

POSTWORD

Volumes of rifle shots silenced many innocent souls, Farmers, children and protestors hacked to death; For refusing to oblige by the Regime's Bhutanization goals, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Young girls, married ladies and old grannies were raped, In the very presence of brothers, sisters, relatives and mates; Said the government to the soldiers in depth, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Rum whiskey drained soldiers went for more rape, Out came a body with hand placed under the severed head; Deeds of Lhotshampas 'Ngolops' said government tape, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Census Officials harassed the Lhotshampas for more cash, No more schools, no more medicines, the government said; And enjoyed chickens and muttons in the mess, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Agree to evict or face the royal regime's wrath, If not, think of torture and suffering, the Dzongda said; Forcibly seized the land and properties with a trap, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Here, there and everywhere was the burning scene, Destroyed houses, dead bodies was, the government's maketh; To the people and Bhutan, the government seemed mean, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

Thousands evicted citizens, slumped in the refugee camps in Nepal, left to perish in the alien soil; Made the Wangchucks smile; To the world and Bhutan, the refugees are enduring pains, Ah! This is the reward for our loyalty and faith.

APOLOGY – WORDS

After more than two decades of our woeful exodus from Bhutan when majority of fellow refugees are leaving refugee camps of Nepal to resettle in third countries, we are able to publish this book in response to some publications and statements issued against the Bhutanese citizens who were ruthlessly evicted from Bhutan and for the benefit of the Bhutan observers the readers to help understand about Bhutan and Bhutan crisis.

This book is not designed at defaming of our beloved country Bhutan and The Kings of Bhutan. The Bhutanese Royal Family or the Wangchuck Kings are held in high esteem by the naive refugees, even being away from Bhutan for over two decades in refugee camps and elsewhere. The refugees till recent times celebrated King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's birthday on 11 November every year and the National Day of Bhutan on 17 December in exile. The innocent refugees then, pray for His Majesty's Long Life and his continuation in the throne as a kind leader of our motherland Bhutan with hopes His Majesty will restore their life in their homes in Bhutan and heal their wounds. However, an attempt has been made to reflect a true picture of Bhutan and the policies of the Royal Government which signaled "a green light" for majority of Lhotshampas and Sharchops to exit.

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 aware that his policies "aimed for better Bhutan" are implemented in a changed version by his all-powerful bureaucrats. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck father of the Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck is claimed to be a simple person as he lives in Samtelling Palace in Thimphu. But surprisingly the present King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck was born in 1980 in Nepal before his marriage. He is very austere by nature and his simplicity is personified beyond doubt as written by some of the western writers and Indian diplomats.

The blame is primarily focused at the system and to those who are out to oust the Lhotshampas from the South, irrespective of their qualification of nationality. In the name of the King's doing, the privileged bureaucrats are selling Bhutan piece by piece and its cultural heritage outside so as to defame the Monarchy and tarnish the image of the nation at the end.

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, irrespective of ethnic differences. As citizens, we appeal the King of Bhutan that "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".

Writers

PREFACE

Historically and geographically, Bhutan has remained a country of illusionary imagination to the post renaissance populace of the global family. Except for a few write-ups about Bhutan at random by western columnist, journalist and tourist, nothing about the Dragon Kingdom was known outside the periphery of Bhutanese frontiers about the population of Bhutan in general and the system of Governance in principle. In the event of global awareness and re-evaluating, Bhutan decided to remain in isolation from these radical changes and polarized her down to earth loyal citizens from the international changes. Side by side, Bhutan adopted a very rigid policy of media, press and publicity censorship and denied the flow of any information about the happenings within its territorial boundary to any outsiders. The people of Bhutan thus remained politically inactive and viewed 'monarchy system' as the best form of governance for the ultimate happiness of the people and the survival of the nation.

Bhutan made rapid strides in economic development during the period of third king of Wangchuck dynasty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck. The fourth king, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, accelerated development further, until 1980s when some royal family members and bureaucrats who wanted their firm base within the palace and who were and are misled by anti-Bhutan elements started to poison his mind. The venom became more effective when the king Jigme Singye Wangchuck in very mysterious circumstances announced to the nation his four queens, the daughters of a businessman Singye Dorji and traditionally married all four in 1988.

The combined team of subversive elements within the royal family and the selfish bureaucrats acted in a way similar to the way Lady Macbeth behaved with her husband in Shakespeare's "Macbeth". The venom of Lady Macbeth, the ghost of Banquo and their effects finally got the better of the king and hence, like Macbeth, king Jigme was obliged to accede to their demands of ethnic cleansing. The king ceded the happiness of the Lhotshampa community to the interests of a section of the bureaucrats in Bhutan. These privileged bureaucrats sacrificed freedom of expression and liberty of the Bhutanese people to tyrant regime, bringing matter to an abrupt conclusion. Thus, innocent citizens of Southern Bhutan, the Lhotshampas, who had appealed the government to review the policies and plans which they thought would be detrimental to the peace and unity of the people of Bhutan, were compelled to succumb to the diktat of these bureaucrats and royal members. Hundreds of farmers, government servants and students were arbitrarily arrested and tortured. School girls, mothers and even pregnant ladies were raped; many were killed by the government officials. And mostly Southern Bhutanese, Lhotshampas were mercilessly evicted from the country. Houses were burnt and erased to grounds to make it look nothing existed there before. The brutality of these rulers against Lhotshampas still continues unabated in Bhutan in camouflaged state.

Bhutan is a multi-racial and multi-lingual society. And the 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. Most of the ethnic communities of today's Bhutan were there in Bhutan before the Wangchuck established its rule in 1907. No community or for that matter no one is sprouted from the soil of Bhutan they all have migrated to Bhutan from different parts of the Asia in different time intervals. The Ngalungs are of the Tibetan stock who speaks Dzongkha dialect, an offshoot of Tibetan language. The Sharchops of the Indo-Burmese stock speaks Tshangla (Sharchopkha), a language similar to the one spoken by the people of Arunachal Pradesh state of India. And the Lhotshampas of the Indo-Aryan families have their base in Indo-Nepal and speak Nepali language similar to the one spoken in Nepal and India.

The evicted refugees from Bhutan who are mainly from Lhotshampa and Sharchop community are now drawn into a stupid political game between Nepal and Bhutan. The answer to which lies with the Bhutanese refugees, who are always submerging their identity to identify with the Bhutan. The Lhotshampas have their own identity and a distinct culture with a specified code of conduct. The hefty, sturdy, fair, kind and decent Lhotshampas have always maintained their place on Bhutanese soil. The unquestionable loyalty of the Lhotshampas remained unchallenged through the ages. 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. But, the present rulers of Bhutan have questioned our existence in Bhutan and have brutally evicted almost half of Lhotshampa community from the country. The Royal Government of Bhutan deceived Lhotshampas for loyalty and faith on them.

Though Bhutan has claimed to have established a democratic system of governance in 2008, a constitution has been written, election held and a Prime Minister is projected as the government head there is no impartial judiciary system for the general public to seek justice. For example, soon after 2008 Democracy, in 2009 one innocent woman named Dechen Wangmo is sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment by Royal Court of Bhutan. The Court gave verdict as 'treason' an act 'anti-national' on the grounds that 'as president of National Women Association of Bhutan (NWAB) of Phuntsholing and leader of NGO of National and International levels, while working in Social and Human Rights fields she came in contact with the Bhutanese human rights activists'. 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 government. This democracy is a method adopted by the oppressors to continue their despotism of rules in Bhutan. The Prime Minister either from DPT or PDP or any political party screened by King's commission is just a handy man of the King. We look forward to the educated and genuine people would understand what it all means in present day Bhutan.

Dear readers, Bhutanese refugees have been left to die premature death in the refugee camps in Nepal by the regime of Bhutan. Bhutanese King would have been happy if there was no one or no UNHCR or no International Agencies to feed these refugees. We thank these institutions for their timely help. Still hundreds of children, old parents, sick and even adults were buried at the

bank of Kankai River during the initial phase of exodus. They died of torture in Bhutan, starvation, sickness and due to lack of medical facilities as there was no one to protect them. The pathetic scene of these incidents, deaths smell all around Maidhar bank, Kankai River can never be erased from the eyes of the people who have witnessed it.

Refugee is a very simple word to pronounce but very difficult to live as a refugee. The true suffering of the refugee life can be experimented by experience in the camps only and not by simply scanning their problems from a posh apartment building or AC Cars. 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 and a feeling of superiority complex have tried to dominate the sphere of human existence. Peace, love of mankind, non-violence and justice preached and advocated by Lord Gautama Buddha is only written in the books and fluttering flags of Buddhist Kings of Bhutan, it is by no means written in their hearts nor practiced in Bhutan. The Buddhist leaders of the world like His Holiness Dalai Lama are silent about the crimes committed against the people by Buddhist king of Bhutan.

Meanwhile, we would like to ask a question to the United Nation, International Communities, SAARC, World Human Rights Institutions that despite clear cut violations of human rights in Bhutan, ethnic- cleansing, rape, imprisonment, torture and killing of people by the Royal Government of Bhutan "Why the International Communities especially India and the European Countries continue to pour money into the hands of Royal Government of Bhutan? Why are you all supporting authoritarian regime? Why the International Court of Justice and countries like Britain keeping quiet to call the Bhutanese King and his officers for their crimes and violation of Human Rights? We hope the voice of the evicted people; the refugees from Bhutan will be heard by the UN, World leaders the people of the world and successively the architects of the 'ethnic cleansing' The Royal Government of Bhutan is brought to justice.

This book has been brought into public as an attempt to make aware the people of the world about the atrocities of the Royal 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 appeal the international communities for their assessment and opinion on the human rights and political issues of Bhutan.

While writing this book, many of my colleagues extended their sincere support for which I cannot remain without thanking them. Specially, I thank Dil Bahadur Chhetri (Pokwal) an army officer of Royal Bhutan Army who has shared his insights in collecting accounts and extended remarkable help in writing this book.



N B Giri

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	Page 1
2. CITIZENS OF BHUTAN	Page 12
3. BHUTAN DESIGNED 'THE 1988 CENSUS'	Page 22
4. GENESIS OF THE PROBLEM	Page 25
5. CAUSES AND CRISIS IN BHUTAN	Page 32
6. PREPARATION FOR CRACKDOWN	Page 36
7. OPERATION ETHNIC CLEANSING	Page 45
8. SLAP ON THE FACE	Page 54
9. IS IT MILITANCY?	Page 60
10. MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY	Page 68
11. REGIME'S FEAR: SHARCHOPS & SHABDRUNG	Page 74
12. REGIME'S FEAR: POLITICAL PARTY	Page 76
13. IS IT FAIR GAME?	Page 80
14. THE OTHER SIDE OF SHANGRI-LA	Page 84
15. RELIGIOUS FEUD	Page 86
16. HOW MUCH TRUTH DOES IT HOLD?	Page 88
17. BHUTAN CHANGES HISTORICAL NAMES	Page 94
18. HOW SECURE IS THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES?	Page 98
19. IS IT REAL INVESTMENT?	Page 102
20. IS IT JUSTICE FOR LOYALTY?	Page 104
21. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS CREDIBILITY	Page 106
22. OBEY OR FACE THE WRATH	Page 108
23. PRISONERS IN BHUTAN PRISONS	Page 110
24. ANTI-NATIONAL	Page 112
25. HEALING TOUCH	Page 120
26. AN EARNEST APPEAL TO ALL	Page 124
27. NOTES	Page 129
28. REFERENCES	Page 130

INTRODUCTION

The Royal Government of Bhutan, in its haste to refrain from growing international pressure, was quick enough to bring out colorful picture illustrations to project the brutally evicted Bhutanese people based in the refugee camps in Nepal as dissident groups, terrorists, anti-nationals, economic immigrants, displaced people, and contractual forest laborers and with other infinite synonyms. Three of the colorful illustrations published in 1993 and presented as souvenir to the Heads of Government, Embassies and other International Organizations to emerge out as a clean winner and blame the poor Bhutanese people with refugee status as responsible for the Bhutanese turmoil are as follows:-

- i. *The Southern Bhutan Problem - "Threat to a Nation's Survival"*, published by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Thimphu in May, 1993.
- ii. *A Brief Pictorial Summary of the Terrorist Activities in Southern Bhutan, 13 Aug. 1992 to 05 June 1993*, published by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Thimphu Bhutan.
- iii. *Anti-National Activities in Southern Bhutan. An Update on the terrorist Movement. 1993.*



Besides above three books the government through its agents and planted puppet writers produced many materials to feed the world. And Bhutan Government is sending its puppets around the world as its Ambassadors and cover-up clans to save its skin from The International Court of Justice and emerge as victorious against the crime it committed to Bhutanese people.

And after two decades of brutal attack on Lhotshampa community of Southern Bhutan, evicting them from the country the Royal Government of Bhutan is trying to fool the citizens and the world community by scheming its hypocritical system 'Constitutional and Democratic'; and further the Royal Government without any practice of this kind in the country is preaching the world about 'Gross National Happiness' of the people of Bhutan, trying to sell its simulated offer to win support from outside Bhutan.

These publications floated by the Royal Government of Bhutan world-wide during 1993 and even now could have really impressed the people with beautiful color photographs and the type of paper used. The people who have never heard about Bhutan could have really held the Bhutanese people responsible for the brutality as depicted in the photographs. The government also declared the historical records of Bhutan as inauthentic by simply saying that the Southern Bhutanese people entered Bhutan only in the beginning of the 20th century. *The history of Bhutan is known only to the Bhutanese people as Bhutanese history is never taught outside the periphery of Bhutan. Therefore, the Royal Government of Bhutan can easily make the international community believe that the Bhutanese people with refugee status are not the Bhutanese citizens but, not to the Bhutanese people.*

The Royal Government of Bhutan also created a history through their publications by blaming the authenticity and validity of humanitarian organs like the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In their presentation, the Royal Government clearly mentioned that the refugee camps in Nepal are filled with none other than the economically backward people from Nepal and India. The Royal Government of Bhutan perhaps, unaware of the immense task shouldered by the UNHCR not only to the Bhutanese people but to the World Community in distress, might have forgotten that all the Bhutanese people in the refugee camps are registered only after producing valid documents and citizenship cards by UNHCR officials, checked and rechecked by the monitoring agencies from the Government of Nepal. The Bhutanese Government is thus caught in the wrong foot at its own fault for exaggerating the issue.

The Home Ministry of King Wangchuck went one step further to blame the Non-Governmental Organizations of Nepal like the Informal Service Sector Centre (INSEC), Human Rights Organization of Nepal (HURON), Institute for Human Rights Environment and Development (INHURED) and many others for supporting refugees just because these organizations are the local organizations and the government found it easy to blame them. However, the Royal Government of Bhutan knowingly failed to mention the yeomen relief services rendered by the international organization like the Lutheran World Federation (LWF); Save the Children Fund (UK); Caritas; Oxfam etc. just to hoodwink the global family of peace loving people that Nepal is feeding and supporting her economically backward people to rise against Bhutan.



UNHCR, Chief, Antonio Guterres visits Bhutanese Refugee Camp, Goldhap, Jhapa May 23, 2007.
Is he taking the photographs of terrorists?

Though the Bhutanese refugees are financially handicapped yet our endeavor to counter the Royal Government of Bhutan's baseless propaganda through writ-ups and colorful blow-ups cannot be challenged. The Bhutanese Government through its publications is trying to cover up its ill-conceived design of "Divide and Rule" to the world-body by and large. However, the international community groomed and nurtured in the shadow of fundamental freedom cannot be taken for a joy ride by simply projecting Bhutan as a nation with distinct political and cultural entity which is a blatant lie when practice of politics is banned in Bhutan. The publications like mentioned here and sending its agents worldwide are the government's desperate bid to save its image on the issue of their human rights violations in Bhutan.

Bhutan is a country of immigrants and no ethnic groups can claim to be the original inhabitants of Bhutan. It is a country of multi-racial and multi-lingual society. The Ngalungs from Tibet of Mongoloid origin started migrating to Bhutan during King Songtsen Gampo of Tibet who ruled Tibet from 627-649AD.

The history of a nation belongs to its people, it does not belong to those in power who seek to suppress but it belongs to those who seek to liberate. And history cannot be recognized without truths in it. And the truths cannot be misspelled by any hired writers to suit the interests of the rulers. However, we can derive the basic facts of history about Bhutanese people from their assertion of origin. The Bhuteas, forefathers of Ngalungs or Drukpas, from Tibet started immigrating to this area; today's Bhutan then ruled by Indian Kooch rulers around 7th century. Those Tibetan immigrants were deeply attracted by the then flourishing economic condition of this Indian ruled area and settled down here permanently. ('BHUTAN' by Nagendra Singh, 1978: 19). So, history is very clear as who are the real 'Economic Migrants' to this area now known as Bhutan.

As the time passed by the Bhuteas ousted the Koch Rulers and their people. However, as a result of their inconsiderate ruling system the economic condition of this area again gradually became weak. So the Bhuteas at this area had to live in poor condition for centuries. It is due to the fact that "the Ngalung or Northern Bhutanese disliked living in low lands and would not work in the lands by themselves" (BHUTAN AND THE BRITISH by Peter Collester 1972: 130). Even John Claude White noted "the Northern Bhutanese dreaded of malaria fever in the lower hills and avoided settling there" (BHUTAN AND THE BRITISH by Peter Collester 1972: 155).

In such poor state of economy of the then Bhutan, through 13th century and until official recognition by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1624 AD, Gorkhas from the west started immigrating sporadically in the Southern Bhutan which was uncared, unoccupied, infested with malaria, jungle animals and robbers for agricultural work. Many Gorkhas lost their lives fighting malaria, deadly animals and robbers. Gradually, due to hard work of Gorkhas the economic condition of Southern Bhutan started improving even then Bhutan as a whole was still labelled as the poorest country of the world until mid 70's. Thus Gorkhas never immigrated as economic migrants but as agricultural workers.

The Bhuteas or the Ngalung live in the north-western parts and speak 'Dzongkha' a language similar to Tibetan with the same script derived from Tibetan. The Dzongkha script is same as the Tibetan scripts and this fact clearly point out that the self-styled original inhabitants of Bhutan are in fact no one but the people of Tibetan Origin. They comprise about less than a quarter of the total population of Bhutan. The King and most of his ministers belong to this group. The Sharchops of Indo-Burmese stock live in the eastern parts and speak Tshangla-kha, a language similar to the one spoken by the people of the bordering Indian State of Arunachal Pradesh. Sharchops are believed to be the aborigines of Bhutan as they were in Bhutan and in its surrounding regions since ancient times. They constitute little less than a half of the total population. The Nepali speaking people inhabit the southern parts and before ethnic cleansing in 1990 they form about 39 % of the total population of the country. They belong to the Indo-Aryan Family. Like Ngalung many of them are migrated from Nepal. This community was there like other communities since many centuries but was officially recognized during the rule of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (1624 AD). About 7 % of the population is formed by smaller tribes such as Doyas, Brokpas, Kheingpas, Adhivashis (Madheshis) and Kurteps. The Ngalungs and the Sharchops follow Mahayana Buddhism while the Lhotshampa populace and some Sharchops follow Hinduism and some individual family follow Christianity respectively. Although practice of Christianity is banned in Bhutan, people try to learn about Christianity through visiting missionaries, Pastors and through correspondences.

The Home Ministry was quick enough to counter the historical evidence and facts about the presence of the Lhotshampas in Bhutan since the beginning of 1624 AD and alleged that the Lhotshampas were recent economic immigrants, without actually consulting the recorded historical facts in Nepal and India. It is worth mentioning here that Bhutan history mostly covers about the development of Buddhism in Bhutan and the institutionalization of Buddhist culture to the few pockets of known ethnic class from the fortress called Dzongs mostly centered in Thimphu, Paro, Wangdi, Punakha and Bumthang - all in the central Bhutan. It hardly mentions anything about the people's movement within the country. Even the mention of Eastern Bhutan the home region of Sharchops in the recorded history of Bhutan is almost non-existent. The Sharchops are deprived of their religion, tradition and culture. Practically there is no developmental infrastructure in the Eastern Bhutan. Therefore, the non-availability of the historical mention of different ethnic people in Bhutan has given an advantage to the Royal Government of Bhutan to conclude that the Lhotshampas are the recent migrants and fool the international community, of their claim of righteousness. *It can be generalized that Bhutan has tried to preserve the culture and traditions of the ruling elite only since its inception and the select lots of foreigners who got access to Bhutan left with the impression that Bhutan is the country of Ngalungs only.*

The foreign visitors were and are still denied entry to Southern Bhutan and the Eastern Bhutan. Carol Hobson rightly notes in the article "The Sorry Side of Shangri-La" (The Royal Geographical Society Magazines; Geographical London, Jan 1993). Traditionally, the fertile south, populated mostly by 'Lhotshampas', has scarcely rated a mention in the travel books. Conveniently, it is off the tourist map, and as the major centre of agriculture (producing 46 percent of gross domestic product in 1990 and now it is heart of developing Bhutan) and other economic activities, it has been of little significance to those interested in Bhutan's Buddhist culture. The demographic battle in Bhutan launched by the Ruling Class on the pretext of protecting Bhutan and "Bhutan's survival as a distinct political and cultural entity" is nothing but a total farce aimed to safeguard the interests of the dynasty and the all absolute bureaucrats.

The few recorded historical books, except the religious ones, were written by the Indian and Western authors at the invitation of the Royal Government. These books are strongly worded to suit the interests and designs of the royal regime. Some of the new books authored by the tutors of royal family member were completely biased in exposing the rich culture presence of Ngalungs tribes while the cultural diversity of rest part of the country remained ignored. Most write-ups about Bhutan by the diplomatic missions based in Thimphu are polarized and cornered one side to glorify the magnanimity of rulers' culture and their preservers.

An Indian writer, Rina Chunder in an Indian newspaper 'The Sunday Statesman' in December 9, 2001 under the headings 'The Last Shangri-La' and 'Way of The Dragon' writes "The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck listens attentively to the villagers and their headmen, who can even complain against their commissioner." "..... The crime rate in Bhutan is so low that mere 3,000

police personnel are all it takes to maintain peace." She also writes "Here is a government (run, as it were, by elders – six senior ministers) so corruption-free that when the worst case of embezzlement involving £ 8,500 was uncovered in 1985 several senior bureaucrats were imprisoned for up to three years and others sacked". It is absolutely absurd and bogus things to read. How can Rina Chunder write such things without realizing the truth? If King Jigme Singye Wangchuck listens to people's grievances then why he imprisoned and sentenced to life to Teknath Rizal a Royal Advisory Councilor who had only petitioned to the King for justice to the people? Why the king used armed forces against the citizens who had appealed for his righteousness? What system is there in Bhutan to check the accounts of the development funds of the Royal Government? Thirdly, how shamelessly Rina Chunder writes that crime rate is low in Bhutan when 20 % of the population is brutally evicted from the country? When hundreds of women are raped, innocent people are tortured and killed how can media people write such cock-and-bull story to mislead the world? There are many innocent people languishing in Bhutan prison since years for want of justice. Crime committed by the government is not reported by media. In Bhutan all Medias belong to The Royal Government, there is no enough freedom for media personnel even after 2008 democracy to write about crimes and atrocities committed in Bhutan. It is only person like Rina Chunder and alike who are prepared by Royal palace can exalt and praise Royal Government of Bhutan.

On April 19, 1996 Mr. A. R. Deo 'so-called diplomat' of India to Nepal in his opinion in "Economic Times" strongly defended the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck that, whatever was happening to the people of Bhutan was justified. He, in a roundabout way means humiliating, torturing, raping, imprisoning, killing, confiscating properties, burning the houses of the peasants and cruelly evicting the people from their homes in Southern Bhutan is a process of 'nation building' and consolidating 'Bhutanese Identity'. He writes Bhutan is a "land of milk and honey" and the "employment seeking Nepali laborers" rushed to Bhutan for employments who were evicted. Mr. Deo should go to school to learn about Bhutan and its people where he should mug up that Bhutan is a land of immigrants and the people in Bhutan are still cut off from the outside world, 80% are illiterate, poor and suppressed by the tyrant rulers. And there is no 'milk and honey' flowing in Bhutan but, tyrants and their followers and crusaders float around humiliating the Bhutanese people. His write-ups in the 'Economic Times' is vulgar, cruel, irritating and wicked distortion of the truths. Such pejorative pieces of propaganda by diplomats, journalists, politicians and individuals have in-fact further complicated the Bhutanese crisis and allowed the criminals to escape.

"The human rights situation in Bhutan is no less pathetic than the situation in the former Yugoslavia or Burma. The international community must not turn a blind eye to the ethnic cleansing occurring in the Himalayan Kingdom."- The Nation, Bangkok, Thailand, April, 1993. According to Finish Guide of Travel Writers - Helsinki, Finland 25 May 1994 "Bhutan allows only carefully selected journalists who will not write too negatively about the autocratic regime

of Bhutan and are not interested in its poor human rights records". Similarly, Don Duncan a journalist (Radio, TV and Paper) from Hongkong who visited Thimphu in January 2009 has written about Bhutanese refugee problem and about the Gross National Happiness. His reports were condemned by Bhutan as he tried to reveal the truths and some of the drawbacks and falsehood of the Royal Government of Bhutan.

The fake generosity and politeness meted to the diplomats and foreigners by the ruling community is enough to create an image of indelible impression about the Bhutanese hospitality and repay them with their solidarity and willful acknowledgement of the good deeds of Bhutanese Government. This is how the coffee table books on Bhutanese history is written or recorded in Bhutan.



King Jigme Singye Wangchuck cuddles on Robert O. Blake Jr, US Assistant Secretary of State. Is it hospitality or thanks giving for successful "Operation Eviction" of the Bhutanese citizens?

The Royal Government of Bhutan's claim of Greater Nepal Diaspora and the Lhotshampas of Bhutan to be temporary laborers and economic migrants from the hills of Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Meghalaya, Tripura, Manipur, Duars (India) and Nepal project Bhutan's reservation to the Nepali (Gorkha) community from any country of domicile. The Government of Bhutan has no right to blame the citizens of another country by co-relating Bhutanese citizens with them. Bhutan Government writes in the above books "People of Nepali origin already constitute the majority population in five of the 20 districts in Bhutan. Several million Nepali communities live immediately next door to Bhutan (that is India) across an open and porous border." The government opines that its neighboring regions with majority Nepali population are a threat to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Bhutan. It also says "Bhutan's only safeguard against a demographic invasion are its citizenship and immigration laws." Is there a threat to a country's sovereignty and territorial integrity because of neighboring people in normal situation? Is neighbor a threat to Bhutan's existence? Absolutely it is not so. We all consider, as long as people and its government is friendly with the neighboring people there is no threat. Isn't it a

shame for the Royal Government of Bhutan to tell such a lie? It is inconsequential to presume presence of Indians of Nepali communities near Bhutan border is threat to Bhutan's territorial integrity. Every country is protected by laws; nobody can just enter another country and get citizenship. But, Home Ministry of Bhutan writes in the above books "the dissident groups have given citizenship and land to others". Can anyone believe rather without favoritism in the books published by Bhutan? In one hand The Government says laws are there to safeguard and in other he says Bhutanese citizenship are being distributed by the dissident groups. What the Royal Government of Bhutan wants to prove by writing stupid matters in the books and distribute world over? Is it to justify what Wangchuck Kings are doing in Bhutan are absolutely as per laws? How can he say the Bhutanese refugees are distributing Bhutanese citizenship to circumvent the citizenship and migratory laws of Bhutan? We have not heard such things happen in other country, but, Bhutan's Royal Government says its citizens are giving lands and citizenships to foreigners.

The Royal Government's bureaucrats or the ruling elite feel that the fate of Bhutan would be like that of Sikkim with a majority Nepali population. However, it may be recalled that Sikkim lost her independence on April 26, 1975 due to King Chogyal Tashi Namgyal's own vested interest and not by the citizens of Sikkim. In reply to a letter addressed to King Jigme Singye Wangchuck by twenty five US-Parliament members on 30 July 1993, the king retaliated that the Nepali immigrants have successfully taken over political power in Sikkim and Darjeeling hills adjoining Bhutan in the west and are causing problem in the seven North Eastern States of India to the south and the east of Bhutan. This negative posture of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck with otherwise magnanimous personality reflects his oppressive unconstructive political judgment and population disparity.

Royal Family and its coterie of Bhutan are afraid of losing its Throne but not concerned in giving justice to the people of Bhutan and protecting Bhutan. The judgment of Royal Government of Bhutan is that it becomes without doubt safe by giving away the territorial area of Bhutan to China and India to win support for Throne. But how long the King deceives the nation? 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 innocent peasants and the simple people who have roots in Bhutan since ages and have experienced both virtuous system of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal and the despotic rules of Wangchuck Dynasty since 1907 can turn other way round for retaliation and bring disaster to the nation.

CITIZENS OF BHUTAN

The remoteness of Bhutan, manipulability press, publicity and information media and Bhutan's policy of isolation is largely responsible for Bhutan's untarnished image outside. The events, incidents and historical facts have remained mostly unreported. Thimpu's jealously guards its image and the little it has allowed to leak to the world media has been through the eyes of carefully vetted journalists and academicians. However, it has been proved beyond doubt that Bhutan is home to communities other than the Rulers of western Bhutan. *The first ruler of Bhutan, Shabdrung Jigme Ngawang Namgyal and King Ram Shah of Gorkha (a Kingdom of Nepal then) had met and established a perpetual friendship between the two Kingdoms between 1624 AD and 1628 AD. Accordingly mostly the technical people were taken to Bhutan to defend and work for development of Bhutan in an around that period. More carpenters, sculptors, metal casters and painters joined during the reign of King Shah Malla - from Kathmandu. Shabdrung (Jigme Ngawang Namgyal) again visited Gorkha in 1640 AD during the reign of King Dambar Shah and added more people to Bhutan.*

Many academicians and journalists have given different figures of Bhutan's population. In 1932 AD a British Army Officer based on his crude empirical guesswork found a total of 3,00,000 Bhutanese and out of this more than 20% of them belonging to Nepali-speaking inhabitants in South-West Bhutan (Sinha, AC : 177).

Britannica Reference Encyclopedia of 1962 edition states Bhutan's population as 623000. In 1964, US Army Hand Book prepared by the American University says the population of Bhutan as 725000. In 1965, The State Department Bulletin puts the figure at 715000. And in 1966 The International Year Book says it is 700000. It is reported that by around 1900 AD Bhutan had an ethnic Lhotshampa population of about hundred and fifty thousand.

Britannica Reference Encyclopedia of 2013 edition states Bhutan's 'population as (2011 est.) 701,000. There are three main ethnic groups; the Buddhist Sharchop (Assamese) in the east; the Tibetan Buddhist Bhutia, in the northern, central and western areas; and the Lhotshampa in the southwest'. Similarly, it states 'Bhutan's new area: 14,824 sq mi (38,394 sq km).' Bhutan had an area of 47500 Sq Km before Wangchuck King of Bhutan bequeathed more than 10000 Sq Km to China to protect throne.

Mr. Nagendra Singh who was Constitutional Advisor to the Royal Government of Bhutan from 1970 until he was elected as Judge of International Court of Justice in 1972, in his book named "Bhutan" writes "In 1864, the population of the country was estimated at 20,000. There has been no accurate census of the population of Bhutan before 1970 and hence the figures mentioned in all publications prior to that year have been at the best an approximate estimate of the inhabitants of this area. In view of the first census of 1970, it is now possible to state that the population of Bhutan is 1.31 million inhabitants in an area of 47000 sq km." He further writes a large majority of the Bhutanese of Mongoloid race who today are known as Ngalungs are the

original inhabitants of Tibet. However, in the southern regions, the inhabitants from Gorkha State or Nepali race predominate.

It is falsely reported by the Home Ministry of Bhutan that Lhotshampas in Bhutan were not there until the beginning of the twentieth century. These people have continuously migrated from Nepal and the Indian hills eastward into Bhutan beyond since the 17th century. Most migration probably occurred between the mid 1800 AD (especially immediately after the Bhutan-British war of 1864 AD) and the 1950's as reported by Kanak Mani Dixit in the article 'The Dragon Bites it's Tail' in Himal Jul/Aug 1992 issue. Geographer, Harka Gurung believes that most of the movement of the people was not directly from Nepal, but "step - migration" from adjacent Indian regions.

Whatever be the actual facts, the Government of Bhutan cannot just float wrong information outside so as to defend the cultural interest of one community at the cost of others. As Bhutan has a very limited and almost nil record of its population and economic exploitation; no definite conclusion can be drawn about the actual settlement of Lhotshampas in Bhutan. The Government of Bhutan's claim that no Nepali ever crossed beyond the Teesta River until after 1865, let alone penetrates into Bhutan is debatable. On the one hand, they appreciate the presence of Nepali in the adjoining regions of Bhutan since indefinite period and on the other hand, they counter their stand. David B. Thomson, Harvard Law School, Boston, USA in his document "Cultural Cleansing" August 1993 states that - "the resolution of the historical argument has little relevance to the average Nepali People of Bhutan. The issue of early Nepali settlement is important, however, in analyzing the current population".

The Government of Bhutan officially acknowledges the settlement of people in Southern Bhutan in 1900 AD through the Bhutan agent in Kalimpong Kazi Ugyen Dorji. Kanak Mani Dixit further writes that it was the Dorji Family of Kalimpong that opened these Southern hills to immigrants, encouraged by the British who had employed Nepali in their tea gardens in nearby Darjeeling. The settlement and administration of Southern Bhutan was carried out through a special dispensation given to the Dorji Family, first by the Penlops and later by the government. He further states that "A special affinity developed with the Penlops of the north. The Kalimpong based Kazi Ugyen Dorji rule, though feudalistic in character, was based on an understanding of "Nepali Culture". This was not the case with 'Ruling Class' who were to come later as administrators and representatives of the government in Thimphu. The Kalimpong agents of Bhutan Durbar, Kazi Ugyen Dorji, his son Sonam Tobgay Dorji and his son Jigme Palden Dorji (who was assassinated in 1964 in Phuntsholing) had all played instrumental role in settling as many Nepali speaking population. These people migrated legally as labourers to clear forests in Samchi and the cleared lands were distributed to them later according to the government, only in the early 1950s did the settlement spread from south-western Samchi and Chirang to Sarbhang,

Geylegphug and Samdrup-Jongkhar areas and in 1958 the National Assembly passed its first nationality act granting citizenship to these settlers. *However, no proper census and land receipt documents were provided by the government as a proof of residency to the citizens until 1977. The two resolutions passed in 11th session by the National Assembly in 1958 are as follows:

Resolution No. 3 "It is resolved that henceforth Nepalese of Southern Bhutan should abide by the rules and regulations of the Royal Government and, pledging their allegiance to the King, should conscientiously refrain from serving another authority (such as Gorkha). They should submit a signed agreement to this effect to the Government. In addition, southern Bhutanese should themselves shoulder the responsibility of protecting the southern border".

Resolution No. 8 "There were two ethnic groups in the kingdom under the rule of His Majesty the King. Since Nepalese inhabiting southern Bhutan as bonafide citizens of this country have submitted bond agreements affirming their allegiance to the King and the country, the Assembly resolved that from this date Nepalese will enjoy equal rights in the National Assembly, and in the country, as other bonafide citizens."

The interaction between the population of South and the Northern population, after-math the political assassination of Prime Minister Jigme Palden Dorji in 1964 almost remained the same as before. It may be questioned to the Royal Government of Bhutan, as to why the then Prime Minister was assassinated under the most unfortunate circumstances in 1964. The obvious answer was that the growing popularity of the Prime Minister with the peace-loving population in the south was taken as a threat to the culture of the rulers and Wangchuck Dynasty and thereby he was silenced forever. In spite of the loss of a leader in Dorji, the people of Southern Bhutan ever remained loyal and faithful to the government with a close liaison with other ethnic groups.

The actual strength of different ethnic population figure presented at random over a long period of time by different authors and journalist cannot be taken for granted nor the extent of peoples' settlement in South Bhutan as gospel truth. Most parts of Southern Bhutan were occupied long back as the geographical terrain and the development of the villages at par with the neighboring developed villages and localities in India does not qualify these immigrants as recent settlers. It is true that Bhutan stepped up socio-economic development activities with the launch of its first five-year plan in 1961. This step was the first modernization drive by the Royal Government and due to the shortages of manpower, many laborers from India and Nepal including the Bengalis and Assamese were imported to Bhutan with permission from the government on contract basis and recycled after the contract period. It is also equally true that Bhutan has a porous and open border with India and people often cross to and fro. The main entry points to Bhutan are Phuntsholing, Geylegphug, Sarbhang, and Samdrup-Jongkhar. The border check posts are manned by the Customs and Police officials.

Britannica Reference Encyclopedia 2013 writes: "Bhutan's mountains and forests long made it inaccessible to the outside world, and its feudal rulers banned foreigners until well into the 20th century."



This type of Notice Board is placed at all check posts.

The people entering Bhutan, other than the Bhutanese nationals are screened in the check posts Phuntsholing, Geylegphug, Sarbhong and Samdrup-Jongkhar and their personal details, reasons of visit and their period of stay recorded in the registers maintained in these posts. Therefore, the trans-border movement is controlled. The other entry points to Bhutan are only through the thick vegetation, swift flowing rivers and through rugged terrain. It can be thus assessed that entry to Bhutan is not as easy as had been made by the Bhutanese propaganda drive against the ethnic Lhotshampa populace.

The Ministry of Home Affairs has not been able to do justice to it-self when it expressed its ignorance of the presence of illegal immigrants in Southern Bhutan for about three decades. Moreover, it went on to record saying that the government was deeply pre-occupied with the implementation of development program and with only a skeleton administrative set-up in the south headed by civil officials who were mostly ethnic Lhotshampas, the government remained ignorant about the scale of this silent invasion by economic immigrants. By then substantial members of them had already mingled and merged with the local population in southern Bhutan. The above stand of the government must be met with skepticism. The reader can rightly point out here as to how the government can remain unaware with the development taking place in its own soil. It is ridiculous and unbelievable and is a cover up to defame the other ethnic people of Bhutan. Whether invited as political future citizens simply as migrant laborers, ethnic Lhotshampas clearly were actively recruited and welcomed to Bhutan. Many of the workers were granted land and the 1958 Nationality Act allowed for the naturalization of land owners after ten

years of residence. But, in Bhutan there are wide-ranging unfair laws as the same act and regulations is not applied to ruling communities living in other parts of the country.

It is obvious that Bhutan is a country surrounded by major Nepali population in the adjoining regions of India and Nepal. Therefore, illegal entry to Bhutan cannot be denied due to its strategic location and favorable economic prosperity. In fact, the world is not free from economic immigrants and every government has been bothered due to influx of illegal hordes of people. However, the dramatization of illegal immigrants in Bhutan by the Royal Government is exaggerated beyond perception and should not be taken as event of magnitudinal nature nor it should be viewed as something extraordinary, designed to destabilize the demographic set up in Bhutan by the ethnic Nepalese. The fear expressed by the Royal Government of Bhutan about the invasion of Ruler's Culture by acts of espionage, sabotage and subversion by the illegal immigrants as totally baseless and uncalled for. History is a witness to the fact that there was never any armed interaction or conflict of ideologies between the different ethnic groups of Bhutan. The present political upset in Bhutan is due to political immaturity of its leaders. "There are lessons to be learnt from the Sikkim's experience. One is that political oppression does not quell popular democratic movement. In Sikkim, the ruling Chogyal Tashi Namgyal, or king attempted to keep his throne by force. By doing so, he lost popular support and was toppled by his own subjects, backed by India" quotes Carole Rose in *The Last Emperor*?

The Thimphu Regime has shown reservation to the entire Nepali People in the Himalayas by labeling them as the only truly migratory race. Perhaps, the Rulers in Bhutan are not aware that people have migrated in the Himalayan Sub-Continent over different periods of time. The Aryans, the Dravidians, the Mongoloids and other races are not the actual aborigines of the Himalayas but have migrated from Central Asia and other regions. The citizens of Bhutan have been often equated with the people in Sikkim, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Duars and the Seven Sisters of North-East, India. By equating, the Bhutan Government is desperately trying to project the Bhutanese nationals as violent, aggressive and uncooperative in the face of the world there by harming the sentiments of the other communities. The movement of these different ethnic people in India and Sikkim were for their own specific causes and does not bear any relevance with Bhutan. In the book "Bhutan" written by Nagendra Singh, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck has accepted that today's Bhutan was tutelage of Kamrupa, Assam until 650 AD and the Ngalungs including the present royal family migrated to Bhutan from Tibet. The basic stand adopted by Bhutan to these people shows the Regime's utter dislike of the other ethnic people.

The book's writ-ups briefly read as "the Nepalese are the only truly migratory race in the Himalayas. Their eastward migration has already reduced several indigenous people of the Himalayas into minorities in their own land. The Lepchas of Kalimpong and Darjeeling have almost vanished in the face of the demographic invasion while the Lepchas and Bhuteas of

Sikkim have been reduced to a small minority. Bhutan is clearly the next target and the odds are overwhelmingly stacked against her". However, this show of fear of the Bhutanese Government is a cover up to protect their poor human rights record in the face of growing criticism and does not project the demographic reality in the true sense within the above mentioned region.

The fault of the creation of the majority population in six of the 20 districts in Bhutan with ethnic people of Nepali origin lies with the Bhutanese Government. When Southern Bhutan used to be heavily forested and malarial, during Shabdrung rule in 1624 AD it imported more Nepali people to develop it and after over centuries when Southern Bhutan emerged out to be a rich agricultural land with fruitful returns, Bhutan exported a false propaganda of cultural invasion and assassination against the very people who have sweated, toiled and bled to make Southern Bhutan a focus of northern ruling elite's attention and greed. A Government official who served there even in the mid-1950s clearly recalled that in those days, Ruling Staffs were afraid to spend even one night in the south. No northerner would ever go down there, other than for brief spells during the mid-winter. The Government of Bhutan attributed the demographic exploitation of Bhutan particularly to the ethnic Nepalese from Nepal and adopted a liberal approach to label the ethnic Nepalese from India as economic immigrants. This is an unfavorable approach to create a diplomatic wrath from one sector and favorable support from the other quarter vis-à-vis the Lhotshampas immigrant factor. This is no doubt a dubious policy nurtured and adopted from the royal circle in Thimphu that aimed at fragmenting the Bhutanese society, the Indian people and the people of Nepal on ideological differences and geographical separation.

A prominent and distinct nature of the Lhotshampa-settlers in Bhutan is that they have never approved violence as a means to achieve a targeted goal or aim. During the assassination of the late Prime Minister of Bhutan Jigme Palden Dorji in 1964 as mentioned in the text, the Lhotshampa never resorted to unlawful activities but remained silent and prostrate. The Chief of Army Staff then, Brigadier Namgyal Bahadur (Cholba Namgyal) a relative of the Wangchuck Family was instructed to assassinate him by a royal command. He did so and he also had to meet with the same fate along with other people by a firing squad. Again in 1974, during the coronation ceremony of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, his step mother, wanted to install her son as King of Bhutan and almost succeeded in making the coup successful but her plan was discovered in time. She fled to India and she is now living in exile. Many high ranking officials from Ngalung community connected with the events were executed. All these facts indicate that the Lhotshampa people in Bhutan were/are loyal and the above quoted instances clearly demonstrate the frustration of the ruling class to seize power and remain as a dominant minority.

Bhutan Government views it a Herculean task to curb the influence of other ethnic people in Bhutan and equates to the story of David and Goliath in the slow development process. However, Bhutan has totally failed to realize that the threat to ruler's culture is not from the Lhotshampa but from the disgruntled factions from their own community with different ideological links. In the political turmoil in Darjeeling, in the downfall of Sikkim, from

international acceptance of an independent state, in the disturbances in the North Eastern States of India and in the democratic struggle in Nepal, the Bhutanese or Lhotshampas in Bhutan have never supported these movements and political developments. Lhotshampas of Bhutan never correlated their ethnicity with the ethnic Nepalese in the world. There are no instances of any support from Bhutan to these democratic changes. The Government's claim of dissidents, offering citizenship and land to all the ethnic Nepalis or Indians outside Bhutan supporting their cause cannot be therefore, accounted as demographic invasion. No-where, in the history, people have been found to provide citizenship and land from exile to their supporters. The government has undermined the validity of the Bhutanese Citizenship Act of 1985 and its own weaknesses to activate the law in totality by surrendering to the extreme and to place the ethnic Lhotshampas as the real trouble shooters to pocket its own nefarious design of ethnic cleansing in the name of cultural preservation.

BHUTAN DESIGNED 'THE 1988 CENSUS'

Bhutan King designed the 1988 census to evict the citizens of Southern Bhutan other than his Tibetan community.

The census of 1988 which was designed and carried out targeting against Lhotshampas only in the southern districts of Bhutan used the criteria set out in the 1985 Citizenship Act. The census placed the population into one of the seven categories:

- F1 Genuine Bhutanese Citizens.
- F2 Returned migrants (who left Bhutan and then returned).
- F3 "Drop out" cases, i.e. who were absent during the census.
- F4 A non-national woman married to a Bhutanese man.
- F5 A non-national man married to a Bhutanese woman.
- F6 Adoption cases (children who have been legally adopted).
- F7 Non-nationals, i.e. migrants and illegal settlers.

The way in which the census was conducted varied in different areas. Some districts and villages experienced the complications and harassment and thus the census ran into controversy almost immediately. Not only was there no clear indication given by census officials about the implications of being placed in any of the seven categories, there were also consistent reports

that the census was being carried out in an arbitrary fashion, and that the standards being applied for proof of citizenship were unduly rigorous.

In accordance with the 1985 Citizenship Act the census required ethnic Gorkha communities (Lhotshampas or Southern Bhutanese) to provide documentary evidence of their residence in the country in 1958. The standards set for proving residence were extremely strict and in some areas no account appears to have been taken of the difficulties that the production of appropriate documentation would pose for a largely illiterate people in a country that has only recently adopted basic administrative procedures. It is without a doubt understood that appropriate documentation simply would not exist with the citizens since the Home Ministry did not exist until 1968, and that prior to this census records were held by village headmen (Mondal) who did not keep accurate and comprehensive records. However, with the initiatives of District Collectors the citizens of Southern Districts were issued land tax receipts printed in Nepali language (as Dzongkha language was barely in use), a fundamental proof of being Bhutanese citizens.

Although comprehensive systems for enumeration in the census records only date back to 1972, it was only in 1977 that proper documentation providing proof of payment of land taxes was instituted. Furthermore, in some districts and villages no provision was made for village elders and headmen to vouch for people they knew to be citizens but who lacked the relevant paperwork, as had been permitted in the past. Census teams are also said to have refused to accept as evidence of residence relevant documentation for the years prior to 1958.

Even those families who were able to produce what they believed to be evidence of their eligibility to be granted F1 status were exempted under the very strict guidelines used by the census teams. Many families who possessed citizenship certificates issued by district officials under the provisions of the 1958 Nationality Law found these declared null and void unless they could produce documents proving at least residence, and often land ownership, prior to 1958. Others, who possessed the Citizenship Identity Cards that were issued by Home Ministry previously were confiscated and similarly classified as F7, non-nationals or "illegal immigrants".

When people were able to supply the documentation required impossibly strict standards were set for their acceptance. For example, the documentations were rejected for minor spelling differences, or because middle names were spelled out on one document and were given simply as initials in another. Families were advised orally of the decision, and despite being advised initially that their citizenship had been confirmed, in some cases they were subsequently told that they had been declared "illegal immigrants" or non-nationals.

For impartiality and justice, truth is made known here that 'should there be similar type of census conducted in northern districts of Bhutan where Ngalung ethnic communities are settled none of

them will meet the criteria for Bhutanese citizenship as they too have no documents to prove their evidence of residence prior to 1958.

History is witness, Nepali community is indigenous to the Himalaya region; they are not immigrants from elsewhere. Lhotshampas or inhabitants of Southern Bhutan basically from Nepali community speak Nepali language, they have similar cultural and social way of life with the people of Nepal but almost all of them do not know their ancestry in Nepal nor do they desire to emigrate from Bhutan. They have lived there since centuries. And irrespective of which group came first and which came later, it is important to note Lhotshampa were the first to open Southern Bhutan to clear the virgin forest for agricultural use. History of India and the world is clear that the Gorkhas or Nepali race were since centuries living in Southern Bhutan and in the adjoining states of India. And those living in Bhutan are naturally and equally Bhutanese citizens like other communities living in other parts of Bhutan. The absurd laws and steps taken by Wangchuck Govt of Bhutan, if applied to all countries, would entail readjustment of the populations of all the countries around the globe. For example, the settlers in America, Africa, and Australia would return to countries of their origin in Europe and Asia. Similarly, if applied to our region, lakhs of Bhutias from Nepal and India would have to go to Bhutan, Lepchas to Sikkim, Tamils from Sri-Lanka to India, Nepalese to Nepal and this way all have to move evolving incalculable problems in the world. The insanity crimes of such magnitude of Ethnic Cleansing committed by Bhutan should not go unobserved; the guilty in Bhutan should be brought to justice.

GENESIS OF THE PROBLEM

Until the early 1980s the different ethnic groups in Bhutan lived in a happy atmosphere of brotherhood. But as 1985 gave way to 1986 and the Sixth Five Year Plan of Bhutan was unfolded, almost over-night the government started to maltreat the citizens of Southern Bhutan. The king declared that the preservation of tradition and culture was a priority of the plan. The Lhotshampas' downfall had begun.

The core issue of the Southern Bhutan problem is the nationality factor. During the census in early 1988, officials began to rob the Southern Bhutanese of citizenship. Tek Nath Rizal, the then Royal Advisory Councilor and his associate, petitioned the King on 09 April 1988, outlining the suffering of the people resulting from the census officials' abuse of power. They have appealed to the King to consider amending the 1985 citizenship act such that:

1. It could no longer be implemented retrospectively to deny citizenship to people whom under earlier legislation would qualify as Bhutanese Nationals.
2. Children born to any Bhutanese citizens automatically acquire Bhutanese citizenship.
3. It allows non-national spouse of Bhutanese citizen to acquire citizenship within the shortest possible time.

The appeal was viewed as seditious and on 3rd June 1988, Mr. Rizal was charged with treason, arrested and imprisoned. After three days of imprisonment Mr. Rizal succumbed to coercion and signed a document depriving him of the right to attend public function and to meet more than three people at a time. Mr. Rizal was deposed from his public office, released from the prison and ordered to leave the capital forthwith he was kept under house arrest in his district Chirang. There was no secured situation to voice his issues and feeling threat to his life in Bhutan Tek Nath Rizal went into exile to Birtamod, Eastern Nepal in August 1988, founded Peoples Forum for Human Rights and started appealing to the International Communities for help. But on 16 November 1989 with the support of some Nepal Police Officers he was again treacherously abducted from his home in Birtamod, arrested and dumped in the dark dungeons in Bhutan. The intention of the petition to the government was in the right earnest and in the interest of the country and the people. It was not intended for launching subversive activities with political vision against Royal regime.

On 16 January 1989, His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck issued a Royal decree to formally launch the "One Nation One People" policy which essentially banned cultural pluralism in Bhutan. The ruling elite made observance of their culture, dress and language mandatory for all the Bhutanese in the name of National Integration. The people of Southern Bhutan in fact supported to move without dubbing it a racist policy but the direction, it took during its rigorous implementation pointed to the destruction of culture and depopulation of Southern Bhutan. The "One Nation One People" thus became the rallying slogan of the government "because Bhutan is

small, it cannot afford to have too many divided identities". And their culture (ruling elite) alone would provide the single identity to the populace.

The first report of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) Jurist mission to Bhutan, in their "unanimous findings" states that the enactment of a number of discriminatory law and policies in the mid-1980s has triggered serious human rights violations in Southern Bhutan. These laws are being implemented in an arbitrary, discriminatory and "intimidatory" manner; there has been "Systematic and Manifold Discrimination" against the Lhotshampas; the discrimination has been "cautious and directed by sections of the ruling authorities; citizenship rights of majority of Southern Bhutanese have been illegally confiscated; there have been attempts of forced national integration; there have been widespread violations in the south of the rights to education, health and basic goods and services; there has been massive suppression of the right to dissent, associate and assemble; access to human rights organizations has been denied; and "there have been instances of ethnocide". In fact "There is no indication that Lhotshampas or Nepali speakers were as of 1988, organizing to topple the crown or invade the north. Nor does it seem probable that any one was seriously contemplating asking India's help "do a Sikkim" on Bhutan. It is more likely that, as the Nepali-speakers became politicized against the 1988 census exercise and implementation of the Driglam Namza (ruling elite's' code of conduct), the Thimphu decision makers decided to nip the "Lhotshampas problem before it ever budded", writes Kanak Mani Dixit in Himal July/Aug 1992, issue.

The "**Green Belt Policy**" was another design of the Royal Government to depopulate the densely settled population in the Southern Bhutan. Probably the one kilometer wide belt of forest along the border could have been for security reasons rather than for environmental ones since Bhutan is already - richly forested. The government's plan, involving the displacement of thousands of people from the most fertile land in Bhutan, was not met with favor from international donors and was quickly dropped. "Fortunately donor government officials in Australia, Japan and Denmark rejected proposal to create a kilometer wide environmental "Green Belt" of forest land along Bhutan's southern border by Bhutan Government. The Bhutanese Government tried to sell the idea as an environmental conservation program. In fact, creating such a green belt would have allowed the Bhutanese government to oust Lhotshampas at the international expense (The last Emperor? Carole Rose.)

The ignorant population of Southern Bhutan were kept unaware of the census categorization from F1 to F7 nor was the government aware of its implications. Everything was done in haste in the fabricated backdrop of modernization and rapid economic development. In the words of Kinley Dorji - the editor of government run Kuensel, Bhutan's only newspaper..... "The 1988 head-count, the first detailed census in the country's history, was organized because the government officials said they needed better statistics to plan a process of modernization after years of self-imposed isolation". The king on the other hand calls the Ngalungs "as endangered species" and says Bhutan is facing the greatest threat to its survival since the **seventh century**

and also adds that in the next 10, 15 or 20 years Bhutan will no longer be a Bhutanese nation. It will be a Nepali state just like Sikkim". It is 25 years today the king said this; there is no such sign in Bhutan the king thought. The conflicting stand of the government for the development and modernization in one hand and the tactics it has adopted to achieve successful modernization drive on the other hand by ethnic segregation and cultural disparity is indeed contradictory. Mr. Kinley further adds that "The findings sent shock waves through the government; census officials estimated that more than 100,000 economic migrants had settled among the ethnic Nepalis living in the Kingdom's Southern Districts" a figure which tallies with the Bhutanese refugees verified and registered by UNHCR in Nepal. This figure has been presented to the readers after the distortion of census records and documents. *"Amnesty International was very concerned about the refugees from Bhutan. Our concern is that people have been forcibly evicted from Bhutan because of their ethnic origin and political belief". – Ross Daniels, Chairperson of the Amnesty International. August 1994.* "Census registers are incomplete, some people have had their names deleted from the census records, and many people who might otherwise be able to prove their residence in the country by producing their lands tax receipts and other relevant documents have been confiscated by local government authorities (Report of Amnesty International quoted in Bhutan Review Sept. 94)". Further, the Amnesty international has found out and proved with relevant facts that in most of the cases Tsa-Thram (land deed) numbering system were altered and all the previous recording systems and registers were substituted.

The Southern Bhutan problem in part can be attributed to the matrimonial links of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck to the four queens in 1988. The queens are the daughters of an ambitious business man from Talo in Punakha district. Before the troubles began, King Jigme was liked by all the Bhutanese people irrespective of ethnic background. He was indeed a hard working king and was in constant touch with the development activities in the country. However, his marriage saw increasing domination in the palace by the new members of the royal family both in economical and political field. The post marriage of the king saw the emergence of five top powerful men in the bureaucratic system. All the top executives are related to the royal family. These include the then Foreign Minister Dawa Tshering, Home Minister Dago Tshering, the Chief of Army Staff Lt. General Lam Dorji and Social Minister Tashi Topgyal. The Finance Minister Dorji Tshering is the elder brother of Lt. General Lam Dorji while the Joint Secretary in the Planning Commission is the queen's elder brother. The youngest brother of the queens is the final authority to decide on Bhutanese citizenship. Ex-Trade Minister Mr. Om Pradhan is another person closely related to Lam Dorji through marriages.

The King Jigme's father-in-law has benefited financially and politically from the new marriages. He became financially very sound and politically very strong by acquiring the following industrial sectors from the government at concessional rates.

i) Singye Enterprises

- ii) Dhendup Enterprises
- iii) Dhendup Industries
- iv) Bhutan Engineering Corporation
- v) Lakhi Cement Project
- vi) Bhutan Tourism Corporation
- vii) The Gedu Plywood Project besides hordes of other small scale projects.
- viii) Dhendup Dolomites

It is apparent here that the king was under some compulsion to act according to the whims and fancies of the new coterie of the royal family team and was pressurized to set up his Ngalungnization program in the face of stiff opposition from the southern Bhutan. It is widely speculated that the moderate plans of the king for the solution of southern problem is altered overnight and implemented abruptly with vigorous force. The king in this deadly game of power struggle seems to be left alone as he seems to have succumbed to coterie which desires cultural purity and unhindered economic access to the southern lands. King Jigme seems incapable of discerning his goal amidst web of intrigue and vested interests that has been spin around him especially since his marriage. Meanwhile, as the "New Royal Family" has centralized power, the king's three sisters and his paternal uncle Namgyal Wangchuck, all of whom once had charge of key ministries, have been sidelined. "His majesty does not want to know the real suffering of the citizens, but the officials will never allow him to meet them. These people will never tell the King what he does not want to hear. The top brass in the army and the various ministers are colluding to such an extent that even the King is powerless", says a former high ranking official who wants to remain anonymous.

When every means failed to convince the government about the adverse implications of the ambitious Ngalungnization Program to the southern populace, Peoples Forum for Human Rights (PFHR-B) was formed on 09 July 1989 in exile, to redress the human rights situation in Bhutan, and elected Rizal as chairperson - who was later abducted from Nepal. Almost about 45 people were arrested for their involvement in writing of 'Human Rights Pamphlets' and imprisoned. This act of the government greatly undermined his prestige issue of the Bhutanese people and the government also stepped up with its allegation of the Southern Bhutanese as 'anti-nationals' and 'terrorist' concurrently. Visible frustration signs were seen amongst people against the government's dual nature. It became eminent that the southern Bhutan's situation would become volatile after the people started peaceful demonstrations against the atrocities of the government. Instead of assessing the emerging political development in the south; the government became more rigid and determined to carry out its thorough scrutiny of the demoralized southern population with more ferocity. Harassing technique became more common with the census officials and the people got more dejected and frustrated. Mass mobilizations of the security

forces took place and were stationed in all the southern districts in complete battle fatigue. Simultaneously, the government also started mandatory militia training in the country to the people other than the ethnic Lhotshampas. It was a war-like situation except that one group was well prepared while the others were defenseless.

US State Department report of 1993 states "Most people have left voluntarily in the face of "officially sanctioned pressure" including arbitrary arrests, beatings, rape, robberies and other forms of intimidation by the Bhutanese Police and Army. Thimphu has been accused among other things of denying citizens the right to change government, curbing rights for fair trials, restricting peaceful association and assembly and worker rights".

CAUSES AND CRISIS IN BHUTAN

The Government's operation of "Ethnic cleansing" in Southern Bhutan is a thorough brainwork and well thought out team work aimed at it's well execution by the ruling echelons; the ethnic Tibetan or Ngalung, their Ministers, Army Chief and the King, keeping the international community at bay by carrying out propaganda drill of economic development in the south with a venomous design at the back of mind. The southerner were particularly unaware of the government's planned crack down and even the top ranking Lhotshampa Government Officials in the civil and military services were kept uninformed about the government's planned strategy. The government quietly carried out the feasibility study for it's much publicized planned economic development through-out Bhutan and drew a conclusion that Southern Bhutan is the ideal site to usher Bhutan in the twenty first century. The government realized that it was not at all possible to carry out the development activities in the stiff cliffs and rugged terrain in the northern Bhutan.

Geographically, northern Bhutan borders with the People's Republic of China. The region consists of virgin snowcapped mountain peaks and unfavorable terrain conditions with few thoroughfares through difficult mountain passes to the autonomous region of Tibet. Trade with Tibet is non-existent and Bhutan does not have any diplomatic or bilateral relations with China till date. The recent development in establishing diplomatic relation between Bhutan and China

is encouraging but, as a matter of fact it is not simple to come into existence with its clear objectives. The Tibetans on the other hand are not in good terms with Bhutan for obvious reasons. In 1974, the Tibetans in Bhutan had suffered a lot at the hands of the ruling elite who were subjected to persecution; ironing and severe jail terms and some reported death. The Bhutanese people were then made to believe that the Tibetan-Step-mother Ashi Yanki of the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck had wanted to wrest the throne for her son, the proof of which has not been established till to date. Yanki and her son fled to India and since then they are in India under Indian security and protection. The Tibetan thereafter, faced the wrath of the Bhutanese Regime. They were given ultimatum to either become the citizens of Bhutan or to follow Dalai Lama in exile. Some agreed and many refused the government's offer and left Bhutan. The harassment to Tibetans still continues in Bhutan. The Tibetans who often infiltrate into Bhutan through Tibet for political reasons or otherwise are apprehended, their belongings confiscated and some sent back the way they had come where most are left to die in the snow without any mercy to human ethics and values. Even today some of the Tibetans are kept as refugees in the Royal Bhutanese Army Headquarters in Lungtenphug, Thimphu at the mercy of the Army. The Tibetans who accepted the Bhutanese citizens have never raised to prominent positions in the government services. There are no Tibetans in the Government services and in the defense forces. Tibetans are not allowed to prosper economically, nor are they taken into Bhutanese confidence. The Tibetans struggle for their daily sustenance. Some beg in the streets and some survive through the income from their small momo and liquor shops. The condition of Tibetans in Bhutan is miserable. There are no Tibetan representatives in the National Assembly of Bhutan nor are there Tibetans of some power in the Buddhist Monastery of Bhutan. The Tibetans are pocketed in places like Bumthang, Tongsa, Wangdi, Punakha and Thimphu and to some other secret places. They are not kept at one place due to the fact that they would soil their culture. The Bhutanese Government appreciates the contribution of the Tibetan monk Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal but does not want his followers to dominate Bhutan and hence the Tibetans are subjected to a third class status in Bhutan.

Based on the terrain study after a thorough reconnaissance the government prepared a preliminary report and unanimously agreed that Southern Bhutan met all the pre-requisite for the infra-structural development conditions. The government realized the immense potentiality that the southern hills hold for them which so far was discarded as uneconomical but a mere source of revenue from the Lhotshampa settlement. The proxy of Indian markets in the fertile plains with enormous population close to Bhutan border and the availability of raw materials indeed incited the government to venture in for it but how? As the development activities envisaged by the government mainly centered in Southern Bhutan for drastic result and productivity, it was felt that there would be uproar from the other quarters, which indeed proved correct when the representatives from other than southern districts started raising their concern for modernization drive in their respective districts in the National Assembly. The government again carried out the analysis of the terrain of Bhutan through sand models and blow ups for the relocation of their

proposed industrial plants and other economic sectors. The conclusion arrived at was the same as before. The government just could not reject south, for it realized that Southern Bhutan was not only an area of strategic importance as gateway to India and outside world but also a storehouse of riches for the modern economy. Southern Bhutan met all the requirements that are needed for accelerating the economic growth. Thus with the start of development activities in the south from 1970s, the Lhotshampas started becoming the targets of the government after the Tibetans.

Bhutan achieved a perfect social harmony and tranquility and became a haven of peace not only to the Bhutanese but to the outsider too. There was rapid economic development and with it the social happiness of the people also shot up. With the economic aid packages and grants from the donor countries, Bhutan moved ahead to keep in time with the developing countries and shed its image of the poorest country of the world. The per-capita income of the people soared up with the increase at GNP. The period from 1975 to 1985 can rightly be called the **golden periods** in the annals of Bhutan history as no untoward incidents occurred. The country was acknowledged as the most peaceful country in the world and further it started getting the status of the fast developing country in South Asia. Its virgin ever green forests, untapped water resources with hydro-electricity potentiality, its intangible snow covered mountain peaks and the docile people all indicated that Bhutan is indeed a land of paradise and fantasy. This period saw the cultural integration between all the ethnic groups in Bhutan and the fusion of ideologies into one unit which indeed are a parameter for the socio-eco-politico development of the country. In the meantime South became the industrial belt of Bhutan with cardamom plantations, orange groves, ginger crops, minerals, hardwood forests, mines, hydro-projects and distillery units. All the major industries of Bhutan are based in the south like the hydroelectric plants, the cement factories, the timber industry and other small scale industries. The development in the Southern Bhutan made the Lhotshampas economically sound and thus the ruling elite turned against them for they realized that the south had become a potential economic power house and the Lhotshampas a threat to the cultural survival of the ruling tribe. The Chukha Hydel Project, which earns the maximum revenue for the government started effective operation from 1988. These projects clearly provided Thimphu with the self-confidence to move ahead with its plans for the south. (Chukha and Tala Hydel Projects perhaps, showed the rulers the riches that lay within their grasp). "Mega projects bring mega dislocations to society those who control the distribution of the additional revenue have the power to destroy social exchange mechanism and economic balance" Dipak Gyawali, Nepali Water Economist.

Southern Bhutan; a malaria infected region once; untouched and feared by the ruling class then, now an economic base of Bhutan made so by the sheer will power of the people over a long period of time has become a bone of contention of the ethnic groups in Bhutan. Now, the very

people who sweated, toiled and labored hard to make Southern Bhutan a prosperous region are made to flee the country by use of bayonets and bullets so that the ruling cats could heave the rich harvest. The rulers of Bhutan could not bear the economic prosperity of the Lhotshampas; their happiness; their social interaction with the common Bhutanese people and their affiliation with the cultural identity of Bhutan and found a pretext to brand the Southern Bhutanese; ngolops or anti-nationals without a clear conscience and perception. Royal Government of Bhutan labeled Lhotshampas as anti-king and outsiders and started promulgating hurtful statements against them. Perhaps, in their haste to evict the people from the south, they forgot to realize that Southern Bhutan of today is the economic gift to Bhutan and is synonymous to the ethnic Lhotshampas of Bhutan.

PREPARATION FOR CRACKDOWN

The government's attempt to ignite friction amongst the citizens in Southern Bhutan failed completely in spite of strict census policy, Driglam-Namza etc. and forced indoctrination. The people knew the motive behind the government's tough stand courtesy the learned people of the villages and in the services. In its utter disregard for human values and the total frustration, the government planned to carry out a war of attrition and a propaganda campaign against the Southern Bhutanese. And once it succeeded in terrorizing the farmers and some of the families from Southern Bhutan started to leave the country to save their lives the Government started showing photographs of horribly bleeding, mutilated bodies of the victims butchered by criminals especially to Ngalung community in the north to create hatred against Lhotshampa community. The responsibility of showing photographs and explanation both were carefully monitored by Government high rank officials with the help the Royal Bhutan Army. This was continued until the beginning of 1992.

And in 1993 after thorough drilled and well executed exercises, the government released glossy magazines filled with grisly color photographs, showing the mutilated bodies of alleged victims, by criminal's anti-nationals the three books mentioned in the beginning. These photographs have been brought to international attention only after winning the consent of the top bureaucrats of the government. Before the books were published documentary films were made out of it in 1990

and shown in all the districts of Bhutan except the South, for which an army officer is a witness to it who wishes to remain anonymous. The documentary films accompanied the King's entourage and shown to the common public at selected places. "In the Royal Bhutan Army Military Training Centre" Tencholing in Wangdiphodrang district where the select soldier's from different army units were centered for mobilization in the south, the King and his team stayed for six days at the Training Centre in 1990 and through-out their duration of stay, the documentary films were shown to the soldiers, their families, the fresh recruits, the militia men and the villagers in the army film hall. The King's visit to army units and villages is taken as a visit by the omnipotent and omnipresent lord with cash incentives and lucrative gifts. During the King's tour to the Military Training Centre, the army and the district officers' feasted at the royal expense for six consecutive days and the soldiers were given a grand party. On top of that the officers received the following presents (these are not the regular uniforms issued to Bhutanese Armed Forces) from His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck for their dedicated and meritorious service to the (Tsa-Wa-Sum) King, Kingdom and the Royal Government:-

Officers:

- i) Korean Camouflage Army Cap
- ii) Korean Camouflage Army jacket
- iii) Korean Camouflage Army shirt
- iv) Korean Camouflage Army boot
- v) Korean Camouflage Army vest
- vi) Korean Camouflage Army slack
- vii) Sharp Disc Music System
- viii) Cash bundle to each officer.

Moreover officers were given surety for promotion and better life.

Non Commissioned Officers:

The non-commissioned officers and the recruit instructors were given cash incentives. Every Officers, JCOs and soldiers in the Royal Bhutan Army had received the above incentives from the King.

Royal Bhutan Police, Royal Body Guards and many other bureaucrats are equally benefited in pleasing the ruling elite. The King mainly stays in the army guest rooms or mess whenever he visits in different places obviously for security reasons. However, the King is always accompanied by his circle of four queens and the five top most bureaucrats. In his address to the villagers and to the soldiers, the King never blames the southern Bhutanese but the administration. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck is almost a lone figure within the four walls of Tashichhodzong and he is trying his utmost to steer his Kingdom ahead without support from his own inner circle the royal elite. It is presumed that he made personal mistakes in his private life

due to his marriages with the four sisters who are out to oust him in the long run and the Lhotshampas with their collaborators from the Bhutanese scene. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck otherwise is a very simple man and unostentatious. His diet is simple and he lives in Samteling in a simple log-cabin palace. According to Narendra Kumar, writing in the Calcutta Statesman, about the King, he writes that "the King is handsome like a Greek God, is courteous to a fault, publicity shy, and a teetotaler". Siding Narendra Kumar a western Ambassador to Thimphu says "The King is very austere, very dedicated to the cause of the people when they say that people have access to him, it is true".

The Southern Bhutan problem therefore, is not the King's make but made by somebody from within the Tashichhodzong designed for the king to act. The mass agitation by the people of Southern districts was in retaliation against the government's policies and its forceful implementation. It was not an uprising for democracy but an uprising for basic changes in the total authoritarian rule. The people of Southern Bhutan had never visualized the government's crackdown to be so brutal and swift. Thimphu found it an easy excuse to blame the Southerners that it was a move to take over power, inspired by democratic changes in Nepal. This stand of the government cannot be justified at all. Without any media coverage, the government was at will to do anything against the unarmed civilians by the well-equipped security personnel, and which they have done. To remind, the Government of Bhutan, democracy cannot be achieved from a foreign soil, it has to be initiated and established from the country concerned. The September 1990 demonstration was for a peaceful resolution of the home problem but it culminated into a political struggle too. If the Lhotshampas had wanted democracy in Bhutan then, they could not have immediately retaliated against the government's forceful imposition of ethnic biased rules and regulations. Unlike the catastrophic plans and programs of BPP Party to react instantly against the government, they would have organized; made the people of all the communities aware of government's anti-people policies and they could have waited, mobilized the people and launched the struggle for political changes over at an appropriate time. The Lhotshampas could have won over the trust and support of the Ngalung, Sharchops and other minority ethnic groups and the consent of the security forces to turn the nozzle of the barrel to the oppressors.

The Royal Regime of Bhutan is always ready to photograph the bleeding or dying people but not ready to stop crimes. Crime or murder is always desired by the rulers of Bhutan to defeat its opposition forces. Bhutan Peoples Party (BPP) which was founded by some ambitious persons was never as per the wish of the people of Bhutan. And the blame for this party was behind all these killings and terrorist activities should be a subject to be examined by the people and legal institutions of the world. The demonstration that took place in 1990 was not because people supported this party's ideology or demand for democracy but, the people wanted to appeal for justice on the issues that were prevailing in the country. Secondly, the innocent people were forced by this party to participate in the demonstration. But the government did not stop the crime nor were the criminals arrested. Instead innocent farmers, women, students and

government officials were arrested, tortured and killed in the prisons. And in Bhutan it is always "a doctor after the death" to tactfully tackle the outside world. Yet, the Royal Regime is still provided with enough financial assistance by European Countries and many World Organizations, to create more refugees and invite problems in the world? Those who are sympathetic to Bhutanese Monarch must speak to this gospel truth and express concern for impartial justice.

Regarding the genuine mass support of the people then the Lhotshampa agitators had, not for democracy but for some radical changes in a liberalized pattern. The qualification of this support are the

Photo of deactivated body of Bhim Bahadur Chhetri published in the book "A Brief Pictorial Summary of the Terrorist Activities in Southern Bhutan, 13 Aug. 1992 to 05 June 1993, by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Thimphu Bhutan" is not posted here since it is scary, horrifying.

Bhutanese people with refugee status numbering more than one hundred thousand in the asylum camps in Nepal and another about thirty thousands are living in the states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West-Bengal and Sikkim. Had it been a democratic movement, the Lhotshampas would have struggled, fought and succumbed to bullets in Bhutan rather than die a miserable death in a third country.

If the government could photograph bleeding decapitated body of **Bhim Bahadur Chhetri** why couldn't they photograph the terrorists? The reader can see the photograph of the decapitated body of Bhim Bahadur Chhetri in the book written by Bhutan Government '**A Brief Pictorial Summary of The Terrorist Activities in Southern Bhutan, June 1993**'.

Why the Government forces stay so near to photograph the bleeding victims? How could they dare to photograph bleeding body of the victim while the killers would be around that scene? Why couldn't the Royal Government forces stop this crime? Or isn't a crime by the Royal Government forces in the name of people of Bhutan to brand them as terrorists? The world must judge the scene with objective analysis from the problems in our forefront. Every death that has occurred in Bhutan during 1988 to 1993 is from Lhotshampa community only. What is the motive behind these crimes in Bhutan that one community is at loss always? Isn't the Regime responsible for this? The world must not keep off from these facts. The Bhutanese King including all others responsible for the crimes must be brought to International Court of Justice. Bhutanese king has abused UN Human Rights Resolutions thus the King and his ministers are responsible for the crimes in Bhutan.

To protect its clean image of unique Shangri-La flowered by peace loving people in the lap of Mighty Himalayas under the fluttering flags in tune with the churning prayer wheels, Bhutan wanted to remain invisible to the outside world with its deeds. The Dragon finally thundered and Bhutan became a focus of International attention when tales of woes and sufferings narrated by

the victims of Shangri-La myth through press coverage got flashed. However, very few outside Bhutan know that the stage for this game was set for a total victory after a thorough homework and rehearsal from the early 1980s.

The first indication of the government's dislike of Hindu culture was the disbanding of television antenna disc from the country when the Tele-serial Ramayana became very popular with the masses. It is only in 1999; the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck or his government lifted the ban on television and the Internet, making Bhutan one of the last countries to introduce Television and Internet facilities available for the general public. While lifting the ban the King said that television was a critical step to the modernization of Bhutan as well as a major contributor to the country's Gross National Happiness (Bhutan is the only country to measure happiness of the unhappy people), but warned that the "misuse" of television could erode traditional Bhutanese values. From these happenings anyone can judge as how much sincere the Wangchuck kings are and how much truth it holds regarding its slogan of Gross National Happiness.

In order to lower the pride of the Sanskrit and Hindi and Nepali lingua-franca, the government banned the Nepali text from the schools in Southern Bhutan. All the Nepali text books published by Ministry of Education then were officially destroyed by burning in all the schools of Southern Bhutan. Not satisfied, it was made mandatory to consume beef in the schools and college hostels, in the army units and in the public feast. This step was a severe blow to the Hindus as eating of beef is taboo in Hindu Religion. In Hindu Religion Cows and Oxen are worshipped. The Nepali speakers still remained silent but with the imposition of the policies as already mentioned, it became clear that all the steps taken by the government designed primarily to subjugate the Nepali-culture so that the Lhotshampas would vacate the south voluntarily to preserve their cultural identity. Still the Lhotshampas remained faithful to the 'Tsa-Wa-Sum' (King, Kingdom and Government) and contributed even more to the economic development of Bhutan. Unable to chase the southern inhabitants away, the Thimphu regime planned to launch a military crackdown for which a lot of preparation was done, security matters were looked into and financial resources were capitalized.

The Government of Bhutan as a preliminary step carried out the physical auditing of the arms and ammunition held in different army units and depots. After ensuring the safety check-ups the government recalled all the retired service personnel for active service and recruited militia-men throughout Bhutan. The pool vehicles from different departments were given to the army units. Reserve arms and ammunitions were purchased from foreign countries and stockpiled. Says a Delhi based diplomat now in exile who wants to remain anonymous. "When I was a diplomat in the Royal Bhutanese Embassy in New Delhi, six trucks of arms and ammunitions consignments from a foreign country was received and sent to Bhutan through the Bhutan's National Flag Carrier, the Druk Air". It is obvious that the government needed those military goods not for fighting a war with another country but for butchering the innocent citizens. The Indian brand

military weapons of the Royal Body Guards were replaced by foreign brands and all the defense officers were issued with special pistols with foreign marks. This is a bitter fact and there are senior Royal Bhutan Army Officers in exile who can testify. All the entry and exit points in Bhutan were manned by security forces, bridges and road heads well covered, flow of basic goods like salt, kerosene and even rice sanctioned and the schools and hospitals were closed and thus was the stage set ready for pre-emptive strike at innocent targets. According to an Army officer wishing anonymity, "At night time, I used to load dry rations, kerosene, salt and other goods in the vehicle and used to go to Changkha. The recipients of my help are in the refugee camps. It was easy for me as military vehicles were not checked and moreover, I used to be in my military uniform. The civilian vehicles were subjected to thorough check and nothing was possible to be sent in those vehicles". He further states that any one opposing the government's plan had to pay with their dear lives or was imprisoned. I recall in 1988 Captain Tarun Chhetri (Ex-NDA&IMA) ADC to the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck along with a Forest Ranger Man Bahadur Dewan Rai died an unfortunate mystery death in Manas. The king had gone to the Manas wild-life sanctuary for hunting. "Their death was declared a suicide case and cremated without post-mortem". His relatives are in the refugee camps. Everyone knew that it was a political assassination. The officer went on to tell that. "In one instance twenty one soldiers from an army unit were court-martialed in 1990 without furnishing any reasons. Some were imprisoned and some are still in the prison. However, it became clear later, that it was a political case". The charmed hiatus in which Thimphu finds itself is bound to end before long, for there are obvious limits to credibility in selling a flawed program. Thimphu strategists who sat down in 1990 to chart the present course did not contemplate that there would be a refugee problem, or that it would fester into the decades. The eviction operation was supposed to be brutal and swift. The Lhotshampas would disappear into the night after which Bhutan would revert back to its self-image of innocent hermit Shangri-La.

In the government report titled "The Southern Bhutan Problem" the government argued that: the dissidents and their supporters had miscalculated on three major counts. Firstly, ethnic Lhotshampas did not constitute the majority of the population. Secondly, the Government refused to be provoked into armed retaliation despite attacks on the police with guns, "Khukuries" (knives) and bombs by the so called peaceful demonstrators. Thirdly, convinced that it would be sufficient if they could persuade some of the people in Southern Bhutan, and force others, to participate in the "demonstrations" to bring about the government's capitulation, the dissidents had launched their agitation without considering whether they had genuine mass support. With an economic boom in southern Bhutan due to large-scale export of cash crops and the establishment of several industries which have created abundant jobs, and the substantial benefits occurring from developmental projects, the majority of the Lhotshampas refused to support the agitation launched by the dissidents."

The above stated argument of the Government to support their stand and to hold the Lhotshampas the root of all the problems in Southern Bhutan is absolutely untrue. The answers

of these baseless arguments have already been covered in detail and in depth with opinions and findings from the fact finding mission to Bhutan. The International Community simply cannot be kept at bay from the absolute truth by writing seditious and treacherous documents about its own population. The decency of the Lhotshampas in the refugee camps in Nepal have been widely acclaimed and appreciated by one and all, decades have passed in exile, yet these innocent people are hoping to return to their homes with the blessings of their King. The wrongs and rights of the Government and the Lhotshampas have already been covered widely by individuals, diplomats, academicians, intellectuals, missions, press and publicity and information media. Now it is the turn of the Bhutanese Government to weigh the pros and cons.

OPERATION ETHNIC CLEANSING

The success of democratic movement in Nepal and the fall of Communism for democratic set up elsewhere did not have any bearing with the Southern Bhutanese nor did they have any pride with their superior population strength. However, the Government's biased policies compelled the people to voice for their basic rights which the Government promptly misinterpreted it as an indicator for Nepali autonomy. When people finally took to streets against these policies in September 1990, the peaceful rallies and silent protest marches were termed as anti-national activities and the Government was quick to crack on the demonstrators inflicting casualties. Amnesty International reported that as many as four thousand demonstrators took part in this protests in Samchi district alone. The report further says- "The total number of people arrested since early 1990 for suspected involvement in opposition activities runs into thousands". Arbitrary detention, torture, rape, murder, confiscation of lands, properties and citizenship documents became a daily routine. This led to the flight of many Southern Bhutanese to India and Nepal for security reasons and for their own protection.

Following the September 1990 demonstrations, raids by the security forces became very common. People were beaten frequently and questioned on participation in protest activities, rape became a common nightmare. Many innocent people were detained in the prison cells, local schools, hospitals which were converted to army barracks and jails, without trail. In 1990, National Institute of Family Health (NIFH) a WHO funded institution at Geylegphug was converted into army detention centre, where hundreds of people were tortured, hacked to death and many were still in the prison. It became mandatory for the people speaking Nepali language to have a "No Objection Certificate" (NOC) for employment, admission to schools, trade licenses or permission to leave the country on official work. "NOCs were denied to anyone who

had a family member suspected of participating in the 1990 demonstrations. Although NOC requirement was dropped in 1992, following negotiations between the Bhutanese Government and Amnesty International, Thimphu continues to expel people on grounds that a "family member" has participated in the opposition movement. Still, citizenship cards of the relatives of refugees in Bhutan are confiscated. And they are not allowed to have passport to travel out of the country. Ms Dechen (name changed) and her children from Paro Bhutan are not allowed to have passport to travel out of Bhutan to meet her husband who is in UN Service. It is because her family members are evicted and living as refugees in Nepal. In many instances, refugees say, entire families are expelled from the country because a relative had participated in the September 1990 protests" (The Last Emperor? Carol Rose).

The post demonstration period witnessed tensions between the ruling class and Lhotshampa members in the civil services and in the bureaucracy in Thimphu. In the proceedings of the 1992, Bhutanese National Assembly, representatives from the southern districts submitted "Genja" or "legally binding documents"- signed by all the people in their districts, vowing loyalty to the "Tsa-Wa-Sum" (King, Kingdom and the Royal Government). In reply the ruling community representatives said, "Although the Lhotshampas had pledged their support and loyalty many times before, they had not been sincere in the past.... it is very difficult to place any trust and confidence in them and believe in the sincerity of their Genja. It may be recalled that the 1992 National Assembly called on the government to speed up the transfer of land "left behind by the ngolops (terrorists) who had absconded after the 1990 national uprising and the land vacated by the Lhotshampas who had sold them and legally emigrated to India and Nepal should be allotted to landless people from all the districts. In the proceedings proposals for "eviction of ngolops" were forwarded by various district representatives. They suggested that "all Lhotshampas should be evicted as they do not seem to be interested in staying in the country anyway" to a "call for the eviction of all family members and relatives of ngolops" to the suggestion that "all Lhotshampas who are in the government services and closely related to the ngolops should be evicted from the country" (Government of Bhutan, Agenda for the 71 session of National Assembly on 16 Oct - 3 Nov 1992). The 74th 1995 National Assembly passed the resolution of Capital Punishment to Tenzing Gawa Zangpo and Rongthong Kunley Dorji for their involvement in the democratic movement and for their publications in Dzongkha script which highlighted the root causes of the problems in Bhutan. Rongthong Kunley Dorji died in 2009 and Tenzing Gawa Zangpo is treacherously abducted by Bhutan Government with the help of compensated Indian Police Officers from Assam, India and dumped into Bhutan prison for life, and whether he is alive or killed by Bhutan is not known. His crime is that in his book he exposed the crimes committed by the Government forces and challenged the discriminatory policies of Royal Government of Bhutan and voiced for freedom of expression, religious freedom, equal human rights and justice to Bhutanese people.

The 75th 1996 National Assembly in the one hand reminded the people that the Government had provided cash incentives to the people for inter-marriages between Northern Bhutanese and

Southern Bhutanese families and on the other hand these married couples are evicted from the country. In the refugee camps we have some family in which husband is from Lhotshampa/Nepali community and wife from Ngalung community. Similarly we have some family with husband from Ngalung community and wife from Lhotshampa community. But, such families are also evicted declaring them as non-nationals, anti-nationals, economic immigrants and terrorists. One can just pinpoint in this context as to how efficient and capable are the people's representatives in Bhutan. If the fate of Bhutan is left to them to be decided, one can well imagine the destiny of the citizens of Bhutan. It is futile to blame them as they are illiterate and completely ignorant about politics and Government policies. They are a well briefed fools dictated well to speak in tune with the wishes of the Royal Throne. Hence every resolution adopted by the National Assembly of Bhutan passes unanimously for immediate implementation.

The census took on a new character, as protests grew; not just as a tool against illegal immigrants but as a tool against Anti-Govt. The then Home Minister Dago Tshering through his government circular, 17 August, 1990 noted that "any Bhutanese National leaving the country to assist and help the anti-nationals shall no longer be considered a Bhutanese citizen. It must also be made very clear that such people's family members living under the same household will also be held fully responsible and forfeit their citizenship". Hence the census team found a pretext to deny the citizenship under this legal interpretation. This was the main reason for the influx of refugees in larger numbers at later stage as accused anti-nationals joined those whose earlier classifications as non-nationals were being enforced with deportation.

The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck very often frequented the disturbed areas of Southern Bhutan knowingly the King used to be kept remote from the public. Despite the large ground gathered at stage-managed events, only hand-picked representatives were allowed to speak to him. The majority were made to remain silent due to threats of dire consequences by the Dzongdas and Dungpas. These much publicized trips should have public relations value because they show King's much-vaunted accessibility, but they do not seem to have provided him with insights on what is really going on in the country.

On 14 July 1992, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, traveled down to Geylegphug when he learnt that there was a mass exodus of Lhotshampas from Sarbhang district. According to the Kuensel the King said, "All of you are bonafide citizens who have been issued with Bhutanese Citizenship Cards. It is very important that I understand your problems and know the reasons why you want to leave your country". "He further went on" short of literally going down on my knees with folded hands; I have tried everything possible to resolve the serious problem we have today in Southern Bhutan. I am therefore deeply pained that all of you here today who are genuine citizens have not only applied to leave your country but even declared that you would not wait for more than two days to have your applications processed. I have come here from Thimphu to ask you all not to migrate and leave your country. I have every hope that you will

reconsider your decision and not abandon your country when it is going through a very difficult phase. "I have done everything I could think of to make you responsible citizens. I can now only hope and pray that you will stay back so that we can all live together like members of one household and make our country strong".



What could be the soothing words of the Bhutanese Monarch to his people above? That, the very people he addressed near the jungle in Sarbhang and **Bhangtar** had to flee the country the next day and land in the refugee camp with tales of woe and humiliations.

A few men and women agreed to stay, but it did not work. The day after the King returned to the palace, the Lhotshampas of Sarbhang including those that had promised to stay, were shown the way by the local administrators.

Kanak Mani Dixit opines that "King Jigme's administration is sharp, disciplined and responsive, with a reputation of "getting things done". It is this administration acumen that has been brought to bear against the Lhotshampas. The result has been devastating in its efficiency". He stepped ahead to add that "Somewhere along the way, a plan evolved. Its goal was to defuse the Lhotshampas demographic threat, and intricate details were worked out. A census would be taken again under more discriminatory criteria; Driglam-Namza would be strongly enforced; all political opponents would be termed ngolops and terrorists; schools, hospitals and services in the South would be closed; requirement of 'No Objection Certificate' would be slapped on the Southerners; all land found to be "illegal would be confiscated and Northerners invited in". This is what exactly the Royal Government of Bhutan did. It was a well thought out plan and equally implemented in entirety with aggressiveness since February, 1992. In order to balance the demographic equation Bhutan intends to bring down the Lhotshampa (Nepali-speaking) population down to between 15 and 20 percent of country's reduced population.



(Bishop) International Communities are trying to restore confidence to the refugee children of those parents above evicted by the King of Bhutan.

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. The said 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. A confidential report of a western bilateral development agency reports that "Individuals are held responsible for the deeds of the family members. Furthermore, there are no clear guidelines for the term "family members" and many have been forced to apply for emigration by signing the voluntary leaving certificates. Many of these families would have been early settlers (1890-1930), who fell well within the 1958 census criterion". In extreme cases, the people were evicted at gun points 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 Southerners preferred death than to brand a new status and hence many committed suicide.

Amnesty International confirms that at least some of the allegations of violence by Government opponents may be true. Its team of investigators in Bhutan interviewed victims and relatives of victims who "reported incidents of kidnapping, beheading, extortion, torture and other abuses by opposition groups Bhutan Peoples Party which had occurred in the south during 1990".

However, the Amnesty International report went on to conclude that it could not confirm Government reports on the numbers allegedly killed or kidnapped by the opposition movement "while attacks on civilians in Southern Bhutan are consistently attributed to 'anti-nationals', said the Amnesty report "it is not always clear that evidence exists to indicate the political motivation behind the acts".

The Southern Bhutan problem is not aimed for political superiority nor is a calculated 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. The deep rooted aim of the Government was to create a salvation where the Lhotshampa would raise arms against the Lhotshampas. The census was primarily carried out through-out Southern Bhutan in order to disintegrate the people from the same village and manipulate them. Till date the King has not conducted census in his own area. It is clearly a prejudiced policy of the government to ask the citizens of Southern Bhutan to produce a receipt of more than 30 years back where the citizens were not made aware about its future requirements. It is believed that none of the ethnic Ngalung would have documents to prove themselves as citizens of Bhutan. They make such nonsensical rules; for example, the ruling community is exempted to produce 1958 land tax receipt and others must produce to become a Bhutanese citizen. There may not be more than 10 percent people in these communities who may produce 1958 land tax receipt to prove themselves citizens of Bhutan. Still, it may be possible for the Government of Bhutan view it as; wearing Gho and Kira, speaking Dzongkha and being from their community is the qualification to become citizens of Bhutan. Secondly, in the South the census officials wanted to disintegrate members from the same joint family and create groupism with doubts and suspicion to each other. To a large extent, the result paid rich dividends to them as the Lhotshampas started to view even their neighbors, kith and kin and close relatives with utter disregard.

The census officials were delegated the power by the centre to do what they felt like. They went to such an extreme that their very sight frightened the villagers. The Government officials, the security forces and even the recruited Lhotshampas by the government to favor their team work took undue advantage of the situation and found easy accesses to roam freely in the villages and terrorize the people at gun points threatening them with dire consequences. These combined team members resorted to worst form of abuses including gang rapes, plunder, loot and torture. Maximum human rights abuses were committed by these people and the blame was passed on to the innocents as terrorists or anti-nationals. The Government officials targeted the select lot of village elders and representatives to identify the villagers as bonafide domiciles or non-residents. This in fact, created misunderstanding and hatred for each other. The census identification Lhotshampa representatives were given VIP treatment at government expenses and security protection. Hence, it is apparent that some of the census officials became the target of the villagers' wrath when they were declared non-nationals. Thus out of sheer revenge, some of the people became violent and resorted to violent acts. Most of the security forces mobilized in South was from other communities. When these forces landed in Southern Bhutan, they were amazed to see the rich settlers in the south and out of sheer greed and lust; they committed the heinous acts against the people. The security forces pocketed all they could find and when they returned back to their barracks, they became rich overnight. According to an officer of the Royal Bhutan Army now in exile, who desires to remain anonymous recalls that "In the early phase of Southern Bhutan Pdroblem; I was the adjutant of army centre, the commanding officer used to call me at night and instruct me to mobilize the soldiers in full combat fatigue with reserve ammunition and arms within an hour's time to an unspecified places in the South that used to be daily routine". He further states that "the soldiers picked up for operation used to be mostly from

communities other than the Lhotshampas and the commanding officers were always from Ngalung family." They used to be selected days before and were kept at 'stand to', within few minutes of passing orders to these soldiers for mobilization, they would excitedly 'fall In' and wait for the green signal to proceed. They knew that they were not going in a battle field but to get rich and wealthy. When the same soldiers were replaced by others after a month's time, they used to return with all the goods ranging from school stationery, school uniforms, gold ornaments, kitchen hardware, electronic gadgets and costly volumes of library books. "I recall very clearly that when a platoon of soldiers from Dagapela was withdrawn to barracks in 1990, they had come with the loots from the Goshi Primary School, the villagers and the shops. They had brought cartoons full of goods and cash. The items were seized and sent to the Army HQ, but no action was even taken to the soldiers".

About 80 % of the Bhutanese soldiers are illiterate and this is the greatest advantage for Bhutan to keep them cut off from the political changes. The ignorance, politeness and the simplicity of the Bhutanese soldiers makes him the slave of his master. Maximum advantage has been taken to the Bhutanese soldiers due to the above simple factors.

SLAP ON THE FACE

Bhutan has placed itself in a very critical position by publishing false documents against its own population. The government claims that those people who had played a significant role in the demonstration absconded in May, 1991 for fear of being caught red-handed for the embezzlement of huge sums from the Government funds. None of the people charge-sheeted with false accusation were involved in the so-called demonstrations, otherwise a peaceful rally, except for Late R.K. Budathoki who was an active member of the movement. When the silent move of the Government to implement the immoral cultural designs of their tribe in Bhutan by force at gun points became known to the outside world, Bhutan was quick to respond with false documentation. As far as the embezzlement of funds are concerned; it is not the innocent victims who did it but the history is otherwise.

In 1987, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck nominated Mr. Rizal to head the Royal Audit Commission. The commission identified several Chief District Officers (Dzongda) as embezzlers of public funds earmarked for developmental activities. Rizal's findings led the King to sack a number of Dzongdas from posts and to sentence them to long term imprisonment. Among those

imprisoned was the brother of the then Home Minister Dago Tshering, the Dzungda of Thimphu. Since several of the corrupt Dzungdas, who were sacked and jailed, were kinsmen of ministers, they were released. Therefore, it can be assumed that it is a cover up of the Government for its own fault.

The Government charges that the Lhotshampas movement in Bhutan was for democracy and human rights and failed without mass support. The Government failed in its allegation without knowing the essential ingredients for democracy and human rights. Of course, the movement spearheaded by Lhotshampas was for the basic human rights, this fact cannot be denied in totality. Mass is not required for democracy; only the will is essential. The glaring examples of our times are that two individuals Mikhail Gorbachov and Ronald Reagan brought about the fall of communism in former USSR ushering democracy. Nepal is another prevalent example for us to view for its democratic changes. It is imperative to stress here that the movement in Bhutan then was not targeted at institutionalizing democracy but over the years it has become a movement for democracy and human rights; a gift of the Royal Bhutanese Government.

For fear of being bogged down by International pressure, the visible signs of disgruntlement in the kingdom over the mass eviction and Human Rights crimes, fear of eminent reprisal from the easterners particularly the Sharchops, the Army Officers and the voluntary denouncement of the lucrative government services by the top class citizens sparked an absolute fear in Thimphu, thereby compelling the Government to find a loop hole somewhere to save its own skin.

It is true that the people who fled Bhutan during the census drive had formed and camped at Gaiganda in the Jalpaiguri District of India. Had it been a Nepali movement for Pan-Nepali strategy in Bhutan, the so-called democratic movement to topple the regime could have been ignited from there as these regions comprise almost ten million Nepali-settlers, the figure which Bhutan acknowledges. They campaigned against census abuses and other malpractices by the census officials and military personnel from there but the so-called dissident groups never mobilized Indian citizens nor requested their assistance. In fact, the dissident groups wanted the situation in Bhutan to come to normalcy and prevent the society from further insult and fragmentation. Some of the dissidents used to enter Bhutan in the cover of darkness to meet their relatives. Unfortunately many used to be apprehended by the security forces and coerced into signing statements at gun points that they were terrorists or insurgents. The heinous crimes including rape and merciless murder committed by the security forces, and criminal groups were passed on to the unlucky victims.

Meanwhile the Bhutanese Government did not leave any stone unturned in implementing the draconian policy in theory and in practice. The Lhotshampa people came under severe

Government criticism and the Government officials started labeling all the Lhotshampas in Bhutan as ngolops. People resented and opposed this move but in vain. Their voice was not heard. Thus, the people to save themselves from the dissident groups and the Government forces choose the dissident group and started joining the dissident camps in Gairganda. Fearing, immediate reprisal from the dissident groups, the Royal Government of Bhutan started bribing the West-Bengal Police. In order to earn a quick buck, they went all out to apprehend the dissidents and hand them over to the Royal Bhutan Police. For one dissident, the Bhutanese Government used to pay Nu. Five thousand to fifty thousand to the policemen and it still continues but on higher rates. Even the Indian people also earned a lot of hard currency from Bhutan in exchange for dissidents. Hence, to escape from harassment from India and Bhutan, they fled to Nepal. More-over, the headstrong The Communist Leader Late Jyoti Basu, the then Chief Minister of West-Bengal, had reportedly assured King Jigme Singye Wangchuck that he would not let any activities directed against the Government of Bhutan from the Indian territory. This tough political stand of Communist-Jyoti Basu compelled the Lhotshampas to land in a third country. *The Defense Minister of India, George Fernandes during 50th 'Independence Day' has criticized Indian stand over the Bhutan issue saying "When we celebrate 50th anniversary of our nation our government has decided to collude with Bhutan's undemocratic rulers who deny freedom to the Bhutanese people".*

The Royal Government of Bhutan, without actually assessing the plight of the people, simply blames the Lhotshampas as dissidents or insurgents. The Thimphu regime has embarrassed The Government of Nepal in many counts. They solely held Nepal to be responsible for the establishment of the refugee camps by helping with the congregation of ethnic Nepalis with the Bhutanese Lhotshampa population in the camps. Nepal is also blamed by Bhutan for imparting military training to the refugees and for stock piling of weapons to be used against Bhutan. This tough stand by Bhutan has no base as such activities are never carried in the camps and moreover, the world knows now that it is a false cover up of Bhutan just to draw International sympathy wave in the name of cultural preservation. The Nepalese Prime Minister late Girija Prasad Koirala in a Television Program of BBC 'It's Your World' in 1993 said "If the talk between the King of Bhutan and me fails, I will invite India to resolve the dispute. If India does not take interest, then I will take the matter to the International forum. As regards the violation of Human Rights, I have also suffered. I was in exile. I can understand the sentiments and emotions of the people who are in exile". The Prime Minister of Nepal had also pledged to King Jigme Singye Wangchuck that he would not allow any activities directed against the Government of Bhutan from the Nepalese territory. Thus, it is clear that Bhutan wants cheap popularity at the expense of the genuine cause of the people of Bhutan. The Royal Government of Bhutan has also harmed its diplomatic reputation by crossing all the diplomatic limits and positioning Nepal and other international communities in an awkward situation.

The dissidents are also charged with collecting and harboring as many people in the camps from Nepal and India thereby giving them the 'refugee' status. Let it be clear to the Government of Bhutan that the dissident groups are not the one to do so but there are socially deputed agencies and organizations for it at Kakarvitta and in the camps. The Thimphu ruler has questioned the authentic authority and validity of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee and The Government of Nepal, when it doubts the genuinity of the refugees as Bhutanese citizens. The then Foreign Minister Dawa Tshering of Bhutan went to the extent of telling British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in March' 1992 that, most of the refugees in the camps were not really refugees. On the other hand the UNHCR and Govt. of Nepal have verified that the refugees are indeed Bhutanese citizens. Police Officer Hom Jung Chauhan, Chief of the border post of Kakarvitta where all the refugees enter Nepal, has no doubts about the origin of the refugees. "The Bhutanese Lhotshampas speak of mondal (Village Headman) and Block (Units) words that Meghalaya Nepali would not know. They are also submissive and have peculiar formalities. When they realize that I represent authority, for examples, they bow in a very special Bhutanese way". Arno Coerner of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) refugee operations in Jhapa says, "all I can say is that 95 to 98 percent have lived their last year in Bhutan".

The specialized UN agencies; Govt. of Nepal and NGOs attending to the welfare and well-being of the refugees report that 98% of the refugees entering the camps have documentation showing citizenship card or for long-term residency in Bhutan. However, the Bhutanese Government officials are firm in their insistence that the refugees are impostors. Further, when Govt. of Nepal officials at one meeting referred the presence of thousands of Bhutanese in the camps with citizenship identity cards, the counterpart said that their printers in Calcutta (Kolkata) had proved to be crooks and were flooding the camps with false identity cards. When Nepal invited the Bhutanese to discreetly bring in forgery experts to check the authenticity of samples, there was no response from Thimphu. Veerapong Vangvarstori, program officer at UNHCR in Kathmandu, says it is unlikely that tens of thousands of people would be able to fake their identity. *"If the documents are faked then everyone would have the same fake documents. Some have land deeds, others have tax receipts, hospital birth cards and still others have marriage certificates. It is not possible that so large number of people could claim to come from Bhutan when it isn't true"*. Thus the findings about the genuinity of the refugees as Bhutanese citizens by the refugee concerned groups cannot be simply taken as null and void. They have established the fact that Bhutan is totally at fault and is just feeding wrong information to the International community about the Lhotshampas being illegal immigrants in Bhutan. Further, its stand of Greater Nepal issue is vague as no Lhotshampas within Bhutan have voiced for Greater Nepal nor have they any political liaison with Nepalis dominated ethnic groups outside Bhutan. This bogus stand of Bhutan is raised just to embarrass Nepal and India. Carol Rose, while having a talk with a retired Bhutanese official, who generally refused to comment because he remains loyal to the Wangchuck King says that when the Government raises the issue of the threat to Bhutan from the Pan-Nepali Movement the official looked dead in the eyes and said, that's complete bull-shit.

The Bhutanese Government's claim is that, the dissidents are no refugees but a portion of disgruntled lots trying to define Bhutanese identity for all the refugees does not hold any truth in it. This fact has been well established that they have made political victims out of false propaganda. In fact there are no dissident groups in the camps. They are all a part and partial of Bhutan and identify themselves with Bhutan only. As Hamish Mc Donald in the Far Eastern Economic Review points out that "the people in the camps do seem to display a deep familiarity with Southern Bhutan and have consistent stories. The Government's account, meanwhile are flawed by major inconsistency".



Bhutanese refugees, celebrating National Day in Beldangi Refugee Camp: 2011



Bhutanese Refugees participate in 'World Breast Feeding Week' -2012. With UNHCR and Nepali social workers, Beldangi II, refugee camp in Nepal.

IS IT MILITANCY?

The movement which started in Bhutan was not a democratic movement but a movement for the basic rights to co-exist as individuals with common principles, policies and ideologies with an un-biased system of governance. Over the years, the movement has gained momentum as a movement for human rights and democracy. It is not a significant development but a collective show of frustration to the Bhutanese Government for its failure to redress the refugee situation at the earliest. **Militancy becomes the ultimate weapon of a dispossessed population when it sees no resolution insight.** However, in the Bhutanese context, it is not the case. The word terrorists is the invention of Kuensel of The Royal Government of Bhutan and presents them as if they are robbers when they loot Lhotshampas house-holds rather than going for Government offices and installations. The Refugee population in the camps and in the resettled countries is not the stuff of passion. The unexposed peasants will not pick up Khukuri, and the youth appear to have neither the ideological favor nor the firebrand leadership that would mould into guerrillas, says Kanak Mani Dixit. In the words of a Kathmandu based diplomat, there is not one intelligence agencies in the world that would be interested in funding an uprising by Bhutanese people.

The militancy in Southern Bhutan, some of which took place cannot be entirely attributed to the Lhotshampa dissidents. Those who infiltrated inside Bhutan acted independently without any support or base for obvious reasons either to take revenge for evictions, looting, tortures and rape of family members or to meet their relatives. Thus, the Bhutanese Government got all the time needed to blow up the militancy issue out of proportion. It is clear from the terrorists acts reported by the Government that the Lhotshampas have been simply made the scapegoats as the majority of the listed victims are defenseless ethnic Lhotshampa peasants instead of the Government officials or Ngalungs. There is absolutely no doubt that many people from the adjoining areas are infiltrating in Bhutan and are taking advantage of the lawless situation created by the Government.

The then Foreign Minister, Dawa Tshering in Jan 1992 told the pressmen in Dhaka that "radical groups like Communists, Leftists and Naxalites in West Bengal, India and Nepal" were patronizing terrorists against Bhutan. When asked to share his view points about the so called militancy by the Lhotshampas, police officer Hom Jung Chauhan who had been manning the Kakarvitta border check post since the refugees started arriving in late 1990 categorically states that "You cannot expect any militancy from this lot, these villagers come with long Khukuries hung down their sides but their strength is gone. Sometimes I asked them in exasperation, why this timidity? Contradictory statements about the terrorist activities have been made by the ruling elite in Thimphu time and again in face of International persecution and condemnation. The

Government publications and the Government newspaper Kuensel have kept up a steady barrage of accusations and graphic photos of the victims, almost all of whom are ethnic Lhotshampas. In the one hand the Government blames the planned takeover of the country by the dissidents with the majority support from the Lhotshampas and on the other hand it comes out with shocking color photographs of the beheaded Lhotshampa victims. If the motive behind was to win the support of the Lhotshampas then why should the Lhotshampas be targeted by the dissidents or insurgents in the first case? While some reports of anti-national activities are credible, virtually no crime in Southern Bhutan is attributed to protesters. Amnesty International concluded "What seem ordinary criminal acts are reported as being the responsibility of anti-nationals", despite the apparent lack of evidence to confirm that political opponents of the Government, rather than common criminals, were responsible. Further, some terrorist charges are simply not credible.

Vexed by false propaganda about the Lhotshampas, the Bhutanese Regime was too quick to counter the dissidents' claim of ignorance to the Southern Bhutanese Human Rights abuses. As a cover up for its false propaganda, prisoners from Chemgang prison and from other lock-ups were dressed up in the borrowed camouflage uniform of the soldiers and made to pose for the photo session. Concurrently, the prisoners were also photographed for counter terrorists' propaganda and flashed in the major dailies in India and in Kuensel. This action of the Government temporarily gave them an edge over the Southern problem and they stepped up rigorous torture of the innocent people in the name of militancy and the subsequent eviction.



Bhutan tagged these prisoners from Chemgang prison as terrorist. In another scene these prisoners were dressed up in the borrowed camouflage army uniform and made to pose for the photo session.

The true aim of the Lhotshampas is not to turn Bhutan into one ethnic group dominated state as alleged by the regime. Neither the Lhotshampas are contemplating to launch an insurgency movement in Bhutan; backed by the Gorkha veterans and mercenaries or with the support of the Nepal Government. It is now an issue of our identity with Bhutan and a struggle to exist in social harmony in the changed political atmosphere of Bhutan without bogus and biased insignificant issues. The refugees have sacrificed their precious moment of life advocating human rights with

some political changes for all these years now without any wrong designs to the ruler's culture. The Lhotshampas are adamant in their stand that they could not take any support of armed rebellion to Bhutan from the non-Bhutanese at any cost, a fact aptly proved by their total absence from making any adverse comments to Bhutan and their tolerance. The first and foremost aim of the Lhotshampas is to return to Bhutan-where they belong. All the people of Bhutan irrespective of their racial and cultural backgrounds opine that the Bhutanese Government must take drastic steps to repatriate the Bhutanese citizens from refugee camps, make appropriate laws for those refugees who are resettled in third countries and save Bhutan from further international insult. Regarding International support the refugees will have it ---- a fact which Bhutan even cannot deny. Instant sympathy and support have been rendered to the refugees; for the International community is aware of the genuine demands and rights of Lhotshampas who qualify as Bhutanese citizens from every perspective. And Bhutanese refugees wherever they may live, in the refugee camps in Nepal or resettled in any part of the world will appeal for justice from the Royal Government of Bhutan.

Millions of dollars are pumped into Bhutan by European countries, Asian countries and World Organizations (World Bank, ADB etc.) for developing Bhutan and her people's condition. But see below the villages and the people of Bhutan in picture if you cannot visit them. They know nothing about that these help is meant for them. They want freedom from these kings and wish for civilization. The photograph shown here depicts the living conditions of the Bhutanese people and the government's claim for sincerity "The Gross National Happiness of the Bhutanese People."



A house constructed in 2002 in Ha Bhutan. Does this indicate GNH of Bhutan?

The Bhutan problem is not accessible to the outside world and descriptions of current conditions are from the government publications and from some Human Rights groups and intellectuals. The reports by Kuensel (a publication of Royal Bhutan Government) are biased. It is true that the schools in Southern Bhutan have been opened, not for the village children but for the children of

the new settlers' government employees, security forces and public officials in active services. Many Lhotshampa children are without school today. Some of the schools still house the soldiers and the innocent captives. **The world body by and large cannot be taken to meet ones' whims and fancies by false media propaganda and publications.**



This is the photo after Tika ceremony during Dusera celebration on 6 October 1992 in Samteling palace. King Jigme looks victorious with the garland, the priests look frustrated and degraded, and the ladies fortunate to photograph with the King, Army Chief Lam Dorji (now retired) more suppressive, all others including Mr. Om Pradhan look blessed to photograph with the King but, all four queens are missing why? Only the children sitting below look innocent and joyous in this photo.

The King, by posing for a cheap propaganda photographs with Hindu pundits on either sides is indeed very cheap. It is worthwhile to mention here that such type of dress regulation wasn't prescribed for the Hindu pundits to put on Kamnee (scarf) in their traditional gear. The motive behind the photograph is very clear and to remind King Wangchuck - all the Lhotshampas who had posed for the photo session have Ngalung spouses. His Majesty the King garlanded with marigold flower is happy to please the outsiders with his handsome smile but what about the ones with marigold garlands on? In this particular photograph, the queens are not photographed why? It is well planned move by the government of Bhutan to make a fool of the global people by simply exposing the king's own fault. The officials who are Lhotshampas should have been having merry-gold garland, instead of posing for a ridiculous photograph. This photograph depicts the familiar posture of the King with his Lhotshampa people but the actual hidden meaning behind the sweet smile is unknown. The pundits in white attire are made to pose for the photograph out of compulsion. Such type of pundits with this fashion does not exist in Southern Bhutan or in Hindu Religion.

It is very unfair of the government to brand the Bhutanese peasants as anti-nationals. The plea of the Southern Bhutanese, first presented to The King Jigme in written appeal for the intervention

of His Majesty to the misuse of power by the census officials was ignored and the applicants served severe sentences without any warrant and trial. David B. Thomson writes that "in April 1988, two Southern Bhutanese members of the Royal Advisory Council submitted a cautiously worded petition to the King out-lining Southern Bhutanese concern about the census. The petitioned reported "Census teams are questioning the people with undue threats", "citizenship identity cards already issued have been confiscated, village elders are not permitted to testify the credentials of their village people", "illiterate and simple village people are being coerced into signing documents, the contents of which are not known to them" and "the people believe that this is not a routine exercise as it is made out to be". The cabinet declared the petition seditious, focusing the blame on one of the authors, Tek Nath Rizal. Mr Rizal was removed from office, arrested and held for treason and served 10 years prison terms in Bhutan before he was released.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees equal rights to the citizens of any country and the petition presented to the King is not at all seditious for it simply appeals the King to protect peoples' rights and to stop the abuse of power by the census officials. The reported amnesty to the persons by the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck for terrorism and subversion itself is a flaw of the Government. The detainees were released under compulsion from International pressure and from the Human Rights watchdogs. The Lhotshampas cannot be equated with anti-nationals as their cause is unique by itself. Unlike the Kashmiris in North India; struggling for self-determination and total autonomy, the Lhotshampas in Bhutan just voiced for human rights-forget about democracy. Hence terrorists and anti-nationals are a vague term and its description in the Bhutanese context is not appropriate.



UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner: T Alexander Aleinkoff Lai at Beldangi-June 2012

The Southern Bhutanese people were forced to address applications to the Government for voluntary immigration under dire threat, and severe intimidation and heavy penalty. The

Lhotshampas were relieved from financial burdens from rural taxes, labor contribution and sales tax on oranges only in 1992 when the Government was caught red-handed for its worst human rights records and forceful eviction.

The visits by the King to the disturbed areas in Southern Bhutan were made more frequent than necessary. Though the visits generated a new lease of hope and aspirations for the Lhotshampas, due to the concern of their King, yet his subordinates the wolves in sheep's clothing acted against the interest of the King and forced the people to evacuate their lands and property. Wrong information was fed to the King about the Lhotshampas thereby creating a negative impression about the real motives and actions by the Lhotshampas. During 1990, Lieutenant Chimi Dorji (Now Colonel) of the Royal Body Guards, deputed to monitor the implementation of the census policies in Chirang, terrorized the people to such an extent that even Changez Khan could not have dared to do so. In fact, the district administration was virtually in his power and even the district officials feared Chimi's wrath. Most of the orange orchards and immovable properties in Chirang were seized by Chimi Dorji and registered in his name. The development in Southern Bhutan proved to be a frightening experience for the ruling elite and programs to launch a false propaganda of the King's concern to his subjects was initiated. The scene enacted there in looked unrealistic. The top most executive appeals to the people in one hand and on the other hand the peasants were deported after the King's appeal. In fact the scene in Southern Bhutan represented a cheap story of a villain and a horde of hooligans. No civilized society would make its ruler cheap by making him pose for a cheap publicity stunt nor would any conscious society create an impression of a good cop and a bad cop with a negative impact.



By scanning the above photo, one simply cannot believe and take the Lhotshampas as anti-nationals. The refugee children in the photographs itself are sufficient enough to describe the timidity and their loyalty to their benefactor. Bhutanese Refugee Camp, Nepal.

MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

The dissident groups or the people in the refugee camps in Nepal have not issued documents relating to false propaganda against Bhutan. The propaganda on human rights and democracy is no doubt correct as the world of today is governed by these two realities and the people of Bhutan also belong to this part of the world reality. The International Communities are made to represent only the cause of the Bhutanese refugees by the government publication and media propaganda. The Bhutanese dissidents have never tried to win over the sympathy of the global family for vested interest but efforts to draw the International attention to Bhutan has been flagged off for its poor human rights records and misuse of power by the absolute bureaucratic system. The International community with its own problems at home and abroad is not the sole agent of the Bhutanese to guarantee the rights of these people from Bhutan. The community is there simply to assess the reality of the issue and its implications. The concerned Government can be pressurized to weigh the pros and cons of the problem but not compelled to act as desired. Besides, the world problems of magnitudinal dimension in Afghanistan, Ukraine, Iraq, Sudan, Rwanda, Congo, Syria, Libya, Egypt and Al-Quaida and Lasker-e-Toyba terror in many other countries does not allow the International community to focus their entire concern for Bhutan. Therefore, to win the International support for the Royal Government of Bhutan is easy but not to the Bhutanese refugees whose call for liberty, equality and social justice remains in their dossier but not in speech.

The movement in Bhutan was not a movement against racism and apartheid as the Government made it out to be nor was it a move to attract International condemnation against Bhutan. The movement in Bhutan was not inspired by the Blacks Movement for racial equation in South Africa. By drawing an unfair parallel, the Royal Government has done injustice to its own citizens as the issue of apartheid in South Africa and the issue of Human Rights in Bhutan does not match at any cost. A peaceful movement and rallies for the restoration of peoples' rights for so short a duration cannot be termed something unrealistic. The apartheid movement in South Africa spanning over decades was a movement against the minority whites' rule to the majority Black population under universal support and Mandela's able leadership from within the prison cell whereas the movement in Bhutan for ones' own fundamental freedom without the know-how of the International body and without the likes of Nelson Mandela in leadership qualities cannot be termed apartheid. Moreover, Bhutan is not subjected to a rule by whites and the term racism and apartheid does not substantiate the government's stand. The diverse ethnic population of Bhutan is the colored races and the question of apartheid does not arise at all.

The forceful imposition of ones' culture and codes of ethics to another section of population by harassment, intimidation and torture for national integration paints a sad picture of the peoples' plight in Bhutan. In Bhutan all the citizens are forced to abide by 'Driglam Namza' a social code

of conduct and religious doctrinarian practiced by the Ngalung community on how to sit, how to speak, how to eat, how to dress, what to wear and how to bow down to their family members, etc. – a sinister way of enslaving the people's mind and hearts. By banning and subjugating the culture, ethics, codes and religion of one group, the Royal Government drew partial support for national integration from its own quarter of Ngalung tribes but the overall picture of Bhutan tarnished from the world image. The Southern Bhutanese populace, according to the Government's estimates is richer and prosperous than the rest of the Bhutanese population. However, the Government's claim of bending over backwards to encourage them to join the national mainstream is a flaw, as the Lhotshampas of Southern Bhutan have contributed maximum in the Government treasury.

The fall of communism in the erstwhile Soviet Union and the political changes for democratic reforms that swept Eastern Europe and elsewhere was something that the Royal Government should have noted with utmost concern. Although, the Royal Government found a pretext to correlate the development in Bhutan as an inspiration from the success of democratic reforms in the world, yet, there was no visual proof for the democratic reforms in Bhutan. The Bhutanese people, in fact, opine that for Bhutan, monarchy system is the best provided the misuse of power and corruption is checked at the highest level. For the enactment of democracy, an atmosphere has to be built up, mass support is to be generated and an International awareness is to be created with mass media and publicity campaign for which the Thimphu regime failed to assimilate the principle requirement for a popular Government and out of sheer desperation equated the Bhutanese movement with that of Europe. The people of Bhutan, out of frustration at the denial of their cultural pluralism petitioned the Government to act for the interest and well-being of its subjects without letting the outside world know about it but the Bhutanese Government made it a big issue comparable to Europe's. The world body became aware of the Shangri-La's deeds only, when trucks of innocent peasants from the Bhutan started camping on the banks of Kankai River in Eastern Nepal without any political cause. The royal regime in Thimphu perhaps thought it better to divert the Southern Bhutan problem as inspired by the changes in Europe and went all out to blame the citizens as traitors or anti-nationals when the actual reality remained within Tashichhodzong-the fortress of corruption and manipulation of events.

It is unfair to blame the Bhutanese Government as far as health care, primary education and security to life and property is concerned. The provision of these basic paraphernalia is perhaps the best in Asia and can be compared with that of developed countries. Regarding the merit based selection system for higher education after the school leaving certificate examination; the ethnic minorities of Bhutan have availed very less success due to Dzongkha language placed at par with English language in the schools. The ruling class Ngalung tribe is fairly better in Dzongkha as it is their lingua-franca and thus they are placed in a better position to secure Government scholarship. The Sharchops, Khengs, Kurtepas, Brokpas and the Lhotshampas or the rest of the ethnic groups are adversely affected due to this partiality. The late trend is that

most of the offspring of ruling elite land abroad to pursue their education even if they do not fall in the merit based selection criteria.

The state of dissatisfaction amongst the Government civil services and in the defense sectors is also made pitiable due to the involvement of life long appointed bureaucrats thereby hampering the selection procedure. In the process free and fair trail to the deserved lots are denied. Most of the highly qualified minorities are marginalized. Prominent amongst them is D K Chhetri the Bhutanese ambassador to Bangladesh. Dr. Bhampa Rai, a senior surgeon and a close aide to Royal Palace sacrificed his lucrative service and joined the people for justice in 1990. In early August 1992, Hari Chhetri, second secretary in the Embassy in Kuwait and the penultimate Lhotshampa in the foreign service, defected straight to exile in Kathmandu rather than return and await marginalization. During the census-cum-identification process, Lhotshampas who had been trained abroad by the Thimphu regime, who were professionally trained from world famous 'defense academies' and had worked for decades in the army or police, who have been Bhutanese teachers for all their working lives, who had 'non-national spouses' all were made illegal immigrants at the stroke of a pen. Citizenship cards issued in 1985-88 with the seal and signature of the Government were made valueless. Says Kanak Mani Dixit, "..... It is a lifestyle on a dreamland and which, goaded by Western and Indian plaudit is increasingly divorced from South Asia. Thimphu's ruling class rarely visit the South, except to reach the Indian border. There is little empathy in Thimphu circles for the Lhotshampa peasantry which populates the south, and whose best and brightest actually work amongst them".

No doubt, Buddhism is the state religion of Bhutan and the government has solely concentrated for its continuation and domination over other religions. There is virtually no Hindu temple, Churches, Mosque and Gurudwars in Bhutan. Except for the practice of Hinduism by the Lhotshampa, the freedom to practice other religions is banned. Some of the Hindu temples built by the people in ancient times are left to ruin since the Wangchuck Government do not provide financial support. Even Christmas celebrations by the people are banned. In 1989 in Geylegphug town, UNV staffs, Project Officers of SMEC Australia, Japanese Volunteer Engineers along with Technical Chief (Mechanical Engineer) Nar Bahadur Giri of Central Workshop, Geylegphug were warned by police when they were preparing Christmas celebration in-front of Giri's residence. They were allowed to celebrate only inside their own room. There are more serious examples of human rights violation by the Government to quote in this issue. In August 04, 2012 Dungpa Pema Wangda, Sub-Divisional Officer of Galyegphug District ruthlessly beat a Pastor Pema Sherpa and threatened to finish him and four others if they did not stop practicing Christianity in the Kingdom. Is it the way people with different faiths are treated? The people are guaranteed protection by the International and National Laws for its rights to live as equal human beings irrespective of caste, religious faith, language, race, origin or cultural backgrounds. But, Bhutan is making mockery of these laws and destroying human values and civilization. The Bhutanese government was pressurized by human rights concern groups to

weigh the reality of human rights violation in Bhutan as the constant flow of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal soared, in addition now, after decades as Third Country Resettlement of Bhutanese Refugees is going on the Bhutanese Refugee issue in its forward-looking resolution has gained attention of the World People.

In order to remain in clear conscience of the International community, the Bhutanese Government invited the Amnesty International in January 1992 after a thorough preparation to cover up its wrong deeds. The three member Amnesty team led by Secretary General Ian Martin was allowed to visit only Samchi District, although evictions were then highest in Chirang and Geylegphug districts. Martin in Kuensel quoted that "It seemed that Chirang was not available to us at this time". Ian Martin who was a Special Representative of the Secretary General for the United Nations in Nepal (UNMIN) should have learnt more about Bhutanese refugees and might have something to say about the atrocities of the Bhutanese regime.

Prior to the Amnesty trip, on 17 December, 1992, the King had granted amnesty to a number of political prisoners - a move designed primarily to fool the visiting members. Amnesty released a Press Notice on 10 February, 1993, welcoming the latest releases of about 313 prisoners on 04 February 1993, but expressing concern about the reports of human rights violations, prolonged detention without trial, torture, death in custody, and the practice of keeping prisoners in shackles. "It is clear that the Government had gone about organizing the Amnesty trip to its satisfaction". The Government also invited the International Committee of the Red Cross to assess the human rights situations, only after a thorough restructuring of the prison conditions and after a slight improvement of the prisoners' diet and living standards. However, ICRC was not given accesses to all the prisons in Bhutan. So far ICRC has made many visits to Bhutan and things might have changed but none of the victims have received justice for which they were victimized jailed and tortured. However, many victims expressed the view that, had ICRC not visited Bhutan, they had no chance to live and see their families again. ICRC visited at least one prison, Chemgang in Thimphu where the delegates met the detainees. Government of Bhutan allowed communications with families through ICRC representatives and visits by relatives only after ICRC made the first visit. Till then, all the detainees had been kept incommunicado and in shackles. This practice still continues in other prisons all over the country where there are no visits by ICRC.

As already stated, the movement for democracy was not launched in Bhutan by the people during the peaceful rallies in 1990; it was a movement for evaluation of human rights in Bhutan and to let everyone exist as equals. The movement for "bringing democracy to Bhutan" by Southern Bhutanese is a government term and not tuned at all by the citizens. The term "democracy" became synonymous with the dissident groups only in exile although the vague term was well conceived by the Bhutanese people of all ethnic groups in Bhutan. The movement for establishing democracy in Bhutan does not only comprise ethnic Lhotshampas. There are few

Ngalung and Sharchop refugees in the camps who also opine that 'people's democracy' must find root in Bhutan for the social well-being and happiness of her people.

REGIME'S FEAR: SHARCHOPS & SHABDRUNG

Sharchops, the indigenous people of Bhutan form a distinct community in the Eastern districts of Tashigang, Mongar, Pemagatshel, Samdropjongkhar, Luntshi and Yangtse. In the days of His Holiness Shabdrungs, Eastern Bhutan was known as "Sharchok Khorlo Chip Gey", meaning "eight spokes of the Eastern Bhutan" in other words "eight Eastern provinces that form a circle". Generally the eight provinces comprises of Mangdi, Bumthang, Kheng, Kurtoe, Mongar, Tashigang, Dungsum and Yangste. Sharchops are one of the most oppressed people in Bhutan and economically very backward. Their living condition is pathetic and for their sustenance they at times depend on edible roots from jungles. Today the rulers are trying to cover up their misdeeds by giving some of the selective places of standing in the country. Many of them are still forest dwelling people.

The Sharchops have distinct local dialects, local customs and food habits. They are Nyingmapas whereas the royal class is of the Kargyupa order. Despite their distinctiveness, however, due to historical discrimination and lack of exposure, their region traditionally comes under the rule of present ruling elite. Political dissatisfaction exists among educated Sharchops and those actions against occasional mini-revolts have led a number of leaders to seek shelter in Arunachal, Kalimpong and Shillong. Several Sharchop leaders were reportedly jailed for having their sympathies with the other citizens of Bhutan.

Much of Regime's fears of the Sharchops have to do with the Shabdrung. The Wangchucks had hoped that after their 1907 ascendancy to hereditary kinship, the Shabdrung system of reincarnation which began with Ngawang Rimpoche would peter out. But incarnations do not follow imperial dictate. Most inconveniently, they continued to appear, and had to be dealt with -

with poisonings, pushing off rooftops and strangulation's. Successive Kings ensured that incarnations made quick exits, which is why the Shabdrung has taken to being reincarnated further and further east, away from the power valleys of Western Bhutan.

The Shabdrung Jigme Ngawang Namgyel at his young age was spirited away to India during 1962 Indo-China war to save him from the fate of his predecessors and he resided at Rewalsar (Tshopema in Dzongkha) in Himachal Pradesh under India's protection. Ever since he was living in India he was facing threat to his life from the Wangchuck Kings of Bhutan. On April 03, 2003 he died a mysterious death at Vallore Hospital while undergoing treatment. The post-mortem report of Vallore Hospital revealed that he died due to food poisoning. Before he fell ill he (Shabdrung) had food at West-Bengal's Malbazar near Bhutan's border while he was on his religious mission. During his halt at Malbazar for food he was accompanied by many monks and followers from Bhutan, India and Nepal. The Bhutanese power holders feel that the Shabdrung is a serious threat to them because he commands respect from all ethnicity.

The reincarnation of new Shabdrung has already taken place in Bhutan. But the present Wangchuck Government has kept him under their control as soon as the message of reincarnation reached them and the new born was identified. American scholar Leo E. Rose writes that the existence of Shabdrung claimants have been "a matter of continuing concern for the Bhutanese authorities" because "the reincarnation principle is still deeply ingrained" among the public.

REGIME'S FEAR: POLITICAL PARTY

The ethnic minorities (Sharchops, Lhotshampas, Khengpas, Adivasis, Tibetan, Doyas, Brokpas and many others) are made a tool by the Bhutanese Government to propagate its false propaganda of terrorism in Bhutan and to shield its own wrong doings. The Lhotshampas, who comprise the majority of population in Bhutan and the rest of the lots, who had and are serving the government, are aware of the actual essence of democracy; its merits; its drawbacks and its misinterpretation. According to the government of Bhutan's publication "As for the calls for the democracy raised by the dissident groups, they are themselves actually aware that they had no suitable answer as to why their movement for "bringing democracy in Bhutan" only comprises ethnic Nepalis". To activate any meaningful concept, a firm base is needed and since the answer for human rights and democracy in Bhutan is not allowed and recorded even in paper what to talk of its practice the dissident groups, opened an avenue for the Bhutanese people including the Ngalungs, Sharchops, Khengs, Adivasis and others to teach the Bhutanese Government of the basic jest of human rights and democracy vis-à-vis with the changed world democratic political

environment. Democracy is the essence of the day and there is no personal happiness and freedom without personal liberty. For the people, democracy has an answer but not with absolute monarchy. Monarchy, in today's world scenario has no bearing and as such by historical and geographical definition, Bhutan without democracy is meaningless. The euphoric success of democracy in the neighbourhood, allowing the peoples' participation in the making of a nation, and the dramatic result of democratic implementation of the democratized policies not only sparked a renewed approach to reality of social well-being, but it also opened Pandora's box under ones' absolute rule and its malady.

By initiating the mass-scale eviction of own citizens, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck inadvertently accelerated the entry of his closed Kingdom into the twentieth century world of political parties, open and acrimonious discourse, and activism. The program of eviction and its fall out over the years has politicized not only the Lhotshampas, but also the people in the east and the norths have been activated. Inevitable, even as they are being asked to condemn the Lhotshampas and Sharchops, the Ngalungs are being exposed to novel ideas and processes. Therefore, group politics is about to swing away from the dictates of feudal subservience.

Whichever way the refugee problem itself is resolved, the stage is set for Bhutan's late entry into the unstable world of South Asian Democracies. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck has told one over awed interviewer after another over the last decade that he knows monarchy is not the best system of Government and that when the time comes it will be gone. It would be unfortunate if the King had his wish fulfilled sooner than he expected. He is well protected.

The movement for establishing democracy in Bhutan does not only comprise the ethnic Lhotshampas. Mid-level bureaucrats are unhappy with the King for allowing higher offices to be dominated by noblemen from the Western Dzongkhags, for example twelve out of 14 ministers are from Ngalung community. In an interview by Antara Dev Sen of Sunday 28th Oct.-3rd Nov. 1990, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck agrees with the demands of the people that representation in National Assembly is not fair. The Druk National Congress (DNC) - a Political Party launched in exile, is an emerging force to reckon with. There are many prominent Sharchops and Ngalungs like Gup Khila (A Royal attendant), Thinley Penjore, Rinzin Dorji, Kezang Lhendup Dorji, Karchung, Sonam Tshering, Pema Tshering, Dhuptop Tshering, Rinchen Tshering, Tenzing Gawa Zangpo (abducted and imprisoned in Bhutan), Deki Yangzom, Karma Zangpo and the like actively working for peace and political changes in Bhutan. The party's significance lies in its presumed ability to articulate the interests of northerners, while at the same time antagonized by the Paro and Haa centralism of the present regime. The new group vies for recognition among those who constitute the present regime's base. Following is an extract taken from Himal Jul/Aug 1994 edition titled "House of Cards" by Kanak Mani Dixit in which the views of DNC and Late Rongthong Kunley Dorji are quoted:

On King Jigme Singye Wangchuck: *The king himself created the problem in the South, and he must think deeply and try to solve it. He has brought division between the Ngalungs, Sharchops and the Lhotshampas. And also brought division between the Kargyupa and the Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism, discriminating against the Nyingmapa followers. He has hurt the sentiments of those prophesying Christianity in the country.

Do not judge a book by its cover. The country, A to Z, is the King's to rule. A lot of money is spent spying on the people and the top-level bureaucracy. There is an atmosphere of fear, created by informers. The King knows everything, but he has many tongues with which to fool the reporters or the diplomats.

On King's four queens: How can you call a marriage to four wives a traditional? Bhutan's old Kings have never done what King Jigme Singye Wangchuck has done. He has shamed the country in front of the World. His subjects are in-fact misguided.

About Development: When visitors come, the Bhutan Government will show them Paro, Punakha and Thimphu, all the advanced districts from where the high government officials come. But go to Kurtoe, Mongar, Tongsa; Pemagatshel, Samrang, Dorokha, Gasa, Lunthsi, Panbang, Shinkhey, Goyok in the villages you will see true poverty. The Bhutanese King thinks only those who know English are advanced and want to promote those whose mother tongue is Dzongkha and is from his ethnic group.

On Hardships in Bhutan: There is forced labour (Goongdang woola), which made it all the more difficult because of the absence of the Lhotshampas. It is hard to till the fields. The militia is conscripted and whoever shows any reluctance is called 'anti-national'. There is also disgruntlement in the civil services. If you are related to the King or the senior people, you are automatically in a senior position. The loyal Northerners Bhutanese want to talk about all these, but they are afraid of persecution.

On his Party's plans: Our plan is to sensitize population about human rights - - what other countries take for granted and what we do not have.

On the Indian Stance: The Indian government must understand that it must not blindly support the King, for the public will then become Anti-Indian.

The above quoted facts and realities about King Wangchuck and his autocratic rule amply proves that the movement is for establishing democracy in Bhutan not only comprises the ethnic minorities but the entire Bhutanese people. Bhutanese King must realize that the current state of nepotism, favouritism, and gross interference in the functioning has disillusioned many. Unless true political reforms are introduced with proper mechanisms to check and balance, Bhutan could

face continual social unrest irrespective of the policies and the democratic structure it adopts to arrest the existing political crisis.



Druk National Congress in New-Delhi-2001

IS IT A FAIR GAME?

How can a system with absolute command and control of Government mechanism by one sole authority assisted by a few select sycophants be called very democratic and unique in nature? The election of the first hereditary monarch Ugyen Wangchuck in 1907 was not done according to the choice and wishes of the Bhutanese people but was installed by the builders of the British Empire, few clergy and the nobility to suit their vested interest as they feared hostility under the Shabdrung system. Leo E. Rose, the American political scientist and scholar of Himalayan States, writes in "The Politics of Bhutan" (Cornell University Press, 1977) the monarchy came first and the theocratic rationalizations for the system were "appended" thereafter. The Wangchuck dynasty lacked the traditional, ideological legitimization and has been so crucial to the survival of Monarchies" in Nepal and Thailand. But now the turn is taking place.

Despite its disadvantages of being landlocked and Indo-centric, the prospects for socio-economic development in Bhutan are good in comparison to other countries in the regions and over a period of four decades Bhutan has indeed taken a quantum leap in the development sectors. Bhutan however, does not have a genuinely merit based, corruption-free and result oriented Government and administrative system. There is no equal opportunity in business as well as in the Government service.

D N S Dhakal, a former official in the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Thimphu; and now member of a political party in exile wrote the following accounts of business partiality in the article. "Economic Blueprint for a south Asian Dragon" "The policies on privatization or export promotion are seen as ways of transferring ownership of public resources to members of the Thimphu elite". The foremost example is the case of the Gedu Plywood Project, built in 1980s at Nu. 145 million with grants from the UNDP and soft term loans from the Kuwait International Development Fund. This project has been sold to Yab Ugyen Dorji father-in-law of Jigme Singye Wangchuck, at discount of 80 percent of the book value. The initial share value of the project was Nu 1000, but was bought by the Yab (yab = father-in-law in Dzongkha) at Nu 198, with the entire foreign exchange burden to be borne by the Bhutan Government.

Another instance was the 'secret' auction bid on the duty free business owned and operated until 1991 by the Ministry of Finance. The Yab submitted three tender offers to the ministry valued at Nu. 1.1, 3.0, and 4.0 million while others were discouraged even a bid by government officials. Sonam Wangmo, owner of Yu-Druk Travel Agency, withdrew Nu 1.5 million bids, but found to her surprise that the Yab won the auction on payment of a royalty less than her bid.

More mischief of Yab Ugyen Dorji has been his capture of a contract for felling the young forests plantations on the Southern slopes of the Siwalik foot-hills and in the plains near the Indian border. The contract, which is expected to fetch monopoly profit in millions of Ngultrums to the Yab, goes against an earlier decision of the 69th National Assembly, held in November 1989, to create a two kilometre wide green belt along the Bhutan-India border. There are many things like Mothithang Tourism Hotel valued at Nu. 40 crores was given to Dhendup Group of Singye (King Jigme Singye's Father-in-law) at Nu. 4 Crores only.

The Yab had a medium-sized retail business before the marriages of his daughters to the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck. From retail merchant to an economic power within less than half a decade was a journey made by riding roughshod over rules and regulations. The Yab's skills in manipulating government's policy are reflected in his acquisition of Wangdiphodrang Timber Saw mill owned until 1990 by Kabji Penjor, a prominent citizen from Thimphu district. After the forest department denied timber for the saw mill, he sold his business to the Yab. Immediately thereafter, timber supply was resumed. The Yab's unfair business practices are also affecting members of the royal family who were once active in mining, trading and manufacturing. The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's aunts Ashi Choki, Ashi Deki and Ashi Pema have all withdrawn from big business in order to avoid clashes with the Yab and his associates, who today form a powerful clique.

The then Bhutanese Foreign Minister (Dawa Tshering) had asked the Tshougdu (National Assembly) not to be confused with the anti-national's campaigns against dress, language, custom

and religion. They had "a much more deep-seated, long term objective", which was "the introduction of multi-party democracy ... a highly lethal one for the Bhutanese monarchy."

King Jigme Singye Wangchuck says that he does, ultimately, when he thinks the time is right, which to relinquish the heavy burden of monarchy. In dozens of interviews, he has said in almost identical words, **"I do not think that monarchy is the best form of government. I would not oppose democracy as long as I am fully confident that the political changes are for the greater good of our people"**. Between a King who says he wants democracy, but not now, and a foreign minister who says never to a multi-party democracy clearly shows that the bureaucrats themselves are confused about the real fruits and substance of democracy. King J S Wangchuck himself seems to be confused between monarchy and democracy and issues conflicting statements. He sometimes says that monarchy is bad but Bhutan is not ready for democracy and at times says something different. He told Christopher Thomas of the "Times of London in April 1994"..... "But Bhutan has a very democratic monarchy. Most people think a country with a monarchy is backward and feudal. But Bhutan is more democratic than most democratic countries and definitely more democratic than any democratic third world country".

"The reality is elsewhere. Bhutanese polity is today balanced like a house of cards. A nudge of slight breeze and it could collapse all around the King, and it will be more than the tragedy of one man. It will be the collapse of a polity that has much going for it" writes Kanak Mani Dixit.

No doubt, today Bhutan has among the best socio-economic indicators in South Asia, finely developing health and education programs and an administration known for its potentiality and speedy action. But none of the benefits will accrue in the long term if new found political desires are suppressed rather than channeled. How-so-ever safe, sanitized and "democratic" King's system might be he cannot now escape being sucked into the spiral. He must fashion a system that can maintain today's development momentum while providing more political space for his subjects.

THE OTHER SIDE OF SHANGRI-LA

The ethnic minorities in Bhutan have been made the political targets by the Thimphu super elite to preserve their own nefarious interests. The Government media and the bureaucrats have failed utterly to raise issues of the concern of the **Drukpas** themselves. Being docile people, the down to earth villagers remained ignorant about the changes elsewhere and largely are self-centered.

Until 1990 the illiterate Drukpa peasants did not even know the existence of other countries and thus other forms of Government besides monarchy, was unknown to them. For example, the Monpas are supposed to be the original Bhutanese who inhabit in the east were unaware about the Television and Planes etc. till 1990. Many villages in Bhutan like Yalung the people have not seen an automobile vehicle. School teachers and visitors have to tell them about these things when they still have not understood the concept of the internal combustion engines.

To the Wangchuck dynasty in Bhutan, this innocence became a gift as their rule was never challenged by the people as the Kings were like Gods to them. However, with literacy, the scene has altered. The Bhutanese (Lhotshampas), Drukpas, Sharchops and other minor groups became aware of the merits of other systems of governance but mostly remained tongue-tied. Whosoever tried to oppose the absolute rule, the opponents were silenced forever. There is no justice at all in Bhutan and laws are amended to suit the interest of the ruling class, clergy and the nobility. Many Sharchops and Drukpas had suffered immensely but the people never got courage to voice against it.

Kazi Garjaman Gurung a powerful man responsible for administration in Southern Bhutan and another popular man Guling Gajmere of Dorokha were invited by Tshering Penjore (Paro Penlop) as per the command of the King Jigme Wangchuck at Paro for meeting but they were vanished from the palace itself. Mashur Basnet (Chhetri) the founder of Bhutan State Congress was arrested and dumped alive inside a leather bag and thrown into the Sunkosh River. Sek Tala and Narfung Kotsa were also mercilessly tortured and thrown into the river like Mashur Basnet. The Wangchuck Kings are despotic. In reality indifferent to the civil liberties of the people and fearful that concession to grievances of Bhutanese (Lhotshampas) and shift towards true democracy and true human rights would threaten King's oligarchic rule. Wangchuck Kings are prepared to do anything to eliminate to their opposition. The democracy that is launched in 2008 by Jigme Singye Wangchuck is for the king, by the king and of the king the people are forsaken to experience the merits of democracy.

The King is trying to turn the whole Drukpas against the Bhutanese (Lhotshampas) by a false propaganda drive and luring them with development projects in their respective villages as gift. Few believed while the rest viewed the move as treacherous and have remained silent and neutral. Some of those who voiced for human rights and opened their mouth in protest against the detrimental policies of the government were quickly disappeared. Selection of top ranking officials is at the likes and dislikes of the royal family members and the bureaucrats. Many of the people from Paro, Haa and Wangdi in fact have vanished overnight from the mother earth, while many suffered humiliation and defeat. Some of the instances of 'Drukpas suffering' are briefly highlighted in the book 'Justice To Justice: Bhutan', written by a Bhutanese in exile so that the readers become enlightened with the reality of the ruling elite. If at all something is to be believed, it is to be believed from a fact but not from the Wangchuck government officials, who are expert in the art of manipulation of wrongs from rights.

RELIGIOUS FEUDS

Religion and culture across the globe in unison uphold 'honesty' as the greatest virtue a man, a society, a nation or the world can possess. Bhutanese Regime follows 'Buddhism' as its religion. Buddhism emphasizes observance of certain moral precepts like truth, peace and love of mankind. As a Buddhist state, Bhutanese society is strongly influenced by the Buddhist precepts. But, the crimes against weaker sections of the society, slavery, harassment to the people, and sexual exploitation of women cannot be the precept of Buddhism. There is very high degree of sexual exploitation of women in Bhutan not reported by media or by the NWAB because National Women's Association of Bhutan (NWAB) is manned and headed by royal family member.

'Truth' is also a virtue a man can prefer to live his life and uphold to serve the mankind. But, The King and his Royal Government has lied to the world. It is convenient to lie as it saves us from embarrassment, punishment, and our fears and at times from facing ourselves. Lie saves us immediately but is the cause of our doom in the long run. One lie leads to another lie till we find ourselves caught in a thick web unable to escape from our own conscience. Truth, and service to people on the other hand, a difficult proposition, will get us in difficult situations, but in the long run will set our souls free.

The Thimphu regime has even interfered in the Buddhist religion itself. Traditionally the abbots of each monastery used to be the most deserving from the same monastery. Over the last few decades, all the abbots to different monasteries in the country have been chosen from the Punakha monastery only. Even for the appointment of Chief Abbot, the Government has intervened and now the Chief Abbots have been mostly royal appointees. In a typical case of embezzlement of funds by Lam Jambay, the previous Secretary of Tongsa monastery, the abbot and the monastery committee wanted statement of accounts from him but deliberately avoided. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck on his routine visit to Tongsa, upon complaints lodged by the monastery members, ordered the secretary to furnish the details of accounts within a stipulated period of time. Prior to the submission of account reports, Lam Jambay headed for Thimphu and complained to one of the Queens that he was harassed by the monastery members. Upon Queens's intervention instead of punishing the guilty, the King sacked the abbot and the entire committee. The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck's elder sister Princess Sonam Chhoedon wanted to protect the interest of those sacked but was asked not to interfere. In the events that followed, over a hundred monks from Tongsa monastery quit in disgust and took refuge in monasteries in India and Nepal.

In October 1997, the peaceful protest by the followers of Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism specially the Sharchops resulted in the closure of 13 Shedras (Buddhist Institutions), de-robing of hundreds of monks and arrest of many innocent people in the Eastern Bhutan. Khenpo Thinley

Oezer, the Chief Abbot from Drametse Shedra and many students were arrested and imprisoned without any crimes and reasons. Some of them are still in the prison. To show the strength and anger The Buddhist King of Bhutan pardoned the Chief District Officer who shot dead a monk Gomchen Karma of Nyingmapa sect during the peaceful protest of the Buddhist Monks. Today there are many Bhutanese Buddhist Monks in Nepal who are still afraid of being kidnapped by these ruling hands. The above cited religious development is kept blind to the outsiders, but for low long, only time will tell.

HOW MUCH TRUTH DOES IT HOLD?

The Bhutanese Government's claim that the security forces have maintained an extremely low profile absolutely holds no truth. The Southern Bhutan in fact was literally dotted with study looking soldiers in full battle fatigue. Most of the soldiers were withdrawn from the border areas in the north and east and were mobilized in the South to carry out the Ngalungnization programs with flashed bayonets; heinous murders, multiple gang rapes, and third degree torture to the innocent civilians and prisoners. The glaring instances of torture and harassment practiced by the security forces in the cells in Bhutan are clearly recorded by the Peoples Forum for Human Rights-Bhutan (PFHR-B), CPHR-B, PFHR-D, HUROB, AHURA Bhutan and International INGOs where the victims have clearly brought out the existing violence in the Bhutanese prisons. A senior Army Officer in exile, wishing to remain anonymous was arrested in 1990 by twelve army soldiers, a police officer and an army officer commanded by Lt. Col. Sonam Rinchen, all fully armed and in battle fatigue without any rhyme or reason and without any arrest warrant. He was released in 1992 and was told to flee away from the country. He gave the following accounts to PFHR-B. "The treatment received was horrible. Every night they used to kick us, beat us and hit us with rifle butts. They would shout at us, use abusive and dirty language and threaten us. One day Samchi Dzungda, Lhakpa Dorji (now retired) came and threatened all the distinguished persons in the cell. Brig. Bhato Tshering of Royal Bhutan Army (Present Chief of Royal Bhutan Army) also came and interrogated me but none of these visitors would look humane. On 15 Nov 1991, Lt. Col. Sonam Rinchen came to prison cell. He ordered my shackling and took me to a room. I could see blood stains all over the wall. Later I realized that this was the torture chamber where many prisoners had succumbed to torture previously. Once in the room-my hands and feet were tied together and they tossed me around. Then the

colonel started beating me all over the body with a stick. I could remember seven to eight blows then I fell semi-unconscious. They stopped hitting because the stick broke. He then ordered for another cane this time he ordered another soldier to beat me as he was too tired.

This soldier showed some soft corner while beating me. At this he snatched the cane and hit the soldier. They continued beating me until the cane broke again. In the evening I found myself in my room. I was bleeding profusely all over my shoulders, legs, back and ankles".

Another victim, Bhim Prasad Tamang, a villager of Kado Block, Nainital, Samchi district was arrested on 08 August 1990 by the Royal Bhutan Police constables, Sonam and Khado without any reasons or arrest warrant. He was released from prison on 19 August 1994 and told to leave Bhutan at the earliest. He narrated his prison experiences to PFHR-B in the following ways: - "My handcuffs were removed. They asked me to stretch out my hands and hit my palms with bamboo sticks. I was also hit on the head. Both of them hit me seven to eight times. I was asked to sit on the floor and stretch my legs. They then hit my soles several times. The Dungpa kicked me on the chest. He tried to pierce my finger with a needle but the Dzungda stopped him. Next day police officer Major Naina Mani Pradhan asked me to lie down on my back. Then he hit me on the soles twice he hit me with the rifle butt. On 9 August 1990 at 3.00 pm Major Pradhan told me that my son had died due to bullet injury. In the same evening, another police officer, Jaman Singh Gurung beat me with a huge stick which looked like the rifle butt. One blow hit my lower stomach and I fell unconscious. I was dragged to my cell then. I could not sleep whole night".

Ganga Prasad Pradhan of Ghumauney block, Samchi district was arrested in Phuntsholing on 22 Sept. 1990 by combined forces of army and police led by Major Kipchu Namgyel of Royal Bhutan Police (RBP) (now promoted to Chief of Royal Bhutan Police) without an arrest warrant. He was released from prison on 22 Feb 1994. He gave the following account to us. "Major I. B. Pradhan and Major P. T. Dorji of RBP tortured me; they applied 'Chepuwa' on my both legs for more than 4 hours on the first day and repeated it many times after intervention of one week or fortnight. (Chepuwa is traditional torture device under which the thigh of prisoner is placed under two wooden rods and pressed which excruciates extreme pain). They beat me on my back several times. Then they put me in the confinement room. There was no window, and ventilation and no bedding. I was kept there for 15 month". He further states that "One detainee Satyanarayan Kalwar from Chengmari died due to torture on 12 August 1991. He was in the next room. They used to photograph some of us while torturing. Satyanarayan disappeared soon he was given enough treatment."

This glaring misuse of authority and power by the security forces is a slap on the very faces of those, who try to hide the wrong deeds in a glorified way. The past and the ongoing actions of the security forces in Bhutan cannot be termed "an extremely low profile action".

The regime of King Jigme Singye Wangchuck cannot decide just from unjust. Right or wrong, the Government by issuing vague charges about its own populace has nothing to gain in the long run. The Government has failed to battle with its own people in many counts. Even a fool or a muddle headed man cannot be made to believe a cheap propaganda that too from the top bureaucrats in the country. The Government went on record to issue mean statements like the citizens of Southern Bhutan are a migratory race, these farmers do not have a symbiotic relationship with the land like farmers in other countries and that Lhotshampas as a rule do not built large houses and no matter how well-off they are. The Government's statement became even cheaper, when it stated that the (Lhotshampa) Nepali people keep all their earnings in cash or in gold and silver hidden in their houses. How can a system meant to safe-guard the interest of the country and its citizen's stoop so low by mean and cheap gossip that even its own citizens feel embarrassed to retaliate? The highly sensitive and educated communities of the world would not believe even a fraction of the false gossip. It is not only the Bhutanese who are ready to sell their property and leave their country at short notice for better economic prospects elsewhere. It is a world-wide phenomenon. Almost all the countries in the world are populated by immigrants. However, such was not the case with the Lhotshampas, who though immigrants were the bonafide Bhutanese citizens until the brutal Wangchuck regime made them flee by annexing their landed properties both movable and immovable. One's blood pressure really shoots up with the Government on the issue the Bhutanese people in the refugee camps are they really thriving economically if they had left Bhutan for economic prosperity? The Government of Bhutan, must therefore, provide suitable and convincing answers to these queries, so that we are convinced and the world body to get convinced.

Did the Government of Bhutan ever carried-out an opinion pool among the Lhotshampas to assess as to how many of them had ever considered Nepal as their motherland? The Ex-Foreign Minister Dawa Tshering would perhaps provide a suitable answer to this particular query. He appears to have an exaggerated image of his power in the Ngalungs echelons forgetting his ethnic background. Tshering is the son of a Kalimpong based Chinese and was brought up in a Nepali household there. After graduating with Law Degree, he worked as a hotel superintendent in Kalimpong before he landed it big in Bhutan with under tutelage of late Prime Minister Palden Dorji. If the other citizens are immigrates so is he. Even King Jigme Singye Wangchuck in this context is an outsider for his mother Ashi Kezang is Sikkimese by birth. The children born from her including the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck falls under category F4, as per the law and system practiced by Bhutan. If the law is applicable equally to all including The Royal Families, then they are not eligible to head the government of Bhutan. The Kings or the congregation in the Tashichhodzong should ponder over the matters before taking any decision of universal significance. The Government must learn from its own mistakes and refrain from issuing statements that harms the interest of the country and the people.

The Government is fully aware that Bhutan itself is made up of migratory population. Today if an opinion poll is initiated vigorously with security threats; to the ruling class; the findings would also be otherwise. Can the Home Ministry of Bhutan issue statements regarding the true motherland of the ruling class then?

The demolished houses of the people simply demonstrate the wrong from the right. In Southern Bhutan particularly in Sibsoo, Samchi, Dorokha, Kalikhola, Chirang, Sarbhang, Surey, and Dagana the people have built very large and concrete houses and in most of the towns like Phuntsholing, Samchi, Damphu, Gaylegplang and Samdrup-Jongkhar the people have modern residential buildings and apartments. Therefore the Government's claim "that the ethnic minorities other than ruling class do not build large houses" has no room to accommodate the unbelievable false propaganda. The concrete houses in and around Thimphu, Punakha, Wangdi, Paro, Haa, Bumthang and Tongsa might have impressed the Government to compare these buildings with that of South and as a face saving measure compared the largeness of houses. It is indeed a silly approach to expose the illogical facts without any reality that are irrelevant and indigestible.

The Wangchuck Kings seems are not aware that most of the Dzongs, Monasteries including fortress, and palace in Bhutan are built by architectures, sculptors, carpenters, metal casters mostly from Nepal before Wangchuck family triumph over Bhutanese throne with the help of British-India in 1907. It was during 16th century Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal officially recognized these engineers and draughtsman from Nepal and more people were invited for developmental works in Bhutan. And the type of house, shape and size is always similar to the houses built in Nepal. Largeness of houses is not the result of racial background but is a desire and compulsion made so by economic prosperity. A town in Eastern Bhutan and in other remote areas in the country will justify "the largeness of house" issue and would provide the required answer to the regime whether only the inhabitants in the South are the true migratory people. In most places the situation is no better than what it was centuries ago. In some of Eastern Bhutan, people still live together with animals, in one room houses which have leaves roofs. This is more common in Taba Damtse, Kheng district and the areas of Panbang, Ngamlang, Dechling and Kulikatta and interiors of Deothang, Orang, Gomdar, Marsala and Shingkharlauri between Gaylegp heg and Bhangtar. Therefore, the Government must think its own housing problems at home instead of floating impertinent documents comparing issues like houses which will not only embarrass the country but its population too vis-à-vis the global inhabitants.

The King Jigme Singye Wangchuck and his coterie of confidants should have thought deeply before accentuating "war of words diplomacy" with the Nepal Government, International Communities and the Bhutanese refugees. Even the refugees are surprised to the approach the Government of Bhutan has taken its propaganda drive. To a raw outsider, the Thimphu "diplomatic game" might appeal and enable him to draw praiseworthy comments about the

efficiency of the bureaucrats but not to the people of Bhutan "who know the ins and outs" of the so-held efficient bureaucrats; and not to the likes of Ravi Nair, the Delhi-based human rights activist, who has followed issue since the first image has shattered among those who follow the politics of South Asia. People have understood what the Bhutanese game is".

As the Bhutanese taking refuge in Nepal, the Bhutanese regime got the entire pretext it wanted to degrade Nepal with issues like Nepal Government's keen interest to fence the refugee camps and the Nepal Government as collaborator to the dissidents move for converting Bhutan as a Nepali dominated state and the ultimate political seize a blatant lie indeed. Nepal is held primarily suspicious by Bhutan and all the good intentions of the Government of Nepal to settle the "Bhutanese refugee issues" amicably and in the most suitable approach is wrongly conceived by the almighty Regime just because Nepal happens to be the ancestral land of these ethnic refugees. "How could have the Bhutanese Government reacted to Bangladesh and India if the refugee had taken asylum in these two countries other than Nepal? Perhaps, the Bhutanese Government would have then termed the same refugees from Bhutan as the original inhabitants of Bangladesh and India. It is a guess, but carries enough weight and sense.

BHUTAN CHANGES HISTORICAL NAMES

The people, who live in the northern part and claim to be original citizens of Bhutan, never visited the southern belt until the 19th century, as they knew barely about geographical location of the country and also due to fear of malaria. Whereas, Lhotshampas who for centuries lived in southern part toiled and sweated hard to make the malaria infected lands suitable for human settlement and cultivation are today being questioned for their existence in Bhutan. They were mercilessly evicted and made to suffer as refugees. The fact Lhotshampas were in Bhutan since centuries is also proved by the names of places, villages and rivers in Southern Bhutan before 1990. The names of places, villages, rivers and districts in southern belt carry lingual, ethnic and cultural identity of Lhotshampas and being of Southern Bhutan since ages. This is the testimony to the historical facts of existence of Lhotshampas in the country. Surprisingly, the privileged silly rulers today have started renaming places and rivers aimed at erasing existence of Lhotshampa in the country and blindfolding the world.

Some of the names of places, districts, blocks, villages, rivers and landmarks in Southern Bhutan

which is now changed by Bhutan Government similar to Ngalung language and cultural identification are as follows:

S.N. Historical Names	Changed Names	Remarks
1. Danabari	Chhuzang	Geylegphug
2. Dovan	Chhudzomsa	
3. Bimirey	Tshelthang	
4. Dadagaon	Samtenphu	
5. Gairigaon	Chibigang	
6. Ghunsring	Galethang	
7. Ramitey	Pelrigang	
8. Baragharey	Chunyethang	
9. Khargaon	Norbugang	
10. Mongargaon	Mongarling	
11. Pathivara	Sherabling	
12. Tarkharka	Thongjabi	
13. Fedi	Rijugang	
14. Tirkhola	Drachu	
15. Pankhey	Jangchubling	
16. Maukhola	Mautsangchhu	
17. Bichkhola	Bachhuthang	
18. Majhkhola	Nyachhu	
19. Neupaney	Dechenling	
20. Ranikhop	Azhethang	
21. Leopani (Block)	Dekidling	Block Leopani
22. Bichpani	Mandelgang	
23. Chuabari	Jigmedling	
24. Gairigaon	Dolonggang	
25. Rateypani	Dekiling	
26. Dolpani	Nubgang	
27. Toribari	Chhoe Khorling	
28. Sukhatar	Darbithang/Lungtenbi	
29. Leukhop	Hamlingphu	
30. Lampatey	Tahiling	
31. Kafleytar	Gawai/Norbuthang	Yenchenphu
32. Hiley (Block)	Gakidling Block	Hiley Block
33. Belkhola	Balchhangchu	
34. Gangatey	Dragphuchen	
35. Kharpaniy	Maenchulam	
36. Muga	Jachu	

37. Rateypani	Sangkha	
38. Noonpani	Reilangthang	
39. Kagatey	Chursini	
40. Laring	Gatemkha	
41. Bisty	Bunakha	
42. Hilley	Gadikling	
43. Kwapani	Omchugang	
44. Hattisar/Geylegphug	Gelephu(Block)	Geylegphug
45. Lodrai/Samitar	Pelrithang -	
46. Mainatar	Zalingthang	
47. Samitar	Pemathang	
48. Lakitar	Lekidthang	
49. Surey Block	Jigmecholing	Surey Block
50. Babjungay	Tagjogang	
51. Dhungay	Doringphu	
52. Gairigaon	Hokaling	
53. Gwangdara	Gongtsekha	
54. Mangargaon	Moenchukha	
55. Ashiney	Serbugang	
56. Bhirgaon	Mendrelgang	
57. Kholatar	Gadikling	
58. Galechu	Galegchhu	
59. Samkhara	Singkharthang	
60. Chakpai	Tashigtshel	
61. Bichgaon	Barstham	
62. Dagagaon	Khamaed	
63. Betini	Pachhakha	
64. Saudalay	Jungchugang	
65. Sirangaon	Khatod	
66. Ossey	Sinsagang	
67. Tatopani	Tshachu	
68. Pakhey	Pemagang	
69. Sukumbasitole	Chhotengkhar	
70. Tormey	Tormaphug	
71. Bhur (Block)	Samtenling,	Bhur Block
72. Dhungmindra Khengpagang		
73. Jhuprey	Samtenthang	
74. Jaruwa	Dechen Pelri	
75. Majuwa	Chhokhorling	
76. Sersong	Serzhong Block	Sersong Block

77. Thewar	Barshong	
78. Samitar	Kapung/Pankhar	Sarbhangtar
79. Sarbhangtar	Sompangkha Block	
80. Kharpanitar	Koenchholing	
81. Pakheygaon	Thongajor	
82. Sarbhang bazaar	Gadanchholing	
83. Patabari	Dareythang	
84. Singi (Block)	Seng-Gye	Singi Block
85. Labarbotey	Tashitse	
86. Phibsoo	Wangchulingkhar	
87. Pingkhuwa	Chiwaling	
88. Kopchey	Penjorling	
89. Deorali	Labtsakha	
90. Chargharey	Dorjitse	
91. Daragaon	Pemacholing	
92. Limbutar	Woongchilu	
93. Lalai (Gewog)	Umling Gewog	
94. Chisopani	Chubarthang	
95. Dhudey/Katusey	Dangling	
96. Toribari /Samchi	Samtse	

These changes are only in one (Dzongkhag) District of Sarbhang (now Sarpang). Similar changes are undergoing in other Southern Dzongkhags (Chirang, Dagana, Samchi/Toribari, Samdrupjonkhar and Chukha).

Changing ancient historical names of villages, rivers, historical places and evicting citizens will not make a country new, democratic, it will not develop. We will not arrive at "Gross National Happiness" the prescription advocating by Bhutan for people's happiness of a nation. It is clearly seen the process of: prosecution, eviction, takeover, and erasing the history of "Lhotshampa, the people in the camps", is to deny national identity to Lhotshampas, the Bhutanese Refugees and brand them as "the people in the camps".

Immediate questions that follow are then 'why Bhutan is changing the ancient original names of the villages, places, rivers and landmarks of the very places in Bhutan wherein unanimously Lhotshampas had lived for centuries and had named its places according to their culture, religion, habits, language and historical epoch and nurtured and beautified its soil by own blood?'

HOW SECURE IS THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES?

The Government which claims of corruption free administrative system backed by efficient administrators, loyal people and able security forces, has not spared them in the hour of need. The given instances aptly justify the Governments rewarded for sincerity and honesty to the people by giving judgment of medieval periods.

The maternal uncle of the Queens, Wangdi Gyeltshen in 1988 wanted to acquire three acres of public grazing land in Chapai village in Haa district. The land was jointly owned by about thirty households. On getting unfavorable response from the villagers, Wangdi Gyeltsan approached the Queens to intervene and the four sisters put up the matter to the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck. The King issued orders to release the land to Wangdi Gyeltshen. The villagers petitioned the King and the High Court was ordered to investigate and settle the case. A jury comprising of Chief Justice Dasho Paljore Dorji, as Judges Colonel Gyem Tshering, Major Pem Tshering, Tshewang Penjore, Lam Sangna, D N Katwal, H. Humagai, Jigme Wangdi, K B Ghalley and Sangey Dorji, after examining the case, gave their verdict in favor of the villagers. An agreement to this effect was drawn up and signed by the Chief Justice, Colonel Gyem Tshering, Major Pem Tshering, Tshewang Penjore, H. Humagai and Lam Sangna. On receipt of the report, the King J S Wangchuck got furious that his 'royal command' was not honored. The Chief Justice was suspended and the other members of the jury who were signatories to the agreement were terminated from their services. Six persons including Drimpon Lengo and Drimpon Naku from among the thirty petitioning households were sentenced to six years in prison and sent to Gasa (a remote district) to serve their sentence. When the Southern problem started in 1989, they were released. However, the land is now owned by Wangdi Gyeltshen.

There is a limit to everything, the exceeds of which is beyond anybody's liking and appreciation leads to a disaster. The Chirang Thrimpon (District Judge) Chapchap Rinchen Dorji, was authorized the sale of seized land property in Southern Bhutan at an under-priced value of Nu. 4000 per acre on the orders of higher authorities in Thimphu. The Government officials grabbed the opportunity and purchased the land. The distressed villagers lodged complain about the price, it became embarrassing for the authorities to hold the truth anymore. The Thrimpon was held responsible for misappropriating the authority of office and his service was terminated. His case was to be tried by the High Court on misappropriation charges. However, the case never went to the High Court, as the Thrimpon claimed to have the written orders from the Government in his possession. His charges were then automatically dropped.

In Feb 01, 1992, Sonam Drukpa - a royal attendant, had shot dead Mr. Tankanath Pathak, a cow herder who was grazing his herd by the roadside in Chirang. The Chief of Police was sent to investigate the case after being briefed by the Chief of Army. When he returned and filed the report on his findings, the bodyguard, policeman Ngawang Choeda - a Sharchop, who was assigned to Sonam Drukpa was charged with murder and sentenced to twelve years in prison.

The problems in Bhutan are mainly the makings of the new royal family. In Punakha district, some villagers were compelled to sell their lands to the father-in-law of King J S Wangchuck (Yab Ugen Dorji), at compensatory prices for the building of palaces for new royal family. Some villagers refused while other petitioned the queens for empathy. Those who did so were imprisoned. The lands now belong to the queens and even the water supply to the adjacent village households have also been cut off for use in the palaces. There are people who live in abject misery and over 3000 land-fewer families have been Promised Land for settlement but this promise hasn't yet materialized, whereas government lands are being handed over to the supporters of the royal regime.

Goongdang Woola: This is a system of forced labor imposed on the people since the Wangchuck Dynasty was established in Bhutan in 1907. Since that day the ignorant, naive and vulnerable Bhutanese people irrespective of their racial background are used as slaves to work in the interest of the royal elites and those who refuse are imprisoned and fined. Sometimes back, about a hundred families fled Bhutan after they were victimized for refusing to enlist in the army and militia. Their leaders were Kangpara Latshap from Kurtoe, Narphung Khotso, Kangling Sek Tala and others were imprisoned. Sek Tala was tied in a sack and thrown alive in the Punakha River. About 300 people from Decheling came back and had to undergo compulsory labor for nine months each as punishment. During the same period, the people of Paro too refused to enlist. Their leader Changa Thow and 30 others were imprisoned and some fled the country to escape from the royal wrath.

In 1992 more than 2000 active soldiers from Royal Bhutan Army, Royal Bhutan Police, Royal Body Guard and Forest Security Guards including three Army Officers, two Police Officers and five forest officers were evicted by Bhutan. One senior Army Officer who was also an engineer deputed to construction of the National Workshop, Geylegphug was arrested, imprisoned and tortured in the NIFH turned prison at Geylegphug without any reason and evicted after 2 years of merciless imprisonment. Nowhere in history, is stated that the soldiers meant to defend the frontiers of the country are evicted without rhyme or reasons. In-fact Army is carefully planned, trained, motivated and considered the most vital element in defining unity, strength and pride for any nation of the world. Army is believed to be more patriotic and scarifying in the times of national call. Army Personnel of all the nations' world over are recognized as comrades in the arms and general people have enormous faith and respect them, for instance they represent their

country's image and pride. But, it is entirely different in Bhutan the country ruled by Wangchuck Kings since 1907. Nobody is important for them. As long as they can enjoy life, hunting, playing games, picnic and merry making festivals are on their menu the citizens are considered as their commodities. No laws and no loyalists or expression of good-wills and visions for nation is allowed to develop in Bhutan as it would mean relegation of the royal dynasty. Thus, the Army Officers and soldiers though true, loyal and patriotic citizens are crushed in the prison. And when they come from another community they are prepared to do bloodshed upon them. Most Lhotshampas though high in the government services are victims of royals. Today the situation has worsened as it has spread to other communities also.

Today these army soldiers and officers who were evicted by Bhutan Government are languishing in different parts of India, refugee camps in Nepal and some are resettled abroad. Similarly, about 2000 to 2500 common northern Bhutanese, who fled during the rules of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck and Jigme Singye Wangchuck respectively, live mostly in Nepal, parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, West Bengal and some other parts of India.

IS IT A REAL INVESTMENT?

There is virtually no development in Eastern Bhutan and in other remote parts in the North. Funds allotted are hardly ever utilized for development for which they are intended. Royal expenditure which is disbursed by the Ministry of Finance, has reached such proportions and exceeds the budgeted amounts by such enormous margins that it has to be met with from allocations meant for development. Additional Royal visits immensely reduce the financial resources which finally make it to the districts as the expense for this too is met with from the same funds. Aid packages and grants from donor countries meant for socio-economic development are utilized to suppress the peoples' voices, to charm and manipulate the media. Numerous print, radio, and television journalists have been speaking words scripted by Thimphu over the past few years, and the list stretches from writers for vernacular dailies of Siliguri, to high-flying reporters of western news outlets.

Journalists who pass muster in the Royal Bhutanese Embassy in New Delhi and are given visas and provided jet passage to Paro airport, from where they are whisked up to Thimphu as royal guests and put up at the Druk Hotel or one of the Government guest houses. A chauffeur-driven vehicle waits to take the reporter around, but never to the South. The red-carpet treatment can be overwhelming, as the English speaking sophistication of the senior officials and Royal Families, and the obvious importance with which they regard the journalists' mission. One of the journalists to be taken in by Thimphu was Tarun Basu of 'India Abroad', a New-York based weekly, who wrote on 26 June 1992 about Indo-Bhutanese ties ("Harmony between Contrasts"), the King ("Austere Ruler who like work"), the "Wondrous Stamp Museum", and so on. The one paragraph on the problem says: "Operating behind the facade of a pro-democracy movement, the dissidents...had the backing of Gurkha leaders of India and Nepal who nursed visions of a pan Himalayan Nepali State." While malleable national level journalists of New-Delhi and Calcutta are invited to Thimphu to be charmed out, Thimphu knows that only hard cash will do for the vernacular press of the Duars, Siliguri based papers that were 'sympathetic' to the refugees in the autumn of 1990 made a quick turn around by January 1991 and the process of being faithful to Thimphu by these journalists so-called fighters of 'freedom of expressions' voice of oppressed people continues. Today, they treat Thimphu with velvet gloves while hampering the democratic aspirations of the people.

In 1988, forty cases of Black and Red Label Scotch Whisky were distributed to different journalists invited by Thimphu after the 1988 press conference announcing the multiple marriages of King Jigme, recalls a high Government official now a refugee.

The Bhutanese proclivity for giving gifts is sometimes carried to extremes. Even the Bhutan Foreign Minister of 1991 might agree that it was carrying things too far when a Delhi based Bhutan's diplomat turned up at the residence of Justice Krishna Iyer with Jam, Jelly, Books, Honey and Liquor. Krishna Ayer had made a statement on human rights in Bhutan and was planning to leave for Thimphu as part of a South Asian fact finding team. He is a former Chief Justice of India and a teetotaler.

IS IT JUSTICE FOR LOYALTY?

The Bhutanese Government goes all out to punish the suspected and even the doubted cases. Dasho Shingkar Lam, who served as Deputy Minister, Secretary to the Late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, speaker of the National Assembly and also as Secretary to the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck was arrested and tortured around 1975 as he was suspected of possessing documents concerning the mistress (Azi Yanki) of the late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck. He was released four month later after which he was made to resign. A year earlier to this incident, the then Shung Donyer (Deputy Home Minister) Shengngap Dhendup was imprisoned for twelve years and tortured, then Police Chief Bab Dada was also arrested and tortured and even his relatives serving the Government and in the Monk body were expelled without any reason. Mongar Depung Kota and Talo Sangey Wangdi were also arrested and tortured to death. Twelve to fifteen others had been arrested at the same time have been released. In such an ambitious circle of royal family member dominance within their own community to talk of 'justice for loyalty' of citizens is not likely. Courts and its judges in Bhutan are systematic hooks and claws of the Royal Family. It decides what the Wangchuck king wants and it punishes those who try to express their grievances for the unfairness done to them. Therefore, the question of the Bhutanese people getting justice from the Royal Courts of Bhutan and longing for real democratic system inside Bhutan and those seeking justice for the Bhutanese refugees from Royal Throne does not arise.

In 2008 with much pomp and show King Jigme Singye Wangchuck announced that he is ushering Bhutan into a democratic country and let the Bhutanese people also have all the fundamentals of human rights and democracy enshrined in the UN Human Rights Resolutions. The King alleged to have free and fair election of the Government body and an independent judiciary system in the country so that the people would get justice from the judiciary system. But, his words never happen; it remains only in words not in deeds. There has been number of cases where the people voicing for their rights and campaigning for election were arrested and imprisoned for life because they blamed the Royal Government for injustice.

In October 2009 the Phuntsholing Dungkhaig Court sentenced 48 years Ms Dechen Wangmo, principal of Phajoding Lower Secondary School, Phuntsholing, Bhutan and a social worker to 15 years of imprisonment for she came in contact with Bhutanese refugees. This is the gift for her loyalty and sincerity to the country. For Bhutan Government, Royal Police and the Royal Court:

1. *It was a crime to contact with Bhutanese refugee in the refugee camps in Nepal.*
2. *It was a crime to marry a girl from the refugee camp in Nepal who was going to resettle.*

3. *It was a crime of as Secretary General of Phuentsholing Women's Association (PWA) and founder of Youth Employment Summit (YES) to come in consistent touch with Mr. Narad Mani Adhikari a member of political party in exile, who in the opinion of Bhutan Government is an enemy of the nation.*
4. *It was a crime to attend the seminar organized by Canadian International Model United Nations (CANIMUN) in Canada on March 9, 2005.*
5. *It was a crime to send Bhutanese youths to the conference including one Mr. Neelam Rana, an Indian national with documentations in retrospective to the laws.*
6. *It was a crime to seek advises from different people including Narad Mani Adhikari.*

These are the things for which Dechen Wangmo is sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment, is it justice? Does anyone agree the above activities of Ms Dechen Wangmo are crimes punishable for 15 years? She may have done things that is unacceptable to the government but she is not anti-national nor she has committed any such crimes but, Bhutan Courts is not an institution to give justice to the people but, it is an establishment of the Royal Government through which it can jail and punish anyone who raises voice against the government for justice.

The legal system of Bhutan is a mockery in itself as compared to legal system elsewhere. They are not in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights nor with any of the other international judiciary standards essential for the protection of its citizens. The Royal Courts and Laws in Bhutan denies individual rights and civil liberties, and places the king, royal family and sometimes even their relative bureaucrats above these laws against whom the citizens cannot raise their voice. There is not even a single lawyer professionally qualified and free to practice the laws and it is up-to the king to appoint and retire the sitting judges in the courts in Bhutan.

Many Bhutanese people dared to raise the issue through media, some well-wishers appealed to the court, even some of the lawyers said prejudice verdict. But, nobody try to appeal for review for fear of landing into trouble. Bhutan Government continues its savage activities. It would be a tribute to the victims of Bhutan carnage if she is helped to fight for justice from Bhutanese tyrants. This case is interesting for any international human rights and legal institutions and for lawyers to study and speak for justice.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS CREDIBILITY

The National Assembly of Bhutan was established in 1953. It usually meets once or twice a year for a two-week period, although since the problems in the south began it has only met annually, if at all. The last meeting of the National Assembly, its 72nd session, was held in July 1993.

The main functions of the National Assembly are to enact laws, approve senior government appointments, and advise the King on matters of national importance. It also provides a forum for presenting grievances and rectifying cases of maladministration. The King is not in a position to formally veto legislation, but he may return bills to the Assembly for further consideration. The members occasionally have rejected the King's recommendations or delayed their implementation, but in practice the King retains sufficient influence to ensure approval of legislation he considers essential or the withdrawal of proposals he opposes. Government officials may be questioned by the Assembly, and ministers may be forced to resign by a two-thirds majority vote of no confidence.

"Representation in the National Assembly of Lhotshampas or the Nepali language speaking Southern Bhutanese is not as per population ratio, it is low. In 1990 the National Assembly had had just sixteen Southern Bhutanese Members. In an interview in October 1990 in the Indian Newspaper, Sunday, the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck conceded that there was insufficient representation of Lhotshampas, the southern Bhutanese in the National Assembly and that the ethnic composition needed to be changed in order to better reflect the ethnic composition of the country, although no such changes appear to have been made to date even after forging country to Democracy."

In the 1991 the National Assembly body consisted of 154 members: 105 indirectly elected representatives, 39 representatives of the Government and 10 representatives of the monastic establishment. Members of the National Assembly serve three-year terms (recently changed from five-year terms), although members can, and often do, serve one or more consecutive terms, depending upon King's disposition.

The National Assembly of Bhutan or the so-called people's representatives, representatives from the monk body and all the representatives from the civil services are selected and appointed by the King. All National Assembly Resolutions are pre-decided by the King and his cabinet, and assembly members are briefed in advance as to what views they should present when the assembly is in session.

It is said now Bhutan has transitioned from an absolute monarchy to a multi-party democracy since 2008. The current National Assembly has 47 members. As per Article 12 of the Constitution of Bhutan 2008, the National Assembly consists of a maximum of 75 members directly elected by the citizens of constituencies within each Dzongkhag (District). However,

working system of the National Assembly is the same as it was before establishment of largely shrewd democracy in 2008.

Candidates who stand for elections as people's representatives are normally selected and a predetermined candidate made to win. To mention one case, Sangey Wangdi, an educated young man who was at that time was also serving in the Department for Trade and Industry was elected people's representative from Haa by a huge margin and further voted by the assembly members to the post of councilor. This victory was accepted, but all of a sudden the Government alleged that he had bribed the voters and false witnesses were produced to substantiate the charges. He was made a scapegoat as he was not one of the predetermined candidates. He was disqualified and another candidate chosen to set an example for the Government's commitment to Justice.

In another case, when the National Assembly felt the need to have a Deputy Speaker to officiate in the absence of the Speaker, Jigme Thinley, an ex-police officer from Kurtey was elected to the post by the members. For reasons well known, his services were terminated within eight months in office by the King Jo:igme Singye Wangchuck without discussing with the National Assembly. Pasang Dorji was appointed as Deputy Speaker without a vote and though the normal period of office is one year, his service was extended by the King without any resolution or voting.

OBEY OR FACE THE WRATH

Whenever the King plans to tour the country, Government officials are sent ahead to brief the villagers as to what to say during their meeting with the King. Ever since the problem started, the normal line of approach was for the King to mention how much money the Government is intending to allocate development activities and how the people in the country are posing a threat to their development. Whereupon the villagers, as previously briefed, would rise up and express their willingness to volunteer for the security services, donate for the cause and to swear allegiance to the King, Kingdom and the Government (Tsa-Wa-Sum) which would be widely published in the government bulletins.

However, during 1993 on the King's visit to (east) Tashigang, when a similar plan was formulated, Chungkhar Phutsho Wangdi, ex-councillor Jigme Wangdi and Rongthong Sonam

Gyamtso were sent to brief the villagers well in advance by the Zonal Administrator. As usual when the King promised to provide more funds for development, the villagers requested for initiating the construction of the road to Bidung, which was assured to them by him the year before. No amount of coaxing with the guarantee of additional funds appeared the villagers who mentioned that the Southern Bhutanese had not done anything to them and humbly insisted on the fulfilling of His promises of the previous year. This unexpected incident led to the shacking of seventeen National Assembly Members, twenty one Gups and the suspension of the Dzungda, Dorji Namgay. Tashigang district was then split into two politically manageable districts Tashiyangtse and Tashigang.

PRISONERS IN BHUTAN PRISONS

Hundreds of Bhutanese citizens imprisoned since years who are alive are still languishing in Bhutan prisons. Many of these prisoners have died due to illness and some are killed at night by the soldiers at the Royal command. In spite of the dedicated and the committed loyalty of the citizens to the King, Kingdom and the Royal Government many could not live to see the dawn of a new horizon and enlightenment in Bhutan for which they had worked. Bhutan Government cruelly jailed hundreds of people who dared to express their concern for atrocious policies of the Royal Government. Still, there are many prisoners in Bhutan seeking justice and freedom since years. Their voice is not heard out of Bhutan periphery as they are kept under isolated confinement in Bhutan. They need International support to free themselves. Some of the prisoners in Bhutan are listed here for information to the outside world.

S.N.	Name	Charges	Punishment
1.	Tshewang Rinzin (57)	Political party member	Life
2.	Nidup Phuntsho (32)	Being son of SNo. 1	17 years
3.	Tashi Wangdi (31)	Politicalparty member	13 years
4.	Rinzin Wangdi (33)	Family refugees	25yrs-3mon

5.	Sherab Phuntsho	Rights activist	7 years
6.	Leki Dorji (33)	Rights activist	15 years
7.	Dorji Nidup (40)	Politicalparty member	20yrs3mon
8.	Lekzey	Politicalparty member	6 years
9.	Ugyen Dorji (32)	Politicalparty member	2o yrs 9mon
10	Tashi Chokey (34)	Politicalparty member	13 years
11	Yongba (57)	Politicalparty member	14 years
12	Tashi (46)	Politicalparty member	15 years
13	Phurba	Rights activist	4 years
14	Ram Bdr. Chamling	-do-	25 years
15	Ganga Ram Dhakal	-do-	Life
16	Bhakta Bdr. Chamling	-do-	36 years
17	Nar Bahadur Mongar	-do-	Life
18	Madhukar Mongar	-do-	Life
19	Suma Gurung	-do-	21 years
20	Tek Bahadur Mongar	-do-	24 years
21	Dan Bdr. Khaling Rai	-do-	21 years
22	Dil Kumar Waling	-do-	21 years
23	Aita Singh Tamang	-do-	43 years
24	Nandalal Tamang	-do-	43 years
25	Moni Kumar Pradhan	-do-	43 years
26	Prakash Mongar	-do-	36 years
27	Santabir Moktan	-do-	16 years
28	Mangal Singh Ghaley	-do-	15 years
29	Nandalal Katwal	Pleaded Reconciliation	13 years
30	Dalman Mongar	-do-	7 years
31	Kumar Gautam	-do-	Life
32	Hasta Bahadur Dewan	-do-	Life
33	Sukman Mongar	-do-	Life
34	Birkha Bahadur Chhetri	-do-	Life
35	Govinda Niroula	-do-	Life
36	Nandalal Basnet	-do-	Life
37	Omnath Adhikari	-do-	Life
38	Khagendra Khanal	-do-	Life
39	Aita Raj Rai	-do-	Life
40	Sanman Gurung	-do-	Life
41	Damber Pulami	-do-	13 years
42	Shantiram Acharya	-do-	7 years
43	Chatraman Tamang	-do-	Life
44	Chandra Raj Rai	-do-	Life

45	Bhim Bahadur Rai	-do-	Life
46	Kaziman Sothang	-do-	6 years
47	Lal Bahadur Chhetri	-do-	7 years
48	Santosh Kumar Rai	-do-	7 years
49	Arjun Chhetri	-do-	6 years
50	Tarabir Ghaley	-do-	7 years
51	Paras Chhetri	-do-	6 years
52	Chandra Bdr. Ghaley	-do-	6 years
53	Tularam Ghaley	-do-	4 years
54	Dharmaraj Sanyashi	-do-	4 years
55	Bal Bahadur Ghaley	-do-	4 years
56	Jit Bahadur Ghaley	-do-	7 years
57	Rup Narayan Chamling	-do-	15 years
58	Balaram Chamling	-do-	15 years
59	Pratap Bhattarai	-do-	18 years
60	Narendra Prasad Kharel	-do-	15 years
61	Ghanashyam Gurung	-do-	15 years
62	Raghu Prasad Subba	-do-	18 years
63	SherabWangchuckSherpa	-do-	12 years
64	Chandraman Subba	-do-	18 years
65	Dikbir Chhetri	-do-	8 years
66	Honguraj Subba	-do-	4 years
67	Dawa Tshering Sherpa	-do-	4 years
68	Aita Singh Subba	-do-	4 years
69	Dugchi Lepcha	-do-	7 years
70	Rudra Bahadur Subba	-do-	7 years
71	Khadga Prasad Chhetri	-do-	7 years
72	Nima Dorji Tamang	-do-	7 years
73	Tezman Ghaley	-do-	8 years
74	Khadga Bahadur Rai	-do-	15 years
75	Ram Bahadur Kharel	-do-	15 years
76	Sri Ram Chhetri	-do-	10 years
77	Ugyen Palden	Religious freedom	Unknown
78	Tenzing Gawa Zangpo	Challenged policies	Unknown
79	Ms Dechen Wangmo	Contacted refugees	15 years

ANTI-NATIONAL

The territorial sovereignty and the integrity of a country is at threat from foreign wrong designs under a monarchical system where an individual with a sovereign power can gamble the destiny of the people and the country. History has witnessed such glaring instances of misdeeds in the global context where the king have sold or compensated their territories in exchange for luxurious living and to save its throne. Bhutan is losing its territory not because it lost in a war but the people of Bhutan should know the truth and decide who is anti-national or against the future of Bhutan from the facts presented herein below.

1. Who is anti-national, a Citizen yearning for human rights and justice in the country or a Ruler who exercises his powers in the most savage ways against the citizens, brutally evicts them making them traumatized refugees a burden to the world?
2. Who is anti-national, a Citizen working hard to earn the nation's treasure or a Ruler who consumes it and suppresses the same people?
3. Who is anti-national, a Citizen who defends Bhutanese land or a Ruler who sell the land to another country simply to continue ruling Bhutan?
4. Who is anti-national, a Citizen who uplifts Bhutan image in the world stage or a Ruler who abuse human rights and tarnishes image of the country?

History of Bhutan written by some pompous foreign writers is anecdotal. They have written books about Bhutan at the behest of the Kings to suit the interest of the Royal Family by and large. In reality the patriotic feelings and loyalty of the royal family of Bhutan towards the country is questionable, they are the most unscrupulous in Bhutanese history. Before Wangchucks were made king by the British in **1907** they were callous business people migrated from Tibet looking for an opportunity to overthrow Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal of Bhutan to enjoy domination over Bhutan. And they started anti-Shabdrung activities in Bhutan the moment they were confident of British support. And due to this Shabdrung's Government was weakening and thus the British-India was able to pressurize Bhutan and immediately after the defeat in a war with British India, Bhutan signed the **Treaty of Sinchula-1865** with British-India, under which Bhutan would receive an annual subsidy in exchange for ceding near about 2750 Sq. Km of border land to British-India. Further, to have straightforward authority over Bhutan, British-India premeditated monarchy for Bhutan. And British found Ugyen Wangchuck wanting and suitable for their mission and thus made him the first Monarch of Bhutan in 1907; thereby the Wangchuck dynasty was established in Bhutan. And straightaway in 1918 just after 11 years of

establishment of Wangchuck dynasty rule in Bhutan, King Wangchuck gave about 6423 Sq. Km land to China while settling border disputes with China. Since then Bhutan is losing her land piece by piece and Bhutanese people are shedding tears at the hands of cruel monarchs.

After about three years of ascending throne by Ugyen Wangchuck in 1910, another treaty was signed with British-India where the British agreed not to interfere in Bhutanese internal affairs, and Bhutan allowed British-India to direct its foreign affairs. This role was assumed by independent India after 1947. In **1949**, a formal **Indo-Bhutan Friendship Treaty** was signed where India returned to Bhutan some of the areas annexed by the British, formalized the financial support Bhutan received, and defined India's responsibilities in defense and foreign relations. On the contrary the returned land of 1949 as of today has become the part of West-Bengal, Assam and Arunachal-Pradesh. The Wangchuck King quietly passed these lands to Indian states as compensation to put a stop to the political activities of **Bhutan State Congress (1952-60)** because the King was afraid of losing power to the people's movement for establishment of democracy and human rights norms in Bhutan.

Bhutan shares more than 470 km border with China in North and about 605 Km with India in East, South and West. Bhutan's ruling elite is looking for some crafty ties with China as an alternative partnership to remain in the throne of Bhutan keeping India in confidence. On the other hand, Bhutan-China relation is to be regarded with suspicion. China is claiming some parts of Bhutan to be her land. Thus, Bhutan and China have illegitimate disputes over 4500 sq km of land in western and northern part of Bhutan.

Since 1959 when China took over Tibet, Bhutan perceived the vulnerability with China in regard to its northern frontiers. While China has border disputes with most of her neighbours, relation with Bhutan has been out of bound to media. Maintaining silent diplomacy between the two countries, progress in delineation of the borders is done under most careful scrutiny of the government. Regardless of the strategies chosen to ease out the cartographic friction, both governments are claiming success to their mistakes.

In 1972 under the patronage of India, Bhutan began border talks with China and continued until 1984. Thereafter, the Chinese side insisted on making the talks free of direct Indian influences. The situation came to hostility after 1984 when China began exercising her authority over the Chumbi valley, a plateau where strategic interests of India, China and Bhutan meet, if not overlap. In 1984 China sent its detachment of armed forces up to Cinchulumpa, Tsharithang and Shaktey above Haa and Damthang (RBA Wing II) with the intention to pressurize Bhutan on the border issues and drive away Indian presence in Haa, Bhutan. New-Delhi is well aware about this move of China. The incident that took place during 1984 is narrated by an army officer of Wing II Damthang who was on border duty throughout that period.

China is not giving up its stand as they have the knowledge about the Bhutanese King and its weaknesses which can be easily obliged to surrender more of Bhutan area to her to suit their strategic interests. China makes public that its areas with Bhutan overlap in 7 areas. The most disputed area remains the Doklam plateau in western Bhutan adjoining Yadung province of Tibet autonomous region. China is proposing an exchange of pieces with Bhutan since 1984. During the tenth round of Bhutan-China border talk held in Beijing in 1996, China offered to exchange 495 sq km land of Pasamlung and Jakarlung valleys in Bhutan's north for Cinchulumpa, Dramana and Shakhtey an area of 269 sq km, in the western Bhutan. This is the area where Bhutan and China overlap. On July 13, 1997 BBC reported that Bhutan accepted the proposals. Bhutan, alone cannot take decision to share this pie, since Doklam plateau and Chumbi valley are equally vital for India. Subsequent bilateral talks yielded no results. China began construction of roads and infrastructure in these regions (Photo-1). It led to a decisive Sino-Bhutan agreement in 1998 called "Agreement on The Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity in the Bhutan-China Border areas-1998".



Photo 1: The construction of roads by Chinese authority in the disputed region in western Bhutan. The further extension of the road construction has paused but the upgrading and maintenance is going on.

In 2007, without having rational discussion on such important matter as the disputed border, Bhutan government published a revised map of the country excluding Kulakangri (KK), the tallest mountain of Bhutan, truncating the glacial reserve of mountain ecosystem in Bhutan Himalaya. There was no official response from China. Google map (Photo 2) shows this region in the north with red lines. In this altruistic attempt, Bhutan 'generously' ceded mountain Kulakangri (7538 m) an area of 1754 sq. m to China (Photo 3). The first sitting of the parliament under the fifth monarch that signed and rectified a palace drafted constitution thus inked the loss of territory for good. This has not solved the border issue with china.

India has huge economic and security stakes in Bhutan, and is its closest neighbour. But India's strategic policymakers have anticipated Bhutan's shift in stance. Long used to being its window to the world, New Delhi now has to get accustomed to the fact that a new Bhutan is on the rise and will make choices apart from India. After the king devolved power to a democratic system, the elected government has taken several steps to diversify from Bhutan's almost complete

dependence on India. India will have to take a more mature approach to Bhutan wanting to spread its wings, if it doesn't want to antagonize its closest neighbour.



Photo 2: Google map shows the region excluded by Bhutan since 2007 with red in the North. The red marked region in the west is still under dispute.



Photo 3: Kulakangri 7,538 meters in the Northern Gasa, Bhutan. It was made to no man's land since 2007, after excluding it from the map of Bhutan.

Bhutan is vital to India's security calculus not only vis-a-vis China, but also in tackling some of the north-east insurgent groups like its crackdown on the ULFA groups in 2004. Bhutan's position in the Chumbi Valley, the tri-junction with India and China, makes its border resolution decisions key from a security point of view for India.

As long as China cannot have 100 sq Km of Doklam in West, no other gift seem to please her. As the differences kept growing, China kept increasing her claim deeper down the northern border. Now diplomatically challenged Bhutan is left with too many creases to iron. Bhutan's parliament, the responsible body to decide the border issue remains misinformed with responsibilities spilled off.



Photo 4: Google map shows the region excluded by Bhutan since 2007 with red in the North. The red marked region in the west is still under dispute.



Photo 5: A deformed map of Bhutan showing the region of differences, presented to the parliamentarians. The rhino horn in the northern Gasa was removed since 2007.

The Bhutanese parliamentarians are only informed that after excluding Kulakangri there are three regions under controversy with China (Photo 4). The map, China has been using to claim the area within Bhutan, is kept away from their research and literary truth. Chinese claim map shows seven controversial overlapping regions (Photo 5).

China claims 7 regions from West to East of Bhutanese territory:

- 1) Mountain ridge from Batangla to Merukla/Merugla upto Sinchula; 2) The mountain ridge from Sinchela to River Amo; along River Amo from River Amo to its confluence with River Langmarpo; 3) Region along the River Langmarpo from the confluence of River Langmarpo and River Amo up to the confluence of Docherimchang; along River Rong from River Docherimchang confluence to Gomla; Gomla ridge from Gomla to Pankala, and Pankala ridge from Pankala to Dramana ridge; Dramana ridge from Dramana to River Tromo and River Zhiu

confluence, River Zhiu from River Tromo - River Zhiu confluence to Lungkala; 4) The mountain peaks from Lungkala across Tremola, Jhomolhari, Wagyela, Gankar Punsum, Monla Karchung to Dompala; 5) The Paksamlung mountain peaks from Dompala to Chhoigongla, Yanjula and Neula upto Tshozam along; 6) The Menchhuma boundary from Tshozam upto Bodla and 7) along the mountain peaks, east from Menchhuma.

The Chinese claim is much more in area and specificity. If Bhutan fails to handle China or if China succeeds to achieve her claims, Bhutan will lose up to 4500 Sq Km or more than 10 percent of the total land. Before 1952 Bhutan had an area of 47,500 sq km and until 1990, the total area of Bhutan was 47,000 sq km. It is much less today. It is 38,394 sq km only; about 10000 sq km area of our country has been sold to China by Bhutan Kings. It may be noted that in 2008, each member of the parliament was requested to discuss the issue and reach to a conclusion at the earliest. But, we know in Bhutan though it is said to have transitioned from Absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy interestingly they claim to be Democracy, all the decisions rest in the hands of Royal Family or Wangchucks who are determined to do anything to continue its domination over Bhutanese people. Still, the Bhutanese refugees are labeled as anti-national and terrorists by Bhutanese King and his Prime Minister but not to those who have detached Bhutan area in parts and parts and sold to foreigners.

It has also come to limelight that The Royal Government of Bhutan had quietly offered Samdrupdzongkhar district to India in dealing with the Bhutanese political problems. In the report "Bhutanese Refugees in Nepal State Behaviors, Management Intervention and Repatriation Dilemma", produced by Prof. Mahendra P Lama of School of International Studies, JNU New-Delhi, in "The Politics, Human Rights and Implications of Protracted Refugee Situations", research paper brought out by Oxford University, United Nations University, Tokyo and Centre for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA in June 2007, clearly exposes the true color of the rulers.

....."Discussion by this researcher with various senior Indian officials has revealed very many interesting parleys between India and Bhutan. The offer by Bhutan to part with one of the districts in southern Bhutan and handing the same over to India for resettlement of the refugees and other Nepali speaking Bhutanese citizens has often been mentioned. Given its serious international implications, this was apparently discarded by India as a desperate proposal from Bhutan....."

This is the standards of patriotism of our so-called sons of Palden Drukpa the present ruling community of Bhutan.

HEALING TOUCH

In the light of events taking place in Bhutan and with the political consciousness of the Sharchops, the Lhotshampas and the Ngalungs, the stage is all set for the regime to enact a drama for good and bad. The empty fields, that once used to be the grain bowl of Bhutan, are now covered by thick under growth. Those fields have housed the Bhutanese people for generations and are waiting for the return of their true owners.

King Jigme Singye Wangchuck is no doubt an unostentatious and a simple person in words. Similarly, the newly crowned King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck is also expected of the same if he puts himself in the correct way with truth and loyalty to the people of Bhutan and his personality will be personified provided he follows the path of his grand-father, Late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, who ruled Bhutan from 1952 to 1972. For the late King's contribution to Bhutan, he was revered by his subjects irrespective of them having diverse racial backgrounds. Given such loyalty, there is no threat to Bhutan's unique identity or its monarchy.

Time is still there to heal the wound. The King should reverse his biased policy and embrace the idea that the county's future will be best protected by promoting diversity - economic and ethnic. The King is still held in high esteem by all the Bhutanese people inclusive of refugees in exile. The King has strong International presence and the solution to the refugee problem would indeed inspire the world community to acclaim for his magnanimity and presence of mind and vision.

To arrive at a meaningful solution to our national problem it is advisable for Wangchuck Kings to realize that the Bhutanese refugees are linguistically and by origin are Nepalese, Sharchops, Adivasis, Khengpas; with links in 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 must be borne for a solution to the problem. Further, it is wise for the Kings to realize that in times of great stress and uncertainty, a migrant population usually tends to return to its country of origin. The citizens, when faced with persecution fled Bhutan and headed west over Indian Territory towards Nepal border and now thousands of them are spread all over the world seeking protection to their younger generation recounting life's unkind voyage why they are in alien countries. Finally, Wangchuck Kings' image as a benevolent King 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 leaders and International Communities who have extended support to both Bhutan and Bhutanese refugees. In the ultimate analysis, it is better for the Kings to seek these solutions to themselves. It is still in the hands of the Bhutan Kings to design a forward looking

system which is inclusive of all the communities and regions of Druk-Yul (Bhutan) the West, East, North and South.

Barbara W. Tuchman in her book "The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam" quoted in the 'Last Emperor?' by Carol Rose, conveniently describes The March of Folly as "wooden headedness".

King Jigme Singye Wangchuck and his son King Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck's government of Bhutan have arranged well-calculated drama of ushering the country towards a democratic system of governance. And election of the people's representatives to betray the International community defining democratic system of governance in Bhutan has been completed in 2008. But, The Royal Government of Bhutan or the King must remember it will not bring positive changes in Bhutan. We know the people of Bhutan still remain under the authoritarian supremacy of the Royal system. How can a cat be trusted to become guardian of rats? How can the Kings of Bhutan tell the world that they are going democratic when more than 130000 citizens are mercilessly evicted from the country? How can they float the idea of Gross National Happiness to the world when their people are languishing as refugees in third countries? How can GNH be there in Bhutan without human rights, when the people have no freedom of expression and no security to their life? Bhutan has committed serious crimes of Genocide which cannot be forgiven to allow the perpetrators to escape. The Royal Government of Bhutan should be brought to justice as such the people of Bhutan get justice and the situations in the country returns to normalcy.

The overall responsibility of power is to govern as reasonably as possible in the interest of the state and its citizens. A duty in that process is to keep well-informed, to heed Government, to keep mind and judgment open, and to resist the insidious spell of wooden-headedness. If the mind is open enough to perceive that a given policy is harming 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 Government.

AN EARNEST APPEAL TO ALL

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 the national integrity of the country by taking support of one ethnic group and crushing others by armed forces making them traumatized refugees. We, Ngalungs, the ruling community and other ethnic minorities Sharchops, Lhotshampas, Doyas, Khengs, Kurteps, Brokpas, Adivasis all are the integral constituents of Bhutan. Bhutan is our motherland by birth and by right.

We, the refugees have spent many years in exile in the refugee camps waiting for the King to comprehend his responsibility to repatriate us and restore peace in the country but, decades passed only the deaths waited for us in the camps. Over these years, many precious lives have been lost for good and many are added to face the worst. Death at least is better than being refugees without destiny and destination. With no solution in sight, the refugees have become frustrated, the youths have been politically exploited, the students and children have become vulnerable to 'ills' in the society.

The situations in the country have become politically uncomfortable as corruption, crimes and self-seeking royal leaders have engulfed our society; the youths have become less responsible towards the good of the country. There are visual indications of fast deteriorating moral code of public conduct and sense of belonging amongst our younger generation.

Life has been very unfair to our younger generation and they at times resort to meet their ends by unfair means. *The seeds of vengeance, hatred towards the Governments who are to be punished for their inhuman deeds which made the people to flee, endure as refugee and die a humiliating death would then be permanently brought into being in the minds of the younger generation.* After two decades Bhutanese refugees are being resettled in third countries because Royal Government of Bhutan did not want to repatriate its citizens instead it wanted annihilation of the refugees from the refugee camps. For this reason, 'resettlement in third countries' has been unhappily agreed option by the Bhutanese refugees. But, 'resettlement of Bhutanese refugees' is not the end of Bhutanese problem. We foresee that resettlement of Bhutanese refugees in third countries will certainly exposes further vis-à-vis Bhutan's cruelty and will expedite the movement for realizing human rights and justice in Bhutan.

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. 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 colour. The Rulers of Bhutan 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 his heart and he must give up his egoist stance as a true campaigner of Buddhism.

The entire credit for miserable existence of the Bhutanese citizens in the overcrowded refugee camps in Nepal is the making of the throne of Wangchuck Dynasty of Bhutan and if not his trusted lieutenants. King Jigme Singye Wangchuck blames that the so-called refugees want to return to Bhutan 'in triumph' with International support and Nepal with 'Pan Nepal' concept in mind. We say that we simply want to return back to home with assurance of human rights and democracy under constitutional monarchy. Greater Nepal strategy is the making of the Thimphu Regime and not the innocent citizens' doing. There is absolutely no truth in King's choreographed wordings of an issue of bogus nature. The reality lies somewhere.

The time has come for the dictatorial system to shoulder the entire 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 harbouring and patronizing a group of select lots who are out to create a very bad image for Bhutan vis-a-vis the global context. The Bhutanese citizens yearn for their basic rights and freedom from oppression under a favourable social and political environment. The fabricated charges and the counter charges levied to the Bhutanese citizens are unfounded without any firm base and it must be withdrawn so as to establish a congenial atmosphere of human activities. The Bhutanese Government must compromise the people their due happiness and identified as Bhutanese citizens without categorizing them as nationals and non-nationals from the same family.

Dear readers, 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 Southern and Eastern Bhutanese is minimum to say the least.

To find out the real sufferings in Bhutan 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 in the central Bhutan lost in their temporary pleasure designs. The abject misery, suffering 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 the 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 the people of Bhutan".

We would like to ask a question to the outsiders that despite documentary evidence 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 not agree with True Human Rights and True Democratic norms and never allow its citizens to seek justice in general is justified? It is neither a reform nor democracy for the people of Bhutan but a ploy to strengthen the hold of the King over Bhutan. Does Bhutan deserve international understanding to brutally evict thousands of citizens of Bhutan only to preserve the ruling 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.

We want Bhutan change from self-centred 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 their country. And the Bhutanese refugees must 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 society. 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".

NOTES:

Ama	Madam, in Dzongkha term
Ashi	The Princess, Her Royal Highness
Dasho	A high ranking government official
Doyas	An ethnic tribe of south-west of Bhutan
Driglam-Namza	Customs and etiquette of Tibetan descendant Ngalung tribe
Druk	'Bhutan' in Dzongkha language
Dungpa	Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO)
Dzongda	Chief District Officer
Dzongkha	The language of Ngalungs
Dzongs	Fortress, the government offices
Genja	The petition, wilful acknowledgement of regime
Gongdawoola	Forced labour system in Bhutan
Gyalpo	The King of Bhutan
Khengpas	The Bhutanese tribe in remote north
Kargyupa	Buddhist sect followed by Ngalungs
Kuensel	The national government news-paper
Lhotshampa	The citizens of southern Bhutan (Gorkha community)
Ngalung	The Bhutanese of Tibetan origin
Ngolops	Anti-Nationals or terrorists
Nyingmapa	Buddhist sect followed by Sharchops
Penlop	Governor
Sharchop	Citizens of eastern Bhutan
Thram	Land deed

Ta-Wa-Sum King-Kingdom-Monarchy. The most pernicious of all Bhutan laws is the "Thrimshung Chhenpo, Tsa-Wa-Sum," **Chapter Seventeen * Law of Bhutan** which prohibits any opposition to **The King, The Kingdom and The Monarchy**. Those who appeal for review any policies of the government or oppose any of the three are branded as "traitors" (Ngolops) or "anti-national terrorists". They can be awarded the severest of punishment including death sentence.

REFERENCES

1. 'Mission to Bhutan A Nation in Transition', by Mr. B. S. Das, India. Mr. Das was India's first Ambassador to Bhutan.
2. 'Sikkim and Bhutan', by Dharnidhar Dahal, Nepal. He is a historian and has written about Bhutan in relation to regional factors, Sikkim, Darjeeling, Assam and Nepal.
3. "The Sorry Side of Shangri-La" by Carol Hobson, London. (The Royal Geographical Society Magazines; Geographical London, Jan 1993).
4. 'Himal' by Mr. Kanak Mani Dixit, Nepal. Mr. Dixit is a renowned writer. He has worked a lot for Bhutanese issue to bring solution to the problem.
5. "Bhutan" by Nagendra Singh.
6. 'Cultural Cleansing', by David B. Thomson, USA. He is a scholar of Harvard Law School, Boston, USA. He has written the book with the support of refugees, local NGOs and Government persons of Nepal and India.
7. 'The Last Emperor?' by Carol Rose, USA. Carol Rose is an ICWA fellow writing on South and Central Asia.
8. 'Finish Guide of Travel Writers', Helsinki, Finland. Issue of 25 May 1994.
9. 'The Politics of Bhutan' by Leo E. Rose, USA. Leo E. Rose is an American Political Scientist and scholar of Himalayan States (Cornell University Press, 1977)
10. 'Far Eastern Economic Review', Hamish Mc Donald.
11. 'The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam', by Barbara W. Tuchman.

12. Human Rights Report - Bhutan, by US State Department, 1993.
13. Second All India Consultation of Human Rights Activists (25-26 November 1994, New- Delhi, India.
14. Govinda Rizal: Human Rights Activist, Bhutanese Refugee.
