mainstream adding to the great nation's diversity as an evolving community. Thank you USA and, all the countries who were involved in helping to resettle us in your countries with honor and dignity.

7. Atrocities of the Fourth King

The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck is not immortal but after his death his sins of 1990s will be written in the history of Bhutan as 'Black Days'. No matter how much twist and turn games he plays to shield his heinous crimes from the world community. His 'Gross National Happiness' will not work for him it will rather become a tool to dig his crimes. Under his dictation, the Bhutanese Government has worked to eradicate our identification, language, cultures, and traditions and to erase our history from the Bhutanese soil. Nevertheless, by the grace of God, we are able to find new homes and thrive, adding our diversity to the mainstream of our settled countries and progressing with the call of

the time. We are getting stronger and will continue to struggle to re-write the history even if we fail and bid adieu to this world before time, we leave behind many such documents for our coming generation well-informed encouraging fight for the incomplete cause left by their ancestors.

8. Tshinyen Meto

Tshinyen Meto, is formed under the chairmanship of our reverend and veteran leader Dr. Bhampa Rai. I want to salute and congratulate him for his leadership and vision to launch this movement for significant cause of the exiled Bhutanese. I also like to express my sincere gratitude to N B Giri veteran Army Officer, the General Secretary; members of the organization and Mr. D S Kafley alongwith many well-wishers who are directly or indirectly supporting this organization. I am optimistic that **Tshinyen Meto** would advocate for the repatriation of around seven thousand refugees languishing in Bhutanese refugee camps. Furthermore, I am hopeful that Tshinyen Meto will initiate a dialogue with Bhutan and create a welcoming environment where exiled or resettled Bhutanese can extend help to their families, their fellow Bhutanese friends for making Bhutan truly a happy country.

Thank you,
Jawala Prasad Regmi





N B Giri
General Secretary

Gross National Happiness : Bhutan Milieu

‘Gross National Happiness’ is a concept coined by the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck of Bhutan in 1972 during an interview in Mumbai, India where he proclaims it is the real-world vision acquired through pragmatic experiences in his life which guides the functioning orderliness of the Government of Bhutan. It has some specific important index through which peoples’ happiness and prosperity are measured. Though this is quite alluring speculation but absolutely not in practices in Bhutan, the Bhutanese people are in hopelessness living hollow life. In-fact in 1972 King Jigme Singye Wangchuck was 17 years old, we do not find even minimal basis virtues in him to believe that he was experienced and attained phenomenal vision atop human life, understanding of good governance

and to conduct himself with the citizens to live a happy life.

It is well-known facts, with the support of British-India King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's forefather Ugen Wangchuck had established autocratic rule in Bhutan in 1907 following killing of Shabdrung representatives and many devotees of Nyingmapa tradition of Mahayana Buddhism from Eastern Bhutan. There was countless bloodshed in the country while Bhutan was transformed into despotic rules under Ugen Wangchuck. And unequivocally, it would not be fitting to articulate a prince born and brought up in a wicked-immoral family would be righteous and possess humane qualities prerequisite for the well-being and prosperity of the people. Had the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck been sanctified with the mind of Compassionate Bodhisattva and with such extraordinary knowledge of 'Gross National Happiness' to govern the nation and his heart permeated with humane values, love and care of the people then the thousands of naïve people appealing for justice would not have to face his brutality and evicted from Bhutan in 1990s.

His Majesty or the prince may be perhaps born in the elite Royal Family but without unraveling 'truth and false' from their hearts and without understanding their characters they can never be trusted as virtuous being.

The phrase 'Like Father like Son' stands true to its connotations. This phrase means a person possess the same attitudes as his father and tend to behave same way. A point to be noted is that he identifies himself to be a Buddhist King. Lord Buddha preached the world to treat the people equally and love them whole heartedly; and Buddha has not preached to design detrimental policies like "One Nation One People" to protect and preserve religion and cultural identity of own community and create mayhem in others, destroy other minority community houses and brutally evict from the country making them traumatized refugees.

May I assert here that it would not be correct for the King to raise questions against the citizenship of the people born in Bhutan or naturalized on the basis of who came first, who came latter from any point of views. But, in the course of the government being under his absolute power either negatively influenced by some outsiders or his own vindictive act the King brutally ousted the people who were appealing for justice when suffering from the detrimental policies. And today to shield the heinous crimes and confound the world the King is floating make-believe (Chanakya Niti) policy of 'Gross National Happiness'.

To experience the creed of 'Gross National Happiness' by the people under an autocratic rule there

must be all round socio-economic development of the country, a good governance prerequisite for the people and people should feel secured with a harmonious social ambiance. We have never witnessed the people of Bhutan experiencing such type of peace, security and happiness in their life. For the shameless interest of the Royal Families the people of Bhutan are accustomed to convey to any visitors with smiles in their face and conceal their misery perpetrated upon them. To summarize all these realities the ruling class are alone praised and worshiped in Bhutan. In today's world only those who are in government and control the national treasury are happy and secured. While concealing the uncultured cruel system of his government and to tell the outside world that the people of Bhutan are profusely enjoying the concept of "Gross National Happiness" is nothing but to make himself a King of foolish Kings.

We have heard the equation to measure Nation's gross happiness, and Bhutan is emerging as a global leader in the promotion of 'Gross National Happiness', being stimulated by a wide range of professionals and agencies across the world. The concept of 'Gross National Happiness' may prove to be tangible at some point in future, but till this day the people of Bhutan are trodden in those prehistoric slavery eras. This is a crafty game of the King to make his detrimental policies successful and shield crimes in the world by concocted

theory of Gross National Happiness, which do not exist in Bhutan, world may find the truth itself.

It is an irony that some of the professionals and agencies of the world are working to bring into practice the concept of 'Gross National Happiness' put in the air by the impious King of Bhutan. I have neither hidden motive nor any prejudiced intent to brand my King 'a Cruel King', 'a Despotic King' and a Predator but I am compelled to my verdict for the heinous crimes he is doing with the people. And out of numerous reasons one of them is to expose the truth inside the throne of Bhutan and what actually means "Gross National Happiness" to the people of Bhutan. Similarly, I am not motivated by anybody nor I have any bad intention to call King of Bhutan Communal, Despotic and Autocratic, but one should not remain away from the truth nor we should be afraid to speak the truth to the world, and we as responsible citizens should never do any such work that will betray the people of the world with false information. When I saw the voice of the naïve people of Bhutan overpowered by devious policies and world being betrayed by the false propaganda then I determined to express true adjudications and write truths challenging the 'Cat Kings' of Bhutan. We in no way should endorse non-existing equations of "Gross National Happiness" without respecting humanity. We have also learnt what human being means through education and have

experiences which are filled with humanity and love of people. Only by seamlessly coining the equation of “Gross National Happiness” nothing fruitful sprouts from the earth, nor do the people experience happiness and security where peoples’ innersole have made void by the rulers.

Though mother’s milk and ocean foam looks similarly whitish in color their real existing quality and characteristic are different, mother’s milk is certainly life saver medicine (amrit) but ocean’s foam can be poisonous. Likewise, words spoken by devils descent and human’s descent have cosmic differences in its connotations. Hence, who is trustworthy and who is not can be ascertained from these realness. Today we find the people of the world do not admit the truth unequivocally, they even fail to face *the simple truth*. Most of the privileged and intellectuals, the rich are engrossed in luxurious life, love of power, money and fame. They do not condemn crimes against the people nor speak against the government heads who commits ruthless acts against human beings. Love for human beings comes in various forms and varying degrees. The greatest kind of love is not loving yourself nor is it the love that you have for your family and friends. Rather, it is your love for humanity. These privileged people do not care humanity being defeated. Still, truth is all powerful it is sovereign, truth cannot remain buried without being revealed and it prevails. “Gross National

Happiness” coined by the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck during 1970s may have truth in it but, it would be wrong to assess the happiness of the people by despotic regime’s sense of balance. Bhutan do not have Gross National Happiness, King himself also do not have it.

Today, the concept of GNH fantasized by the then King Jigme Singye Wangchuck resonates with a wide range of initiatives, across the world, to define prosperity in more holistic terms and to measure actual wellbeing rather than consumption. The free-thinking honest people of Bhutan are shocked to see that some of the developed countries including United Nations are learning lessons from hypocrite King of Bhutan. How can it happen, a country where more than 21 percent of its population is brutally attacked their houses burnt property looted, many raped and many died of torture and evicted making them traumatized refugees the monarchs of that country could be virtuous? Can we blindly acknowledge any concept of such marauder rulers? All the people of the world concerned for justice, human rights and peoples’ peace and security and all the Bhutanese citizens should be careful for such crimes committed by the rulers. Bhutanese rulers have even slaughtered many of its own community who had voiced against racial discrimination and corruption, justice and good governance in the country. If such rulers are rewarded by the International Communities

and UNO then we the common people have no hopes to live in peace in such world filled by criminals. Some of the countries have condemned the concept of GNH of the King of Bhutan as baseless and imaginary. While human rights activists and intellectuals from the International Communities are cautionary not to concede GNH come from a hypocrite some entrepreneurs and proxies of the King are bidding to construe it as real-world concept with the clear motive to shield the crimes committed against the human being.

The people of the world must study the aforesaid aims and targets of the concept 'Gross National Happiness' its aspects, dyes, scents, affects and its differences of opinion earnestly. In real life a thief or pirate may also perhaps be a virtuous man. A sinner, unscrupulous also in times to come may be cleansed and turn out to be a loving friend. A terrorist also may be of humane hearted, wise, experienced and useful to the society; his heart also could have been filled with broad-minded wishes to live joyous life. Similarly, a tyrant King also can earn fame doing good deeds. This world has many such evil doers. But then, no one can be pardoned by way of considering his status, edification and authoritative backgrounds who has committed inhuman crimes against people. Such thing cannot be accepted; there are no laws of this kind in the world. The person may also be a King from any country but he cannot be granted pardon for his

religion, his good face and by hailing his in-fact concocted theory. Wage of sin is death, a criminal must be punished. Had there been any system to pardon a sinner then Osama Bin Laden should not have been killed, it is heard Osama had countless concepts helpful for the world, we should have allowed him to answer his defense. If the crimes of the King of Bhutan are pardonable then it would not be improper to say ‘to punish Osama Bin Laden with death sentence was a great blunder in the history of the world’. It is an irony that out of two similar criminals one is sentenced to death and the next who killed, raped, burnt houses, looted property of the people and evicted more than 1/6th of the total population of the country is granted bail. Is this the basic principle in which United Nation Organization is founded for where if a criminal is a King or head of the nation then he is not punished? And is this the work, duty and responsibility of the Super Power countries of the world?

Dear learned people, we neither envy nor have any disguests about the concept “Gross National Happiness” formulated by Bhutanese King and neither we disregard him, this concept may perhaps be useful and it is also a matter of repute for the Bhutanese people. But then to forgive and forget any of the perpetrators is to violate the commandments of human existence, this is against the civilization of the world, this is to annihilate peace and harmonious living of the people, it is to allow the

perpetrators to spread its wings, and above all these it is to deride our creator.

It is propagated that GNH is based on multidimensional measurement method of Alkire-Foster, which has been considered suitable for this purpose. This concept of GNH has been explained by four fantastic pillars; i. Sustainable Socio-Economic Development; ii. Cultural Preservation; iii. Environmental Conservation and iv. Good Governance. With the help of these four main pillars there are 33 principle indicators grouped into nine domains in order to understand and to reflect the holistic range of its values. Out of these nine domains; **psychological wellbeing, health, education, cultural diversity and resilience, community vitality, balanced time use, ecological diversity, material wellbeing or standard of living and good governance are considered central factors. The concept of Gross National Happiness presumed here indicates whether living standards of the people of any country are happy, prosperous and living as conventional human life or not.** Also, it is claimed that these indicators and principles are brought conferring the principles and ideals of the Gross National Happiness. This model of GNH appears very resolute it shows how a higher goal, 'happiness', provides the authority and accountability to drive this in everyday life. Consequently, there is a theme to remember enshrined

in Bhutan's chronological history that "if the government cannot create happiness for its people, there is no purpose for the government." But, how much truth this slogan of the chronological history has in today's Bhutan is not hidden from the eyes of the beholder.

We hear seminars are organized and GNH, outcome of new democracy, environmental condition and about the all-round socio-economic development of Bhutan have become subjects for discussions for many countries. During such seminars we find that Bhutan's forest, environment, tourism, Bhutanese culture, life style and nature's consecration are beautifully reflected. Definitely Bhutan is blessed abundantly with nature's endowment. We feel proud Bhutan being carbon free country in the world. Whereas, the people of Bhutan are not happy neither they can enjoy life like the natural environment of Bhutan enjoys. Likewise, blissful traits of nature's flora and fauna, the beautiful snow clad peaks, clean water of the rivulets, chirping sounds of the birds and carbon free cooling breeze that freshens our body and mind cannot convey to the visiting tourists the plight of their protector human families who were separated from them and evicted from the country.

There are different natural things the gift of nature which cannot be created by human beings like the

moon, sun, soil, air, mountain, water, vegetation and so on. Their colors, tastes, shape, sizes, effects and usefulness are also different. Accordingly numerous types of living creatures exist in sea, land and air. And in the midst such wonderful glorification of the nature beautiful living being 'man' is created. All this nature's boon is meant for man's use and so man is also the protector of nature's endowment. But, what we around is the condition of our wonderful nature is weakening day by day. United Nations and many countries are concerned about the global warming that is dangerously close to spiraling out of control, warning the world is certain to face climate disruptions for decades, if not centuries, to come. The deadly heat waves, gargantuan hurricanes and other weather extremes fast melting of ice that are already happening will only become more severe. Humans are "unequivocally" to blame for this destructive climate change. We hope the scientists working with the support of UN and countries which produce more heat from their industries and pollute the world will be able to take positive steps to control this. The cause behind the negative impact on world situation like climate changes, wars, crimes, racial decimation and insecurity of life of the normal people are the man themselves as our intellectuals and the world leaders are failing to follow the right paths to live nonviolent and peaceful life the basis of human existence in the world.

Although this is not the issue to preach the developed and civilized world, that human being is the *best creatures on earth; there is no good creature better than man. We cannot replace man with any things of the nature's creation*, and we are the only being we absolutely have to have to keep from going extinct. But, neglecting these very facts people are hammered and made their life miserable by the ruling class in many parts of the world. And where the people the protectors of environment are evicted from the country as dirt and enemies the devotees or followers of such despotic rulers can never be aide-person of human beings, they are the destructive force of the world environments and in such situation the environment will not get along safe and sound as it should be with man.

Many smaller countries of the world ruled directly or indirectly by Kings or communal politicians, where the people voicing for justice against the detrimental policies are attacked by the rulers or the dictators and evict the people from the country; ethnic-cleansing of the minority community continues, helpless people are compelled to flee to live in alien countries as refugees. We have examples such tyrant rulers shielded by immediate neighbors giving importance to their selfish strategic treaties and even UNO is not doing enough to stop the crimes. The powerful countries remaining silent spectators are indeed indirectly committing inhuman crimes against humanity. In such horrific

circumstances minority communities from many countries are evicted living refugee life. Likewise, Gross National Happiness has been launched with much obsequious arguments by the King of Bhutan with the similar purpose. Due to such obscene politics governing the world human life is not in peace neither there is happiness nor people are secured in most of the countries.

Paying no attention to the aims and objectives of the despotic King the UN unanimously adopted a General Assembly resolution in 2011 and introduced GNH with the support from 68 member states, calling it a “holistic approach to development” aimed at promoting sustainable happiness and wellbeing. This was again followed in April 2012 by a UN High-Level Meeting on “Happiness and Wellbeing: Defining a New Economic Paradigm” inviting some eminent leaders, experts and civil society and spiritual leaders to develop a new economic paradigm based on sustainability and wellbeing where the representative from Bhutan the then Prime-Minister Jigme Yoser Thinley ingeniously explained about Gross National Happiness of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck and washed the brain of UN leaders and those present in the meeting. Out of many representatives present in the meeting Ex-UNHCR Chief from Japan Sadako Ogata said the real condition of the Bhutanese is not the way it was presented in the meeting. After studying ongoing situation inside Bhutan

Amnesty International also stated the Gross National Happiness of the King of Bhutan cannot be accepted. Likewise, Australia criticized the 'Gross National Happiness' is intended to conceal heinous crimes committed against the people and termed it as 'Gross National Hypocrisy'.

Any country where the rulers that abhors people of other racial backgrounds or religious beliefs and culture can on no occasion be accepted to play a leading role of imparting wisdom like "Gross National Happiness". And countries like India, Canada, America, Japan, Britain that are promoting the king of Bhutan who has brutally evicted 1/6th of its total population belonging to minority community means to support the despotisms, to manure murderers and to crush humanity; and also those intellectuals and so-called spiritual leaders of this world to distance away from the ethical values of humanity, turning blind eye to human religion.

We accept as truth that suppression of any kinds evicting minority community; ethnic-cleansing by the use of forces, guns and terrorist activities is by no means accepted by the world. If all the countries of the globe shed off their views and ideas of sovereignty in internal and external affairs then we can hope for international peace, harmony and human values. Human rights are the actual realities which govern the happiness

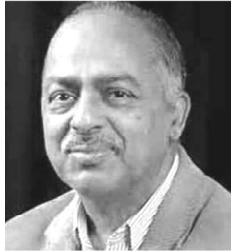
and the well-being of people for pragmatic result oriented socio-economic prosperity in the shadow of self-reliance and self-determination. Why should not this real life drama inspire us? Hence, feeling for the peoples' happiness should emanate truly from heart where reality should guide against fictitious mentality of ours. But not the 'One Nation and People' or 'Gross National Happiness' proclaimed by Bhutan king would fit into real life of today.

Until and unless all the people living in the country are not treated equally they are not taken care of by the rulers with justice and human rights, and their grievances are not heard, instead they are victimized labeling them opposing forces or anti-nationals like in Bhutan and the International Communities, Human Rights groups and neighboring countries keep supporting even criminal rulers to fulfill their own interest, they forego the truths and exercise grand designs to justify their biased act this world will never be free from evil doers and human beings can never taste the beauty of life nor be in peace neither enjoy happiness. Today Russia, Ukraine human tragedy is also triggered by its rulers; on the other hand it is also instigated by outsiders of similar rulers. Presidents or Kings do not die, only those common people the sons, daughters, fathers, mothers and the little hands who work hard to feed these leaders, who earn revenue to make the country rich are killed. Either this side or that

side human being is killed by such world leaders. Like the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's "Gross National Happiness" these leaders are continuously blowing the trumpet for Happiness, Peace and Security to Human Beings but it is not going to come until and unless inside a Man lives a Man.



N B Giri is an Alumni of AMIMI, a Commissioned Army Officer, an Engineer and an Expert in International Relation and Advisor In Military Science.



Prof Govindraj Bhattarai

Let the International Community know about this Injustice

Last week my attention was drawn by Kai Bird's reprinted article published in his blog. It talks about Bhutan's brutal acts of ethnic cleansing that have made a long history of inhuman deeds. And the international community is silent.

Kai Bird is one of the great writers of the twenty-first century. This Pulitzer Prize-winning scholar of 2006 has written on Bhutan. To his credit, there are many books. But one book coauthored with Martin Sherwin titled *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J Robert Oppenheimer* is a masterpiece. It is on Robert Oppenheimer, the father of the atomic bomb, hailed as American Prometheus.

In his article titled *Enigma of Bhutan* (2012), the world-class scholar, as well as humanitarian writer, says

“By any definition, what happened in Bhutan in the years 1989-93 was ethnic cleansing. The Bhutanese government denies this and has refused to repatriate any of those forcibly expelled.” But the act of ethnic cleansing is ignored and fabricated in such a way that nothing has happened in the kingdom of total happiness. But since then the international community is pointing out the cases of injustice met out upon innocent people of Nepali origin.

There are many internationally renowned scholars who are writing on the oppressive steps of Bhutan since then. One among them is Prof Michael Hutt whose book titled *Unbecoming Citizens* presents a vivid analysis of the King’s steps taken towards the innocent citizens’ expulsion from the kingdom. The 2005 publication of Hutt has been introduced in these words: This book recounts the plight of some hundred thousand refugees of Nepali ethnic origin (also known as the Lhotshampa or ‘Southern Borderlander’) who claim to have been wrongfully evicted from Bhutan. None of them have returned to Bhutan after their eviction in the early 1990s. The author begins his examination of their plight by discussing the history of Bhutan as it appears in British colonial archives and in current standard national narratives. He then discusses the history of Bhutan from the point of view of ‘Bhutanese’ refugees (housed in camps in Nepal) presented to him as a foreign researcher. After reviewing

Lhotshampa society in Bhutan during the first half of the twentieth century, the book presents the encounter between the culturally Nepali southern part of Bhutan and the Bhutanese state. In its drive towards modernization and development after Indian independence and the Chinese invasion of Tibet, new legislation on citizenships and a homogenizing nationalism lead to Lhotshampa dissidence and the 'demotion' of the Nepali in Bhutan. The book then elaborates how the Lhotshampa became refugees, and why they continue to live in camps in Nepal even at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Many scholars have documented the turmoil the People of Nepali origin in Bhutan underwent. One such book to record the former king's cruelty is *New Diasporas* (1988) of Nicholas Van Hear. It shows how the Burmese and Bhutanese people were expelled from their country and were left stranded between the borders of Bangladesh and Assam of India.

But India, as a leading democratic country of south Asia was kind enough to welcome injustice meted out upon citizens uprooted from their homeland. It transported them up to the border and downloaded them on the no man's land in such a way that they could easily enter Nepal never to claim for a return to their homeland nor could claim justice.

The refugees have been distributed among several destinations in such a way that they cannot return, they cannot demand justice nor can they unite. Shorn of any clear identity these Bhutanese people are singing the songs of sorrows in the wilderness. These double diasporas are rendered like the Jews expelled from their homelands three thousand years ago.

Bhutan is brewing all sorts of conspiracy shamelessly and the world pretends not to see them and hear the voices of those stranded including in Nepal. The world should never expect mercy from dictators. Throughout the whole year, Bhutan rulers keep themselves busy creating illusions by masking democracy through shams and hoaxes. India is in great support of brewing such democratic steps.

Let the international community hear the voices of the Bhutanese people evicted from the homeland for no reason.

At his moment the world is observing the steps that the King of Bhutan takes towards the evicted citizens of the kingdom. There are more than seven thousand citizens spending their lives still in the Refugee Camps of Nepal. These stranded citizens are living a life at no man's land losing their identity. They are neither Bhutanese nor Nepalese even after more than forty of their years of exile. Secondly, the Bhutanese

citizens scattered in eight destinations of the world are forbidden to visit Bhutan. They had left their native place and their love for the king and the country is no less. With their property farmlands houses and gardens leaving A recently completed research work published throughout the media has shown that some citizens charged with revolt or some other points are locked up in jails for the last forty years.

These are quite inhuman acts of the Bhutan government meted out at the King's signal. But it is the twentieth century and lies and pretensions will fail to support a dictator's sheer wishes. Sooner or later people will have to give for freedom. And they are supported by a humanitarian world.

Therefore on behalf of these people suffering around the world, I appeal to the king and the judiciary system of the kingdom that at least three things be done in favor of those evicted people.

I let them visit their native land, let the stranded seven thousand cases be handled with humanitarian, and let those who are imprisoned without trial and justice be released so that the king's democracy will be materialized or it will be just a farce. I congratulate the team of the Bhutanese organization "Tshinyen Meto" for initiating to write this book titled "Journey to Bhutan for Justice" with the aims and objectives to

reach the King of Bhutan and the world community for justice to the Bhutanese refugees. I am hopeful people will extend help.

This is the voice of the world community.

Prof. Govinda Raj Bhattarai

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He is Professor of English at Tribhuwan University, Nepal.

He is also a PhD in Translation Studies.

Literary movement: Postmodernism, Literature in Diaspora

Notable works: Socrates' Diary, Socrates' Footsteps, Muglan, Postmodern Discourse, Postmodern Mirror, Time Consequences and Postmodernism.

Notable awards : *Sarvotkrist Pustak Puraskar (2006).*

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Tarapati Upadhyaya

An Appeal to His Majesty the King of Bhutan

His Majesty
The Honorable King of Bhutan
Dated the 10th of Feb 2022

Sub : Humble request for extending a helping hand to homeless poor refugees external from the Kingdom of Bhutan.

Honorable Highness,

I the under-mentioned, humbly request your highness to forget and forgive whatever happened in the past and extend your kind helping hand to the helpless and shelter-less Bhutanese of Nepali-Ethnicity or Nepali speaking refugees scattered almost in ten countries of the world, including India and Nepal. They are really in a pathetic condition. These refugees had once upon a time helped in the development of the

kingdom of Bhutan and had been your subjects. They had been the sons and daughters of the soil of Bhutan, your great kingdom. The world knows that your highness is a beloved devotee of the great religious teacher Buddha, who sacrificed himself for the service to human kind. Hence, it would be befitting for a devotee like you to follow the great ideals as propounded by Lord Buddha to help the poor and the helpless ones and treat them as our brothers and sisters. These refugees being your subjects, you have the right and authority to settle the problems of the refugees sympathetically and liberally.

Therefore, I earnestly request your highness at the least to help these Bhutanese Nepali refugees in the following manner:

1. There are at least around 7000 refugees taking shelter today in Nepal. Your highness should sympathetically accept them as Bhutanese subjects or citizens of Bhutan and settle them permanently.
2. Secondly, Bhutanese refugees scattered and living in western countries of the world as laborers be allowed or permitted to enter Bhutan and meet their kith and kins living there.
3. Thirdly, your highness should kindly permit or allow the refugees to take over the properties

which they had left behind in Bhutan, while leaving the country in the past.

4. Fourthly, it would indeed be generous and benevolent of you to unconditionally release those who had been jailed in the name of the movement.

I earnestly hope that you being broad, liberal minded and religious; would certainly think over the matter of the suffering and the helpless refugees.

In the meantime I am very much impressed with the team of the Bhutanese organization “Tshinyen Meto” for initiating to write this book titled “Journey to Bhutan for Justice” with the aims and objectives to reach the King of Bhutan and the world community for justice to the Bhutanese refugees. I am hopeful people will extend help.

God bless your highness.

Yours Faithfully

Tarapati Upadhyaya

Tarapati Upadhyaya is a social worker and Sahitya Akademi Awardee from the Govt of India

Educational Qualification : MA, BT.

Place of Birth: Batuley Bil, Sonitpur, Assam

Books Authored: Navami, Bhasa Pradeep, Das Maharathi, Nibandha Guchha, Sadharan Nepali

Samajik Jivan, Anuvadko Bhumika Paddhati Ra Sthiti, Asom Tatha Bharator Nepali, Adarsha Nepali Vyakaran, Ananda Math, Kehi Nibandha Kehi Jivani, Ram Ek Ramayan Anek, Swadeshi Chinton Sahitya Manthan, Jivani, Iccha Sakti, Bharatiya Swadhinata Sangrami Kehi Birangana, Sahitya Sanskriti Avam Dharmaki Aradhika, Mabharata Kathamrita, Atma Kathya, Jivan Chaneki, Bharatiya Bhava Chinta, Nepali Bhasa Utpatti Ra Bikasko Itihas, and Drupadraj Nandini Droupadi. Edited: Mustidaan (Nepali, 1959), Chyankhe (Nepali, 1974).

He has many intellectual or literary works for which he received awards and honors. The following are some of his awards and honors:

1. Felicitated as Bhasa Senani by Sikkim Sahitya Parishad, Gangtok : 1993
2. Felicitated as Bhasa Senani by Dehradun Nepali Bhasa Samiti: 1993.
3. Awarded Literary Pension by Govt. of Assam: 2004.
4. Felicitated by Dy Commissioner, Udalguri as distinguished Citizen on Sadbhavana Divas : 2004.
5. Felicitated by Asam Sahitya Sabha in its Silapathar Conference: 2005.
6. Asom Nepali Sahitya Sabha Award: 2008.
7. Sahitya Akademy Award (for translation): 2010

8. Felicitated by All Assam Students Union: 2010
9. Felicitated by Asomiya Yuva Mancha & Guwahati Students Union: 2011
10. Sahitya Akademy 13. Felicitated by Doordarshan, Guwahati.
11. President/Acting President: Udalguri Branch, Asom Sahitya Sabha: 1972-1976.
12. President : Akhil Bharatiya Nepali Bhasa Samiti, Assam Branch: 1986-1993.
13. President : Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, Udalguri: 1979-1986.





I P Adhikari

Reconnecting Bhutan

Even though our political, economic, legal and emotional connection with our country Bhutan are being slowly eroded for we have been cast out from its soil by its monarch like we were unwanted trash and wanted us to perish in alien jungle just because we had different ethnic backgrounds than the rulers, yet we continue to project ourselves as Bhutanese. Thus, the complexity of nationality and ethnicity that engulfed our generation gives a distressful feeling of where we really belong to and what do we identify as.

Our mnemonic bond with Nepal is growing in the similar speed as our relations with Bhutan is eroding. While we call ourselves Bhutanese, we tend gradually to build stronger relation with Nepal, not with Bhutan. This does not mean anything wrong as we bolster our relations with culture, language, ethnicity backgrounds

and our ancestors but we are shy with the land we were born in and the country our identity is defined by.

The complication over our identity is widening. We have neither forgotten our Bhutanese national identity and Nepali cultural identity nor have we fully accepted the nationality of the country we are resettled in. We hung ourselves in triangular balance whereby choosing one point is tricky, cynical and thorny.

As the generation born in Nepal, in camps, is taking lead in our resettled community, we are finding harder to distinguish ourselves from Nepalese diaspora. Same language and similar culture and social values push us closer to Nepal than to Bhutan – in the eyes of our foreign-friends. The only difference we have is our previous nationality—that too with marginal influence.

Nonetheless, it's time we question ourselves about what have we done to embed the Bhutanese nationality for our new generation born in Nepal and the resettled country. Or do we reinforce to eliminate Bhutan from our lineage and reconnect with Nepal. Which ancestry do we let our youngsters know?

Our ancestry

We have inconclusive debate, a very fragile debate, on whether we should trace our ancestry to Nepal or Bhutan. To make our Bhutanese-hood stronger, we

cite the migration of Nepali families from old kingdom of Gorkha and Kathmandu valley to Bhutan to support Tibetan Buddhist saint Shabdrung establish his power in Bhutan in seventeenth century. Nepal, as a nation, was not in imagination at that time. Nepali was a pre-historic identity. This is the very reason the political movement for Nepali-speaking community in northeast India is dominated by Gorkha-identity.

Historically, though migration story of Nepali community in Bhutan dates back to seventh century. According to Nepalese scholars and Tibetan history, the daughter of **Amshuvarma**, the **Licchavi** King of Nepal, **Princess Bhrikuti Devi** was married to emperor of Tibet, **Songtsen Gampo** in 7th century. Bhrikuti was a devout Buddhist and brought many sacred images and expert Nepali craftsmen with her as part of her dowry. **Padmasambhava, Guru Rinpoche** during 8th century when invited by a King in Bhutan took these Nepali craftsmen to Bhutan to construct Monasteries. These people remained in Bhutan as citizens. And second historical facts comes from seventeenth century where Shabdrung and Gorkha King Ramsaha agreed to settle Nepali people in Bhutan and again more migration happened in later half of the nineteenth century before independence of India in 1947.

Today, many of our families comprise many generations evolving from four different contexts. We

have quite a big chunk in grandparent generation who were born either in Nepal or India but married to Bhutanese. The parent generation is a pure stock of Bhutan-born whereas half of children-generation was born in Bhutan and half in Nepal. The grandchildren are now born in the country we are resettled.

The perception, thought and ideology for these four generations, when it comes to identifying who we are, have cosmic differences. These differences could be conscious or sub-conscious or motivated by social and family connections. These differences, knowingly or unknowingly, are certain to bring striking debates, possibly unresolvable and inconclusive. The twist and turns on what our newer generation call themselves would be determined by their assessment about past, present and future. The idea of defining and presentation of identity will be shaped by the political, social and economic circumstances of their lifetime. But the path that we prepare today would guide them where should they trace their ancestry – Bhutan or Nepal and determine whether their bond should be stronger with Bhutan or Nepal or at equidistance.

Our Bhutan Connection

We have defined our ‘official’ identity based on our nationality. We regard ourselves Bhutanese because we have resettled as Bhutanese refugee. Our heart still beats for Bhutan. We still dream to see Bhutan, visit

Bhutan. We not only have left behind our friend, families and relatives but our gems of emotions, memories, properties and sweats. We drained our blood for the prosperity of that country. We set the economic foundation for the country because of which the country is now making such a tremendous progress.

We have pain emitting out of our suffering caused by eviction. We are disgruntled against the rulers of Bhutan for denying our basic human rights and democratic freedoms. Our dispute is with the rulers, not with the country – the land. We value our trust and relations with land.

As long as we regard ourselves Bhutanese, our connection with Bhutan must not terminate. We should not only have emotional but physical and economical connection with the country. We wish to visit our relatives and family members. As our economic strength grows, we would like to invest there.

For our dreams to come true, we should continue dreaming and work towards it. We should dream with open eyes and we continue our persistent efforts to make this dream come true. Let's envision travelling to Bhutan freely in our generation.

Diplomatic sensitivities

Practically, our democratic struggle fended off due to indifferent act of Indian government. But let's not

blame the third party when we failed to make our unified efforts in pursuing our goals. India has every right to protect its interest in Bhutan. The geopolitical strategies for India are to ensure Bhutan remains within its armpit. To stop China advancing in Bhutan, as in Nepal, India has to ensure it remains on the side of the rulers.

Our effort for Indian support failed to garner any positive result because we based our advocacy in Kathmandu, not Delhi despite knowing the fact key to refugee resolution lies with India. We failed to convince the Indian political and bureaucratic elites that our repatriation would further strengthen the Indian interest there.

We remained too reliant on Nepal while the country itself was struggling to maintain peace and stability. We faintly lobbied the international community without taking India into confidence.

That was the past story; we cannot change the course anymore. We must not forget even today that key to access into Bhutan is still in Delhi. While we make attempts to get access to Bhutan, we must keep in mind we are not putting any risk to Indian interests. The strategic location of Bhutan means India will always be cautious about anything related to Bhutan. While this buffer zone was crucial for centuries to wade off war, this could also be the reason for two world powers

go for war in future. As such, India will always be sensitive to whatever happens in Bhutan and whoever, outside Bhutan, make effort to build link with this Himalayan kingdom.

This is not about being loyal to India but being practical about geo-political situation. When we don't have capacity to challenge the world's largest democracy, we would be better off finding alternatives to achieve our goals, within that.

The democratic struggle must change its course. We claim Bhutan has is farce democracy but as world accepts it; there is no way our claims would be heard or will have place in any discourses related to Bhutan. It may not have come the way we wanted it to be, but it has now fundamental characteristics of adult franchise, elected executive and legislative and independent judiciary.

Possibilities of future connection

Re-establishing link with Bhutan is not a utopian idea. We can use personal or organizational or diplomatic channels towards realizing this. As long as we identify ourselves as Bhutanese, one of the foremost things for us to do is reconnect with Bhutan. If our actions are concentrated on assimilation in the country we are resettled, it gives no meaning in claiming 'Bhutanese' as our past. The glory of reconnecting with the country we were forced to leave cannot be

complemented by the luxury, amenities, prosperity and opulence of the country we live in. Reconnection adds flavor and richness to our reenergized lives.

1. Political lobbying

We lack political connection in the country we live in. It's just been a decade we have known the new country. We spent this time in learning the language, culture, system and way of life. There was only small window for us to concentrate on building political connection. We have hardly talked to our politicians what we wanted to do and what they could do to help us achieve our dreams. Political connection does not necessarily mean becoming party members or followers. It is more to do with our frequency of holding discussion with political leaders and presenting our proposals.

Most countries where we resettled have good bilateral relations with Bhutan. Some of them, including Australia, are major donors to Bhutan's development projects. Australia provides the highest number of scholarships for Bhutanese to pursue higher education. Australia and the United States continue to become the favourite destinations for Bhutanese, either for higher studies or migration.

We must convert this positive vibe in our favour. We should lobby the political and bureaucratic circle to put pressure on Bhutan to open door for us to visit

and see our relatives, friends and family members. Many of our friends and families back in refugee camps still aspire to return to Bhutan. Our engagement with the governments should also focus on holding dialogue with Bhutan to ensure these aspirants are given justice to return to Bhutan.

2. Connection for social justice

Many Bhutanese individuals or groups without consideration or hastily assume, Bhutan government will not accept or tolerate any form of investments – for profit or not for profit – we intend to make in Bhutan. We haven't tested it yet. Our assumptions are based on our experiences as Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. We tend not to like the being called 'Bhutanese Refugee' anymore, yet we continue to accept ourselves within that circle, at least when it comes to connection with Bhutan. Even if we accept our individual or direct investments are unacceptable in Bhutan, we haven't looked at the alternatives.

A lot of not-for-profit organisation of the country we are resettled work, directly or indirectly, in Bhutan. There are individuals too, who have endeavoured their time and energy towards maturing relations with Bhutan and enrich Bhutanese progress and prosperity. So far, we have hardly met with these individuals and organisations and expressed our interest to serve through them.

We must spare energy to engage with these individuals and organisations and make efforts to contribute for Bhutan's progress. Our engagement with Bhutan through these not-for-profit institutions, absolutely with no political motives, may possibly open doors for us to travel to Bhutan, see our friends and families and make investments. We would be able to contribute productively to the progress and prosperity of the Bhutanese society and retain our Bhutanese-Diaspora identity.

3. Sponsoring our relatives

Higher education in Bhutan is rare and expensive. There are limited seats in the government and private colleges for higher education. Those unable to secure enrolment within the Bhutanese colleges have to either find cheap colleges in India or look for low-paid job. Those who have influence avail foreign scholarship while those who can afford go overseas themselves.

However, large number of Bhutanese, who does not have decent income, cannot afford to help their children pursue higher education. They come mostly from the rural community, economically marginalised and socially deprived communities. Failure to provide children with higher education means these families continue to live the circle of poverty, marginalisation and backwardness.

As we make our economic status stronger and avail wider opportunities, we ought to shoulder responsibilities to create opportunities for those economically and socially marginalised communities in Bhutan. We should make every effort to find alternative help and sponsor these students to travel to developed countries to pursue their university education dreams and open gates of opportunities for them. This will be the biggest contribution we can bring any changes to the life of economically and socially marginalised communities and to enlighten them about real human rights, democratic values and individual liberties.

Freedom and liberty do not necessarily come from political movement; they come with stronger foundation with education and opportunities to acquaint with.

4. Support for family connection

Family connection is fundamental. It's the basics of human rights. Voices of many in Bhutan, who seek to connect with their families in resettled countries, have been curtailed. There are reported instances where local government officials and elected local government representatives indiscriminately target individuals who maintain relations with their relatives and friends resettled abroad. There are instances where individuals, who meet their 'refugee' relatives, economically blackmailed, threatened for jail sentences on charges of sedition and treason.

Bhutan has adopted the ‘democratic’ system of government and accepted the universal declaration to guarantee human rights. These rights include right to travel, migration, speak and connect with family members and relatives. We put efforts in reminding Bhutan that it must accept the constitutional vision. We must concentrate our work towards providing economic, moral and social support to those from Bhutan who advocate for rebuilding and reconnecting with their family and relatives in Diaspora. These advocates would be vital in putting pressure on political parties in the Bhutanese parliament to make policy changes allowing us to revisit Bhutan and see our families and relatives.

5. Economic connection

Our journey towards economic prosperity is marching steadily. And our desire for investments that gives us profits and solid returns as well as satisfaction is growing. Bhutan does have enormous potential for small investors with market expansion and improved export to India. As we develop entrepreneurship and investment potentialities among us, Bhutan could be the ideal destinations for investments. We have passion, enthusiasm and emotions attached to the economic and social prosperity of the country we were born in. Investment in Bhutan not only will give us profits and returns but also emotional satisfaction and social connection.

India is major investors in Bhutan. However, Indian investments are concentrated on mega projects such as hydropower. Bhutan has potential for smaller investments in cash crops, energy production other than through hydropower, hospitality, tourism, herbal medicines, information technology, call centres etc.

With no political intentions or agendas, it's time that we start searching avenues to divert our investments to Bhutan. We should be able to convey message to the government of Bhutan that our engagement in Bhutan will not only boosts the social wellbeing through family connection but also provides economic benefits for Bhutan. This will further enhance the bilateral relations between Bhutan and the countries we now live in.

Efforts and Bhutan's criticism

Those of us in resettled country and in exile make every effort to criticise Bhutan government. That's a natural and emotional expression from banished citizens—with no prospects of getting justice.

On top of that it's time for us to sit back and do self-evaluation if we've really made consistent and productive effort to go back. Not necessarily. We remain divided—our leadership remained divided, our efforts remained divided. The division remains even after resettlement. Few attempts that we made to

connect with Bhutan turned futile in absence of the unified force, strong leadership.

This gives us ample reasons why we should turn the handle to criticise ourselves and accept the fact that if sincere, unified and consistent efforts were made, the results would have been different.

Together, the way we make our efforts to connect with Bhutan must change. Being critical of Bhutan should not be the wholesome solution but acceptance of our new circumstances and new approaches to link with the country our identity attaches to must be devised.

Finally, I thank “Tshinyen Meto’ a social organization founded by Bhutanese Diaspora with its first step to complete a book titled “Journey for Justice to Bhutan” missioned to reach Bhutan and International communities for justice. I am happy my article is part of this book. I wish success to the mission of this organization.

I P Adhikari is based in Adelaide, Australia. He is editor of The Bhutan Journal published by the only think tank specialising on Bhutan - The Bhutan Watch. Adhikari has been working as journalist for more than two decades.





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A War Without Enemy : Bhutan

I am Mr. Devi Charan Basnet born in Chirang, Bhutan in 1953. After my school education I joined Government service as a simple staff and later I got trained in the field of medicine and the Leprosy. I joined the medical department and later joined Leprosy Mission as supervising officer. Bhutan was among the first countries in the world to commit itself to offering an evaluation program of **multidrug therapy (MDT)**, by examining the case notes of **leprosy** patients. The National Leprosy Control Program was established in 1981. I served the country in the field of medicine and in Leprosy Mission from 1973 to 1991, for 18 years. But, sad to say that I had to run away from the country at the end of 1991 leaving all my properties and belongings because the cruel King evicted us as we voiced for human rights and justice.

Dear all, I would like to tell that from 1990-1993 The Royal Government of Bhutan under the command of King Jigme Singye Wangchuck declared a war against innocent citizens and won it, because the King fought with naïve peasants. This war was fought without enemy and the King of Bhutan was acclaimed by India and many of its immoral friends. Though the killing, looting, raping and eviction ended the war of hatred against own evicted citizens has started. The evil diplomacy to shield its crimes the world continues aimed at suppressing the voice of the helpless victims. During the initial phase of this war the farmers, students and government servants were arbitrarily arrested, tortured and many were killed. Some were shot dead by senior government officers. **Monks** appealing for religious rights and social justice were also termed **anti-national** and arrested tortured and some were vanished overnight. Women and little girls were raped. Thousands of families were mercilessly evicted from the country after stripping properties and important documents including citizenship cards. Many fled to escape the terror and death. Houses were burnt and areas cleaned after the eviction to make sure to the visitors that nothing existed there before. More than 130000 people were evicted. It is a very serious concern that the brutality and discrimination against our remaining communities still continues in Bhutan in camouflaged manner.

The people from eastern Bhutan the **Sharchop** communities who supported human rights issues and stood against the government atrocities of **ethnic-cleansing** are also been targeted and made to suffer where many families have been evicted.

‘If the King had been kind’ and concerned about security and happiness of the people he would not have used armed forces against the citizens. The King could solve the grievances of the people without any problems had he been kind and sincere to the people.

Nothing has been done to give justice to the victims of Bhutan Government. Though many have written and voiced for justice, Bhutan is not listening to solve the problem which it created. Today, more than 116000 people are resettled and Bhutan remains quite and hiding under tacit India.

At the end of my brief testimony I thank ‘Tshinyen Meto’ a Bhutanese Diaspora refugee initiative trying to focus this problem once again to the World Community and appeal to the Government of Bhutan through a historic book “Journey for Justice to Bhutan”. I believe this is a very positive step to bring the long pending Bhutanese issue into limelight. And I am very much thankful to General Secretary of ‘Tshinyen Meto’ Mr. N B Giri who is a very loyal and dedicated man in the

history of Bhutanese Movement for making my testimony available to the noble readers. I wish the members and well-wishers of 'Tshinyen Meto' a great success in this struggle of human rights and justice.





के बी चौहान

भुटानी सांसद (Member of Parliament), हाल-अमेरिका

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गदपी गरियसी

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गदपी गरियसी आमा र जन्मभुमि एकै हुन् जसलाई स्वर्गभन्दा पनि महान् भनिन्छ। मेरो जन्म भुटानको दागापेलामा भएको हो। मलाई जन्म दिने मेरी माता देवकी र पिता नारायण चौहान हुनुहुन्छ। भगवानको कृपा र माता पिताको परिश्रमले गर्दा छोरा नाती सबैलाई पुस्तोसम्म पुग्ने पर्याप्त सम्पति जोडिदिनु भएको थियो। मेरा मातापितालाई मानिसहरू सबैले आदर सत्कार गर्दथे। म जन्मेर हुर्कदै जाँदा सन्तु सज्जनहरूको आशीर्वादले भनों या जीवनको चाहना भनों मलाई भौतिक संसारमा बैराग्य उत्पन्न हुन थाल्यो। तदनुरूप मेरो मन ईश्वरको खोजीमा बढी झुकाव हुन थाल्यो। त्यसैले जहाँसम्म हुन्छ मेरो मन मस्तिष्क र हृदयले मैले जीवनमा सत्यलाई पालन गर्ने कोसिस गरेको छु भन्ने मलाई विश्वास छ। मेरो दाजु हरिभक्त चौहान पनि ब्रह्मचारी भएर चिराडको सलामी गाउँमाथि डम्फू खोलाको छेउमा रहेको सिद्ध पोखरी भन्ने ठाउँमा कुटी बनाई तपस्या गर्नुहुन्थ्यो। त्यहाँबाट उहाँले मानिसहरूलाई ब्रह्म ज्ञान दिनुहुन्थ्यो। कोहीबेला त्यहाँको सिद्ध पोखरीमा डुबेर ध्यान गर्नुहुन्थ्योर। अन्न नखाई पनि उहाँमा अपार शक्ति भएको भनी गोठमा बस्ने मानिसहरूले बताउँथे। आश्चर्यको

कुरा, उहाँ एकै दिनमा त्यहाँबाट दागापेला पुगेर डमरु घण्टी बजाउँदै मुठी दान लिएर त्यति लामो बाटो हिँडेर सिद्ध पोखरी आइपुग्नुहुन्थ्यो रे। सलामिका भन्ने ठाउँका गङ्गाराम भट्टराई (साधु) पनि बैरागी भएर त्यही कुटीमा बस्नु हुँदो रहेछ। एक दिन दाजु घरमा आउनुभएको बेला उहाँले गाएको भजनले मलाई बहुतै असर पारेको थियो। त्यसैको प्रभावले गर्दा झन्डै दुई दिनको बाटो हिँडेर म सिद्ध पोखरी दाजुको कुटीमा पुगें। मेरो यस्तो कदमले माता पिता ज्यादै दुःखी हुनु भएको थियो जसको वर्णन म गर्न पनि सकिनँ। लामो समयसम्म दाजुसँग बसेर लगभग छ वर्षपछि घर फर्के। रहँदा बस्दा एक दिन एक जना अद्भुत शक्ति भएका अग्निहोत्री त्यागी योगी तुलसी गुरुले अचानक मलाई दर्शन दिनुभयो। त्यसको लगत्तै दागापेलामा ठुलो यज्ञ भयो। त्यस यज्ञ पश्चात् ममाथि उहाँको आशीर्वाद भयो जसले गर्दा मलाई गृहस्थी जीवनमा फर्कने र जनताको सेवा गर्ने प्रेरणा मिल्यो।

यी सबै कुराहरूको परिधिमा भन्नुपर्दा मेरो अति नै प्यारो अन्तिमको सास फेर्ने जन्मभूमि भुटान नै हो। आफ्नो जन्मभूमिलाई स्वर्ग जस्तै बनाउन समर्पित भएर लागिपरेको थिएँ। राजालाई विष्णु भगवानका रूपमा मानेर मनमा अमेट्य छाप बसेकाले हामी भुटानीहरूले देश र राजाको सेवा गर्दै आएका हौं। मैले यो लेखमा राजाको प्रशंसा गरेको नबुझ्नु होला, हाम्रो मन र कर्म राम्रो थियो भन्न चाहेको मात्र हो। परिस्थितिअनुसार देशबाट लखेटिनुपर्छ होला भनी हामी कसैले कल्पनासम्म पनि गरेका थिएनौं।

मेरो योग्यता भनीं या भगवानको कृपाले गर्दा एकपल्ट होइन तीन पटकसम्म म जस्तो व्यक्तिलाई दागापेलाका जनताले एसेम्ब्ली मेम्बरका रूपमा विजय गराएर जनता र देशको सेवा गर्ने मौका दिनुभयो। जनताप्रति आभार व्यक्त गर्दै सेवा नै धर्म हो भनी समर्पित भएर तन मन वचन र कर्मले देश र जनताको हितमा सेवा गर्दै आएको हुँ। हिन्दू धर्मशास्त्रअनुसार देशको अविभावकका रूपमा राजाप्रति दक्षिण भुटानी नेपालीहरूको ठुलो श्रद्धा र

भक्ति थियो । राजालाई यो कुरा थाहा थियो तरपनि आफ्नो सरकारका वरिपरिका मानिसहरूका कुरा सुनेर सरकारले निर्दोष जनतालाई निर्ममतापूर्वक देशबाट लखेट्यो । आज दशकौं बितिसक्यो राजासँग भएका सम्बन्ध र देशबाट लखेटिएर शरणार्थी बन्नु परेको विषय लिएर राजालाई चिट्ठी लेख्न थालेको धेरै वर्ष भयो ।

महाराज, पुनर्वास भएका भुटानीहरू जो आफ्नो परिवार साथै मित्रजनलाई भेट्न भुटान आउन चाहन्छन् उनीहरूलाई अनुमति दिनुहोस् साथै आफ्नो जन्मभूमि भुटान फर्कन्छौं भनी शरणार्थी शिविरमा बसेका तपाईंका नागरिकहरूलाई जन्मभूमि भुटानमा फर्कन दिनुहोस् अनि मलाई पनि मेरो मातापिताले आर्जन गरेको भूमिमा मर्न दिनुहोस् भनी लेखेको चिट्ठी कहाँबाट थालेर कहाँ टुङ्ग्याउनु कहिल्यै सकिएन ।

देश, जनता र राजालाई हामीले हृदयमा सजाएका थियौं । दागापेला र कालिखोलाको बिच होमा खोला पर्दछ, जहाँ राजा कहिलेकाँही शिकार खेल्न आउँथे । 1978-79 तिर होला, राजा होमा खोलामा शिकार खेल्न आएको कुरा सुनियो । दर्शन भेट गर्न र अभिनन्दन चढाउन पाए राजा खुसी हुन्थे भन्ने लागेर फुलमाला लिएर दागापेलाका जनताको तर्फबाट नेपालीमा अभिनन्दन लेखी होमाखोला पुलको नजिकको खेतमा जनताको तर्फबाट राजाको गलामा फुलमाला लाइदिएर अभिनन्दन हातैमा चढाएको थिएँ । यस्ता अनेकौं घटनाहरू छन् याद आइरहन्छ, जसले गर्दा यो हृदय नै चर्किन्छ ।

सन् 1983 को एसेम्ब्लीमा राजाबाट डसो कर्मा शेर्पा र मलाई बोलाएर **दागापेलाको बाटो छिटो सक्नु दागानामा नेसनल डे हुन्छ** भनी हुकुम भयो । सन् 1978 गेलेफूको राष्ट्रिय दिवसमा राजाले के भनेका थिए भने **बाटो बनिएपछि म दागापेला आउँछु** । आफू जनप्रतिनिधि भएको नाताले पनि आफ्नो क्षेत्रको विकासका लागि राजाको भव्य स्वागत गर्ने तयारीमा लागियो । दागापेलाका जनतामा राजाप्रतिको भक्ति र भावनाका नमुनाहरू धेरै

छन्। दागापेला जनताको तर्फबाट अभिनन्दन गर्न चाँदीको फ्रेममा सुनको रोगन लगाएको बिचमा राजाको फोटो राखी प्रदान गरेका थियौं। सन् 1983 मा नेसनल डे-का निमित्त दागापेलामा जब राजाको सवार हुन्छ, राजालाई जनताले बोकेर ढोर्दै स्वस्तिक चिन्ह भएको ठाउँमा पुऱ्याए। मेरो छोरी यमुना छेत्रीको हातबाट राजालाई टिका र माला लगाइदिएको थियो। दागापेला गाउँघर सबैतिर रमाइलो थियो। जनताले चाँदीका सिक्का राजालाई चढाउँदै दर्शन गरे। **यसरी सबैले पैसा दिए भने म धनी हुने रहेछु** भनी राजाले भने। राष्ट्रिय दिवस समारोहको अन्तमा जनताको तर्फबाट जुन अभिनन्दन स्वरूप उपहार तयार गरिएको थियो राजा जिग्मे सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकलाई चढाइएको थियो त्यो सम्झनायोग्य रहेको छ। तर आज तिनै मानिसहरू देशबाट खेदिएर तडिपनु परेको छ। यस्ता कुराहरू राजाको हृदयमा पनि छ होला।

देशको छैठौं पञ्च वर्षीय योजनाको सभामा देशका धेरै जिल्लाहरूबाट मानिसहरू आएका थिए। “One Nation One People” डिग्लाम नाम्जा जस्ता धेरै विषयहरूमा कुरा भयो। उक्त सभामा डिग्लाम नाम्जाको परिभाषा दिँदै एकजना छिमीले **महाराज धिराजबाट सुँगुरको पाठालाई गाईको बाछो हो भन्दा हो भन्नुपर्छ** भनी आफ्नो भाषणमा भने। राजा जिग्मे सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले भने- **हाम्रो देशमा अहिलेसम्म शान्ती छ, चुनावले फुट र अशान्ती ल्याउँछ** भन्दै प्रजातान्त्रिक विचार धारालाई आक्षेप लगाए। थिम्पूमा लामो समयसम्म एसेम्ब्ली मेम्बर रहेका कादो र नाम्पो रिन्छेनले के सिकायत गरे भने **दक्षिण र पूर्वका चिमीहरू मिले पछि हामीले कहिल्यै भोटमा जितेनौं** जुन कुरा सत्य थियो। सभाको अन्तमा भोजको आयोजना थियो। भोजको दृश्य देखेर आँखाबाट आँशु आयो। टेबलमा सजाएको खाने कुराको बिचमा आलै काटेको गोरुको टाउकाको आँखाबाट आँशु झरी रहेको थियो। यस्तो देखेर पनि रमाउनै पर्ने। बक्खु लाउनै पर्छ भन्ने हाम्रै नेपाली दाजुभाइहरू पनि थिए। अहिंसा परमो धर्म, देवी देउताको नाममा काटमार हिंसा गर्नु हुँदैन भन्ने पहिला नै संसदमा पास भएको थियो। सन्

1986 देखि दुई वर्ष लगाएर जनगणना भयो। त्यो वर्गीकरण नै दक्षिण भुटानीहरूलाई शरणार्थी बनाउने मुख्य योजना बन्यो। छैठौं पञ्चवर्षीय योजनामा घोषणा भएको “One Nation One People” र डिग्लाम नाम्जालाई सशक्त बनाई राष्ट्रिय पोसाक बक्खु किरा अनिर्वाय गरियो। कस्तो डिग्लाम नाम्जा ? कस्तो धर्म ? उल्टा पाल्टी आरोप लगाएर जनतालाई देशबाट लखेटेर सरकारले ठुलो पाप गरेको छ।

चिराङ-जोङ्दा डसो होमागाई असल मानिस हुनुहुन्थ्यो तर पनि कहाँबाट के सिकायत भयो उहाँलाई हटाएर जोङ्दा दोर्जी वाङ्दीलाई नियुक्ति गरियो। होमागाईको बिदाई समारोहमा डसो दोर्जी वाङ्दीले भन्नुहुन्थ्यो **चिराङले धेरै जोङ्दा खायो अब म चिराङलाई खान्छु**। यो भनाइलाई सबैले बुझेनन् होला तर दक्षिण भुटानीहरूलाई लखेट्न उहाँको पनि ठुलो भूमिका छ। सन 1989 मा मन्त्री ओम प्रधानले राजाबाट पहिलो काम्ने पाउनु भएको थियो। उहाँलाई बधाई दिने क्रममा भेट्न जादाँ हाम्रा गुनासाहरू राजालाई बिसाइदिनु होला भनी कुरा राख्यौं। सन 1989 देखि दक्षिण भुटानमा नेपाली भाषाको पाठ्यक्रम हटाइयो जसको कारण हामी अति दुखित भयौं। जोनल डसो लोकबहादुर गुरुङलाई यसबारे कुरा राख्यौं, तर हाम्रो कुराको महत्त्व भएन। राजालाई लेखेको पत्रको पनि कुनै महत्त्व भएन। सन 1989 देखि भुटानमा आजसम्म नेपाली भाषाको पठनपाठन बन्द छ।

नयाँ नागरिक कानून बनिँदा पनि हामीले कुरा उठायौं। तर हामीलाई नगण्य ठानियो। यसको 3/4 महिनापछि केही समयका लागि विशेष कामले गर्दा हामी फुन्चोलिङ गएका थियौं। तर घर फर्कँदा हाम्रो घरमा ठुलो घटना भइसकेको रहेछ। सरकारले हाम्रो घरमा अर्कै मानिस राखिसकेको रहेछ। मनमा देश, राजा, जनता र सरकारप्रति अकृतिम भक्ति र सदैव पवित्र भावना हुँदाहुँदै पनि सरकारको यस्तो प्रहार सहनु पर्दा ज्यादै पीडा भएको थियो, त्यो पीडा अझै छँदै छ।

सन् 1990 मा देशमा राजनीतिक दलको कारण हाहाकार बढ्न थालेको थियो । दिनदिनै सरकारबाट अत्याचार सुरु हुन थाल्यो । जनतालाई जथाभावी कुटपिट गर्न थालियो । एकदिन टेक बहादुर दर्जीले बाटामा हिँड्दै गरेकी महिलाहरूलाई कुटपिट गरेको कुरा सुनेपछि दुइपालालाई यी कुराको बिन्ती बिसायौं तर सुनवाई भएन । एक दिन उसैले लामो खुकुरी भिरेर रेतिलाल सुनुवारलाई डोरीले बाँधेर घिसाउँदै काट्छु भन्दै जङ्गलतिर लाँदै गरेको देख्दा हाम्रो सातो उड्यो । घरका परिवारहरूको रुवाबासी सुनेर केही तल घर भएका पुण्य ढकालको सहयोग माग्न याम बहादुर गुरुङकहाँ गएछन् । तर उनले सुनेको नसुने जस्तै गरेछन् । त्यसपछि उनको परिवार कार्बारी मण्डलकहाँ गएछन्, त्यहाँबाट चाहिँ केही मानिसहरू जङ्गलतर्फ लागे । त्यस स्थलमा पुग्दा एउटा झाडीको फेदमा रतिलाल सुनुवारलाई काट्न आँटेको पो रहेछ । उसलाई छुट्याएर बँचाउनमा पुण्य ढकालको ठुलो भूमिका रह्यो । त्यसपछि पुण्य ढकाल भागेर कालीखोला पुगेछन् । तर उनलाई प्रहरी र गाउँले भएर पक्रेर ल्याए । उनलाई धेरै यातना दिइयो । डम्फूजेलमा निकै थुनेपछि चेम्माङ जेलमा लगियो । उनलाई सारै यातना दिए, पानी पिउन पनि नदिएर उनको मृत्यु भएको दुःखद खबर आएको थियो । याम बहादुर गुरुङ एक सबल व्यक्ति थिए, तर कुसङ्गतले गर्दा सरकारको पक्षमा उभिन पुगे । दोहोरो चरित्र भएका भए उनी । उनी एकातिर जनतालाई उचाल्ने अर्कापटि सरकारलाई खुस्रुकुक्क पोल लगाउने कार्य गर्थे । उनको दोहोरो भूमिका बारेमा देश बाहिर निस्केका मानिसहरूले क्यासेट बनाएका थिए । यस्ता केही आफ्नै अपकारी तत्त्वले पनि हामीलाई घातेका थिए ।

सन् 1990 को भाइटिकाको भोलिपल्ट दुइपाले गोसी अफिसमा जेनरल मिटिङ बोलाएका थिए । मैले पनि बोल्नु पर्ने थियो । तर ममाथि धेरै शङ्का हुन थालेको थियो । मलाई के डर थियो भने कतै मलाई नै जेलमा हाल्ने त होइनन् भन्ने । त्यसैले देशमा दास सरह बाँच्नुभन्दा बरु देश छोडेको उचित ठानेर भाइटिकाको दुई दिन अघि राती सुन्तले मण्डल र केही साथीहरू

आएर लौ अब बाँचिदैन, हामी चाहिँ लाग्यौ तपाईं के गर्नुहुन्छ भन्दा मैले पनि केही विकल्प केही देखिनँ। रोइरहेकी माता, बिमारी श्रीमती र नानीहरूलाई चटकै छोडी दागापेलाका जनतालाई सम्झँदै अश्रुपूर्ण आँखा लिएर जन्मभूमिलाई सदाका लागि ढोगी सानो माटाको डल्ला लिएर साथीहरूसँग राती चुपचाप बाटो लाग्यौं। बाटामा आँशुका थोपाले भिजाउँदै भुटानको बोर्डरमा पुगेर एकपल्ट भुटानको माटालाई ढोगेर भारत पसेर बिस्तारै हामी गैरगण्डातिर लाग्यौं। स्वर्ग नर्क जहाँ भए पनि धेरै साथी भाइहरूसँग भेट भयो। आदरणीय डा.भम्पा राईसँग भेट भएपछि मनमा अलिकति शान्ति महसुस भयो। अन्य मित्रहरू जस्तै रतन गजमेर, जोगेन गजमेर, किशोर राई, सुशिल शर्मा, दुर्गा गिरी, प्रताप सुब्बा, डी के राईसँग पनि त्यहीँ भेट भयो। मण्डल सी बी भटराई, गङ्गाराम चौहान पनि थिए। यसरी धेरै मित्रहरूसँग भेट भयो र विभिन्न कुराहरू गर्दै दिन बित्न थाल्यो। एउटा सानो कोठामा 30/40 जना टाउको र खुट्टा मिलाएर सुत्नु पथ्यो, अरू उपाय थिएन। रातभरि मच्छडले ज्यादै सताउँथ्यो। डा.भम्पा राईसँग अर्काको घरको छतमा रातभर मच्छडलाई रगत खुवाएर सुतेको अझै याद आउँछ। देश फर्कने दिन कहिले आउँछ भन्दै दिन गन्ती गर्दै बस्यौं, महिनौं बित्यो तर त्यो दिन आएन, आजसम्म पनि आएन, त्यो सपनाका साथ साथी डा.भम्पा राई त परलोकगामी नै भए।

आजकल गैरगण्डा सम्झँदा पनि मनमा नराम्रो लाग्छ आफैप्रति, तिरष्कार हुन्छ। एकदिन गैरगण्डा नजिकै कालचिनीमा नेपाली भाषाका बारेमा सिक्किममा तत्कालीन मुख्यमन्त्री माननीय नरबहादुर भण्डारीले सभा गर्नुभएको थियो, हामी उक्त सभामा उहाँको भाषण सुन्न गएका थियौं। त्यसबेला भुटानले नेपाली भाषा बन्द गरेको, पाठ्यपुस्तक जलाएको याद आयो। सन 1992 मा भारतमा नेपाली भाषाले मान्यता प्राप्त गर्‍यो, हामीलाई धेरै खुसी लाग्यो। तर भुटानमा चाहिँ स्कुलमा नेपाली भाषा पढाउन बन्द गरेको थियो। भुटानमा कहिले नेपाली भाषा पढ्न पाउँछन् होला भन्ने प्रश्न राख्दै उहाँको सफलताका

लागि तत्कालीन सिक्किमकी लोकसभा सांसद श्रीमती दिलकुमारी भण्डारीलाई भुटानी जनताको तर्फबाट बधाई पत्र पठायौं। एकदिन डा. भम्पा राइले सिक्किम दार्जिलिङमा भेटघाट गर्न जाओँ भने। डा. भम्पा राई, किशोर राई, दुर्गा गिरी, जागिरमान लामा र म सिक्किम गयौं। त्यहाँ धेरैसँग भेट भयो र हामीले आफ्ना गुनासाहरू राख्यौं।

यी सबै भइरहँदा पनि राजाले कुनै असल निर्णय गरे कि भनेर खबर लिने प्रयास गर्थौं। तर देशभित्रको समाचार राम्रो थिएन। मेरो छोरा चन्द्रमणि थिम्पूको लुडतेन्जाम्पा स्कुलमा थियो। सरकारले उसलाई स्कुलबाट निष्काषण गरेछ। घरमा पनि राती राती प्रहरी र सेना आएर सताउने गरेको खबर सुनेँ। एक दिन च्याचु डुकपाले मरी श्रीमतीलाई बोलाउन मानिस पठाएको हुँदो सानो छोरालाई लिएर गइछन्। मेरा बारेमा धेरै उट्पट्याङ्क प्रश्नहरू गरेछन्। च्याचु डुकपा मेरो स्कुले साथी भएर पनि मेरो घरपरिवारमाथि म नभएको बेला अत्याचार गरेको सुन्दा ज्यादै पीडा भयो। गाउँघर सबैतिर हाहाकार भइरहेको बेला गोसीमा सभा भएछ। जोड्दाले ठुलोठुलो स्वरमा कराउँदै जसको परिवारबाट कुनै पनि मान्छे आतङ्कवादीसित गएको छ भने तिनीहरू सबैले बेलैमा देश छोड्नू भनी हुकुम गरेछ। मेरो माताजीले रुँदै भन्नुभएछ— मेरा श्रीमान् यहाँ जन्मेर देशका निम्ति दुख गरेर मर्नुभयो, मेरा यतिका सन्तानहरू सबै यहीं जन्मेर हुर्केका हुन्। म आफैँले पनि आफ्नो ठाउँको विकासका निम्ति ढुङ्गा माटो बोकेको छु, सरकारको सबै कर तिरेर बसेको छु, झालाडी खटेको छु। आज यो बृद्धा अवस्थामा मनेँ बेलामा कहाँ जानु सरकार ? बरु यँही गोली हानेर मारिदिनू भन्नुभएछ। तर त्यसको कुनै असर परेनछ जोड्दा र भुटान सरकारलाई। यसको बदलामा भुटान सरकारले गाउँका धार्मिक गुरु पण्डित, धनी र बुद्धिजीवीहरूलाई पक्त्रेर बिनाबित्थामा अत्याउँदै जेल पो हाल्न थाले, किनकि त्यसो गर्दा साधारण मानिस त त्यसै भागी हाल्छन् भनेर यसो गरेका रहेछन्। दागापेला सुन्तले ब्लकका पद्मलाल ढकाल संस्कृतका विद्यार्थी थिए, उनलाई पनि पक्त्रेर आर्मी ब्यारेकमा लगेछन्।

गाउँ घरमा अन्याय र अत्याचार झनझन बढ्दै जाँदा जताततै सेनाहरूले मान्छे पक्रदै देश छोड्छस् कि जेलमा बस्छस् भन्दा हजारौंको सङ्ख्यामा नेपालीभाषीहरू देश छोड्न बाध्य बने। राजी खुशीले कि कर कापले भनेर सोझा राजी खुशीले भन्न बाध्य थिए नत्र कुटाइ खाई जेल जानु पर्ने निश्चित थियो। त्यसपछि बन्दुकको निशानामा अनिच्छाकृत जबरजस्ती माइग्रेसन फर्म भर्दै देशबाट नागरिकलाई निकालियो, लखेटियो। धेरै महिनापछि चेम्गाङ जेलबाट रिहा भएपछि मेरो भाइ घर आएछ। अब त बस्न पाइन्छ होला भन्ने ठुलो आशा थियो उसलाई, तर एक दुई दिन राम्रो सास फेर्न नपाउँदै सेनाले बोलाएर तँ अझै गएको छैनस् भनी झकारेछन्। उपाय केही रहेन, सपना हो कि विपना, अधिल्लो दिनसम्म राजाको फोटामा फुल चडाउँदै देश छोड्नु नपरोस् सरकार भन्दै पूजा गरेको, आज देश छोडेर कहाँ जाने भन्दै रोएछ। घरमा केही दिन अगिदेखि नै गाईले खोले घाँस खान छोडेको थियो, गाईका आँखाबाट आँसु झरेको नानीहरूले देखेका रहेछन्। ठुलै सम्मान र ओहोदामा रहे तापनि सबै छोडेर अनिश्चित भविष्यत यात्रामा जान बाध्य भए। पुस्तौंदेखि खुन पसिना बगाएर जोगाड गरेको जग्गा जमिन सबै क्षणभरमा हरण भयो, यसको पीडा कस्तो हुन्छ महसुस गर्न कठिन हुन्छ, भोग्नेलाई मात्र अनुभूति हुन्छ।

अर्को आपद। गैरगन्डाबाट पनि हामीलाई भारत सरकारले लखेट्यो। भारतीय प्रहरी र सीआरपीले मानिसलाई जबरजस्ती गाडीमा हालेर नेपालको बोर्डरमा लगेर छोडिदियो। हामी कन्काई नदी किनार माईधारको अस्थायी शिबिरमा बस्न बाध्य भयौं। त्यहाँको कोटिहोमको लक्ष्मीनारायण मन्दिरमा शरणार्थी सम्बन्धी सभा हुन्थ्यो। माईधारबाट हामीले विश्वका मानिसहरूलाई पत्र लेख्यौं। शरणार्थी उच्च आयोग, अमेरिका र अन्य धेरै देशहरूलाई पत्र लेख्यौं। डा. भम्पा राईलगायत अन्य मित्रहरूको प्रयासमा राशन पानीका लागि धेरै ठाउँमा निवेदन चढाइयो। केही महिनापछि शरणार्थी उच्च आयोग र अन्य दातृ निकायहरू बचाउका लागि आए। त्यसपछि नेपाल सरकारको

सहयोगमा झापा र मोरङमा सातवटा शरणार्थी शिविरहरू बनाइयो, जहाँ हामीलाई अस्थायी रूपमा बसोबास गराउने कार्य सुरु भयो। सबैभन्दा धेरै जनसङ्ख्या भएको शरणार्थी शिविर बेलडाँगी-2 मा विभिन्न देशका कुटनीतिज्ञहरूको भ्रमण हुन्थ्यो। एकजना टायर अली भन्नेले सोध्ने गर्थे— **तपाईंहरूले नानीहरूको भविष्य कस्तो सोच्नु भएको छ भनेर?** रविन राफेलले पनि यस्तै कुराहरू गर्थे। अमेरिकन काङ्ग्रेसले भुटानको राजालाई शरणार्थीसम्बन्धी पत्र पनि पठायो। मानव अधिकारसम्बन्धी रिपोर्ट निकाले, तर जवाब आएन। हामीले एक भएर केही गर्न पनि सकेनौं। भारतलाई भन्न पनि सकेनौं। भारतले दुखी र पीडितलाई साथ दिएन, भारतसँग मानवता देखिएन र उसको हिन्दूहरूप्रति कुनै करुणा जागेन। नामका लागि मात्र भारतीयहरू अतिथिदेवोभव र बसुदैव कुटुम्बकम् भन्दा रहेछन्, सबै देखावटी मात्र रहेछ उनीहरूको। भारतले शरणार्थी मुद्दा दबाएर भुटानको निरङ्कुशा राजालाई पो साथ दियो। समयले यी सबैको हिसाब अवश्य गर्ने छ भन्ने हामीलाई विश्वास छ।

शिविरमै हाम्रा विभिन्न पार्टी र सङ्घ संस्थाहरू खोलिए। जनताले साथ र सहयोग गरेकै थिए। विभिन्न ठाउँहरूबाट आर्थिक सहयोग गरेको सुनिन्थ्यो, तर त्यो सदुपयोग भयो कि भएन थाहै भएन। आन्दोलनको समयमा भुटानी जनताबाट जम्मा गरेका रूपियाँ पैसा कसैकसैले बोरामा हालेर ल्याएका थिए भन्ने कुरा केही पार्टीका कार्यकर्ताहरू भन्ने गर्थे। देख्ने र जान्नेहरूले भनेको प्रसस्त सुनिन्थ्यो। तापनि राजनीतिक नेताहरूले चित्तबुझ्दो केही काम गर्न सकेनन्। बीएनडीपी पार्टी गठन भयो, त्यसपछि बिसिडिएम(BCDM) गठन भयो, रोङ्थोङ किन्ले दोर्जीलाई अध्यक्षमा बनाए। सबै पार्टीका कार्यक्रमहरूमा म जान्थेँ र आफ्नो विचार राख्थेँ। तर नेताबाट कुनै पनि प्रकारको ठोस कार्यक्रम आएन। शिविरमा मानिसहरू मर्न थाले। सन् 1999 मा मेरा दाजुको पनि निधन भयो, जसले गर्दा परिवारले ठुलो पीडा सहनुपऱ्यो। शिविरमा भ्रष्टचार बढेको थियो। जसरी

भुटानमा प्रशासनले जनतालाई दमन गथ्यो त्यसरी नै हाम्रो सेवाको नाममा चुनिएका प्रतिनिधिहरूले शरणार्थीलाई अत्याचार गर्थे। भुटानमा काम नलाग्ने कतिपय व्यक्तिहरू शिविरका सचिव भएर जनतालाई लुट्न थालेको देख्दा मन सारै दुख्यो। यस्तै प्रतिकूल अवस्थामा भुटान फर्कने आशामा मानिसहरू बाँचिरहेका थिए। शरणार्थीलाई स्वदेश फर्काउने उद्देश्य लिएर (BRRRC) Bhutanese Refugee Repatriation Representative Committee को नाममा अर्को संस्था गठन गरियो। जसको अध्यक्ष डा. भम्पा राई हुनुहन्थ्यो, उहाँ शिविरमै रही आफ्नो मृत्युपर्यान्त जनताको सेवामा समर्पित रहनुभएको थियो।

संयुक्त राष्ट्र सङ्घको शरणार्थी उच्च आयोगले भुटानी शरणार्थी समस्या समाधानको तीनवटा विकल्पहरू मध्ये तेस्रो मुलुक पुनर्वास मात्र उपयुक्त हुने भनी प्रस्तावना अघि साच्यो। राजनीतिक दलका नेताहरू र विभिन्न मानवअधिकारवादी संस्था लगायत टेकनाथ रिजालले यसको घोर विरोध गरे। शिविरमा भएको एउटा भेलामा नेताहरूले **एक थोपा खुन भएसम्म जनतालाई भुटान फर्काउने काम गरिरहन्छौं** भने। तर पुनर्वास कार्यक्रम सुरु हुनासाथ ती मानव अधिकारवादी भनाउँदा नेताहरू र पार्टीका नेताहरू तेस्रो मुलुकमा पुनर्वास गराउन पो अग्र पडित्मा देखा परे। आज ती नेताहरू कहाँ छन् थाहा छैन। नेताहरूका स्वार्थका कारणले नै हामी असफल भएका हौं भन्ने मनमा लाग्छ।

तीन दशकभन्दा बढी कष्ट खपेर आफ्नै देशमा फर्कने भनी आजसम्म लगभग छ हजार दाजुभाइ र दिदीबहिनीहरू नेपालको शरणार्थी शिविरहरूमा अपेक्षारत छन्। उनीहरू मात्र देश फर्कन सके पनि हामी सबैका निम्ति खुसीको कुरा हुने थियो। आखिरमा पढे लेखेका स्वार्थी नेताहरू र पहुँचवालाहरू आज सुखका साथ तेस्रो मुलुकमा आरामदायी जीवन बिताइरहेका छन्। हाम्रो आखाँमा धुलो हाल्न केहीले अमेरिकाबाट चिट्ठी

लेखेरे हेगमा धर्ना गर अरे, उसो गरे अरे, यस्तोउस्तो भन्ने गरेको सुनिन्छ, तर ती सबै फिजुल कुराहरू मात्र हुन् भन्ने लाग्न थाल्यो, किनभने भुटान सरकारलाई यसले कुनै असर परेको देखिँदैन।

यसको विपरीत भुटान सरकारले विश्व समुदायलाई ओझेलमा राख्न र हाम्रो मुद्दालाई कमजोर बनाउन विभिन्न योजनाहरू तयार गरेको छ। तिनीहरू मध्ये सन् 2006 को राजाले गद्दी त्याग्ने घोषणा, 2008 को नक्कली प्रजातन्त्र र Gross National Happiness (सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द) प्रमुख छन्। तर पुस्तोपुस्तादेखि देशमा बसोबास गरिरहेका नागरिकहरूलाई देशबाट निर्ममतापूर्वक लखेटेर कसरी निर्लज्ज हुन सकेको? छिमेकी भारतलगायत विश्व समुदायले यस्तो गम्भीर विषयप्रति ध्यान दिइरहेको छैन, यो कस्तो विडम्बना!!!

आदरणीय महानुभवहरू, मैले आफ्नो विचार लेख्न सुरु गर्दा सबै प्रथम डी एस काफ्ले जी र मेरो बिच कुराकानी भएको थियो। छिड्येन मेटो (Tshinyen Meto) गठन हुनुभन्दा पहिला नै हामी बिच आ-आफ्नो भावना बाँड्दै आएका थियौं। मैले लेख्दै गरेको किताब “Journey of life” का बारेमा सुनाएँ। राजालाई लेख्दै गरेको चिट्ठी पनि पढेर सुनाएँ। अरूले लेखेका किताबहरू पनि देखाएँ। मित्रहरूका यस्तै हौसला र उमङ्गमा म आफ्नो लेखन कार्यलाई स्थगित गरी Journey to Bhutan for Justice लेखनमा यो लेख लेखेर सहभागी बनेको छु। शुभेच्छुकका रूपमा डी एस काफ्लेज्यूले सबैलाई हौसला नदिएको भए यो किताब छापिने थिएन होला, म पनि लेख लेखे थिइँनँ होला।

अन्तमा यस किताबको प्रमुख भुमिका पुरा गर्नुहुने किताबको सम्पादक श्री एन बी गिरी र डा खगेन शर्मा जो हामी भुटानीहरूका लागि दिनरात खटिरहनु भएको छ उहाँहरूलाई म धन्यवाद टक्काउन चाहान्छु। साथै यस एतिहासिक कार्यका लागि स्थापित Thsinyen Meto संस्थाका

अध्यक्ष माननीय डाक्टर भम्पा राईलाई पनि धन्यवाद टक्राउन चाहान्छु। त्यसरी नै देश र जनताका लागि खटिरहनुभएका मानव अधिकारवादी नेताहरू, यस ऐतिहासिक पुस्तकमा आफ्ना विचार राख्ने र लेख पठाएर किताबको महत्त्व बढाउनु हुने सबै महानुभवहरूप्रति लगायत सम्पूर्ण भुटानी दाजुभाइ र दिदीबहिनीहरूलाई धन्यवाद भन्न चाहान्छु। मैले सबैको नाम लिन सकिनँ तरपनि सबैसबैलाई धन्यवाद टक्राउँदछु। हाम्रो यस किताब लेखन कार्यलाई सफल बनाउन र किताबलाई सम्पादनमा सहयोग गरी प्रकाशित गर्नमा प्रमुख भूमिका निभाउनु हुने भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूको शुभचिन्तक भारतका गुवाहाटी निवासी साहित्यकार, विद्वान् प्रोफेसर डाक्टर खगेन शर्मालाई धेरैधेरै धन्यवाद टक्राउन चाहान्छु। अन्त्यमा के पनि लेख्न चाहान्छु भने हाम्रा धेरै बालबालिकाहरू जसले माईधार किनारामा अकालमै ज्यान गुमाउनुपन्थो, हाम्रा मातापिताहरू जो देश फर्कने आशै आशामा तडपिएर शिविरमै मर्नु पन्थो अनि हाम्रो देश र जनताको मानवअधिकार र प्रजातन्त्रका लागि सङ्घर्ष गर्दागर्दै शहिद भएका ज्ञात अज्ञात सबै सहिदहरूलाई श्रद्धाञ्जली अर्पण गर्दछु। अनि यस ऐतिहासिक पुस्तक Journey to Bhutan for Justice र Thsinyen Meto ले चालेको यस अभियानले सफलता हासिल गरोस् भनी कामना गर्दै मेरो यस लेखनलाई यहाँ विश्राम दिन चाहान्छु। धन्यवाद।





एन बी गिरी

सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द: परिप्रेक्ष्य भुटान

‘सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द’ (Gross National Happiness) सन् 1972 मा राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले भारतको मुम्बईमा एक अन्तर्वार्ताको क्रममा उहाँलाई सांसारिक भोगबाट ज्ञानार्जन भएको विवेचनात्मक दर्शन हो जसले भुटान सरकारलाई मार्ग निर्देश गर्दछ भनी उद्घोष गर्नुभएको थियो। यसमा एउटा विशेष अनुक्रमणिका समावेश गरिएको छ जसद्वारा जनताको सामूहिक आनन्द र समृद्धि नापतौल गर्न सकिन्छ भनी भनिएको छ। यो निकै प्रशंसनीय विवेचना भए पनि भुटानी जनता यसबाट अपेक्षित छन्। वास्तवमा सन् 1972 मा राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुक केवल 17 वर्षको हुनुहुन्थ्यो त्यो उमेरमा उहाँको शिक्षादीक्षा, मानव जीवनसितको सम्बद्धता ईश्वरीय दृष्टि साथै राज्य व्यवस्थाका अनुभव देशका प्रकाशार्थी जनतालाई सचेत गराउन सक्ने रचनात्मक साधक थियो भनी विश्वास गर्न सकिने आधारशिला पाइँदैन। सन् 1907 मा ब्रिटिसको दाबेदारमा धर्मराजा साब्डुरुङ र अन्य प्रान्तका राज्यपालहरूलाई मारेर उहाँका खान्दानले भुटानमा एकाधिपत्य शासन सुरु गरेका हुन्। एक स्वेच्छाचारी धर्मान्ध परिवारमा जन्मेर हुर्केका कुनै पनि शाहजादालाई सदाचारी जनलोकको उपासना र समुचित रक्षा बारेमा प्रशंसनीय

अनुभव थियो भन्न उपयुक्त हुँदैन। राजधर्म सम्हालेको अवस्थामा यदि उहाँमा गौतम बुद्धको जस्तो दया र मानवताले भरिएको वैशिष्ट्य हृदयको उदय भएको हुदो हो त सन् 1990 मा भुटानका नागरिकहरूले अमानवीय विपत्ति सहेर शरणार्थी हुनुपर्ने अवस्था आउने थिएन। राजघरानामा जन्मेका राजा-राजकुमार भए पनि सबै कुलीन हृदयका हुन्छन् भनी साचो-झुटो नपगोलीकन विश्वास गर्न सकिँदैन। उहाँ आफूलाई बुद्ध धर्मवालम्बी राजा भनी प्रचार गर्नुहुन्छ, बुद्धले मानिसहरूप्रति सदृश श्रद्धा राखी प्रेम गर्नु भनी उपदेश दिनु भएको छ **एक राष्ट्र एक जाति** नीति अवलम्बन गरी आफ्नो जातिको पहिचान र संस्कृति जोगाउन अन्य जातिका मानिसहरूका घरद्वार उजाड पारी आतङ्क फैलाएर देशबाट लखेट्न भनी बुद्धले उपदेश दिनुभएको छैन।

भुटानका जन्मसिद्ध वा अङ्गीकृत नागरिकहरू को र कहाँबाट आएका हुन्, को पहिला अनि को पछि आएको भनेर राजसत्तामा हुनेले निषेधात्मक बहस गर्नु जुन कुनै दृष्टिकोणबाट पनि मनासिब ठहरिँदैन। परन्तु उहाँले देशको शासनसत्ता आफ्नो पूर्ण नियन्त्रणमा भएको अवस्थामा कसैको बदनियती परामर्शमा अल्मलिएर पिरमर्काबारे दुखेसो गर्ने नागरिकहरूमाथि अत्याचार गरी देशबाट लखेटेर जनसङ्ख्या घटाएको पक्कापक्की हो। आज यस्ता सबै घटनाहरूको तारतम्य दबाउन दुनियाँलाई अलमल्याउन उनीहरू 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' को चाणक्य चाल चलिरहेका छन्। उहाँको आफ्नो भोग बन्धक भएको देशका जनतामा 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' दर्शनको अनुभूति हुनुका लागि जनताको सर्वाङ्गीण विकास, आनन्द अनि मनुष्योचित असल शासन व्यवस्था र उपयुक्त वातावरणको महसुस हुन अपरिहार्य हुन्छ। भुटानी जनतामा यस प्रकारका आनन्दको आभास कहिल्यै देखिएको छैन। भुटानीहरू राजकुलको स्वार्थका लागि आफ्नो दुःख पिरलाई लुकाएर हाँसे बानी बसाइसकेका छन्। यी सबैको परिशिष्टमा लेख्नुपर्दा जसको शासन उसैको व्याख्यान मात्र मान्य हुन्छ भुटानमा। आजको दुनियाँमा खुशी, आनन्दित र सुरक्षित त्यही हुन्छ जसको हातमा राज्यको सत्ता छ र ढुकुटी अधिग्रहण रहेको हुन्छ। उहाँले देशमा मुकर्र गरिएको कोर्काली शासन व्यवस्थालाई

ढाकछोप गरेर बाहिरी दुनियाँमा 'मेरो देशका जनता आनन्दित र सुखी सम्पन्न छन् अनि खुशीका साथ 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' विवेचक दर्शनको आधारमा हुने साझा, सुन्दर र सत्य धारणामा विश्वास गर्छन्' भन्नु आफैँ मूर्ख मण्डलीको मूर्खाधिराज हुनु हो।

राष्ट्रको सामुहिक आनन्द तथा 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' अनुमान गर्ने उदेश्यमा भुटानी राजाको दर्शयिता विश्लेषण सुन्नमा आएको धेरै वर्षहरू बितिसकेका छन्। 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' कुन किसिमले अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने उहाँको सूत्र कुनै बखत सिद्ध हुन सक्ला, भुटान मूलतः आज पनि दासत्वको चपेटामा छ। दुनियाँमा यसप्रकारका हावादारी फैलाएर जनतामा शोसन गर्ने राजाज्ञा कामयाब गराउने चतुरङ्गिनी खेल हो यो। यसरी परिभाषित प्रणालीले जनताका आनन्द अनि त्यो देश कति विकसित र मनोहर छ भनी अनुमान लगाउन सकिने आधार प्राप्त हुन्छ भनी केही विद्वान्हरूले नराधम राजाको स्वार्थलाई चर्चामा ल्याउने गरेका छन्। यो एउटा विडम्बना नै हो। त्यसैले चाहना नहुँदा पनि आफ्नै देशको राजालाई अधिनायकवादी कबुल गर्नुको अर्थ उहाँका अन्य जाति, भाषा र अन्य धर्मका नागरिकहरूप्रति गरिने दुर्व्यवहारलाई दुनियाँको मुखेन्जी राजपत्राङ्कित गर्न प्रयास गरिएको हो। जातिवादी निरडकूश सरकार भनेर भन्नु राजाविरुद्ध कुनै अवैध उदेश्य रहेको छैन, कसैबाट प्रेरित भएर अथवा चाह भएर भनेको होइन 'हामीले' सत्यदेखि बाहिर रहेर कुनै पनि विषय-वस्तुहरूलाई विश्व जनसमुदायको अधि राख्न र मानिसको आखाँमा धुलो हाल्ने कार्य गर्नुहुँदैन। भुटानीहरूप्रति अन्याय भएको देखेर अफवाह र चुनौतिहरूको जबाफी विचार व्यक्त गरेको छु। हामीसँग पनि मनुष्यत्व भरिभराउ मानव शास्त्र ज्ञान र अनुभवहरू छन्। सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्दको समीकरण-हिसाब ठिक हुँदा धरतीमा फलफूल फल्दैन मानिसको जीवनमा 'सकल राष्ट्रियआनन्द' उपलब्ध हुँदैन।

जसरी आमाको दुध र समुन्द्रको फिँज सेतै देखिए तापनि उनीहरूका वस्तुगत विशेषता फरक हुन्छ आमाको दुध निश्चय अमृत तुल्य हुन्छ तर

समुन्द्रको फिजँ विषाक्त हुन सक्छ। त्यसैगरी मनुका सन्ततिले बोलेको र दनुका सन्ततिले बोलेका भावङ्कविचारमा अपार फरक तात्पर्य हुन्छ। कसलाई विश्वास गर्ने अनि कसलाई नगर्ने यहीँबाट मानव-समाजले बुझ्नु र चिन्नुपर्छ। आजको दुनियाँमा सत्यलाई कोही पनि सहजै स्वीकार गर्दैनन्। विद्या र धनका समृद्धहरू पनि आडम्बरी जीवन, शक्ति र सम्पतिप्रति रतिएका छन् कसैमाथि अन्याय भयो भनेपनि उहाँहरूबाट विस्मय र प्रतितर्क व्यक्त हुँदैन, मनु संहिताप्रति अपघात भयो भनी ठान्दैनन्। यद्यपि, 'सत्य' पराजित भई लुकिरहँदैन यो सार्वभौम छ सत्यको निरूपण नभई रहन सक्दैन। राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले सन् 1970 को दशकतिर देशको 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' अनुमान लगाउन ल्याएको युक्तिपूर्ण विचार विर्मशमा सच्चाई होला तर मानिसको आनन्दको नापतौल स्वेच्छाचारी तराजुले तौलेर हेर्न भुल हुन्छ। **भुटानमा 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' छँदै छैन, राजा आफैँसँग पनि छैन।**

तत्कालीन राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले विस्तार गरेको 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' विवेचना कसरी प्रयोगमा ल्याउन सकिन्छ भन्ने बारेमा बहस सुरु भएको सुन्नमा आएको छ। संयुक्त राष्ट्र सङ्घ र केही विकसित देशहरूलाईसमेत मानिसको आनन्द र सुखमय जीवनको बारेमा भुटानी राजाले पाठ सिकाई रहेको सुन्दा उदेक लाग्छ। यस्तो कसरी हुन सक्छ जुन देशको कुल जनसङ्ख्याको 21 प्रतिशत जनतामाथि बर्बतापूर्वक हमला गरी धनसम्पति लुटेर देशविहीन शरणार्थी बनाइन्छ त्यो देशको शासक असल हुन्छ होला र? त्यस्ता तानासाहका विचारहरू आखाँ चिम्लेर स्वीकार गर्न सकिन्छ र? यसप्रति देशका जनता, मानवअधिकार र न्यायका लागि स्थापित संस्थाहरू सजग हुनुपर्छ। विगतका समयमा भुटानी राजाहरूले आफ्नै वंश-जातिका परिवारहरू लगायत जसले भेद्भाव, अन्याय र अत्याचारको विरोध गरी न्याय माग गरेका थिए उनीहरूको हत्या गरेका छन्। सन् 1990 मा निर्दोष नेपाली जाति भुटानीहरूलाई बर्बतापूर्ण देश निकास गरेका छन्। यस्ता अमानवीय कार्यगर्ने शासक विश्व समुदायबाट सम्मानित हुन्छ भने हामी कुन अवस्थामा

बाचिरहेका छौं अनुमान हुन्छ। केही देशहरूले भुटानी राजाको दर्शनलाई अपत्यारिलो र काल्पनिक भनी खण्डन गरी तर्क राखेका छन्। विश्वका मानव अधिकारवादी र बौद्धिक समुदायले खबरदारी गरिरहँदा केही अवसरवादीहरू भने निरडकूश राजाले गरेको तिरस्करणीय अपराधलाई ढाकछोप गर्न लगनशील छन्।

विश्वका बुद्धिजीवीहरूले यहाँ उद्धृत खुलस्त एवं उद्देश्यप्रेरित विषयहरूको रूप, रङ, गन्ध, स्पर्श र शब्दहरूको अवश्यमेव गहिरिएर अध्ययन गर्नुपर्छ। एउटा चोर-तस्कर पनि वास्तविक रूपमा असल मानिस हुन सक्छ। एउटा पापी र दुराचारी पनि समयानुकूल मिलनसार र प्रेमिलो साथी बन्न सक्छ। एउटा उग्रवादी पनि मनकारी हृदय भएको ज्ञानी, अनुभवी मानव-समाजलाई उपयोगी हुन सक्छ उसको पनि सुन्दर अभिलाषाहरूले भरिएको मन हुन सक्छ। त्यसरी नै एउटा अपघाती तानासाहले पनि असल कर्मगरी पुण्य कमाउन सक्छ। यस प्रकारका पातकी शासकहरू संसारमा धेरै छन्। यद्यपि, कसैले पनि अपराध गरेको खण्डमा ओहदा, ज्ञान र पृष्ठभूमि हेरेर क्षमा दिने कुरा हुँदैन। यो हुन नसक्ने कुरा हो संसारको नियम यस्तो छैन। व्यक्ति कुनै देशको राजा नै किन नहोस् उसको अनुहार, धर्म, उसको नयाँ विचारको प्रतिपादनलाई हेरेर क्षमा दिन सकिँदैन, पापको ज्याला मृत्यु हो अपराधीले सजाय भोग्नुपर्दछ। यदि अपराधीहरूलाई पनि क्षमा दिन सकिने प्रचलन हुँदो हो त ओसामा बिन लादेनको हत्या गर्नु हुने तानाशाही राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले गरेको अपराधलाई क्षमा दिन सकिन्छ भने ओसामा बिन लादेनको अपराधलाई लिएर उसलाई हत्या गर्नु एउटा भुल भएको छ भन्दा अत्युक्ति नहोला। तर यहाँ एउटा अपराधीमाथि कार्वाही हुन्छ अनि त्यस्तै अर्को अपराधी जसले जातीय-सफाई जस्तो घृणित अपराध गरेको छ उसको 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' को विवेचनालाई लिएर क्षमा गरिन्छ, त्यस्तो अपराधीको आराधना गरिन्छ, के यही हो शक्तिशाली देशको काम, कर्तव्य र रहस्य? के यस्तै सिद्धान्तमा संयुक्त राष्ट्र सङ्घको स्थापना भएको हो जसले पापकर्म गर्ने दोषीको ओहदा र पृष्ठभूमिलाई हेरेर जस्तो सुकै अपराधहरू पनि

क्षमा गर्छ ? आदरणीय विद्वान् जनसमुदायहरू हो, भुटानी राजाले ल्याएको प्रासङ्गिक विषय 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' को परिकल्पना तथा सूत्र विवेचनाप्रति कसैको डाहा आरिस छैन, उसको सिद्धान्त उपयोगी हुन सक्छ भुटानका लागि गौरवान्वित विषय बन्न सक्छ तापनि अपराध गर्नेले उन्मुक्ति पाउनु भनेको मानव समाजको उपहास गर्नु हो, मानवता विपरित पातकी कुकर्म गर्नेहरूको सामर्थ्य मौलाउन दिनु हो, धरतीप्रतिको आस्था, विश्वास र सत्यको खिल्ली उडाउनु हो ।

'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' नापतौल गर्ने सुची Alkire-Foster method को बहुआयमिक प्रतिभाशाली विधिद्वारा बनाइएको भनी छलफलमा बताइएको छ । 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' व्याख्या गर्ने चारवटा प्रमुख स्तम्भहरूमध्ये (क) उचित र दीर्घकालीन सामाजिक र आर्थिक विकास (ख) सांस्कृतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक धरोहरको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धन (ग) वातावरणीय संरक्षण र (घ) असल शासन व्यवस्था रहेका छन् । यी चारवटा प्रमुख स्तम्भहरूलाई लिएर अल्काइर-फोस्टर विधिअनुसार बनाइएका 33 सिद्धान्त वा यन्त्र शास्त्रहरूलाई 9 वटा खण्डहरूमा विभक्त गरेर 'सकल आनन्द' नापतौल गर्ने निर्णायक विधि तयार गरिएको छ । त्यहाँ भएका 9 वटा कार्यविवरण क्षेत्रहरूमध्ये मानिसको मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रसन्नता, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, समयको उपयोगिता, सांस्कृतिक विविधताप्रति आस्था-मनोभावना, असल शासन, सामाजिक जीवन शैली, पर्यावरणीय विविधताप्रति नमन र मानिसको जीवन स्तरलाई प्रमुखतामा राखिइएको छ । यहाँ उद्धृत भएका विधिहरूले अन्ततः कुनै पनि देशका मानिसहरूको जीवन आनन्द, सुसम्पन्न र परम्परागत रूपमा चलिआएको छ छैन भन्ने कथनलाई उद्घोष गर्दछ । साथै 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' को मूल्य र मान्यता तथा यससँग प्रतिपादित सिद्धान्तद्वारा यो विवेचना ल्याइएको भनी जिकिर गरिएको छ ।

'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' नापतौल गर्ने विषयलाई लिएर भुटान देशको 'प्रजातन्त्रका उपलब्धिहरू' र 'सर्वाङ्गीण विकास' सम्बन्धमा केही देशहरूमा

छलफल भएको सुनिएको छ। यी छलफलहरूमा भुटानको वनजङ्गल, जलवायु र पर्यावरणीय अवस्थाको जानकारी गराउँदै भुटानको संस्कृति, जीवनशैली र प्रकृतिका महिमाको विवरण गरिएको पाइन्छ। भुटानको वनजङ्गल र जलवायु स्वच्छ र सुन्दर छन्। भुटान वातावरणीय विषयमा कार्बनमुक्त देश भनी पहिचानिनुमा खुशी लाग्छ। प्रकृतिका महिमाहरूमा उम्दा धनी प्रदुषणमुक्त देश भएकामा गौरव महसुस हुन्छ। तर भुटानको सुन्दर वनजङ्गल तथा प्रकृतिका सिर्जनाहरूले जस्तो भुटानी-जनताले सुखानुभूति गर्न सक्दैनन्। जनतालाई देशबाट लखेटेर देशको जनसङ्ख्या घटाएर प्रकृतिको संरक्षण गर्ने राजाको गुण गाउनेहरू मानवतापतित हुन्छन्। प्रकृतिले आफ्नो संरक्षक मानिसको गुनासाहरू पर्यवेक्षकहरूलाई सुनाउन पनि सक्दैनन्।

प्रकृतिका देनहरू माटो, पानी, आगो, वायु, वनस्पति र विभिन्न रङ्ग, रूप, आकार, स्वभाव र शैलीमा प्रफुल्लित भई जिउने जल-थल-नभमा जीवजन्तुहरू धेरै छन्, यिनै प्रकृतिका महिमाहरूको सजधजमा मानिसको सृष्टि भएको हो। प्रकृतिका देनहरू मानिसकै उपकारका लागि भएको हुनाले मानिस यसको संरक्षक पनि हो। तर प्रकृतिको अवस्थामा दैनन्दिन भीषण परिवर्तन आइरहेको छ। सयुक्त राष्ट्र सङ्घ लगायत विभिन्न देशहरूमा प्रकृतिमा नकारात्मक परिवर्तन आएकाले विश्वले विनाशकारी घटनाहरूको सामना गर्नु पर्ने सम्भावनाप्रति खबरदारी गरिरहेको अवस्थाप्रति विचारणीय छलफल भइरहेको छ। यो राम्रो अभियान हो यसले सकारात्मक बाटो अपनावोस भन्ने सबैको अभीष्ट कामना छ। परन्तु यो अभियान सफल हुन असम्भव देखिँदै छ। यसको मूल कारण: संसारका विद्वान्हरूले कुन गलत अनि कुन सही बाटो हो वरण गर्न सकिरहेका छैनन्।

विकसित र सभ्य दुनियाँलाई भनिरहने विषय नभए पनि भन्न वाध्य भइन्छ, 'यस धरतीमा मानिसभन्दा राम्रो अर्को केही छैन। प्रकृतिसँग मानिसलाई साटफेर गर्न सकिँदैन'। मानिसप्रति विस्मृत रहेर प्रकृतिलाई बचाउन चाहानेहरूले मानिस स्वयंलाई विनाशमा होमिरहेका छन् अनि प्रकृति अधिकतर

शिथिल भइरहेको छ। जहाँ प्रकृतिको संरक्षक मानिसलाई मानिसले नै कसिडगर सरह देशच्युत गर्छन् त्यस्ता देशका निरडकूश शासकको गुणगान गरी बखान गर्नेहरू मानिसको सेवक नभएर प्रकृति विरोधी विध्वंसक हुन्छन् त्यस्तो परिवेशमा प्रकृतिले साथ दिँदैन। विश्वका केही साना देशहरूमा जहाँ राजाको प्रत्यक्ष वा अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा शासन चल्यो, जहाँ स्वेच्छाचारी राजनीतिज्ञहरूले अन्याय र अत्याचार विरुद्ध न्याय माग्ने नागरिकहरूलाई बर्बर अत्याचार गरिरहेका छन् मानिसहरू लखेटिएर बहलागदो शरणार्थी जीवन बिताउन बाध्य भएका छन् त्यस्ता देशहरूका शासकप्रति राष्ट्रसङ्घ र ठुला शक्तिशाली देशहरू जसबाट मानवजातिप्रति उम्दा कुराहरूको अपेक्षा गरिएको हुन्छ उनीहरू आफ्नो कूटनीतिक दाउपेचलाई अचाक्ली महत्त्व दिएर मौन रहने अनि प्रतिकारमा ती देशहरूलाई ढालको रूपमा प्रयोग गरेर आफै गम्भीर अपराधहरू गरिरहेको दृष्टान्त हाम्रो सामु स्पष्ट छ। यसैको परिणाममा साधारण मानिसहरूको जीवन कहीं कतै पनि कुनै पनि देशमा सुरक्षित छैन।

सन् 2012 मा संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घले 'सुख र कल्याण' तथा (Happiness and Welfare) सम्बन्धमा एउटा बृहत् गोष्ठीको आयोजना गरेको थियो जसमा भुटान पनि उपस्थित थियो। भुटानका प्रधानमन्त्री Jigme Yoser Thinley ले तानासाही राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकले ल्याएको 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्द' (GNH) का बारेमा खुबै चातुर्यताका साथ कर्णप्रिय शब्दहरूमा प्रस्तुत गरेका थिए। त्यहाँ उपस्थित केही राष्ट्रहरूले वाहवाह गरी ताली बजाएर स्वागत गरे तापनि भूतपूर्व NHCR प्रमुख जापानकी Sadako Ogata ले भुटानका नागरिकहरूको वास्तविक वस्तुस्थिति त्यस्तो नरहेको भनी प्रष्ट पारेकी थिइन्। Amnesty International ले पनि भुटानमा भएको मानव-अधिकार हनन र भुटानमा भएका अन्य जातिका नागरिकहरूमाथि भइरहेको अत्याचारलाई अध्ययन गर्दा राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकको GNH जस्तो विवेचनालाई सहजै स्वीकार गर्न सकिने अवस्था नरहेको तथा विरोधाभाषपूर्ण छ भनी आफ्नो विचार व्यक्त गरेका थिए। त्यसैगरी

अस्ट्रेलियाले भुटानको Gross National Happiness भुटानी राजाले गरेको अपराध ढाकछोप गर्न प्रस्तुत गरिएको षडयन्त्र मात्र हो, सोझो र सरल शब्दमा भन्नुपर्दा यो एउटा Gross National Hypocrisy भनी ठहर गरे ।

अन्ततः मानिसलाई अवहेलना गर्ने कुनै पनि शासकको देशमा ज्ञानको श्रोत छ भन्नु, त्यस्तो शासकबाट मानिसको 'सकल राष्ट्रिय आनन्दको' नापतौल गर्ने विवेचना प्राप्त भएको उद्धोष गर्नु अनि भारत, अमेरिका, क्यानाडा, जापान, बेलायत जस्ता विकसित देशहरूले त्यही शासकले लखेटेका शरणार्थीहरूको आवाजमा ढक्कन लगाउने खालका व्यावसायिक कार्ययोजना सञ्चालन गरिनु भनेको उनीहरूद्वारा निरडकुशताको मलजल हुनु हो, मानवतालाई कुल्चिनु हो, यस धरतीमा रहेका बौद्धिक र समझदार कहलाउने मानिसहरू परम्परागत मानवधर्म नियमको परिधिबाट बाहिर रहनु हो । जबसम्म देशमा बसोबास गर्ने विभिन्न जातजातिका मानिसहरूको समुचित रक्षा त्यो देशको सरकारद्वारा हुँदैन उनीहरूको गुनासोहरू पर पन्छाएर भुटान जस्तो सानो देशले अन्यायमाथि अन्याय गरिरहन्छ अनि संसारका असल, विद्वान्, कर्मशील दार्शनिकहरू तथा मानिसको कल्याण गर्न चाहाने शक्तिशाली देशहरू, संयुक्त राष्ट्र सङ्घ जस्ता सामर्थ्यवान् शक्ति भण्डारहरूले आफ्नो स्वार्थग्रन्थी रचनामा अपराधीहरूलाई साथ दिन्छन् सत्यलाई मान्दैनन् अनि अन्यायलाई चिन्दैनन् भने त्यस्ता कार्यहरूले गर्दा यस धरतीका समस्याहरूले अझ विकराल रूप लिने छ अनि त्यस्तो अवस्थामा विश्वका मानिसजातिलाई सुरक्षा, शान्ति र कल्याण हुन सक्दैन । आज रुस र युक्रेनमा मानिसमाथि भइरहेको कहालिलागदो आतङ्क पनि उनीहरूका आफ्नै शासकहरूबाट सुरु भएको हो; अर्कोतर्फ भन्नु पर्दा यो बाहिरी देशका शासकहरूद्वारा पनि उक्साइएको विषय हो । यस्ता युद्धहरूमा राष्ट्रपति, प्रधानमन्त्री वा राजाहरू मर्दैनन् । आम जनताका छोरा, छोरी, बाबु, आमा र मेहनत गरेर ती नेताहरूलाई पाल्ने, राजस्व कमाएर देशलाई धनी बनाउने ती सानासाना हातहरू भएका

अबोध मानिसहरू मारिन्छन्। चाहे यतापट्टिका आफ्नो देशका जनताहरू हुन् वा त उता पट्टिका दुश्मन भनिएका देशका जनताहरू हुन् यी विश्व नेताहरूले आखिरमा मानिसहरू नै मार्छन्। तर यो कस्तो विडम्बना, राजा जिग्मी सिङ्गे वाङ्चुकको Gross National Happiness जस्तै विश्वका यी नेताहरूले मानव जातिको सुख, शान्ति र सुरक्षाका लागि निरन्तर तुरही फुकिरहेका छन्। तर त्यो सुख, शान्ति र सुरक्षा तबसम्म प्राप्त हुँदैन जबसम्म मानिस भित्र मानिस बसेको हुँदैन।

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पशुपति आचार्य

Greensboro, North Carolina (USA)

हाम्रो देश फलामको बाकस हो

म पशुपति आचार्य । मेरा पिता स्वर्गीय देविचरण आचार्य माता स्वर्गीय खिलमाया आचार्य । सन 1955 मा भुटान चिराङसलामी गाउँमा म जन्मेको, यही म हुर्केको । मेरा पिता साथै दुइजना ममतामयी माताहरू थिए । मेरा सात जना दाजु-भाइ साथै सातवटी दिदी बहिनीहरूको परिवार थियो । मेरी श्रीमती र तीन छोरा र दुई छोरी र बुहारीहरू छन् । म हालमा मेरो परिवारसहित North Carolina USA (अमेरिकामा) बसेको छु ।

पूर्व इतिहासअनुसार मेरा पुर्खाहरूले पौराणिक कालदेखि बसोबासो गर्दै घोर जङ्गललाई कृषियोग्य जमिन निर्माण गरे । यसरी नै तिनैका छरछिमेकीहरूले पनि यसै गरेका होलान् । बारी बनाए । अनेक धान रोप्ने खेतीयोग्य जमिन निर्माण गरे । मिलेर गाउँ बनाए, ब्लक बनाए अनि जिल्ला बनाए । यसरी पुर्खाहरूको मेहनत पसिनाले मानव बस्न सक्ने भूमि निर्माण गरे । बस्ने घर बनाए, पशुपालन गरे आआफ्ना परिवार बढाउँदै लगे । यहाँबाट सरकारलाई कर रकम अन्न तिर्न लागे । सरकारका तर्फबाट न औषधी न बत्ती न यातायात साधन, न कुनै शिक्षा र स्वास्थ्य न हिन्ने बाटो, न नुन, न

लुगा न मानिसलाई चाहिने उपभोग्य सामग्रीहरू न त सरकारी सहयोग। मानिसहरू आफै बाँच्न सिके, जिउन सिके। यस्ता महान् पुर्खा त्यो देशमा जन्मेका थिए। यस्ता देशको कर्णधारका सन्तान हामीले उहाँहरूलाई स्मरण गर्दै उहाँहरूको योगदान जन्मजन्मान्तर कदर गर्ने नै छौं। यी भगवान रुपी पुर्खाहरूको स्मरण गर्ने पर्दछ।

मेरा मातापिताले पनि अरुकै सरी दुःखकष्ट गरी, न यतायातको साधन, न बत्ती, न सञ्चार, न उपचार यस्तै सहेर गुजरा चलाउँदा थिए। दैनिक उपभोग्य समानहरू किन्न तीन दिनको बाटो पैदल गएर बोकेर ल्याउनु पर्ने स्थिति थियो। थोरै उमेरदेखि बाबुआमासँग दुःख कष्टको सहभागी भयौं। मेरा पिताले 70 दिनको बेगार तिर्न घरबाट सातु चामल बोकेर सरकारी रोड खन्न गएको र 70 दिनको बेगार सकेर शारीरिक अवस्था गम्भीर भएर घरमा आइपुगेको पनि देखें। **म बाँचेर आए नानी हो** भनेको कुरो मेरा कानमा अझै पनि गुन्जिरहेको छ। घरमा बालखा नानीहरू खान नपाएर बसेको कष्ट पनि बालखैमा भोगेको पनि हो।

आफ्ना खेतीबाट उब्जिएको अन्नले पारिवारिक खर्च टार्नु पर्ने थियो। अरूमाथि आस्था थिएन। यस्तै दुख हुँदा मेरा पिता जहिल्यै पनि भुटान देशको विकास गर्नुपर्छ जनमानसमा सुख आउँछ छोराछोरी पढ्न पाउँछन् भन्नुहुन्थ्यो।

धेरैपछि स्कुल खोलिए। म र मेरा दाजु स्कुल जान थाल्यौं। बत्ती नभए पनि मकैको ढोड बालेर पढ्दै थियौं। यही समयमा पिताजी बिरामी हुनुभयो अनि मैले पढ्न छाड्नुपर्‍यो। कारण ससाना भाइबहिनीहरू विचल्नी हुन थाले र सहयोगका निम्ति पढ्न छोडियो। स्कुल छोडेर खेती गर्न थालियो। हलो जोत्नु गोठ बस्नु पर्ने भयो। दुख सुखका माझमा भाइबहिनीहरू पढाउने हुर्काउने काममा आमालाई सहयोग गर्न थालियो। हाम्रो चिराइजिल्लामा गाडीको बाटो पनि आइपुग्यो। सबैको यसमा योगदान थियो। यसकारण

अब नुन तेल घरेलु सामग्री किन्न टाढा जानु परेन। सरकारबाट बेगारी काममा जानै पर्ने भनेर एक महिना चुनिदुम र एक महिना सेतोलेमी भनेर वर्षको दुई महिना बाटो खन्न एवं अरू सरकारी काम गर्नु पर्ने नियम लागु भयो। जस्तै हुकुम आए तापनि कसैले विरोध नगरी आआफ्नो काम पुरा गरेकै हुन्थ्यो।

मानिसहरू काम गर्न सक्ने र जान्ने थिए। विवेकशील विचार भएका मानिसहरू बसोबासो गरेका थिए। बसोबास गर्नेको योगदानद्वारा जङ्गलामुलुकबाट घरबार हुँदै सहरहरू बन्दै गएर विकासको बाटो निर्माण गर्न सकेका थिए। यसरी नै गाउँ विकास हुँदै जिल्ला विकास हुन थालेको हो। आफ्नो गाउँ जिल्ला विकाशील बनाउनु सबैको योगदान हुँदै गयो। हाम्रो सपना हाम्रो देशमा दुख दूर रहोस्। सुख र शान्ति छाडरहोस् भन्ने विचारले जनस्तरबाट नै बल पुगिरहेको हो। खानेपानी टाढाबाट बोक्नु पर्ने थियो तर पछि घरघरमै धारा ल्याउन सफल भयौं। गाडी मटर छेउछाउसम्म आइपुग्न थाले। नहरहरूको निर्माण हुँदै खेती गर्न सजिलो हुन थालेको थियो। वैज्ञानिक तरिकाले कृषि काम हुँदै थियो। स्वास्थ्य सुविधा हुँदै थियो। बिजुलीबत्ती घरघरमा ल्याउन आधा काम हुँदै थियो। दक्षिण भुटानमा बसोबास गर्ने नेपालीभाषी भुटानीले आफ्नो भाषा संस्कृति भेषभुषामा पुर्खाको धरोहर थामेर अघि बढिरहेका थिए। जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्म संस्कार सभ्यता आफ्नै र राम्रै थियो।

पिता पुर्खाले भनेको सुनिन्थ्यो—हाम्रो देश फलामको बाकस हो। हामीलाई कसैले केही गर्दैन। शान्तिले परिपूर्ण देश हाम्रो। हाम्रा राजा भगवान् जस्तै छन्। यसरी हाम्रा पुर्खाहरू गौरव गर्थे। म पनि आफ्नो देशका निम्ति गौरव अनुभव गर्दै आनन्दसाथ खेतीपाती गरेर परिवार पालनपोषण गर्दै हामी हुकिँदै गएका। म हुकिँदै गएर 23 वर्षको उमेरमा हाम्रा गाउँका साथीभाइहरूका रोजाइमा म बल्लग किरबोर थाडको मण्डलमा नियुक्ति भए। मिलिजुली काम

गर्दै थियौं । आफ्नो गाउँ ब्लक जिल्ला विकासको कामका लागि परिआएका सबै काम गर्दै थियौं । हाम्रा गाउँका युवावर्ग इमान्दारीका साथ कर्म गरी देश विकासमा ध्यान दिने व्यक्तिहरू थिए । स्कुल तथा सबै विभागको काम चलिरहेको थियो ।

आफ्नो लगन र कामले गर्दा धेरै किसिमका फलहरू जस्तै सुन्तला, अलैची, नासपती फलाएर बिक्री गरी ठुलो रकम देशभित्र आउने र सरकारलाई फाइदाको बाटो निर्माण भइरहेको पनि थियो । जनसाधारणमा विकासको लहर बढ्दै थियो । तर हामीमाथि हाम्रो सरकारको किन हो कोनि थाहै नपाई नकारात्मक दृष्टि लागिरहेको रहेछ । यसरी हामीमाथि आफ्नै अभिभावक राजाले नकारात्मक सोच राखेको होला भन्ने कल्पना नै गरेको थिएन । केही शङ्का नै थिएन तर दक्षिण भुटानमा बस्ने नागरिकहरूलाई अनागरिक बनाएर जबर्जस्ती चलअचल सम्पत्ति खोसेर नाङ्गै बनाएर देशबाट खेदाउने योजना पहिलादेखि नै बनाएको रहेछ । यो कुरा पछि थाहा लाग्यो । यसरी आफ्ना देशबाट रुँदै दिशाहीन यात्रा गर्नु पर्ने स्थिति आउँछ होला भन्ने कसैको कल्पनामै थिएन । तर एउटा आक्रमणात्मक शैलीमा ठुलो आँधी, हुन्डरी आए सरह भुटान सरकारले आफ्ना जनतालाई आफू बसेको घरबाट खेदेको हो । दक्षिण भुटानमा 90 प्रति मानिसहरू किसान थिए । हाम्रो समाजमा कोही राजनीति गर्ने व्यक्ति नै थिएनन् । सिधासाधा हलो कोदालो गरेर खाने मानिस हामीहरू । हामीले सजाएका जमिन बगानहरू खोसेर सरकारका मान्छेलाई दिन हामीलाई यस्तो अपराध गरेको प्रमाण भइरहेको देखिन्छ ।

सन् 1989/90 तिर भुटान सरकारले नयाँ नीति लागू गर्न थाल्यो । यो भन्दा पहिले सरकारद्वारा लोग्ने मानिसहरूले **बख्रु** र महिलाहरूले **किरा** (पूर्वी भुटानमा लगाइने लुगाहरू) लगाउनु नै पर्ने नियम लागु भएको हुँदा भित्री मनले नचाहे तापनि हामी सबैले यी पहिरन लगाउँदै थियौं । प्राय सबैले चित्त बुझाई सकेको थिए । अलिक अनौठो कुरा चाहिँ सरकारद्वारा अनिवार्य

लगाउनु पर्ने, बख्खु-किरा बिना हिन्न नहुने कडा नियम लगाइएको थियो। नलगाएको फेला परे कारबाहीसमेत हुन थालेको थियो। कतिपय घरेलु घटना पनि हुन पुगेका थिए। यो लुगा लगाएर जाँदा गोरु नार्न सकिएन गाई दुहुन र गाई भैंसी गोठाला गर्न साह्रै अप्ठ्यारो हुन थालेको थियो। गाई भैंसीहरू बुरुक्क तर्छिएर भाग्न थाले। यसलाई बानी पार्न धेरै समय लागेको थियो, किनकि यो भन्दा अगाडि पशुहरूले यस्तो लुगा देखेका पनि थिएनन्। जनसङ्ख्या प्रत्येक सालको एकपल्ट गणना गर्ने र जन्म मरण बसाई सराइ विभाग जस्ता जनसङ्ख्या मिलाउने काम जिल्ला र ब्लक (जोङ्खाडर गोवाड)को समन्वय मिलेर गरी ल्याएको पूर्वदेखिको नियम नै थियो। तर यो बेला चाहिँ 1958 को कागजातअनुसार जनगणना भयो।

मानिसहरूलाई अत्यन्त कठिनको वातावरण भयो, कारण जहाँ जन्मेका थियौं त्यहाँका सम्बन्धी निकायबाट सी.ओ.(certificate of original) कागजात ल्याउनु पर्ने भयो। जेजस्तो झमेला भए पनि हाम्रा गाउँ, ब्लकका मानिसहरूले उहिलेदेखि बसोबासो गर्ने व्यक्तिहरूले सम्पूर्ण कागजात पेस गरेर पूर्ण जनसङ्ख्या दर्ता गराइसकेका थिए। फेरि पनि जनसङ्ख्याको गणना सुरु भयो। मानिसहरूलाई हप्काउने कुटपिट गर्ने गरेर जनसङ्ख्या गणना गर्न थाले। पटकपटक जनसङ्ख्या गणना भन्दै एउटै परिवार No 1 देखि 7 नम्बरसम्म दोहोराउने काम हुन थाल्यो। जमिन सर्वेबाट कटौती हुन लाग्यो। पुर्खादेखि भोग गरिआएको जग्गाजमिन काटिने नीति लागु हुन लाग्यो। दिनप्रति दिन विभिन्न नियम बदलाउँदै नेपाली भाषाका किताब स्कुलमा जलाउन लगाएर भेषभुषा धर्म परम्परामा आघात हुने काम गाउँगाउँमा हुन लाग्यो। सरकारले के गर्न लागेका हो हामी गाउँमा बस्ने मानिसलाई थाहा नै भएन। त्यसको विरोध गर्ने वातावरण पनि थिएन। अचानक आर्मी शासन गाउँमा लाग्न थाल्यो। आर्मीहरू गाउँमा हातहतियार बोकेर घुम्न लागे। हामी त्रासिद भयौं। बजार स्कुल बन्द हुन लागे। दैनिक उपभोग्य सामग्री किन्न

पाइएन। गाउँमा चल्दै गरेका भौतिक सुविधाहरू बन्द भए। आफूले गर्दै गरेका कामहरू पनि ठप्प भए। आफूले फलाएका फुलाएका फलफुल ग्रामीण सामग्रीहरू बिक्रीवितरण बन्द भए। आफ्नै सरकारले आफ्नै शासन व्यवस्थाले नाकाबन्दी लगायो। गाउँबाट मानिसहरू पक्रने र ठाउँठाउँका स्कूल खाली गरेर स्कूललाई जेल बनाएर मानिस त्यहाँ राख्न थालियो। त्यसपछि अमानवीय यातना दिन थाल्यो। बन्दुकका भरमा मानिसहरूलाई भगाउन थालियो। वयोवृद्ध-वृद्धा रुवाबासी गर्न थाले, ससाना बालकहरू बन्दुकको आवाज आएको डरले त्रासिद हुन्थे। यस्ता भयानक अमानवीय अपराध सहन सक्ने शक्ति नै रहेन। धेरै व्यक्तिहरू जेलमा पुगिसके, कति भागिसके। गाउँमा खेती गर्ने वातावरण नै हरायो। आफूले आफ्ना बारीमा फलाएका अलैंची, सुनतोला अन्य चिजहरू सरकारले बेचन नदिएर आफै मनमानी गरेको थियो।

आर्मीहरू गाउँमा देख्दा नानीहरू, ठुलै मानिसहरू पनि दौडेर भाग्थे, कारण दोषी होस् या निर्दोषी होस् नबुझी पक्रेर यातना दिँदै जेलमा लाने चलन थियो। आफ्ना खुसीले देश छोडेर जानु भनी निवेदन लेखेर सही गरी आफ्ना गाउँका मण्डललाई सही गराएर दुरुस्तै दोडेरखममा लानु भनेर आर्मी पुलिसहरूले धम्की दिँदै हिँड्ने गर्न थाले, नपक्रे पनि पक्राउ गर्ने चेतावनी पनि दिएको छ भनी मान्छेहरू भन्दथे। कतिजना बृद्ध-बृद्धाहरूले निवेदन लिएर मसँग आएका पनि थिए सही गरी दिनुहवस् भन्दै। बस्न सकिएन के गरौं भन्दै रुँदै भकानो फुटाउँथे। म जोड्दा साहाबकहाँ आपत्ति गर्छु भनेर तिनीहरूलाई सान्त्वना दिने गर्थे। अनि धेरै गाउँका साथीहरू भएर एउटा निवेदन जोड्दालाई लेखियो। आपत्ति पत्र लिएर जोड्दाको चेम्बरमा म गएँ। डासो जोड्दालाई भेटेर सबै कुरा बताएँ। जोड्दाले सुने जस्तो गरेन। निवेदन पेस गरें। यसो हेरेर टेबुलमा राखे, धेरै मानिसहरूले सही गरेका पनि थिए। सन 1991 को जुन महिनाको कुरो हो। डाँसो जोड्दाको चेम्बरबाट मलाई सुइँको नदिई पछिबाट हत्कडी लगाई अमानवीय यातना दिँदै निकाले। मलाई त त्यहाँबाट जेलमा लगेर थुने।

मलाई जेलमा लगेर लुगा बिना चिसो सिमेन्टमा बस्न लगाए। राति आएर जेलको हाकिमले एकासी कुटपिट गर्न लाग्यो। उसले भन्यो-देश छोडेर जाने अर्जी किन मानिनस्। सरकार जोडाबाट दिएको अर्डर किन मानिनस्, तलाई देश छोडेर भाग्ने मान्छेको घर डडाउनु, समान निकालेर बाँड्नु भनेर दिएको अर्डर किन मानिनस् किन गरिनस्। तेरा गाउँका मानिसहरूले आफ्ना सम्पूर्ण चल-अचल सम्पत्ति सरकारलाई बुझाएर जानहरूलाई किन रोकिस, यस्ता विभिन्न विषयका आरोप लगाउँदै कुटपिट गरी हतकडी लगाएको मान्छेलाई यातना दिए। आफू कठोर भएर खपी रहेको थिएँ। दिनमा या राति आफूले नजानेका नबुझेका कुराको आरोप लगाउँदै भन् किन ढाँटछस् भन्दै चेपुवाले खुट्टा चेप्ने, काँचा डण्ठाले घोट्टो पारेर घोज्ने, कुट्ने र बेहोस पारेर रुमभित्र फालिदिने आदि यातना दिन्थे। खान नदिने, दिए भने भुइँमा भातको डल्लो राखिदिने र कुनै दिन चाहिँ हलुङ्गे थालमा दिने गर्दथे। मलाई एउटा कोठामा नाङ्गै राखेको थियो। कोठामा बत्ती थिएन, भुइँमा सिमेन्ट लगाएको कोठा। निस्कने कुरै भएन। औषधि उपचार नदिने, दैनिक ज्यान मार्ने धम्की दिने। परिवार देख्न नपाउने, 12 बजे राति आउने आर्मीको टिम लिएर ठुलो टर्चको ज्योति आँखामा लगाई राख्ने र लात्तीले हान्ने। हरेक किसिमको यातना सहेर रहनुपर्थ्यो। विडम्बना, पुर्खाले यस्तो दशा आइलागछ होला भनेर अलिकति पनि सोचेका थिएनन् होला।

मजस्तै अरू साथीहरू पनि थिए, तर भेट भएन। को मर्नो कि जिउँदै छ थाहा नै हुँदैनथ्यो। मेरो कुनै दोष निकाल्न सकेनन्, किनकि म केही पनि गलतमा थिइँनँ। मैले सरकारको होस् या कुनै मानिसको होस् कुनै गलत काम गरेको थिइँनँ। मैले धेरैपल्ट निवेदन गरें जान्न पाऊँ मेरो दोष के हो भनेर। मलाई किन जेलमा ल्याएको भन्दा कुनै कारण देखाउन सकेका थिएनन्। छिमी दुक्पा केप्टेनले खोजेका कुरा चाहिँ देशबाट खेदाउनु र सम्पूर्ण चल-अचल सम्पत्ति उसलाई दिनु रहेछ। उसको चाहना भएको कुरा पछि थाहा भयो। जेलमा बसेको छ/सात महिनापछि आर्मीहरूले भन्न थाले-

तैं तेरो सम्पूर्ण सम्पति र देश छोडेर बाहिर जान्छस् कि मर्न तयार हुन्छस् ? मैले दुवै कुरा स्वीकार योग्य छैन भनैँ-मेरो लागि यी दुवै कुरा उत्तिकै हुन् देश छोड्नु या मर्नु उस्तै हो । यसरी मैले भन्दा कुटपिट गरेर आर्मीको समूह गए । भोलिपल्ट पुनः एउटा साधा कागज लिएर म भएको ठाउँमा आर्मी आए । अनि सादा कागज देखाउँदै तँ यहाँ पुच्छरमा सही गरेर देश छोडेर जान्छु भन् भन्दै विकल्पहीन आदेश दिए । यसो भन्दै मार्ने धम्की गर्न लागे, आर्मीहरूको लिडर छिमी दुकपा थियो । यो समयमा मेरो शरीरले बाँच्न सक्ने क्षमता हराइसकेको थियो । रगत सुकेको थियो, आँखा कानले देख्न सुन्न छाडेका थिए । मैले अन्धकार कोठामा हतकडी लगाएर हातले सेतो पेपरको पुच्छरमा सही गरिदिनु सिवाय कुनै विकल्प थिएन । त्यसपश्चात् उनीहरू बाटो लागे । यस घटनाका 22 दिनपछि मलाई जेलबाट आजाद गरी सात दिनभित्र देश छोडेर जानू भन्ने सर्तमा छाडिदिए । दुई घण्टामा घर पुगें । आमाबाबा श्रीमती भाइबहिनीहरू छोराछोरी रोइरहेका थिए । घरमा पनि आर्मीको समूह आएर घरको कागजात सर-सामानहरू खोसेर लुटेर लगिसकेका रहेछन् । बाबाआमालाई राति आएर कुटपिट गरेर शिथिल अवस्थामा छोडेका रहेछन् ।

घरमा पनि आर्मीहरू राति आएर आमाबाबालाई घोकाउँदै कुटपिट गरेर तेरो छोरालाई जेलमै मारौँ कि देश छोडेर पठाउँछौँ भनेर सही गर्न जबर्जस्ती गरेका रहेछन् । सेतो कागज र औँला छाप गर्ने स्याही अगाडि राखिदिएपछि छोरो नमारिदेऊ भनेर सेतो कागजका पुच्छरमा औँला छाप लगाई दिनुभएछ । बृद्धबृद्धालाई धेरै कुटपिट पनि गरेछन् बाँच्नका निम्ति आत्तिएर छाप लगाएँ भन्दै रुनु भएको थियो । त्यतिखेर हाम्रो मनस्थिति कस्तो भएको थियो होला सजिलै अनुमान हुन्छ ।

यो मेरो कहानी सारांशमा लेखें । अरूका पनि यस्ता हरिबिजोगका धेरै व्यथाकथा छन् । पुरै कहानी लेख्ने हुँदा धेरै लामो हुन्छ मलाई भगवानले

जीवनदान दिएको रहेछ र म बाँच्न र मेरा मातापिता सबै परिवारलाई देखे अवसर पाएँ। मेरा सबै परिवार साथीभाइ इष्टमित्रले म जेलबाट घर आएको बेला मेरो अवस्था देख्दा छक्क परेका थिए। शरीरमा सास चाहिँ कहाँबाट रह्यो होला भनेर अचम्म हुन्थे। म जेलबाट आउँदा धेरै मानिसहरू, छरछिमेकहरू, साथीभाइहरू प्रायःले घर छोडेर हिँडिसकेका, कोही भागिसकेका रहेछन्।

भोलिपल्ट बिहानै म जोङ्दा अफिसमा मलाई देश छोड्न बाध्य नहोस् म आफ्नै देश घरमा बस्न पाऊँ भन्न गएँ। जोङ्दाका अघि उभिएर आलाप विलाप गरें। अनुनय विनय गरें। जोङ्दाले कुरै सुनेन। पुलिसमा पठायो। पुलिस क्याम्पमा पुगें। पुलिसले **भोलि आउनु आज जा** भन्यो। म फर्केर घरमा आएँ। मनमा केही आशा पाल्दै रहें। भोलिपल्ट पुन पुलिसकहाँ गएँ। पुलिसले भन्यो-**तँलाई यहाँ बस्न नदिनु भनेको छ, हामी बोर्डरमा पुऱ्याइँदिन्छौँ** भनेर पुलिसले मलाई तुरन्त भेनमा बसाई Bhutan India बोर्डरमा लगेर छोडिदिए, फेरि फर्की आइस् भने राम्रो हुँदैन भन्दै वार्निङ् दिई फर्केर गए। म हेरेको हैरै भएँ, कस्तो आपद आइलाग्यो। घरपरिवारबाट बिदाई लिन पाइएन, जीवनचक्र सिनेमाको कथा जस्तो भयो, तापनि मेरो वा हाम्रो जीवन कथा सत्य हो। पृथिवीमा थोरै जातिलाई मात्र यस्तो त्रास आइलाग्छ होला। वास्तवमा हामी नेपाली जाति हुनु नै त्यहाँनेर अपराध थियो।

म त्यहाँबाट भारततिर लागें, अघिपछि भारतको बाटो हिँडेको थिइँन। नेपाली गाउँतिर माँड खाँदै हिँडे। भुटानी शरणार्थी क्याम्प खोल्न लागेको छ भन्ने कुरा पनि मलाई थाहा थिएन। पछि साथीहरूले सुनाए, नेपालमा भुटानी शरणार्थी क्याम्प खुल्दै छ भनेर। बाँच्नु छ, म जसैतसै नेपाल पुगें। भुटानी साथीहरू म जस्तै दुःख पाउँदै भेला हुँदै रहेछन् फेरि बाबाआमा सबै परिवार इन्डिया आए रे भन्ने सूचना पाएँ। अनि फर्केर बाबाआमा परिवार भेट्न

इन्डिया गएँ। सबै परिवारसँग भेट भयो। भाइहरूले बाबा आमा सबै नानीहरू सुरक्षित रूपमा बचाएर ल्याएका रहेछन्। यहाँबाट गाईगोरु बोक्ने इन्डियन ट्रकबाट नेपालको काकरभिट्टा पुग्यौँ। दर्ता गरेर नेपालको मोरङ जिल्लाको शनिश्चरे पथरीमा भर्खरै दातृ संस्थाले केही सहयोग गर्दै गरेका ठाउँमा पुग्न सफल भयौँ। भुटान सरकारको दमन अत्याचारबाट बाँचेर त्यहाँ पुग्दा अब मरिँदैन भन्ने आशा जागेको थियो। नेपाल सरकारको तर्फबाट NHCR (दात्री संस्था) बास, गाँस, कपास, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षासमेतको वातावरण मिलाइदिएको रहेछन्। यसरी नै आश्रय पाएर भुटानी शरणार्थी दर्जासमेत पायौँ। शरणार्थीको रूपमा क्याम्प निर्माण गरेर बस्न थाल्यौँ। तर मेरा मातापिता र आफ्नो शारीरिक मानसिक यातनाले गर्दा भुटान आर्मी र शासकले दिएको यातनाले सताइरह्यो। चल-अचल सम्पत्ति लुटियो, खोसियो, देशै छोड्नुपयो। यिनै वेदनाले मातापितालाई गम्भीर तुल्यायो। उपचारबाट पनि सुधार हुन सक्ने स्थिति रहेन। दिनहुँ यो वेदनाले छोडेन र क्रमशः पितामाताको देहवसान भयो। बचाउन सकिएन। शरणार्थी क्याम्पमा हामी छोराछोरी सबै टुहुरा भएका थियौँ, सबैले पितामाताको अन्तिम काजकिरिया गर्न सहयोग गरेका थिए। यस्ता कठिन अवस्थाको समयमा अझै कष्टमय अवस्थामा रहँदै आयौँ। क्याम्पमा रहँदा सबैभन्दा ठुलो आशा भुटान फर्केर जाने थियो। यिनै कुरामा हरेक संघ-संस्था राजनीतिक दलका सबै आशाको केन्द्र बने उहाँहरूलाई सहयोग गर्दै गइयो, लामो समयसम्म पनि सफल हुन सकिएन। भुटान र नेपाल बिचमा मन्त्री स्तरीय कमिटी बनेर धेरै पटक वार्ता भयो, तर केही आशा पलाएन। लाखौँ जना शरणार्थीहरूको भविष्य चिन्ताजनक हुन थाल्यो। प्रत्येक दिन शरणार्थी क्याम्पको वातावरण तल झर्न लाग्यो र डर हुन थालो। भुटाने राजनीतिक दलको प्रयासमा मानव अधिकार संस्थाहरूबाट पनि भुटान फर्काउने पहल नभएको होइन, तर दुर्भाग्यवश सार्थक हुन सकेन। फेरि वरिष्ठ नेताहरूको निधनले पनि चोट पुग्यो। यस्तै परिस्थितिले गुन्जिरहेको बेलामा र 18 वर्ष क्याम्पमा बसेको अवस्थाको मनमा के गरौँ कसो गरौँ भन्ने भइरहेको बेलामा भाग्यवस UNHCR अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय संस्थाद्वारा भुटानी

शरणार्थी पुनर्वासको कार्यक्रम ल्याएको छ भन्ने सुनियो। UNHCR द्वारा धेरै देशको सूची तयार गरेको र जुन देश जाने इच्छा छ त्यो देश छानेर फर्म भरेर पहल गर्न सक्ने कुरा खुलेको हुनाले हामीले परिवारले यसो विचार गरी अमेरिका पुनर्वास भएर जाने अटोट गर्नु। प्रक्रिया सुरु भयो। कुशलता पूर्वक अमेरिका जाने अनुमति पाइयो। हामी सात दाजुभाइका परिवारमध्ये छ परिवारसहित अमेरिका आयौं। एकजना दाजु पुष्पलाल आचार्यका परिवार अस्ट्रेलिया जाने भए। दिदी बहिनी जम्मा सातवटी हुन्। यसमा चारजना बहिनीका परिवार अस्ट्रेलिया गए। तीन दिदीबहिनीका परिवार अमेरिका आउनुभएको छ। हाम्रो परिवार चाहिँ डिसेम्बर 2010 मा अमेरिका आइपुगेका हो।

अन्त्यमा भुटान सरकारले आफ्ना नागरिकहरूको लाखौं लाख रकम र लाखौंको सम्पत्ति घर जमिन बगान जपत गरेको छ। भुटान सरकारले वयोवृद्ध-वृद्धा, बालिका अपाङ्ग महिला पुरुष युवाहरूलाई जबरजस्त देश छाड्न बाध्य गराएर विदेशमा शरणार्थी बनायो। यसरी हामीलाई जस्तै देशभित्रै रहेका व्यक्तिहरूलाई चाहिँ यस्तो अन्याय नगर्न निवेदन गर्दछु। अनि नेपालको शरणार्थी शिविरमा दुःख झेलेर बसिरहेका भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूलाई ससम्मान आआफ्ना घर जमिनमा फर्काउन पनि अपिल गर्दछु। विभिन्न देशमा पुनर्वास भएका भुटानी दाजु-भाइ दिदी-बहिनी आमाबाबा जो कहिल्यै आफ्नो जन्मभूमिमा जान र 30 वर्षसम्म भेट्न नपाएका आफन्तलाई भेट्न जान-आउन खुला गरिदिन भुटान सरकारलाई ध्यानाकर्षण गर्दछु।

यसरी नै भुटानभित्र बस्ने भुटानीहरूले पनि स्वतन्त्र रूपमा आफ्नो मान्छे जहाँ भए तापनि भेट्न पाउने बोल्न पाउनु, कुनै बन्देज नहोस् भन्न चाहन्छु। मेरो पनि आफन्तहरू धेरै भुटानभित्र छन्। अझै पनि भेट्न बोल्न नपाउनु यो ठुलो अन्याय हो। कष्ट झेलेको यातना भोगेको सबै परिवार रुवाउँदै खेदिएको, चल-अचल सम्पत्ति लुटिएको आफूलाई पनि खेदाउनु भुटान सरकारले ममाथि गरेको अपराध कहाँ लेखेर कहाँ चुक्ता हुन्छ होला

र, कसले गरिदिन्छ होला यसको विचार जस्तो लाग्छ। यिनै पीडाले शरीर जलिरहेको हुन्छ। पटकपटक दिनरात भुटान सरकारले मलाई दिएको यातनाको सम्झना आउँछ। हात हेर्दा भाँचिएका औंला देखिन्छन्, खुट्टामा चेपेका चोटका दाग देखिन्छन्। उठ्दा बस्दा पछिल्लिरको ढाड दुख्छ, मनोवेदनाले अझ मन दुख्छ, यस्ता आपद अरूलाई नपरोस्, यही छ मेरो भगवानसँग प्रार्थना।

अन्तमा नवगठित Tshinyen Meto नामक संस्थाद्वारा भुटानी अन्य शुभचिन्तकहरूद्वारा भुटानीहरूका वेदना साँचो यथार्थता विषयवस्तुहरूलाई समेटेर एउटा इतिहास बोकेको किताब निकाल्ने प्रयासमा सफल बनोस्। अरू विभिन्न क्याम्पमा नेपालमा रहेका भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूको भुटानभिन्न पुनर्वास होस्। यो संस्था र यहाँका सबै पदाधिकारीहरूलाई धेरैधेरै शुभकामना।





रुद्र पौड्याल

भुटानका राजाप्रति बिन्ती

भुटान एउटा स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र हो। यो प्रकृतिको सुन्दर उदाहरण पनि हो। यहाँका भीर, पाखा, नदी तराई रुखहरूमा देवीस्थान छ। यहाँ हिन्दु र बौद्ध धर्म जो दाहिने र देब्रे हातझैं मान्य छन्। त्यसैले यहाँ दुवै हात जोडेर नमस्कार गरी प्रार्थना गर्ने चलन छ।

देश माटोको थुप्रोले मात्र बनेको हुँदैन। देश हुनलाई त्यहाँ न्याय नीति र शासक शासित आदि अनेकौँ आवश्यकताप्रति गरिएको हुनुपर्छ। भुटानमा यी सबै छन् त्यसैले यो एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र हो।

राष्ट्र निर्माण गर्न एउटा मात्र व्यक्ति एउटै मात्रै समाज एउटा मात्र सम्प्रदाय सक्षम नहुन सक्छ। त्यस राष्ट्रमा कोही समाज अघि आएर बसेको हुन्छ त कोही पछिबाट आउँछ। एकै दाजुभाइ पनि जन्मले अघिपछिकै हुन्छन्।

भुटानमा यो राष्ट्रलाई यति सुन्दर बनाउन बाटाघाटा खन्न, घर निर्माण गर्न, खेती गर्न अवश्य नै त्यहाँ रहेका भुटानी भोटिया, भोटेनी नेपालीहरू सबैले प्रयास गरेका छन्। भुटानमा आफ्ना आमाबाबु रहेर त्यहाँको निर्माणमा सहभागिता लिई आफ्नो राष्ट्र भन्ने गौरव भावना लिएका सबैका सन्ततिहरूको जन्मभूमि मातृभूमि भुटानका नै हो। ऊ जहाँ पुगे पनि सपनामा भुटानलाई नै देख्छ।

त्यहाँ शासक वर्ग धार्मिक प्रवृत्तिका छन्। उनीहरू प्राचीन सनातन परम्परा तथा यसकै आधारमा विकसित बौद्ध धर्मका अनुयायी छन्। सनातन परम्परामा **सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः** भन्ने भावनाको मूल सिद्धान्त छ भने बौद्ध दर्शन र सिद्धान्तमा त्यसैको छायाँस्वरूप **अहिंसा परमो धर्म** रहेको छ।

विगतका केही वर्षअघि कोनी के कारणले हो भुटानमा जन्मिएका भुटान नै मातृभूमि भएका कतिपयले आफ्नो मातृभूमि छोडेर देशविदेशमा शरणार्थी भएर रहनुपरेको भेटेँ। मलाई आश्चर्य लाग्यो। भुटानका शासक यति तल झरेर आफ्नै प्रजालाई देश निकाला अवश्य गर्दैनन्। उनी सनातनी बौद्ध धर्मका संरक्षक हुन् तर कुनै अबुझ वा स्वार्थपरायण व्यक्तिको जालमा उनी परे होला भन्ने मलाई लाग्यो। राजाले प्रत्येक प्रजाको घरघर गएर उसको भावना पढ्न सम्भव हुँदैन। राजाले सल्लाहकारहरूको सल्लाह र कानमा परेको कुरामै भर गर्नुपर्छ। कानमा सही कुरा पसे नपसेको उनलाई थाहा हुँदैन। मलाई लाग्छ, राज्य सरकारको विपक्षमा अथवा राजाकै विरोधमा कसैले केही गर्छ भने ऊ दण्डनीय हुन्छ तर मैले भेटेका यी भोटाङ्गेहरू भने त्यस्ता देखिँनँ, यो संयोग पनि हुन सक्छ।

यस्तो स्थितिमा भुटानका राजाले तिनीहरूको अवस्थालाई ध्यानमा राखेर देशभक्त निर्वाचितहरूलाई क्षमादान गरी फेरि आफ्नो मातृभूमिमा आउने र देशका नियम नीतिलाई पालन गर्दै राष्ट्रनिर्माणमा लागि पर्ने अवसर दिनु भए कति राम्रो हुन्थ्यो भन्ने लाग्छ!!! यस्तो भए राजतन्त्रको इतिहास स्वर्णाक्षरमा लेखिने अध्याय बन्थ्यो। यो मेरो चिन्तन वा अवधारणा वा निवेदन यति र यही नै हो।

रुद्र पौड्याल

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देविभक्त लामिटारे
भारत

इतिहास: सत्य र तथ्यको पुनर्लेखन-राजाप्रति आग्रह

इतिहास भनेको सत्य र तथ्यको उत्खनन् हो । तर आजसम्म लेखिएका भुटानसम्बन्धी इतिहासहरू न सत्यको नजिक छन् न तथ्यको । भुटानका इतिहासहरू धेरै लेखिए र लेखाइए पनि । ती कुनै पनि लेखाइएका र लेखिएका इतिहासहरूले भुटानको वास्तविक घटनाक्रमहरू देखाउनेभन्दा पनि बढी लुकाउने प्रयास गरेका छन् । कुनै पनि भुटानी जनताको इतिहास लेखिएका छैनन् । ती लेखिएका इतिहासहरू सत्ता र शासनकै वरिपरि घुमेका छन् । शासकले वर्षौंदेखि जनतामाथि गरेका अन्याय र अत्याचारका बारेमा पनि उल्लेख गरेका छैनन् जस्तो लाग्छ लेखाइएका ती इतिहासहरूले । भुटानी शासकको प्रशंसा र प्रसस्ति चाहिँ खुलेरै गरेका छन् तिनीहरूले । षड्यन्त्रपूर्वक हत्या गरिएका लामा राजा साब्डुरुडको पनि पर्याप्त चर्चा छैन, त्यसैगरी सामचीका दालचन गुरुडलाई पारामा झुक्क्याएर मारेको, महासुर क्षेत्रीलाई जिउँदै छालाको धोक्रामा हालेर सुनकोस नदीमा बर्बरताका साथ बगाएका कहाली लाग्दा राजनैतिक घटनाहरूले पनि ठाउँ पाएनन्, लेखाइएका कथित इतिहासहरूमा ।

इतिहास लेखनको पृष्ठभूमि

मैले त्यतिबेला देश छोड्नुपन्थो जतिबेला देशमा अन्याय, अत्याचार र बर्बरताले सीमा नाघिरहेको थियो । जनताको पक्षमा बोल्ने मानिसहरूको

जिब्रो थुतिन्थ्यो, गला घोटिन्थ्यो। भोक लाग्यो भन्न पाइँदैनथियो। तिर्खा लाग्यो भन्न पाइँदैनथियो। विरामी र अशक्त छु भन्न पाइँदैनथियो। देशमा न्याय र विकास चाहिन्छ भन्नेलाई जिउँदै छालाको धोक्रोमा खाँदेर नदीमा बगाइन्थ्यो, पानी माग्दा पिसाप खुवाइन्थ्यो। जेलमा कोचिन्थ्यो। ठिँगुरा ठोकिन्थ्यो। वर्षौंसम्म बिना ज्याला रोड खन्न र जुडनिर्माणमा पसिना र रगत बगाउनु पर्दथ्यो। बिना ज्याला चुनिडुम, सेतोलेमी, झालाङ्गी र बेगारहरूले नागरिकहरूलाई उठ्नै नसक्ने गरी थिचेको थियो। सासै फेर्न नसकिने स्थिति। चारैतिर राज्य-आतङ्कको साम्राज्य मात्र। अत्याचारी शासकका यस्तै यस्ता दमन, दुराचार र ज्यादतीहरू मेरो किशोर मस्तिष्कमा खिल भएर गाडिएका थिए। देशमा पढ्नका लागि स्कुल थिएन। उपचारका लागि अस्पतालहरू थिएन। आय-आर्जनका लागि रोजगारी र यातायत थिएन। सम्पर्क र सञ्चार थिएन। परिवर्तनको कुनै सङ्केत थिएन। चारैतिर निष्पट र अँध्यारै अँध्यारो मात्र। मन मस्तिष्कमा गाडिएका तिनै खिलहरू लिएर 14 वर्षकै उमेरमा मैले देश छोड्न विवश हुनुप्यो। मेरो एउटै मात्र धोको थियो 'भुटानी शासकले नागरिकमाथि गरेका शोषण, विभेद, अन्याय र चरम ज्यादतीहरूको पर्दाफास कसरी गर्न सकिन्छ' भन्ने। मैले भारतका विभिन्न विद्यालय र शिक्षण संस्थाहरूमा पढ्ने अवसर पाएँ। पढाइसँगै भुटानमा भइरहेका दुर्घटनाहरूलाई नजिकबाट हेर्दै त्यसको विश्लेषण पनि गर्थेँ। भुटानका बारेमा लेखिएका लेखहरू खोजी खोजी पढेँ, इतिहासवेत्ताहरूसँग छलफल र परामर्शहरू पनि गर्दै गएँ। यस गहन अध्ययन, खोज र खुला परामर्शले मलाई **दन्किदो भुटान** जस्तो कृति लेख्न उत्साहित र उत्प्रेरित गर्‍यो। सन 1971 मा यसको पहिलो संस्करण प्रकाशित भयो। भुटानी जनताको पक्षमा लेखिएको सम्भवतः पहिलो पुस्तक नै 'दन्किदो भुटान' हो भन्ने निर्विवाद छ। यस कृतिको प्रकाशनपछि निरङ्कुश सरकारले भुटानभित्र रहेका मेरा परिवारजनलाई झन धेरै अन्याय र अत्याचारको श्रृङ्खला सुरु गर्‍यो। प्रशासनको अनुमतिबिना देश बाहिर जान र हिँडडुल गर्न पुरै प्रतिबन्ध लगायो। परिवारका

सदस्यहरूले प्रत्येक महिना स्थानीय प्रशासनमा देखिनु पर्ने अवस्था थियो। **म घरमै छु, सरकार** भनेर हाँजिरी दर्ता गर्नुपर्ने। कहाँसम्म भने टासीछोजुडको मूलद्वारमा मेरो तस्वीर राखेर दुवैतर्फबाट राइफलको निशाना साँध्यो र देशभरि उर्दी गऱ्यो, 'जसले यो किताब राखेको छ वा पढेको छ, त्यसलाई तुरन्त गिरफ्तार गरेर जेल ठोक्नु नभए सबै सम्पति जफत गरेर देश निकाला गर्नु'। तर जति नै दमन र प्रतिबन्ध गरे पनि किताबको माग दोब्बर बढिरह्यो। भुटानी गोरखाहरूको चलन चल्तीको सरल भाषा र खरो शैलीमा लेखिएको **दन्किँदो भुटान**को आजसम्म चौथो संस्करण प्रकाशित भइसकेको छ। भुटानी जनताको माया र उत्प्रेरणाले मलाई थप उत्साहित मात्र बनाएन, अघि बढ्ने साहस र ऊर्जा पनि थप्यो। जुन हिम्मत र साहसले मलाई दोस्रो कृति **मडर अफ डेमोक्रेसी इन हिमालयन किङ्डम** लेख्न उक्सायो। अस्सीको दशकमा प्रकाशित यस कृतिले तानाशाही एवम् प्रजाराजको हत्यारो जङ्गली शासकको ज्यादती र बर्बरता विश्व समक्ष पुऱ्याउन अहम् भूमिका निर्वाह गऱ्यो।

दमन र ज्यादतीका शृङ्खलाहरू

सन 1990 भुटानी गोरखाहरूका लागि अभिशाप बनेर आयो। भुटानले एक लाखभन्दा बढी गोरखाहरूको सर्वश्व हरण गरेर देशबाट लखेट्यो। नागरिक उच्छेदन र विस्थापनको शृङ्खला यो मात्र होइन। सन 1990 भन्दा अघि पनि भुटानमा शासन परिवर्तनका लागि प्रत्यक्ष अप्रत्यक्ष आन्दोलनहरू भए, विद्रोहहरू भए। सन 1947 को 'जय गोरखा मुभ्मेन्ट' र सन 1953 मा भुटान स्टेट कङ्ग्रेसले सरभाडमा आयोजना गरेको सत्याग्रहमा पनि धेरै जना सहिद भए। सत्याग्रहीहरूलाई चारैतिरबाट गोली बर्साइयो र 24 जना सत्याग्रहीहरूलाई ठाउँको ठाउँमै ढालियो। **मरें, पानी पानी** भनेर चिच्याइरहेकाहरूलाई एउटै खाडलमा हालियो र किरोसिन छर्केर बर्बरताका साथ जलाइयो। हजारौं समर्थकहरूलाई गिरफ्तार गरेर जेलमा सडाइयो र सर्वश्व खोसेर कैयौं नागरिकहरूलाई देशबाट खेदाइयो त्यसबेला पनि। दमन र दुराचारका शृङ्खलाहरूको यो सानो लेखमा उल्लेख गरेर साध्य छैन।

कुनै पनि विद्रोह त्यसै जन्मदैन। त्यसको कारण हुन्छ। सन 1990 को विद्रोह जन्मनुको प्रमुख कारण पनि दक्षिण भुटानीहरूको भेषभूषा, भाषा र संस्कृतिमाथि एकै पटक हमला गरिनु मात्र थिएन, भुटानी पहिचानको नाममा ड्रिक्लामनाम्जा, दक्षिणी भेगमा ग्रिनबेल्ट र राष्ट्रिय जनगणना जस्ता विभेदकारी नीतिहरूको जबर्जस्ती कार्यान्वायन पनि हो। 'महाराज, हाम्रो भाषा, संस्कार र संस्कृतिको पुनर्बहाली होस्' भन्ने जनताको शान्तिपूर्वक बिन्तीलाई देशद्रोह र आतङ्कवादको संज्ञा दिइयो। वर्षौंसम्म दक्षिण भुटानलाई सशस्त्र सेनाको जिम्मा लगाइयो। छोरीचेलीको अस्तित्व र अस्मिता लुट्यो, युवाहरूलाई जेलमा कोच्यो। वृद्धहरूलाई स्वेच्छाले देश छोड्छु नभनेसम्म कुट्यो। घरमा आगो लगाएर दक्षिणी जिल्लाहरू सबै खरानीमा परिणत गरायो। देशको कुल सङ्ख्याको एक चौथाइ नागरिकलाई जबर्जस्ती राज्यबिहीन बनायो, प्रजाराजको हत्यारो सरकारले। खालि गराइएका दक्षिण भुटानीहरूका जग्गा जमिनमा उत्तरी भुटानीहरूलाई स्थापित गरायो। यसरी जबर्जस्ती राज्यबिहीन बनाइएका भुटानी गोरखाहरूमाथि भएका अन्याय र अत्याचारप्रति मुकदर्शक बनिरह्यो संसारको सबैभन्दा ठुलो गणतन्त्र। त्यसमा पनि नाकै मुनिको छिमेकी। सहयोग र सहानुभूति गर्नुको सट्टा भुटानले अन्यायपूर्वक गलहत्याइका नागरिकहरूलाई मेची नदी तार्ने काम गरेर भारत पनि भुटानी निरङ्कुशताकै पक्षमा उभियो। एउटा सच्चा छिमेकीले किन त्यसो गर्नुपर्‍यो। त्यसको सही उत्तर अहिलेसम्म पाइएको छैन। भुटान र भारतको संयुक्त आयोजनामा मेची कटाइएका लाखौं गोरखाहरू रातारात नेपालमा पोखिए। नागरिकबाट शरणार्थी बने भुटानी जनताहरू। शरण मात्र दियो नेपालले। देश फर्काउन सकेन। भुटानसँग विभिन्न स्तरमा वार्ताहरू भए। विकास निस्केन। नेपालको कुटनीति भुटानसँग पराजित भयो। शरणार्थीले देश फिर्तीका लागि आन्दोलनहरू चलाए। पदयात्रा गरे। शान्तिको अपिल गरे। भारत भएर भुटान छिर्ने प्रयास गरे। ती सबै प्रयासहरूमा पानी फेरिदियो भारतले। भारतलाई न रिझाउन सक्थ्यो नेपालले न त बुझाउन नै सक्थ्यो।

समाधानका तीन विकल्पहरू-

अन्ततः भुटानी शरणार्थी समस्याको दीर्घकालीन समाधान नदेखिएपछि अन्तराष्ट्रिय समुदाय अर्थात् पश्चिमा देशहरूले 'बर्डन सियारिड कार्यक्रम' अन्तर्गत स्वैच्छिक देश फिर्ती, शरणागत देशमा समायोजन र तेस्रो मुलुकमा पुनर्स्थापना जस्ता तीन विकल्पहरू अघि सारे। तीनवटै विकल्प एकै चोटि प्रारम्भ गर्ने भनेर शरणार्थीलाई विश्वस्त पारे। तर तेस्रो देश पुनर्वास-कार्यक्रमलाई मात्र तीव्र पारे। सन 2008 देखि सुरु भएको पुनर्वास कार्यक्रम मार्फत 2016 सम्ममा एक लाखभन्दा बढी भुटानीहरू विभिन्न देशमा पुनर्वासित भए। तर अन्य दुई विकल्पका बारेमा भने सबै मौन बने र चुँसम्म गरेका छैनन्। भुटानी जनतामाथि किन जालझेल र छलकपट गरियो, त्यसको पनि कुनै जबाब छैन, सरोकारवालाहरूसँग। यसरी निर्दोष भुटानीहरूलाई विभिन्न भागबन्डा गरे उनीहरूले। जसलाई जति चाहियो त्यही अनुरूप बाँडे, रासिन-पानी जस्तै गरेर। देश फर्किएर मर्ने सपना टुट्यो, उनीहरूको। कतिको लोग्ने छुट्यो, बाबुआमा छुटे। नातागोता र सदरियोदेखि सँगै रहेका छिमेकी छुटे। कहाँसम्म भने शिशा झैं फुटायो परिवार पनि, यस भागबन्डाले।

चाहेर होस् वा नचाहेर अधिकांश शरणार्थीहरू तेस्रो देश पुनर्वास कार्यक्रममार्फत संसारका विभिन्न विकसित देशहरूमा पुगे। त्यहाँको स्थायी नागरिक बनेको पनि 15 वर्ष भयो। नानीहरू पढ्दैछन्, ज्ञान-सिपहरू सिक्दैछन्, राजनैतिक र आर्थिक समृद्धिको क्षेत्रमा पनि पहुँच र प्रभाव आदि जमाउँदैछन्, पुनर्वासित भुटानीहरूले। राज्यले जति नै छिछि र दुरदुर गरे पनि उनीहरूले पुनर्वासमा लोभलाग्दा प्रगतिहरू गर्दै छन्। देशको नाम चम्काउँदै छन्। सम्मान र प्रतिष्ठा बढाएका छन्। सामाजिक, शैक्षिक, साहित्यिक र कला-संस्कृतिका नाममा स्थापित संघ-संस्थादेखि व्यापार-व्यावसायिक संस्थानहरूमा समेत देशको नाम जोडेर राष्ट्रभक्तिको नमुना पेश गरेका छन्। राष्ट्रिय दिवसहरू मनाएर देशभक्ति र राष्ट्रप्रति उच्च सम्मान मात्र गरेका छैनन्, उनीहरूले, जीवन यात्राको अन्तिम पाइलो भुटानमै टेक्न चाहेका छन्। जन्मिएको माटोमा

अन्तिम सास बिसर्जन गर्न चाहेका छन्। सुख, सुविदा, यश र आर्थिक समृद्धि त दियो पुनर्वासले तर उनीहरूलाई सन्तुष्टि र आत्मसम्मान दिन सकेन। मनभरि यही गुनासो बोकेर सुखद् सम्भावनाको परिकल्पना गरिरहेका छन्, पुनर्वासमा, उनीहरू।

राजाप्रति आग्रह

संसारमा धेरै क्रान्तिहरू भए, राजनैतिक, आर्थिक परिवर्तनहरू भए। विकास र समृद्धिको क्षेत्रमा धेरै फड्को मारे तर महाराज, तपाईंको शासन कहिल्यै सुधिएन। जनभावनाको कहिले कदर भएन। जनतालाई मालिक बन्न दिइएन। जहिले दास बनाएर राख्ने कुचेष्टा र दुष्प्रयास भइरह्यो र भइरहेको छ। विकास र परिवर्तनको आवाजलाई पटकपटक बन्दुक र बुटले दबाइयो। जेल हालियो। बर्बरतापूर्वक मारियो। जायजेशो लुटियो। देशबाट खेदाइयो, राज्यको शक्ति र स्रोतको दुरुपयोग गरेर। विदेशीको इसारामा सोझा, देशभक्त र बफादार जनतालाई आतङ्कारी र देशद्रोही बनाइयो र नाङ्गेझार पारेर देशबाट जबर्जस्ती गलहत्याइयो। तर अब यहाँका हरेक दुष्प्रयासहरू विफल हुने छाँट छन्। देश भनेको सीमा रेखाले कोरेको माटाको थुप्रो मात्र होइन, देश भनेको जनता हुन्। जनता नै जनार्दन हुन्। जनताभन्दा ठुलो कुनै शक्ति छैन, संसारमा। भुटानी जनता जागृदै छन्। उनीहरूको चाहना र भावनालाई जेल-नेलले नथर्काए हुन्छ, गोली, बारुद र बमले नतर्छाए हुन्छ। परिवर्तनको हुरीलाई यहाँका कुनै पनि जालजेल र षड्यन्त्रले रोक्न सक्ने छैन। परिवर्तन नैसर्गिक हक हो र अधिकार हो भन्ने जनताले बुझेका छन्। आफ्नो हक र अधिकार अवश्य लिने छन्। जनताका सामु घुँडा टेक्न यहाँ बाध्य हुनुपर्छ।

अब उठेर जागृहोस्। पर्दापछि नलुक्नुहोस्। भोगविलासितामा नडुब्नुहोस्। श्रेय आफू लिने र गल्ती अरूलाई थोपर्न बन्द गर्नुहोस्। आफ्ना प्रजालाई सैनिकको बलमा देशबाट निस्काशन गर्ने राजाहरूमा सम्भवतः पहिलो र

अन्तिम राजा यहाँ नै हुनुपछि। अझ पनि केही बिग्रिएको छैन। हरेक समस्याको समाधान हजुरसँगै छ। यहाँको कथित प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकारले 90 को समस्या-समाधानको जिम्मेवारी यहाँलाई नै सुम्पिएको छ। जबाब देही बन्नुहोस्। कसैलाई काख र कसैलाई पाखा नगर्नुहोस्। चौतर्फी समालोचना र चर्को दबावपछि 2008 मा सिंहासन त्याग्न बाध्य हुनुभयो यहाँ। यहाँले शक्ति र सत्ता पुस्तान्तरण पनि गर्नुभयो। तर व्यवस्थामा कुनै परिवर्तन देखिएन। पर्दापछि बसेर त्यही निरडकुशतालाई दोहोर्‍याइरहनुभयो। वैधानिक निरडकुशतालाई नै प्रजातन्त्रको बहाली भन्नुभयो। चुनाव पनि गराएँ भनेर खुब प्रचार पनि गर्नुभयो, केही ताली र स्यावासीहरू पनि बटुल्नुभयो। तर वास्तवमा त्यो प्रजातन्त्र थिएन। त्यो त अवैधानिक निरडकुशतालाई वैधानिक निरडकुशतामा परिवर्तन गरेर संसारको आँखामा छारो हाल्नु मात्र थियो। माग्नेलाई खेद्ने र नमाग्नेलाई कोच्याउने एउटा नाटक मात्र थियो यहाँको प्रजातन्त्र भन्ने घाम झैं छर्लङ्ग छ।

अन्तमा -

यहाँका बाबुले सन 1947 र 1953 को आन्दोलनमा होमिएका, खेदिएका, थुनिएका नागरिकहरूलाई सम्मानपूर्वक देश फर्काउनु भएको थियो। क्षतिपूर्ति दिएर पुनर्स्थापित गराउनुभएको थियो। जनचाहनाअनुसार शासन व्यवस्थामा सुधार मात्र गर्नुभएन्, उहाँले पहिलो पटक सन 1953 मा राष्ट्रिय सभाको स्थापना गरेर देशलाई प्रजातान्त्रिक व्यवस्थातर्फ उन्मुख गर्नुभएको थियो। देश विकासका लागि पञ्चवर्षीय योजना प्रारम्भ गराउनुभयो। विभिन्न, जातजाति, भाषाभाषी नागरिकलाई एउटै शासन सूत्रमा उनेर देशलाई दरो र मजबुत बनाउने प्रयास मात्र गर्नु भएको थिएन, उहाँले शिक्षा, सञ्चार, र यतायातको क्षेत्रमा द्रुततर विकास गरेर वाड्चुक वंशीय राज परम्परामा नयाँ कीर्तिमान स्थापित गर्नुभएको थियो। तर ती प्रदत्त सीमित जनअधिकारहरूसमेत खोसेर यहाँले बाबुको कीर्तिमान पनि कलङ्कित बनाउनुभयो। राज्य-आतङ्क मच्चाएर देशलाई झन् निरडकुशतातर्फ धकेलिरहनुभयो।

महाराज, अझ पनि समय छ। पञ्चशील के हो ? राम्ररी अध्ययन गर्नुहोस्, अहङ्कार हट्ने छ। **अहिंसा परमो धर्म**को वास्तविक मर्म र भावनालाई बझ, शान्ति र करुणा बढ्ने छ। मन, बुद्धि, चित्त र अहङ्कारभन्दा पनि पर एउटा सत्य छ, छातीमा हात राखेर त्यसलाई सोध्नुहोस्। सत्ता र शक्तिको नाममा मैले आफ्नो शासनकालमा के के गरें भनेर। अवश्य पनि हल निस्कने छ। नत्र सहीदहरूको रगतले पिने छ, कुनै दिन पञ्चतापको आगाले जलाउने छ र जनताका आँसुले यहाँको सत्ता बगाउने छ। र यहाँका भावी सन्तानले ल्यान्ड्रुप दोर्जी जस्तै दुर्नाम र कलङ्कित भएर जिउनु पर्ने छ।

त्यसैले वर्षौंदेखिको जन आवाजलाई सम्बोधन गर्नुहोस्। उनीहरूको विन्तीलाई सुन्नुहोस्। आफ्नैआफ्नै भेषभूषामा रम्न दिनुहोस्, आफ्नै भाषामा गाउन र उनीहरूकै गीत सङ्गीतमा नाच्न दिनुहोस्। नेपालका शिविरमा रहेका देशभक्त नागरिकलाई ससम्मान पुनर्स्थापित गरिदिनुहोस्। देश विकासतर्फ जाने छ। यहाँ माथिको कलङ्क मेटिने छ। यहाँको सम्मान र प्रतिष्ठा चुलिने छ, यहाँका बाबुको जस्तै।

विदेशीका अघि घुँडा टेक्नुभन्दा बरू आफ्नै जनताका अघि झुकेको राम्रो। यहाँप्रति श्रद्धा र विश्वास जाग्ने छ। यहाँको सत्ता लम्बिने छ। त्यसैगरी पुनर्वासमा रहेका राष्ट्रभक्त भुटानीहरूका लागि प्रतिबन्धित ढोका खोलिदिनुहोस्। ज्ञान, सिप र कला-कौशल भित्रिने छ। लगानीका ढोका खोल्नुहोस्। देशमा आर्थिक क्रान्ति आउने छ। रोजगारीका अवसरहरू खुल्ने छन्। बौद्धिक पलायन रोकिने छ। जनता सम्पन्न हुने छन्। देश बलियो र समृद्ध बन्ने छ। देश बलियो भयो भने मात्र वैदेशिक दबाब र हस्तक्षेप रोकिनेछ। प्रजा दरो भए मात्र उत्तरको थिच्ने र दक्षिणको पेल्ले दुःसाहस घट्ने छ। जनतालाई रिजाउन र हँसाउन सकियो भने संसारमा प्रसिद्धि र जयजयकार मात्र हुने छैन, यहाँको राष्ट्रिय खुसियाली अभियानले समेत सार्थकता पाउने छ। युगयुगसम्म यहाँको कीर्ति र यश सुभासित हुने छ।

इतिहासमा यहाँ अम्मर हुनुहुने छ। यसमा हार कसैको हुने छैन। यहाँको पनि हितैहित र जनताको पनि जितैजित हुने छ।

छेगेन मेतोप्रति-

सत्य र तथ्यको उत्खनन् नै वास्तिक इतिहास हो। नब्बेको दशकपछि एकल वा सामूहिक रूपमा यस्ता इतिहासहरू लेख्ने कामहरू भए, भुटानी लेखकहरूबाटै। यो खुशीको कुरा हो। सत्य र तथ्यमा आधारित भएर लेखिएको इतिहास मात्र कालजही हुन सक्छ। छलकपट, जालझेल र प्रलोभनमा लेखाइएका इतिहासको कुनै पनि मूल्य र मान्यता हुन सक्दैन। **छेगेन मेतो**ले यहाँलाई आफ्नै जनताभावना चढाउन जुन जमर्को गरेको छ, त्यो प्रशंसनीय मात्र छैन अपितु स्तुत्य पनि छ। यस पुस्तकको सफलताका साथ प्रकाशन होस् भन्ने कामना सहित धेरै धेरै शुभेच्छा पनि।

जय भुटान जय भुटानी





कृष्णाप्रसाद सन्यासी

समक्ष महाराजधिराज भुटान

महाराज

यहाँको सुस्वास्थ्य र दीर्घायुको कामना गरी केही बिन्ती राख्न चाहन्छु।

हामी भुटानिजहरू-नचाहँदा नचाहँदै नेपालको शरणार्थी शिबिरबाट बिदा लिई नेपाल भारतबाहेक विश्वका आठवटा देशमा आफ्नो रहल जिन्दगी गुजारा गर्दै छौं। तर जहाँ बसे तापनि तथा बस्नु परे तापनि मन मष्तिष्क चाहिँ आफ्नो जन्मथलोको सम्झनामा रुमलिरहन्छ, बेलाबेला अतीत रोमन्थनमा पौडी खेल्छ अनि बेलाबेला मन पिरोलिरहन्छ, भकानो भुटेर आउँछ। भित्री मनले भन्छ मेरो चिता भुटानमै उठ्नु पर्ने थियो तर अब त हजार किलोमिटर टाढा अमेरिकामा मेरो अन्तिम संस्कार होला।

महाराज,

हाम्रो मन मष्तिष्क पढ्न कुनै दिन प्रयास गर्नु भएको छ होला? हामी अहिले पनि कसरी तडपिरहेका छौं यहाँले सोच्नु भएको छ होला? वास्तवमा हामी तपाईंका प्रजा थियौं, भुटानबाट नेपालीभाषी खेदाउने सरकारको गलत सोच रहेछ भन्ने कुनै दिन उपलब्धि भयो होला? सार्क देशहरूको नीति अधि तेसाई भारतमा शरणार्थीका रूपमा बस्न पनि दिइएन। सार्क देशकै सदस्य भए तापनि नेपालले चाहिँ अडिने शिबिर चाहिँ दियो।

यहाँको बाबाको पालामा हामी नेपालीभाषीलाई देश छोडाइयो त्यो पनि साङ्घातिक अत्याचार गरेर। यो धरतीमा सोझा निमुखाहरूलाई जे जसरी पनि दोष लगाएर लखेट्दा हुँदो रहेछ। धान खाने मुसो चोट पाउने भ्योगुतो हुन्छ कि भन्ने पनि सोचु भएन। आखिर हामी पनि यहाँहरू जस्तै हाडमासुले बनिएका मानिस न हौं। हाम्रो पनि अनुभूति छ। तर हातमा शासनको शक्ति छ भन्दै देशभक्त जनतालाई जसरी ती दिनहरूमा उत्पीडन गरियो सोचिसक्दा आङ जिरेडहुन्छ।

हामी कुनै पनि देशका नागरिक थिएनौं, हामी भुटानिज नै थियौं, तर भुटान सरकारको हाम्रा लागि घातक कूटनीतिले गर्दा देश निकाला गरिएको प्रायः दस वर्षपछि जिन्दगी जिउनुको ताडनामा पापी पेटको क्षुधा मेट्न भकानो फुटिरहे तापनि आफूलाई सम्हाल्दै कहिलै पनि कल्पना नगरेको भूमिमा दिन व्यतित गरेका छौं जहाँ सांस्कृतिक रूपमा भिन्न थियौं, अहिले हामीले अरू देशका नागरिकको बिल्ला लगाएका छौं, जसले हामीलाई यहाँ नागरिकता-परिचय दिँदै जिन्दगी जिउने वातावरण-अवसर दियो ती देशहरूप्रति हामी कृतार्थ छौं। तर पनि त्यो सबैभन्दा ठुलो हाम्रो जीवनको विडम्बना थियो।

महाराज,

आज पनि हामीसित बख्खु छन्। हामी खास गरी भुटान दिवसका अन्य विशेष दिनमा परिधान गर्छौं, त्योस गर्दा हामीलाई आत्मिक सुखानुभूति हुन्छ, सुखभोगको अनुभूति प्राप्त हुन्छ। त्यसको अर्थ के हो-केवल आफ्नो जन्मथलो आकर्षण र मायाले हामी अनवरत तडपिरहन्छौं।

महाराज,

मलाई लाग्छ भुटान सरकारले आफ्ना नागरिकलाई देश फर्कन सक्ने प्रस्ताव राखेको खण्डमा दसोटा देशमा फिँजिएका भुटानिजहरूबिच हजारौंको सङ्ख्यामा हर्षले गदगद हुँदै नाच्ने छन्। तर ती दिन आउलान् र? जाबो प्रायः सात हजार जति भुटानका नागरिक नेपालको शिबिरमा शरणार्थीका रूपमा अझै पनि कहालिलागदो जिन्दगी बिताइरहेका छन्, ती आफ्ना नागरिकलाई यहाँले बोलाउने तयारी गर्नुभएको हामीलाई थाहा लागेको छैन। मानवताका खातिरमा

पनि यहाँले ती लगभग सात हजार जति आफ्ना नागरिकलाई देशमा निम्ताउनु पर्ने होइन र ?

महाराज,

अर्को मुद्दाको कुरा गरौं। देशले हामीलाई लखेट्यो, हामी लेखेटियोँ, हाम्रा नभएका दोषहरू देखाइए। तर हाम्रा सम्पत्ति-जैथोमेथो किन देशले लुट्यो ? राख्यो ? बन्दुक तेसाई सेतो कागजको भेदमा किन हस्ताक्षर गराइयो वा औँठा छाप राखेको ? हामी पेयिङ-गेस्ट थिएँनौँ, हामी आफ्नो देशमा पसिना झाँदै राष्ट्र निर्माणमा होम्मिँदै आफ्नो पनि गरिखाने जोगाड गरेका थियोँ, हामी सबैको सबै सम्पत्ति हडप गरी राक्ने भुटान सरकारको कहाँ हक थियो वा छ ? हाम्रा सम्पत्ति हामीले पाउनुपर्छ। मैले नमूनाका लागि तल मेरा सम्पत्तिका व्यहोरा तल लेखेको छु। लेखेटिएका लाखौँ शरणार्थीको यस्तै पीडा, दुर्दशा, वेदना छ। अब भुटान सरकारले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय समाजलाई साक्षी राखी कि त नागरिकलाई सदासदा लागि देशमा निम्त्याओस् कि त उनीहरूको जैथोमेथो व्याजसहित फिर्ता दिओस्। यो माग पनि उठ्दै छ।

महाराज,

हामीलाई देशद्रोही सजाएर लखेट्ने मौका छोपियो। कैयौँ विधवा भए, कैयौँ पत्नीहीना भए, कैयौँ टुहुरा भए, कैयौँ लड्डा भए, कैयौँ खोरन्डा भए, त्यसबेला सरकारले गरेको अन्याय अत्याचारको बेलिबिस्तार लगाइसक्नु छैन, यसको एउटा सिनेमा बनिनु पर्ने हो। यस्तैमा कैयौँलाई अझै पनि कैद गरिराखिएको छ किन ? ती तथाकथित अपराधीलाई छोडिदिनु पर्ने होइन र ? कि तिनीहरूलाई जेलमै कुवाएर राख्ने विचार छ ? राष्ट्रसङ्घको सदस्य राष्ट्रले यस्तो गर्न पाइँदैन। मानव अधिकारको मुद्दा पनि विवेचनामा ल्याउनुपर्छ।

महाराज,

अहिले पनि संसारमा नभएको केही नीति नियम भुटानमा छ। हामीलाई बिनादोषमा लेखेटे पनि हाम्रो माटो छुन, त्यहाँको हावा सेवन गर्न, त्यहाँका देवदेवी मन्दिर गुम्बा दर्शन गर्न, आफन्तीहरूलाई भेट्न हामीलाई भुटान प्रवेश गर्न किन अनुमति दिइँदैन ? अर्को देशको नागरिकलाई त भिसा दिइएर प्रवेश गर्ने अनुमति दिइन्छ। हामी त तपाईँको खातामा परदेशी बनेका छौँ। तर सामान्य,

खुकुलो र लचिलो सर्तमा हामीलाई अन्ततः एक महिनाका लागि भुटानभरि डुल्ने अनुमति दिनुपर्छ, यो अनुरोध पनि हो, माग पनि हो। त्यति हुँदा पनि सास जाने बेलामा केही शान्ति प्राप्त हुन्थ्यो कि ?

महाराज,

लेखौँ भन्दा लेखिरहन सकिन्छ, बोलाँँभन्दा बोलिरहन सकिन्छ, तर मुख्य कुरा बताएपछि आ गर्दा अलङ्कार बुझ्नेले मेरो आशय बुझिसक्नु भएको हुनुपर्छ भन्ने ठानेको छु। शिबिरमा रहने हाम्रा केही साथीहरूलो अझै पनि गैर-राजनीतिक सङ्गठनको कल्पना गरी भुटानी नाम **छेडेन मेतो** नै कल्पना गरेका छन्। यस अरानैतिक सङ्गठनले अबउसो गैर-राजनीतिक रूपमा हाम्रा पीडा मुद्दा उठाइरहने छ भन्ने पूर्ण विश्वासमा छु। इति।

भुटानभित्र छोडेको सम्पत्तिको विवरण यस प्रकार छ-

घरको मालिक- कृष्णप्रसाद सन्यासी।

जन्म र जन्मस्थान- सन- 1952 चिराङ, धनसिरी गाउँ, (भुटान)

ब्लक- हस्तिनापुर ब्लक, सबडिभिजन- दाइमुम, जिल्ला-साम्दुपजोङ्खर, भुटान

1. ठाम नम्बर 34 र घर नम्बर 04 भएको
जमीन 3 ऐकर 15 डिस्मल छ। दा रू. - 150000/-
2. धान सालि आना- 150 मन
रू 450× 67500×30 वर्ष रू. - 2.025000/-
3. मकै 50 मन रू 400 × 30 वर्ष रू. - 600.000/-
4. गहुँ 05 मन × 30 वर्ष रू. - 52500/-
5. अदुवा 30 मन × 1500 × 30 वर्ष रू. 1,350,000/-
6. आइजुड धान किनेर राखेको 45मन×400 रू. - 18000/-
7. काठ-बटम 200 सेफ्टी रू. - 90,000/-
8. पाँच बान टिन 500 ×2000 रू. - 10,000/-
9. घर बनाएको 250 सेफ्टी 250 × 450 रू. - 112,500/-
10. मिल घर निर्माण गर्दा लागेका

काठ 250 सेप्टी, मूल्य	रु. - 112,500/-
11. मिल किनेको -	रु. - 20,000/-
12. किचन निर्माण गर्दा लागेको काठ जम्मा = 120 सेप्टी, मूल्य	रु. - 54,000/-
13. धान राख्ने ढिकुटी निर्माणमा लागेको काठ जम्मा = 140सेप्टी × 250	रु. - 63,000/-
14. गाई गुवाली (गोठ) निर्माणमा लागेको काठ जम्मा= 130 सेप्टी × 450	रु. - 58,500/-
15. एक हल गोरु-	रु. - 30,000/-
16. जर्सी गाई 2 वटा -	रु. - 50,000/-
17. जर्सी कोरला 2 वटा-	रु. - 10,000/-
18. धान कुट्ने मिसिनको होलर-	रु. - 2000/-
19. 4 वटा फोल्डिङ्ग पलड-	रु. - 8000/-
20. 8 जोडी चौकी-	रु. - 2400/-
21. 4 वटा झर्के थाल-	रु. - 3200/-
22. 4 वटा झर्के लोटा-	रु. - 1200/-
23. ओडने सिरक-	रु. - 2400/-
24. 4 वटा तामाको गाग्रा, मानो, पाथी -	रु. - 3200/-
25. 4 वटा सिलबरका गाग्रा-	रु. - 1200/-
26. मिलको वार्षिक फाइदा-60,000×30 वर्ष	रु. - 1,80 0000/-
27. ओच्छ्यान (डसना) रुइको र कपासको 15 × 4	रु. - 6000/-

कृष्णप्रसाद सन्यासी (1952-2022)

चिराइ, धनसिरी गाउँ, (भुटान)

ब्लक- हस्तिनापुर ब्लक

सबडिभिजन- दाइमुम

जिल्ला-साम्दुपजोंखर, भुटान





नरू कार्की

एउटी नारीको पुकार

हे महाराजधिराज !

श्रीगणेशमा हजुरको सुस्वास्थ्य र दीर्घायुको कामना गर्दै म आफ्ना अन्तर्मनको पुकार अभिव्यक्त गर्दछु। हजुरलाई मैले महाराजधिराज भनेर सम्बोधन गरेकी छु, किनकि हजुर अधिराजा हुनुहुन्छ, हजुर देउता नै हुनुहुन्छ, हजुरले जे चाहनुहुन्छ त्यो नै हुन्छ, बरु अचेलका देउताले जे चाहन्छन् त्यसो हुन सकेको देखिँदैन, तर पनि ती अदृश्य देउताले चाहिँ सोझै उपकार गर्न नसके तापनि अपकार चाहिँ गरेका छैनन्, गर्दैनन् पनि। तर मैले हजुरलाई प्रश्न गर्ने धृष्टता राख्छु, किनकि मजस्ता लाखौँ नारीको अन्तर्मनमा पीडा छ, कहिलै नसुक्ने घाउ छ।

प्रश्न हो-हजुर तथा हजुरको बुबा किन यस्तो निर्दयी!!! क्रूर कठोर मनको हुन सकेको!! आफ्ना कोखका सन्तानप्रति त्यत्रो अन्याय अत्याचार हुँदा हजुरहरूको चित्त कसरी थामिन सक्थ्यो!! आफ्ना सन्तानले केही गलती गरे भने सम्झाउने बुझाउने कसको काम हो? तर मनगढन्ते सोच, गलत कल्पनाको आधारमा लाखौँ नेपालीलाई देश निकाला गरिदिनु भयो, हजुरका ती जनता त्यस्ता द्रोही थिए भने सात सागर तेरह नदी पारी आइपुगेर किन आफू जन्मेको देशको ढुङ्गा पुग्ने गर्छन् !!! किन रहरले नै बेलेबेला राष्ट्रिय पोसाक लाउँछन्,

बक्खु बोकेर किन आएका! अहँ हजुरहरूले गलत मूल्याङ्कन गर्नु भएको थियो, ढिलो भए तापनि अब तपाईंले घोल्लिनुपर्छ।

हजुरहरू जस्तै अरू देशका सरकार-शासकहरूले चाहिँ हामी भुटानिजहरूलाई प्रौढ भत्ता दिएर, नागरित्व दिएर राखे। यिनीहरू कति उदारवादी, सहयोगी, कल्याणकारी, तर हजुरहरू आफूलाई हेर्नुहोस् त!! आज भुटान चैन, सुखशान्तिका मापदण्डमा माथि छ अरु भनिन्छ, तर मलाई प्रश्न गर्न मन लाग्छ, जुन देशका लाखौं नागरिक विश्वका 12 वटा देशमा तडपिरहेका छन्, रोइरहेका छन् त्यो देश चैन, सुखशान्तिको सीमारेखामा धेरै माथि छ भनेर जोख्ने मापनयत्र चाहिँ कस्तो रहेछ, मनमा अनेकौं प्रश्न उदय हुन्छ। म कवि होइन, साहित्यकार होइन तर मनका बह धाराबाहिक रूपमा आफै पोखिन्छ।

महाराजधिराज,

हजुरहरूले त आफ्नो देशबाट आफ्ना नागरिकलाई कैयौं बहाना गरी खेदाउनुभयो, धेरैलाई ज्यान जोगाउन देश छोड्न बाध्य गराउनुभयो, तर त्यतिमा सीमाबद्ध नभएर छिमेकी राष्ट्रलाई भनसुन गरी सहमत गराई भारतमा पनि हामीलाई एक मिनेट उभिन, अडिन दिनुभएन, त्यसमा पनि सफल हुनुभयो। तर विश्वको सबैभन्दा ठुलो गणतान्त्रिक देश भारतले तिब्बतीहरूलाई ज्वाइँको आदर गरी आजसम्म पनि पालिरहेको छ, तर भुटानले आफ्ना निमुखा जनतालाई न्यूनतम् पनि मानवता देखाएन, त्यसकारण भारत देशप्रति पनि प्रश्न छ- के भारत साँच्चै मानवतावादी गणतान्त्रिक देश हो, उसको नेपाल-भुटान दुवै देश नै छिमेकी राष्ट्र हुन् त।

महाराजधिराज,

आज **चाइल्ड फास्ट** भन्ने नारा लाग्दै छ अर्थात् बालकबालिकालाई सबैथोकको सुखसुविधा दिएर अग्राधिकार दिनुपर्छ। तर म बालिका हुँदा कसरी आफ्नो जिउ जोगाउन भोकै तिर्छौं, त्रासित हुँदै जनवरको भन्दा पनि तल्लोतहको जीवन बचाइँ बाच्नु परेको थियो, तपाईंका गुप्पचरहरूले ती खबर त पक्का पनि पुऱ्याएका थिए होलान्। तपाईंका गुप्तचरहरूले महाभारतको सञ्जयले युधिष्ठिरलाई

सुनाए जसरी सबै थोकको रिठो नबिच्याइँ शिबिरमा हामी कसरी सास टिकाएर बाँचेका थियौँ, ती सबै परिघटनाहरू अवगत गराएका थिए होलान् तर पनि तपाईंहरूको मन पग्लिएन नि!! तपाईंहरूको मन जड त नहुनुपर्थ्यो, किनकि हाम्रा पुर्खाहरूले तपाईंहरूको बारेमा कथा सुनाउँदा त्यस्तो निर्दयी भनेर सुनाएका थिएनन्। मलाई अहिले लाग्छ तपाईंहरूको मन कति शङ्कास्पद रहेछ, कति साँघुरो रहेछ, कति गलत धारणामा रहेछ!!!

हे साक्षात् देउता, अहिले म कल्पना नगरेको देशका नागरिक भएकी छु। हुनत यो देशले दिल खोलेर मलाई-हामीलाई अँगालेको छ, यस्तै अरू सातोटा देशले पनि अँगालेका छन्, माया गरेको छ, तर तपाईंहरू पनि देशकै शासक हुनुहुन्छ तर तपाईंहरूले चाहिँ आफ्नै कोखका सन्ताललाई किन पानीहटक गर्न सकेको, प्रश्नै प्रश्न छन्। ठिक देश निकाला गरेर चैन भयो, तर राष्ट्रसङ्घमा हस्ताक्षर गर्ने देश भएकाले त्यसको आधार र प्रावधानमा पूर्व देशमा सर्त सापेक्ष एक महिना डुलेर जाऔँ भनेर पनि भन्न सक्नुहुन्छ, त्यति पनि सचिलो हुन किन नसकेको!! मसित कूटनीतिक भाषा वा शब्द छैनन् तर सरल भाषामा यस्ता उद्गार आफै पोखिन्छ। धन्न **छेडेन मेटोले** यो अन्तर्मनको पीडा उगोल्ने मौका दियो। **छेडेन मेटोलाई** धन्यवाद।

महाराज,

हामीलाई त देश देशान्तरमा पुऱ्याइयो, हामीलाई मानसिक सुखको चाहिँ प्रश्न नगर्नुहोस्, भौतिक सुख त छ, तर अझै पनि आफ्नै देश फर्किन चाहेका जाबो सात हजार भुटानी शारणार्थीलाई शिबिरबाट तपाईंहरूले किन नलानुभएको ? हामी वा उनीहरूमाथि कति अग्निपरीक्षा गरेको!!! हुनत महाभारतकी सीताले झैं हामी पनि अग्नि परीक्षामा बस्न तयार छौँ, तर परीक्षाको पनि सीमाबद्धता हुन्छ। आज मलाई अलिकति सन्तोक भएको छ, किनभने मेरो भाषा वा शब्द मेडियटरबिना नै यहाँहरूले बुझ्नुहुन्छ। सोझै बुझ्नुहुन्छ।

अर्को कुरा, हामीले देश छोड्दा त्यो सम्पत्ति चाहिँ छोडिआएका रहेछौँ, सेतो कागजमा हामीलाई जबरजस्ती हस्ताक्षर गराइएको थियो। हामीलाई ती

सम्पत्ति चाहिन्छ। अब त हाम्रो पुकार सुन्नपछि। हामीलाई अब चाहिँ न्याय गरिने छ। हामी आशावादी छौँ। हजारौँ आफन्तीहरू भुटानमै छन्, साथै भुटान जन्मथलो हो, त्यसकारण हामलाई जन्मथलो टेक्न त्यहाँको माटोलाई छुन हामीलाई सर्तसापेक्ष भुटान जान अनुमति दिनुहोस्, अन्यथा हाम्रो इतिहासमा हजुरलाई कसरी सम्झनु!!!





ऊर्मिला तामाङ

महाराजधिराज कसरी निष्ठुर हुनुभयो

देशप्रति एक प्रश्न मेरो पनि, आज यो छेडेन मेतो प्लेटफार्मले हामी नेपालीभाषी भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूलाई मनको बेथा भनाँ वा कथा भनाँ पोखने ठाउँ दिएकामा धन्यवाद छ।

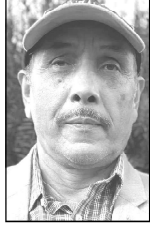
महाराजधिराज,

आफ्नो सन्तान भनाँ वा नागरिकमाथि यस्तो निर्दयी, यति सारो कठोरपन कसरी हुन सक्नुभयो ? आफ्नो नागरिकलाई षड्यन्त्र गरी ज्यान बचाउनुलाई देश नै छोड्न बाध्य बनाइदिनुभयो। आज विश्वका सहयोगी देशहरूले नागरिकता दिएर, कर्म गरी खाने बाटो दिएर मानवताको परिभाषालाई बुझाई दिनु भएको छ, र पनि आफ्नो देश भनेर मन उत्साहित हुन सकिरहेको छैन, समय लाग्ने रहेछ। आफ्नो माटो, जन्मभूमिका लागि तडपेर बाँच्न बाध्य छौं।

एउटा विचार पोख्ने मेरो पनि मन छ। नेपालीभाषी भुटानी नागरिकहरूले आफ्नै देशमा छोडिआएको सम्पत्ति फिर्ता पाउनु पर्ने हो। अनि अहिले भुटान नेपालीभाषी नागरिकहरूले आफ्नो जन्मभूमिप्रति गर्व गर्नु सक्नु, त्यस्तो परिवेश त्यहाँ बनिरहोस्। हामी विदेशमा रहेका नेपालीभाषी भुटानी

शरणार्थीहरूले जति सम्मान र अधिकार पाएका छौं भुटानमा रहनु भएको सम्पूर्ण नारीहरूले पनि सो अधिकार पाउन सक्षम हुन सकुन् भन्ने प्रार्थना छ। साथै हामी जुनजुन देशमा बसोबास गरी आआफ्नो जीवन धान्दै छौं ती सहयोगी देशहरूप्रति पनि म हृदयबाट धन्यवाद दिन चाहन्छु।





गङ्गा लामिटारे

न्यायका लागि भुटानको यात्रा

न्यायका लागि भुटानको यात्राप्रति

आजसम्म आधा दर्जनभन्दा बढ्ता इतिहासहरू लेखिए भुटानका सन्दर्भमा। तर कुनै पनि इतिहासले भुटानको वास्तविक यथार्थलाई उजागर गर्न सकेको छैनन्। केही इतिहास विदेशीहरूले पनि लेखे। केही त विदेशीलाई पैसा दिएर पनि लेखाइयो। तर भुटानी नागरिकले नै लेखेका इतिहासहरू भने बिरलै पाइन्छन्। ती लेखाइएका इतिहासहरूले भुटानको भू-राजनैतिक घटनाक्रमहरूलाई ओझेलमा पार्ने प्रयास गरेका छन्। त्यसमा पनि देशको आर्थिक मेरूदण्डका रूपमा रहेको दक्षिण भुटान र त्यहाँका रैथाने नेपालीभाषी जनताका बारेमा भने केही पनि उल्लेख गरेका छैनन्। लेखाइएका इतिहासहरूले। सन्-1990 पछि भने केही भुटानी नागरिकहरूले पनि इतिहास लेख्ने जमर्को गरे। भुटानका तत्कालीन व्यापार तथा वाणिज्य मन्त्री ओम प्रधानले देशभित्रै रहेर इतिहास लेखेका छन्। तर दक्षिण भुटानको वास्तविक यथार्थलाई त्यसले पनि त्यति उजागर गर्न सकेन। यसरी एकपछि अर्को लेखेहरूमा दोस्रो इतिहासकार बलराम पौडेल हुन्। उनले नेपाली भाषामै **भुटान: हिजो र आज** लेखेका छन्। नेपाली नागरिक सुशीला मानन्धरले पनि नेपालीमा भुटानको **अरुणोदय** नामक इतिहास लेखेकी छिन्। टेकनाथ रिजालले पनि

निर्वासन लेखेका छन्। त्यसैगरी डा. लक्ष्मीनारायण ढकालले पनि वासदेखि पुनर्वाससम्म लेखेका छन्। डा. गोविन्द रिजालले पनि अङ्ग्रेजीमा ए प्रदेशी प्याराडाइज नामक कृति लेखेका छन् र किरण गौतम पनि दक्षिण भुटानको मार्मिक इतिहास प्रकाशन गर्ने तयारीमा जुटेका छन्। जर्नी, यात्रा, नियात्रा र आत्मकथाहरू पनि लेखिने क्रम बढेका छन् यतिबेला। यसरी भुटानमै जन्मिएकाहरूबाट कृतिहरू लेखन र प्रकाशनमा तीब्रता आएको छ यतिबेला। यसलाई उत्साहजनक मात्रै पछि।

पुनः शिबिरका शरणार्थीको पहलमा र पुनर्वासित भुटानीहरूको संयुक्त तथास्तुमा विगत 19 डिसेम्बर 2020 मा स्थापना भएको **छेडेन मेतो** नामक सामाजिक संस्थाको संयोजनमा अर्को बिल्कुलै नयाँ र पृथक किसिमको इतिहास लेखे काम हुँदै राजालाई बिन्ती पठाउने कामको खबरबाट म धेरै उत्साहित भएको छु। माथि उल्लेख गरिएका इतिहासहरूभन्दा भिन्न र पृथक तरिकाले लेखिएको **Journey to Bhutan for Justice** नामक कृति तथ्यको विवरणभन्दा पनि सत्यको उत्खननको नजिक छ। अलिकति तथ्य, अलिकति इमोसन र अलिकति सत्यको मिश्रणबाट निर्मित उक्त कृतिले भुटानीहरूलाई पुनः सन-1990 को कहालीलाग्दो उत्पीडन र महाविनाशको सम्झना गराएको छ साथै यसमा भुटानको जन्म, भू-राजनैतिक स्थिति, प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था र राजनैतिक घटनाक्रमहरूको सिलसिलेवार वर्णन गरिएको छ। नेपाली तथा भारतीय विद्वान्, प्रोफेसर र विज्ञहरूका सान्दर्भिक लेख र अनुभवहरू पनि यस कृतिमा समावेश गरिएको छ एकातिर भने अर्कोतिर भुटानले जनतामाथि गरेका दमन, ज्यादती र विस्थापनका घटनाक्रमहरू पनि स्वयं उत्पीडित र भुक्तभोगी भुटानीहरूले नै लेखेका कथाहरू छन्।

यस कृतिको अर्को महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष भनेको सन 1990 मा भुटान सरकारले अन्यायपूर्वक लुटेको दक्षिण भुटानका निवासी नेपालीहरूको चल-अचल सम्पत्ति र जाय-जेथाको क्षतिपूर्तिको माग, देश फर्किन चाहिरहेका नेपालका शिविरहरूमा रहेका भुटानीहरूको समस्याको शीघ्र समाधन, पुनर्वासको क्रममा विभिन्न देशमा रहेका पुर्वभुटानी नागरिकहरूले भुटान आवात-जावत गर्न पाउने र देशभित्र रहेकाहरूले पनि पुनःवासमा भएका आफन्त र परिवारहरूसँग निर्धक्क

भेटघाट गर्न पाउने वातावरण मिलाई दिन अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय न्यायिक सङ्घसंस्थासमक्ष अपिल र वकालतजस्ता विषयहरू समेटिइनु हो। वास्तविक तथ्य र सान्दर्भिक विषयवस्तुको गम्भीर विश्लेषण र समीक्षात्मक गाम्भीर्यताको कारण प्रस्तुत कृति निक्कै चाखलाग्दो र सनसनीपूर्ण हुनेछ भन्ने मलाई विश्वास छ।

यसमा अझ भुटानमै गएर मर्न चाहने र देश विकासका लागि आर्थिक र प्राविधिक सहयोग गर्न चाहने पुनःवासित भुटानीहरूलाई गैर आवासीय भुटानी नागरिकको मान्यता दिनुपर्छ भन्ने बुँदा पनि थप्नसके सबै भुटानीहरूका लागि न्याय हुने थियो भन्ने लाग्छ। भुटानकै नागरिक स्वयंले देखेका, भोगेका र सुनेका दर्दनाक र चरम उत्पीडनका चित्कारहरू यस कृतिमा समावेश गरिनुले यसको महत्व र आकर्षण अझ उच्चाइमा पुगेको छ।

सारांशमा भन्नुपर्दा भुटानको राजसत्ताले दक्षिण भुटानी नागरिकमाथि गरेको ज्यादती, उत्पीडन र महाविनाशको अभूतपूर्व दस्तावेज हो र अहिलेसम्म नैलेखिएका हजारौं नागरिकहरूको आत्मकथा पनि हो भन्न सकिन्छ यस कृतिलाई। प्रस्तुत कृति इतिहास हो कि अपिल हो त्यो पारख गर्ने काम समालोचक, समीक्षक र विज्ञहरूको हो। तर भन्नुपर्दा भुटानी जनताका मार्मिक पीडा र रक्तस्त्रित आँसुको वास्तविक पुनर्लेखन हो भन्ने लाग्छ। अन्तमा **छोडेन मेटो**को पहिलो जमर्को भए पनि प्रयास स्तुत्य छ। एउटा छुट्टै किसिमले सङ्कलन र लेखन परम्परालाई आत्मसात गरी तयार गरिएको प्रस्तुत मार्मिक कृति **Journey to Bhutan for Justice** को प्रकाशनको सफलताको कामना गर्दै **छोडेन मेटो** परिवारलाई हार्दिक सम्झना र शुभकामना एकैसाथ टर्क्याउन चाहन्छु।

धन्यवाद

गङ्गा लामिटारे

अध्यक्ष, साहित्य परिषद्, भुटान

कोलम्बस, ओहाइयो-अमेरिका

मिति: 20 अगस्ट 2021





ज्ञान पौड्याल

एक माग भुटान मान

भुटान सरकारको नियम मुताबिक म नं-1 मा भुटानको जनगणना भएको एक जना नागरिक हुँ। म भुटानको साम्ची चेन्डमारी कोठी डाँडामा 1957 फागुन महिमा मेरो जन्म भएको एक भुटानी नागरिक हुं। आज अमेरिकाको बाँसिनदा हुन पुगेको छु, भाग्यवश अमेरिकी सरकारको दया मायाले यो एउटा सुनौलो मौका प्रदान गरिदिएकामा आभार व्यक्त गर्दछु। म निकै तुलो कुलको तथा घरनाको एक जना सदस्य हुँ। भुटान सरकारको दमन शोसन खप्न नसकेको हुदाँ नं 1 फाइलको भए तापनि शोसनको अगाडि टिक्न नसकेर भुटानबाट म बाहिरिनु पऱ्यो। मेरा शाखा-सन्तान आज पनि आफ्नै मातृभूमि भुटानमा बसोबासो गरिराखनु भएको छ। मेरो बृद्ध बा बढाउ भुटानमै हुनुहुन्छ उहाँहरूको उमेर 100 र 103 भइसकेको छ, अरू धेरै परिवारहरू भुटानमा हुनुहुन्छ। जब म भुटानबाट बाहिरिएँ, त्यसपछि भुटान सरकारको अत्याचार झनझन बढ्दो भयो, मेरो दुई जना भाइहरूलाई लामो 10 वर्षसम्म जेलमा राख्यो। जेलबाट मुक्त भएर घरमा आउँदा घरपरिवार भत्ताभुङ्ग भएको पाएँ। उता दिनदिनै रोगले ग्रस्त पाउँ पनि गयो र एकजनाको मृत्यु पनि गए साल 6 अक्टोबर 2021 को दिन भयो। धेरै अधिदेखि लागेको

बिमार हेर्न जान पनि सकिएन धिक्कार छ आफूलाई। अर्को भाइको हालमा दुवै किडनी फेल भएर थिम्फू हस्पिटलमा मृत्युसँग भिडिरहेको छ। यतापटि बृद्ध अवस्थामा रहनु भएको पिताजी अप्सोसले छटपटाई राख्नुभएको छ। केही समय निकालेर पिताजीको सेवा गर्न जाऊँ भन्दा भुटानको सरकारको कानुनले प्रतिबन्ध लगाएको छ। संसारका मानव अधिकारवादीसित भेटेर यो बन्ती चढाऊँ भन्ने लागेको छ। संसारमा कुन देशमा यस्तो निष्ठुर नियम छ होला कि आफ्ना विरामी आमा-पिताजीसित भेट्न नपाउने!!!

अब चाहिँ यो शरणार्थीहरूको सामाजिक सङ्गठन छेडेन मेटोले संसारभरिका मानव अधिकारवादी सङ्गठन र व्यक्तिहरूलाई बोलाएर ठुलठुला सम्मेलन गरी भुटान सरकारको यस्तो अन्यायपूर्ण नीति र नियमको पोल खोल्नु पर्ने भएको छ। यो काम चाहिँ यो सङ्गठनले तुरन्त गरिहालोस् भन्ने लागेको छ। यसमा मेरो यथासक्तो सहयोग रहने छ। हुनत यस्ता प्रयास अगाडि पनि भएका होलान् तर अब चाहिँ एक माग भुटान मान भन्दै नारा लागोस्। हामीलाई भुटान भ्रमणको अनुमति होस्।





डी एस काफ्ले
मेल्वर्न अस्ट्रेलिया

चार मुख्य माग

भुटानको इतिहासमा भुटानमा जम्मा 20 जिल्लाहरू छन्। तिनका नामहरू क्रमैले यसप्रकार छन्-1. थिम्पु 2. पारू 3. हा 4. छुक्का 5. दागाना 6. चिराङ् 7. सर्भाङ् 8. पुनाखा 9. गासा 10. साम्ची 11. बुमथाङ् 12. सेमगाङ् 13. लुन्सी 14. टासिगाङ् 15. मोङ्गर 16. साम्द्रुज्जोङ्गर 17. पेमागासेल 18. टासियाङ्सी 19. टोङ्सा 20. वाङ्दिफोङ्गाङ्। यहाँ उल्लेखित 20 वटा जिल्लाहरू मध्ये चिराङ् सबैभन्दा ठुलो र धेरै जनसङ्ख्या भएको जिल्ला थियो। भुटानको पुनाखा जिल्लाबाट बग्ने नदीहरू फोछु र मोछु (दिदीङ्कबहिनी) भेट भई चिराङ्को बुडिछु नदी डम्फू खोला, चाँचे खोला, छोकाना खोलाहरू मिसाई सुनकोशी नदी नामकरण भई काली खोला भुटान, चारघरे, कुल्कुले बगान हुँदै भारतको आलिपुरबाट ब्रह्मपुत्र नदीमा मिसिएका छन्। चिराङ्का तत्कालीन विद्यालयहरूका नाम-1, पत्तालेको औले, 2. गोपिनी, 3. बुडिछु, 4. खोर्साने, 5. चिराङ् डाँडा 6. सलामी, 7. कात्तिके र 8. गोसेलिङ हुन्। यहाँ बताइएका विद्यालयहरू प्राथमिक तहका मात्र थिए भने डम्फू विद्यालय चाहिँ कक्षा आठसम्म रहेको थियो।

एउटा पुरानो सत्य घटना यस्तो छ। सन 1952 मा दक्षिण भुटानमा भुटान स्टेट कङ्ग्रेस पार्टीले चिराङ् र सर्भाङ्बाट महाशुर क्षेत्रीको नेतृत्वमा

तीन सुत्रे माग राखी शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलन भएको रहेछ। दक्षिण भुटानमा शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, यातायात मार्ग हुनुपर्छ भनी माग राखी प्रदर्शन गर्दा राजाले डासो ओम प्रधानको पिता झुलेन्द्र प्रधानलाई आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई तह लाउन सबै प्रकारको कार्वाही गर्न तथा कुनै पनि शक्तिको प्रयोग गर्न छुट दिइएको थियो। तत्पश्चात् झुलेन्द्र प्रधानले राजाको आदेश तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री जिग्मी पाल्देन दोर्जीलाई जानकारी गराए। राजाको आदेश अकार्य हुने भएकाले उहाँले जे ठिक लाग्छ सोही गर्नु तर मानिसहरूलाई सम्झाएर बुझाएर समाधान गर्नु सकेको चाहिँ सबैभन्दा उत्तम हुने छ भनी सल्लाह दिनु भएको थियो। तर झुलेन्द्र प्रधान राजाको विश्वासी पात्र र राजाको निकट हुनका लागि उसले ज्यादै फुर्ति देखाएर षडयन्त्र गरी 22 जना शान्तिपूर्वक आन्दोलन गरिरहेका निर्दोष मानिसहरूलाई सेना प्रयोग गरी विभत्स हत्या गरायो अनि सर्भाडबजारको पुच्छरमा एउटा ठुलो खाल्डो बनाई मारिएका मानिहरूको लाश एकै ठाँउमा गाडे। त्यो चिहानमाथि सिमेन्टको ढलान (छोतेन) बनाइएको थियो।

यसरी मारिनेमा धेरै भारतीय नागरिकहरू मानवअधिकारवादी र प्रजातन्त्रको वकालत गर्नेहरू पनि थिए। धेरै पछि सर्भाडबजार बाढीले बगाउँदा त्यो ढलान तथा छोतेन पनि पुरिएको छ। त्यस चिहानमा अझै पनि ती 22 जना निर्दोष नागरिकको अवशेष भेटिन सक्छ। त्यहाँ भएकाहरू मध्ये कोहीलाई चाहिँ पक्रा जेलतिर लगेको रहेछ, कोही ज्यान बचाउन भागेर भारतको आसाम अन्तर्गत कोक्राझार पुगेछन्। महाशुर क्षेत्रीलाई चिराइ जिल्ला अन्तर्गत चनौटे ब्लकको हर्राबोटे गाउँको जङ्गलबाट जिउँदै गिरफ्तार गरी छालाको धोक्रोमा भराई स्वयम् प्रधानमन्त्रीसहित अन्य कर्मचारीहरूको पहलमा सुनकोश नदीमा फाल्न तयारी गर्दैगर्दा महाशुर क्षेत्रीले अनुरोध गर्दै मलाई पाँच मिनट गीता पाठ गर्न समय दिनु पन्यो भनी विषेश अनुरोध गरेछन्। गीता पाठ गरेपछि उनलाई अब अरू के गर्नु छ भनेर सोझा अब मलाई मारेको बापद लाखौँ महाशुरहरूको जन्म हुने छ भनेछन्। स्वयम्

प्रधानमन्त्रीले सुनकोश नदीमा महशुरलाई जिउँदै बगाएको दुखद घटना मेरी स्वर्गीय ममतामयी आमा मनमाया काफ्लेबाट सुनेको थिएँ।

महशुरका दुइटी धर्म पत्नीहरू रहेछन्—जेठी हरिमाया बस्नेत र कान्छी स्वर्गीय सावित्रा सिरुपाली बस्नेत। महाशुर क्षेत्रीको राजनीतिक हत्यापछि उहाँकी कान्छी श्रीमती सावित्रा सिरुपाली बस्नेते साथमा नावालक छोरो लिएर भारततर्फ जानु भएको रहेछ। त्यस बखत भारतका तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री जवाहरलाल नेहरूलाई दिल्लीस्थित उनको कार्यालयमा भेटी भुटानका प्रधानमन्त्रीले आफ्नो श्रीमान् श्री महाशुर क्षेत्रीको बिभत्स हत्या गरेको विस्तृत रिपोर्ट चढाउनु भएको थियो। त्यसपछि प्रधानमन्त्री जवाहरलाल नेहरूले कालिम्पोडलाई एक चिट्ठी लेखिपठाउँदा भुटानका प्रधानमन्त्रीकै आमाबाट सो घटनाको सबै नालीबेली थाहा पाएपछि भारतका प्रधानमन्त्री नेहरूले चाहिँ स्वर्गीय महाशुरको काजक्रियाका लागि एक हजार रुपियाँ उपलब्ध गराउनु भएछ अनि महशुरलाई निर्ममतापूर्वक सुनकोश नदीमा जहाँबाट बगाएको थियो सो ठाउँमा हिन्दू परम्पराअनुसार उहाँको आत्माको शान्तिका लागि विधिपूर्वक काजक्रिया गरेर पुराणसमेत लगाइएको थियो भन्ने जानकारी सो समयका सबैले जान्दा रहेछन्।

सो घटनाको करिब 22 वर्ष पछि तत्कालीन महाराजाधिराज जिग्मे दोर्जी वाङ्चुकले जेल खटिरहेका कैदीहरूलाई पनि छाडिदिनु भएको रहेछ। आन्दोलनका क्रममा ज्यान जोगाउन भारततिर गएका भुटानी नागरिकहरूलाई देश फर्किनू भनी आदेश दिनु भई उनीहरूलाई (किदु) दिई प्रति घर 5 ऐकर जमिन, एक हल गोरु र घरको व्यवस्था तथा बालबालिकालाई शिक्षाका लागि विद्यालयको सम्पूर्ण खर्चसमेत व्यवस्था मिलाई पुनर्वास गराइएको इतिहास छ।

मोठमाठमा विगतका दिनहरूमा भुटानले भोगेको दुर्दशालाई मध्य नजर राखेर अहिलेको प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकारले छिटोभन्दा छिटो भुटानको 1990

को विकराल परिस्थितिलाई सजिलो तरिकाले समाधान गर्न सहज उपाय भनेको यस्तो हुन सक्छ-

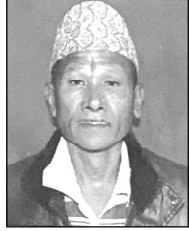
- (1) नेपालमा रहेका भुटानी नागरिकहरूलाई पहिचान गरी स्वदेश फिर्ताको पहल गर्नुपर्छ।
- (2) विगत 1990 देखि भुटान सरकारले गिरफ्तार गरी कारागारमा बन्दी बनाइएका ती निर्दोष नागरिकलाई बिना सर्त रिहा गरिदिनुपर्छ।
- (3) पुनर्वास पछि आठवटा देशहरूमा छरिएर रहेका लाखौं भुटानी नागरिकहरूलाई आफ्नो जन्मभूमिमा जान खुकुलो सर्तमा अनुमति पाउनुपर्छ, अर्थात् तेस्रो देश पुनर्वासमा गएका मानिसहरूको स्वेच्छाले आफ्नो देशमा रहेका आफन्तजनसँग भेटघाट गर्न पाउने वातावरण मिलाउनु। यसो गर्नाले सधैंका लागि यो समस्याको समाधान हुने छ भन्नेमा दुई मत छैन।
- (4) भुटानको प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकारलाई के बिन्ती चढाउँछौं भने प्राय एक लाख भुटानीहरूले छोडिआएको घर-जग्गा, सम्पत्ति, जायजेथोका हिसाब होस् तथा फिर्ता गर्ने काम होस्, किनकि त्यो हाम्रो प्राप्य हो। हाम्रो परिवारले भुटानबाट लखेटिनु पर्दा केके छोडिआएको थियो नमूनाका रूपमा परिशिष्टमा उल्लेख गरिएको छ। यो त नमुना मात्र हो, लाखौं शरणार्थीको यस्तो व्यथाकथा छ।

हामी संसारका जुनसुकै कुनामा रहे तापनि यी हाम्रा मुख्य माग रहिरहने छन्। यी नयाँ र अनौठो माग होइन, यो आम शरणार्थीहरूको भावना हो, मुटुको आवाज हो, पहल हो। विगत 29 डिसेम्बर 2020 मा नेपालको बेलडाडी शिबिरमा डा भम्पा राइलाई अध्यक्ष र एन बी गिरीलाई सचिव

लिएर गठन भएको **छेडेन मेतो** गैर-राजनीतिक सामाजिक सङ्गठनको शुभचिन्तकका हैसियतले यो अनुरोध राखेको हो। आगामी दिनमा पनि यो सङ्गठनले विश्वका मानव अधिकारवादी, वकिल तथा विद्वान्जनहरूसित सम्पर्क गरी यी मुद्दामा काम गरिरहने छ भन्ने आशा र विश्वास छ।

धन्यवाद।





लालबहादुर खड्का
अस्ट्रेलिया

हार्दिक प्रार्थना

म जन्मगत भुटानी हुँ, चिराइको गोसेलीमा मेरो जन्म भएको हो। भुटान सरकारका कुट्टि, शङ्का, धोकाका कारण आज हामी प्राय एक लाख भुटानीहरूले रुँदैरुँदै आफ्नो जन्मथलो छोडेर विदेशमा बस्नु परेको छ। हुनत अहिले हामी जहाँ छौँ त्यही नै हाम्रो स्वदेश भएको छ। भारत र नेपालमा रहेका हाम्रा केही साथीहरू चाहिँ देशहीन नागरिक भएका छन्। संसारमा शरणार्थीको जीवन कति कहालीलाग्दो हुन्छ त्यो अनुभव त शरणार्थी हुनु पर्नेलाई मात्र अनुभव हुन्छ। यस्तो कसैलाई पनि नपरोस्। भुटानका राजा कति निर्दयी र निष्ठुर हुनुहुन्छ सोच्दा पनि दङ्ग परिन्छ।

आज भुटानबाट लखेटिएका लाखौँ भुटानीहरूको आफन्ती, साथीभाइ भुटानमै छन्। उनीहरूसित भेटगाट गर्न सुखदुखका कुरा गर्न मन लाग्छ। सबैले आ-आफ्ना घरबार सम्पति छोडिआएका छन्। त्यहाँका खोलानाला, पहाडपर्वत, वनजङ्गल, बाटाघाटासित हामी सबैको गहिरो नाता छ, आत्मीयता छ। कहाँसम्म भने धेरै जनाले देश छोड्नुपर्दा हतारहतार ढुङ्गा गिटी टिपी ल्याएका थिए, आज ती ढुङ्गा गिटी धेरैका देउता कोठामा छन्, पुजिन्छन्। धेरैले बक्खु र किरा पनि ल्याएका छन्, भुटानको चाडपर्व वा भुटान डे-मा

लगाउने गर्छन्। यसको अर्थ के हो भने आज पनि एक लाख भुटानीको हृदयमा भुटानैभुटान छ।

त्यसकारण भुटान सरकार र राजाले हामीलाई भुटान टेक्न, आफन्ती भेट्न त्यहाँका देवी देउरालीको दर्शन गर्न अनुमति दिनुपर्छ। बरू एक महिनाको मात्र भिसा दिनु, तर दिन चाहिँ दिनै पर्छ। विश्व समाजले पनि भुटान सरकारलाई प्रेसर दिनु पर्ने हो। नेपालको बेलडाडी शिबिरमा छुटेका हाम्रा शरणार्थी साथीहरूका लागि चाँडोभन्दा चाँडो घर फर्किने व्यवस्था भइदिओस्। अझै पनि नानान बहानामा देशद्रोहीका रूपमा भुटानको जेलमा छन्- तिनीहरूको रिहाइको व्यवस्था होस्।

अब त **छेडेन मेतो**ले यसको पारा मिलाउन प्रयास गर्छ भन्ने विश्वास जागेको छ। हामी अ-राजनीतिक सङ्गठन **छेडेन मेतो**को शुभचिन्तक हौं। हामी प्रार्थना मात्र गर्न सक्छौं। म अस्ट्रेलियामा छु, तर पनि मेरो चिन्ता चाहिँ भुटानमै जले हुन्थ्यो भन्ने लाग्छ। यो मनलाई बुझाउन गारो हुँदो रहेछ। बरू साग र सिस्नु खाएर आफ्नै मातृभूमिमा बस्न पाउँदा राम्रो लाग्ने रहेछ भन्ने मनमा लागि रहन्छ जसमा आत्मसम्मान यथावत् रहेको भान हुन्छ। अन्त्यमा भुटानी राजाको दिमागमा नयाँ सोच उदय भइदिओस् भनी हार्दिक प्रार्थना गर्छु।

धन्यवाद।





गोविन्द कोइराला
भद्रपुर, झापा, नेपाल

नौलो आशा र उमङ्गः छेडेन मेतो

विगत 29 डिसेम्बर 2020 मा छेडेन मेतो नामको गैर-राजनीतिक सङ्गठन गठन भएछ। यसका प्रतिष्ठापक अध्यक्ष डा.भम्पा राई हामीबिच हुनुहुन्न तर पनि उहाँको आदर्श हामीबिच रहिरहेको छ र रहिरहन्छ। यस सङ्गठनले चाहिँ अबउसो नौलो तरिकाले पहल गरौस्-विगत 1990-91 देखिको भुटानले गरेको अन्याय अत्याचार पर्दाफास होस्-हुँदै जाओस्। अझै पनि पनि शरणार्थीको कहाली लाग्दो जीवन बिताइरहेका प्राय 7 हजारलाई भुटानले फिर्ता लैजाओस्। अब त NRB (Non Resident Bhutanese) जस्ता भएका प्राय एक लाख भुटानिजहरूलाई आफ्नो मातृभूमिमा घुमफिर गर्न, आफन्त भेट्न, आफ्ना देवीदेउरालीमा पूजाअर्चना गर्न, चाहेमा लगानी गर्न खुकुलो अनुमति होस्। हाम्रा केही भुटानिजहरूलाई अझै पनि देशद्रोहीको आरोपमा जेलमा कोचिरहाखेको छ। उनीहरूको बिनासर्त रिहाइ होस्। वास्तवमा यी माग सामान्य हुन्। भुटान सरकारले यी मागलाई सजिलै लिएर समाधान गर्न सक्छ।

मूलतः यो छेडेन मेतो सङ्गठनले पटकपटक विश्व समुदाय र मानव अधिकारवादीसित सम्पर्क गरी यसबारे पहल गरेको खण्डमा सबै

भुटानिजहरूको कल्याण हुने छ। यो समयको माग हो। लखेटिएका भुटानिजहरूको बृहत् स्वार्थमा पछिल्लो समयको यो सङ्गठनको बागडोर सम्हाल्ने र शुभचिन्तकहरूप्रति हार्दिक शुभकामना छ।





टिकाराम रसाइली

पूर्व क्याम्प सेक्रेटरी, बेलडाडी क्याम्प, झापा, नेपाल
हाल-अस्ट्रिया

राजाको मन पग्लिओस्

विश्व समाजले भुटानको अतीत अर्थात् 1990 पछिको इतिहासलाई ब्लाक च्याप्टरमा राख्लान् । यसबारे धेरैले धेरै थोक लेखेका छन् । ती लेखिएका तथ्य वा प्रसङ्ग सही पनि हुन सक्छन्, गलत पनि हुन सक्छन् । ती आफ्नै ठाउँमा छन् । सरकारको खातापत्र र रेकर्डमा हामीले नसोचेको, कल्पना गर्ने नसक्ने तथ्य पनि होलान्, किनकि हामीलाई सेता कागजमा सही छाप गर्न लगाइएको थियो । हाम्रा जान्नेबुझ्नेलाई जेल र नेल गरिएको थियो । जेलमा कोचिएका भित्र धेरै त उतैबाट बैकुण्ठबासी भए । हामीलाई देशबाट दोष लगाई निकालियो । देश छँदाछँदै विदेश तथा नेपालका शनिचरे, बेलडाडी, पथरी शिबिरमा शरणार्थी भइयो । के हुने हो, कसो हुने हो केही अडकल थिएन । धेरै लेखापढी भए, शिबिरबाटै आन्दोलन पनि भए, धेरै पहल पनि चले, नाना मुनि नाना मत पनि भए । हाम्रा नेताहरूमा पनि हानथाप पनि भए । अन्त्यमा बाँचिखान, गरिखान तेस्रो मुलुक जाने प्रावधान बन्यो । वास्तवमा भुटान जति निष्ठुर देखियो, भारतबाहेक अन्य देश त्यति दयालु पनि देखियो । हामीलाई भारतबाहेक अन्य 8 वटा देशले लाने भए, लगे, अहिले सबैलाई राम्रै होला । तर 8 वटा देशलले हाम्रो शरीर लगे तापनि मन लान सकेका

छैनन् जस्तो लाग्छ। मन भने भुटानकै खोलानाला, वनजङ्गल, पहाडपर्वत, उकाली ओरालीमामा टाँसिएको भान हुन्छ। जति दुख होस्, जति नै अनकन्टार होस्, जति नै पसिना चुहाउ नपरोस् आफ्नो मातृभूमिको माया भने अचम्मको हुँदो रहेछ। मानिसलाई धेरै थोक बिच आत्मसम्मान पनि चाहिँदो रहेछ। मानव अधिकारवादीका माग सुन्दा आफूलाई कताकता पिर लाग्छ। हामी त युद्धमा परेर शरणार्थी बनेका होइनाँ, हामी त शङ्कालु राजाको गलत सोचाइको परिणामका कारण शरणार्थी बन्नु परेको थियो। लामो समयसम्म शरणार्थी समस्या गुजुल्टिएका कारण हाम्रा नेताहरूमा पनि भाँडभैलो भयो। आखिरमा हामी सदासदा लागि भाषा संस्कृति नमिल्ने देशका बासिन्दा भयौं। यो भयो अतीत। अब कुरा गरौं भविष्यको।

- (1) पहिला त अझै पनि शिबिरमा रहेका एक मुट्टी साथीहरूको पक्का बन्दबस्त होस्, उनीहरूको देश फर्काइ होस् ताकि सबैको आत्मसम्मान यथावत् रहोस्।
- (2) जसरी भए पनि सजिलो सर्तमा हामीलाई भुटान टेक्न पाउने प्रावधान बनोस्। भुटानमा लगानी गर्न पनि पाइओस्। भुटानको आर्थिक विकासमा मदद गर्न पाइओस्, आखिर त्यो हाम्रो जन्मथलो हो। चाहे हामीलाई NRB (Non Resident Bhutanese) भनिओस् तर हाम्रो मौलिक हक नखोसिओस्। अतीतका तिता टर्न अनुभवको स्वाद फेरीं। अतीतका घाउमा मलम लगाऔं राजा प्रजा सबैले। यसका लागि राष्ट्र सङ्घमा पनि जानु परे जाऔं तर सजिलो सर्तमा भुटान टेक्न पाऊं।
- (3) हामी भुटानामा लिजमा बसेका थिएनाँ। हाम्रा पुर्खालाई देशको आवश्यकतामा लिएको थियो। भुटानले छलकपट गरी लुटिराखेको हाम्रो सम्पत्तिको हिसाब होस्। किनकि ती सम्पत्ति भाडामा लिएका थिएनाँ, आफ्नै थियो, आफ्नै खुन पसिनाको

उपज थियो हाम्रो जायजेथो। मुद्दा उठाए मात्र उट्छ। हाम्रा उत्तरपुरुष आर्थिक रूपमा सबल भए तापनि आत्मसम्मान, जातीय शान-मानको परिप्रक्ष्यमा लज्जित हुनु नपरोस्।

- (4) हाम्रो भकानो भुटेर आउँछ। हाम्रा केही साथीहरू अझै पनि बिना दोषमा कतिवटा जेलमा कोचिएका छन्, उनीहरूलाई दोष लगाइएको हो। उनीहरू दोषी होइनन्। संसारमा मानव अधिकार भन्ने केही विषय छ भने सो विषय त्यहाँ लागु होस्।

मोठमाठमा धेरै वर्ष हाम्रो चालचलन आफैमा सीमित रह्यो। किनकि हामीले पनि धेरैवटा सर्तमा सही छाप गरेका छौं, हामी एक अर्थमा हेन्डिक्याप पनि छौं कुनैकुनै मुद्दामा। तर अहिले अग्रज शरणार्थीहरूले नयाँ सोचका साथ गैर-राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक सङ्गठन **छेडेन मेतो** सङ्गठन गरेर पहिलो प्रयासका रूपमा **Journey to Bhutan for Justice** नामको किताबमा हाम्रो पुकार, अह्वान, बिन्ती, अपिल भुटानका शासकवर्ग र विश्व समाजमा उपस्थापन गर्ने जमर्को भएको थाहा लाग्यो, मलाई पनि मेरो मनको भाव पोक्न मन लाग्यो। पोख्रैं। छेडेन मेतोको सोच र पहल प्रशंसनीय लागेको छ। म पनि यसको उग्र शुभचिन्तक हुँ। दैवको कृपामा भोटाडे राजाको मन पग्लिदिएको दिन मन कस्तो भरडग हुन्छ होला सोचेर हर्षित भइन्छ।

धन्यवाद।





याशिका छेत्री
मेलबन-अस्ट्रेलिया

नदेखेको देशको किन यति माया!

देख्दै नदेखेको तर सुनेको देशको किन यत्रो माया!!! भुटानबारे कति हो कति अनगन्ती कथा र व्यथा सुनेको छु तर त्यो देश चाहिँ देखेको छैन। हाम्रा पुर्खा वा आमा-बाबा, आफन्तीहरूबाट लाखौं करोडौं पल्ट त्यो देशका बारेमा राम्रा, नराम्रा, विचित्रका कुरा सुनेका छु र सुनेकै भरमै त्यो देशको माया मुटुमा गाडिएको छ।

म जुन देशमा जन्मिएँ म त्यो देशको नागरिक हुन सकिनेँ, अर्थात् 1997 मा म नेपालको शरणार्थी शिविरमा जन्मिएँ, विशुद्ध शरणार्थी भएर यो रमाइलो घरतीमा आएँ, जबदेखि म जान्ने बुझ्ने हुन थालें तबदेखि म अलमलिँदै चिन्तित हुन थालें। म कुन देशको नागरिक!! मेरा आमा-बाबा जुन देशको विधिवत् नागरिक हुनुहुन्थ्यो म चाहिँ त्यो देशको नागरिक हुन सकिनेँ, जुन देशको भूमिमा भूमिष्ठ भएँ त्यो देशले पनि मलाई अज्नाएन अनि नागरिकता पनि दिएन अर्थात् नेपालको भूमिमा जन्मिएँ तापनि आमाबाबा शरणार्थी भएका कारण मलाई नागरिक मात्र सकेन नेपालले, तर जुन देशका बारेमा कल्पनामा पनि सोचेको थिइनेँ अहिले म त्यो देशको नागरिक भएँ, त्यो देशको स्वास्थ्य विभागको जागिरे भएकी छु। म जस्ता धेरै जना साथीहरूको पनि यही विडम्बना छ।

यी विषयमा धेरै कथा लेखिए होला, उपन्यास कोरिए होला, नाटक खेलिए होला वा खेलिन्छन् होला वा चलचित्र पनि बनिन्छन् होला। वास्तवमा जन्मभूमि भनेर कस्लाई भन्नु ठुलो प्रश्न छ। संसारमा म त अहिले अस्ट्रेलिया निबासी भएर चिनिनु परेको छ, अन्तत यो नागरिक बन्ने सुविधा पाएकाले अस्ट्रेलिया देशप्रति म कृतज्ञ छु। तर पनि मैले नेदेखेको देशप्रति मलाई किन यत्रो माया लाग्छ आफैलाई थाहा छैन।

मेरो उमेरका मेरै जस्तो सोच राख्ने साथीहरूको मनमा पनि यस्तो पिर होला। आफ्नो पुर्खा वा आमा-बाबाले पसिना चुहाएको देश भुटानलाई लिएर उहाँहरूको र हामा युवापिढीको कैयौँ सपना छन् तर ती सपना आजसम्म साकार हुन सकेका छैनन्। मेरा आमा-बाबा र उहाँहरूको जमातले भुटान फर्किनँ जुन सङ्घर्ष गर्नुभयो, ती प्रयास पनि विफल भएको देखेको छु, किनकि भुटान सरकारले 1990 तिर देशबाट निकालेका, खेदेका नागरिकहरूलाई देशद्रोही सजाएछ। उहाँहरूलाई अर्थात् उहाँहरूको सन्तान हामीलाई पनि कुनै हालत पितृभूमि भुटान फर्किनँ दिएन, दिएको छैन, बरु पुनर्बासका लागि चाहिँ सहमति जनायो। नचाहे तापनि विश्वका आठवटा देशमा भुटानिजहरू पुनर्बासका लागि जानुपन्थो। त्यही सिलसिलामा हामी पनि अस्ट्रेलियामा छौँ।

सधैँ म देख्छु मेरा बाबा श्रीमान् डी एस काफ्ले छटपटाएको। केही कानुन प्रक्रिया छन् जसले गर्दा भुटान फर्किने प्रसङ्गमा केही अभियाम पनि सोझै सामेल हुन सक्नुहुन्न, अहिलेसम्म सामेल हुनु पनि भएको छैन। किनकि केही सर्तमा पुनर्बासमा गएका आठोटा देश (अमेरिका, ब्रिटेन, निउजिलेन्ड, कानाडा, डेन्मार्क, नेडारलेन्ड, नरवे र अस्ट्रेलिया) का र भारतमा अनाधिकार रूपमा प्रवेश गरी रहेका भुटानी शरणार्थीहरू चुकेका छन्, चुक्नु परेको छ। बाबा जस्तै अरूको पनि त्यही मनोदशा रहेको बुझेकी छु। तर पनि संसारमा कोही त होलान्, कुनै संस्था त होलान् जसले हामीलाई केवल भुटान भ्रमणमा जान मदत गर्न सक्छन्। देशद्रोही सजाई जेलमा बन्दी गराएकालाई न्याय

दिलाउन सक्छन् अझै पनि नेपालको शिबिरमा रहेकालाई मातृभूमि फर्काउन सक्छन्। यसका लागि हामीले विश्व समुदायप्रति बारम्बार तथा पटकपटक अपिल गरे मात्र भुटान सरकार गलेर केही प्रावधान बानइदेला। अन्यथा भुटानका राजाले हामीप्रति सधैं नकारात्मक सोच मात्र राख्न बेर छैन। यसबारे देशदेशमा सेमिनार गरी, छलफल गरी वा सडगोष्ठी गर्न लगाई विषयवस्तुलाई शान्तिपूर्ण तरिकाले गणतान्त्रिक रूपमा संसारभरि उपस्थापन गराउन सके हुन्थ्यो होला।

राष्ट्रसङ्घमा पनि यसबारे कुनै देशले हाम्रो माग उठाइदिए हुन्थ्यो। यसका लागि पनि व्यापक पहल गरिनुपर्छ। यस घडीमा केही भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूको प्रयासमा शिबिरमै विगत 29 डिसेम्बर 2020 का दिन **छेडेन मेतो** नामको संस्था गठन गरेर कार्यरत रहेको बुझेकी छु। अनि यसको **Journey to Bhutan for Justice** नामको किताबमा आफ्ना मनका व्यथा पोख्ने मौका दिएकामा **छेडेन मेतो**का सबै कार्यकर्ता र शुभचिन्तकहरूप्रति म आभारी छु। आउने दिनमा म पनि युवा शुभचिन्तकका रूपमा केही सहयोग गर्न चाहान्छु, किनकि कुनै विचारको बिउ रोपेपछि त्यो पछिपछि फक्रिँदै जान्छ। मैले बुझेअनुसार भुटानी शरणार्थीहरूको यो किताब एउटा **क्रान्ति** नै हुने छ। यसका लेखाइ लेखनहरू पनि नौला छन् अरे, भुटानका राजा, सरकार र विश्वसमुदायलाई बिन्ती गरिएको छ अरे, अर्थात् यो त **मेमोरेन्डम** नै हो अरे। जे होस् **छेडेन मेतो**को यो प्रसास सफल होस् त्यही कामनाका साथ मेरो कलम बन्द गरँ।





दलबहादुर कार्की
गेलेम्फो, भुटान

दाग नै घाउ भएको छ

म 91 वर्षको बुढो दलबहादुर कार्की, बेलडाडी भुटानी शरणार्थी शिबिरमा आफ्नो जन्मथलो कहिले फर्किन पाउँछु भनी पर्खी बसेको छु। मेरो चिता भुटानमै जलोस् भन्नेडु छ। म शरणार्थीको मृत्यु मर्न चाहेको छैन। हाम्रा नेता र सङ्गठनहरूले केही शुभ समाचार ल्याउँछन् कि भन्ने पनि मनमा लागि रहन्छ। यसो भन्दाभन्दै डा भम्पा राईको चिता यहाँ जल्यो (19 जुन 2022 का दिन)। म त शिबिरमा बसेको 30 वर्ष नाध्यो। म ऐन कानुन नियम नीति पनि धेरै जान्दिनँ तर मेरो आफ्नो मुलुक जान पाउनुपर्छ, किनकि मेरो जन्मथलो गेलेम्फोका रुखपात, डाँडाकाँडा, पहाडपर्वत, बाटाघाटा, देवीदेउरालीको माया गाडिएको छ। झलझली उतैको सम्झना आउँछ। हाम्रा साथीहरू तेस्रो मुलुक गए, मलाई जान मन लागेन, गइँनँ, अब भुटान भएर माथि जानु छ, माथि गए पनि भुटानको भूमिमा अन्तिम सास लिन मन छ।

छेडेन मेतो भन्ने सङ्गठनले मेरो मनको चाहनाअनुसार चेष्टा गरेको सुनेँ, खुसी लाग्यो। मैले मेरो विचार र बिन्ती भुटानका राजालाई सुनाइदिन भनेको छु। पहिलाका हाम्रा साथीहरू अहिले विदेशको नागरिकता पाएर हाम्रा शुभचिन्तक बनेका छन्। हाम्रो सुखदुखको खबर लिन्छन्, बेलाबेला

बाँचिरहन सघाउँछन्, बाँचिरहन हामीलाई सघाउनेहरूप्रति पनि हामी ऋणी छौं। तर उनीहरूले हाम्रो शरणार्थीको दाग चाहिँ मेटाइदिन सक्नुहुन्न। हाम्रो त्यही दाग घाउ भएको छ। पोल्छ। दुख्छ। व्यथा र पीडा छ। यसको मर्म बुझिदिए हुन्थ्यो भुटान सरकारले।

हे भुटानका राजा र सरकार

मलाई तुरन्त भुटान फर्काई लाने व्यवस्था गरिदिनुहोस्, मसित अरू प्राय 7 हजार जति शरणार्थी साथी होलान् शिबिरमा, अरू प्राय एक लाख जति त आठवटा देशमा अर्थात् तेस्रो मुलुक गइहाले। उनीहरू त भुटान गरिखान भनेर फर्किएर नआउलान् तर आफ्नो देश डुल्ल आउन त चाहान्छन् होला, बरु सर्त लगाई उनीहरूका लागि पनि बाटो खोलिदिनुहोस्। यसो गरिदिनु भयो तपाईं धन्य हुनुहुने छ। प्रतीक्षाको घडी लामो भयो। अब मेरो पर्खाइ लामो नहोस्। हामी देशद्रोही पटकै होइनाँ, हामी त देशभक्त र देशप्रेमी चाहिँ हौं, शङ्का नगर्नुहोस्, मेसिन लगाई जाँच गर्दा पनि हुन्छ। हाम्रा राजाको सोचमा सकारात्मक परिवर्तन आओस्-हामीप्रति न्याय होस्। राजाको पनि जयजयकार होस्।



Appendix-1
Data of Properties of Bhutanese Refugees
Left with the Government of Bhutan-1

1. Paney land- 1 Acr.
2. Pakha land- 70 Dismal.
3. Kharbari- 25 Dismal.
4. Orange Matuvated garden 400 trees,
5. 30 years approximately per year 1 lakh in 30 years including all grain.

Owner -Lal Bahadur Kharka,

Lt. Pratiman Kharka and

Lt. Ganja Sing Kharka and Madhu Dhara Poudel, Son and daughter of

Lt. Dal Bahadur Kharka and Mother Lt. Lachi Maya Kharka.

District-Chirang, Bhutan Village- Gairigaun,

Block- Goshelling, House No. of Bhutan-GG -49.
Satham no-5

Present address in Bhutanese Refugee camp :

Name = Lal Bahadur Kharka.

Camp = Beldangi – II Jhapa Nepal.

Sec = E/2

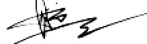
Hut no = 34

Email id = lalkharka6060@gmail.com.

Data of Properties of Bhutanese Refugees Left with the Government of Bhutan-2

Name : Nar Bahadur Giri
 Son of : Father Late Shriman Giri and
 Mother Late Kumari Maya Giri

Sl. No	Subject / Head	Description / Details
01	District	Samchi/Samtse
02	Block	Sibsoo
03	Village	Belbotey
04	Heads of the Family (HoF)	Father: Lt. Shriman Giri Mother: Lt. Kumari Maya Giri Brother: Rithuman Giri
05	Present address of Head of the Family (HoF)	Brother : Rithuman Giri USA.
06	House Number of Bhutan	B12
07	Thram Number (Sathap)	270 and 375
08	List of the Properties	1. Dry Land 9 acres 2. Orange garden 10 acres at village Tahachey 3. Rice fields/wet lands about 29 acres 4. Three Houses (one concrete two CGI sheet wooden)
09	Bank's deposit if any	Nu. 355000/- my own account. Nu. 75000/- children RICB (Insurance)
10	Value of properties listed in Sr. No. 08 & 09	All including lands, banks and houses etc. is Nu. 25 millions.
11	1990 to till 2020 Approximate value of all properties (land, money, vehicle etc.)	The minimal increase of values during 30 years is five times of its original value. Thus the property value (25 X 5) is Nu. 125 millions.
12	Remarks	Bank deposits, pass books were ceased after they arrested and imprisoned me without any reason.



Name : Nar Bahadur Giri
 Place : Beldangi II, Bhutanese Refugee Camp, Nepal.
 Date : 20 December 2021

Data of Properties of Bhutanese Refugees Left with the Government of Bhutan-3

Name : Mr. Damber Singh Kafley

Father : Lt Dharmadoj Kafley

Mother : Lt Mon Maya Kafley

Sl. No.	Subject / Head	Description / Details
1	District	Chirang Bhutan
2	Block	Kithorthang
3	Village	Bockray
4	Family details	Son 1.Dal Badur Kafley 2.Damber Singh Kafley 3.Gopal Kafley Daughter 1.Maina Kumari Kafley
5	Present name and address of the head of the family (HOF)	61 Gerbert street Broadmeadows Victoria Australia Melbourne 3047
6	House number of Bhutan	B'R19 BR15
7	Thram number of Sathhap	322 PD land Cardamom garden
8	List of the properties	PD land 5 acers ----\$ 10 lakh Orange garden 350 Trees ----- \$ 60 Lakh \$ 2 Lakh in 1 year and \$ 60 Lakh in 30 years Cardamom garden of Sarbhang Helay block Of Lt Dharmadoj Kafley Sathhap number 399 ----- \$ 15 Lakh Fish tank income per year ----- -\$ 1 Lakh And 30 Lakh in 30 years Rice holder machine income Per year is ----- 9 Lakhs Three house has been damaged

		by the Government Class one Damber Singh Kafley\$ 25 Lakh Class two Gopal Kafley\$ 15 lakh Class three Dal Badhur Kafley\$ 10 lakh
9	Bank deposit if any	Account number of Damphu bank : 45 \$ 10 Lakh Seasonable business Orange' Cardamom Supply from Bhutan to Bangladesh token or License number is 51- Lc with income in that year ---- -----\$ 25 Lakh Business closing down loss of \$ 30 Lakh All these property belongs to Bhutan government since 1990.
10	Value of Properties listed in Sr. No. 08 & 09	Grand total is (225000000) Twenty two Crore and fifty Lakhs Nultrum
11	1990 to till 2020 Approximately money value of all properties (home, land, money, vehicle etc.)	Taxi- Mahendra Jeep number BCP-0538 Income in 30 years is ----- 15 Lakh
12	Remarks	Ethentic documents are left in Bhutan but some of the documents are with me.

Signature:



Name : Damber Singh Kafley

Place : Australia Melbourne

Address : 61 Gerbert Street Broadmedows Victoria 3047

Phone No. 0406268344

Date : 05/12/2020

PRESS NOTE

We, the victim Bhutanese Citizens isolated from our motherland Bhutan since 1990, now living in refugee camps in Nepal, resettled in various countries around the world, and the well-wishers of Bhutan and the Bhutanese People, submit this epistle “Wishful Journey to Bhutan” to our King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck, Tashichho Dzong, Thimphu Bhutan and heads of the states of various countries of the world including International Organs for kind consideration and pragmatic action now.

This epistle or our mission has writing from the people of different walks of life reflecting their personal experience and expectations. In summary the overall or major expectations and requests include:

1. Immediate repatriation of Bhutanese People from the refugee camps with harmonious consultation with the Government of Nepal and keep the door open for people who wish to repatriate from the resettled countries now or in the near future.

2. Grant amnesty to all political prisoners in Bhutan and rehabilitate them.

3. Recognize the Bhutanese People in diaspora and their progenies as Non-Resident Bhutanese (NRN) consider them as Bhutan’s cultural ambassadors and permit their visits to Bhutan for family reunion, and pilgrimage to the place of their ancestors.

4. Reinstate citizenship identity cards of the people in the country that were revoked in the past, repeal the resettlement process in the southern districts and keep the land vacant for its original owners. Also remove all the detrimental policies that are harming the unity and integrity of the Bhutanese people.

We the members of ‘Tshinyen Meto’ look forward to working with Royal Government of Bhutan for solving the problem, establishing a cordial relationship for nation building and harmonious international recognition.

Date : 06-11-2022

N B Giri
General Secretary,
Tshinyen Meto
Email : nbgiri@yahoo.com

Recipients of the Book

Some of the organizations and diplomatic offices who are the recipients of this book “Wishful Journey to Bhutan” are listed below. However, the book will be provided to all the International Organizations, All Embassies located in Kathmandu, India, Australia and USA. Bhutanese community will also be provided with this book when demanded.

Diplomatic Missions of Bhutan

1. Australia, Canberra, Embassy-2021
 2. Bangladesh, Dhaka, Embassy-1980
 3. Belgium, Brussels, Embassy-1971
 4. India, New-Deli, Embassy-1971
 5. Thailand, Bangkok, Embassy-1999
 6. Kuwait, Kuwait City, Embassy-1983
-
1. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva, Switzerland
 2. Consulate-General, Guwahati, India-2018
 3. Consulate-General, Kolkata, India-2009
 4. Consulate-General, United States of America, New-York, Consulate-General
 5. United Nations, Geneva Switzerland, Permanent Mission-1971
 6. International Court of Justice (ICJ)
 7. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
 8. Prime Minister of India, New-Delhi
 9. Prime Minister of Nepal, Katmandu
 10. British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
 11. Asian Development Bank (ADB)
 12. World Bank: 1818 H Street, NW Washington, DC 20433 USA