

HISTORY OF DRAGON KINGDOM



I. P. ADHIKARI

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Preface

I wrote this book when I was still very young. The mission started at Grade 7 and completed when I finished my Grade 10. Those were the precious time I spent in refugee camps in eastern Nepal.

Many years have passed since then, yet I could not get this book finalised because when I started media movement, I realised, my book penned at my tender age will have no market.

Before I flew to Australia in 2010, I registered the book at Tribhuvan University Library to obtain IBSN.

I have now produced the book in the same format that I had prepared when I was in Grade 10 in 2000. I have not edited the language. Thus, you might find it bit rough or in some cases incorrect grammar or use of terminologies. I decided, the book must go as I wrote in my tender ages.

I. P. Adhikari
Adelaide, Australia
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CHAPTER

1

GIVING SHAPE TO BHUTANESE HISTORY

Bhutan is a Himalayan country that lies on the lap of Great Himalayan range of central Asia. Over the period she was able to put her history in track, remaining isolated from the rest of the world. The only relation of Bhutan in the past was with Tibet, because of which China claimed Bhutan as the part of its empire at several instances. Gradually, the relation of Bhutan moved towards the south from where it was able to draw wilful amount of revenue.

With growing relation with the southern countries in Assam, Bengal and Cooch Behar and

even with Sikkim, the cross border conflict and territorial disturbances were seen in Bhutan. The international conflict among local chieftains for power had also eluded the life of people.

The history of Bhutan, as has been written so far, has very narrow sources. Most of the documents and monuments and infrastructures of historical evidences were destroyed during the internal conflicts and external aggression. So drawing a perfect picture of ancient Bhutan is the most difficult task, historians noted. Especially the relations of the country with the south were very much complex and complicating. The absence of exact dates and places of events made it more perplexing but interesting. The history of Bhutanese relation with Cooch Bihar, Tartary in South and Kham in North were exaggeratedly enumerated by historians.

The major reason of the absence of evidences of Bhutanese history is continued civil conflicts within the country and regular external attacks. A smooth history of Bhutan is not available to us. For centuries, the civil strife and such other causes made it so. Furthermore, there were no books on Bhutan till the late 1970s except the accounts prepared by the British missions. Even so, these accounts were shelved to the library corners. It was only after the fourth monarch took initiatives to establish external relation that Bhutanese history came to light.

1. Geographical cause

Bhutan is a mountainous country located at the south-eastern slope of Himalayas and lies within the territory of South Asia. The whole country is full of mountains and hills; very little in south is fertile plain. Due to the high Himalayan mountains, impenetrable forest and difficult terrain of the mountain slopes, it was difficult for the people of Bhutan to contact with those from outside. Even the neighbouring villages remain far apart; villagers hardly go to other villages for business purposes. A nearest village would be a distant country and that people of these villages never come closer in matters of common interest.

On the other hand, they lived on farming. Business was almost absent. They mostly spent their time in land and going to other village meant a halt in the agricultural activities. The mountain terrains would produce very little and halt in certain season would create food shortage. So they rarely met people from other villages and discussed their ways of life, food habits, social and cultural life of other people.

Though there were possibilities of communication and conversation of the people living within the distant villages, the continuous snowfall in the greater Himalayas precluded Bhutanese to go and meet people in the north in Tibet. In the south the land was steep mountain hills due to the flood by the unanimous rivers that get the continuous supply of water from glaciers. These also barred Bhutanese to reach the southern villages. At the same time, southern Bhutan was full of dense forests that cannot be penetrated

easily, except through few passes, which blocked the people to be exposed to the south.

The Himalayan mountains full of snow, difficult terrain and steep land caused by rivers not only hindered the people of Bhutan to go out of the country but also played a vital role in protecting the country's sovereignty and identity from foreign incursion.

2. Literary cause

The modern education system was primarily introduced in Bhutan only during the reign of second King Jigme Wangchuk. Before the introduction of formal education, there were religious institutions that mostly devoted their education for strengthening the Lamaist Buddhism. The religious studies did not include the subjects like history, politics or geography. The only objective was to enrich the religious institutions and cultural life of the people. Writing and recording of life experiences were rare and was mostly the religious if anyone ever tried. Today, Bhutan has fewer namthars that gives pictures of a person based on his religious performances and status.

The complete absence of formal education system in Bhutan was also due to the fear of Bhutanese religious leaders, who recurrently suppressed the subjects that it would hamper the religious and social life of the people and that religious and social affiliation of people would gradually decline. This has still been the policy of Bhutanese government even though it tries to encourage the modern education for younger

generation. Especially in the 17th, 18th, and 19th century, the formal education system was not only suppressed but also completely discouraged by the lama groups.

As such only a few foreign visitors and adventurers wrote on Bhutanese history as late as in 20th century. The only documents we find of Bhutanese history are the diary of British missions who travelled Bhutan for business enterprises. These and other books written in late 20th century also rarely mentioned the people, politics, administrative structure and power division. The books written in the time of Jigme Singye Wangchuk merely mention other than advocating the need and deeds of monarchy and his government. They would not include the local life and people's voices. As a cause a comprehensive and fair history of Bhutan is yet to be written.

3. Dependency cause

Bhutan is an independent but a dependent country. It was such and will remain as such. The two great civilizations in its neighbouring countries did not leave impression for intellectual development of Bhutanese as a whole. She remained throughout the century as a mountainous country with absence of modern education and heavily depending on Tibet and India on every sector. As a religious nearness with Tibet in the past centuries, Bhutanese politics, social and religious life were virtually bounded by the laws and social activities in Tibet. The Tibetan lamas laid the foundation of Bhutanese nationhood

that simmered the history of Bhutan to be attached with the Tibetan history.

With the growing threat of Chinese claim over the territory of Bhutan to be the part of its empire, Bhutan's dependency policy was diverted to her southern neighbour, India. The move was initiated with the Sinchula Treaty of 1865 with British and continued with the establishment of monarchy in 1907. With the India emerging as a powerful nation in the region after it became independent of the British rule, Bhutan solemnly became obedient to be guided by India.

The continued dependency and counter dependency of Bhutan with its either northern or southern neighbours through the history created a situation that it hardly could maintain any suzerainty. For any literature Bhutan depended with Tibet in the past, for sculpture she had to depend on Tibet and Nepal (we shall talk of Nepalese sculpture later) and for economic sustainability she should take assistance of southern plain. These factors played important role in keeping only faint history of Bhutan.

Known that during 17th and 18th century and 19th, some Bhutanese lamas wrote biographies of famous tantric lamas who were then in the high position, politically and socially. These biographies did not include social, economical, political and religious life of the contemporary society.

After the treaty of 1774 with the British India signed as a failure to curb with the growing British power in India, Bhutan's dependency with its southern neighbour grew to be stronger. India became a catalyst for social, political and economic

change in Bhutan. As modernisation in 20th century continued to advance in India in competence with China, the other greater power in Asia, the development in every sector on Bhutan was much influenced by the Indian changes. When the first economic planning in Bhutan began in 1961 and joined its major towns with India through roadways, the dependency of Bhutan for supply of essential and luxury goods, development equipments and technology transfer has been growing for stronger. However, as a fragile country in ancient days that solely depended on its northern neighbour Tibet, of whose there was greater influences in social and religious life of the people, was of course the god reasons to be mentionable in this context that hampered in drawing a good history of Bhutan and Bhutanese life and culture.

During the rule of British in India, Bhutan was being described in many of their journals and travelogues that are now preserved Britain in India. As such the stories of medieval Bhutanese life, culture and system are to be sought in Indian and British national libraries where British travellers had kept their document and accounts about their intercession into Bhutan.

4. Internal conflicts and external aggression

Also before the arrival of Guru Rinpoche, Bhutan was being divided into smaller principalities and was ruled by local feudal lords fighting each other for power. Frequent aggression between them caused desertion of historicity of heritages. Before and after the arrival of

Thunchhen Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal Rinpoche, the Tibetan invasions and aggressions destroyed a lot of historical documents and monuments.

When the Shabdrung left the country with two powers of equal ranks, the two factions fought each other openly or secretly for several centuries onwards. This created the situation to rise against *Shabdrung* and *Deb* from official at the lower ranks. The game of murdering former in order to secure higher position and uplift oneself to higher power or to defeat the opposition was a regular practice in Bhutanese political system. Following the tradition of massacring, the country frequently divided into a number of fighting groups. The continuous internal strife among these factions caused destruction to large number of artefacts, monuments and important religious sites. The historically important dzongs were frequently burnt and possessions they have been housing were transferred from one place to another as per the person in power by way which they were burnt or lost on their way to another place.

In the meantime, Bhutan had to face external aggression from Duars area, British India, Tibet and even sometimes from Mongolia. Thus, the internal conflicts and external aggression caused the extinction of records because of which ancient Bhutan has been the legends for now. The only point Bhutanese historians have so far mentioned about the existence of the country was since 500 BC. All these aforesaid obstructions compelled the Bhutanese to be not aware of their history and made unknown about the past civilisation that

might have occurred in Bhutan as in the neighbouring countries – India and China – and the stories of civilisation of more than 2,500 years ago. So far as the historian tried to integrate the Bhutanese legends with those of southern and northern stories, the political and social history of Bhutan has been drawn in a smooth way is after the establishment of hereditary monarchy in the country in 1907. Though, a few historians also mention that Bhutanese history begins with the establishments of Shabdrung power in the country, there are still many facts to be discovered of the choesid system.

Having all these difficulties in collecting information of ancient Bhutan, this book *History of Dragon Kingdom* tried to deal with the past Bhutan at least to some extent. To the extent, not like other historians who favourably advocated one side, in most cases, of the life and power of rulers, it has been tried at the level best to integrate the people and authority in a same forum.

CHAPTER

2

INTRODUCING BHUTAN

1. Physical Features

Bhutan is a mountainous country that lies on the lap of great Himalayas. There is very little strip plain in the south, which is the source of agriculture. The northern part of the country, that is attached with the Chinese border, is filled with the high Himalayas with snow covered mountains almost all the year round. There are valleys stretching north-south, there are plateaus and terrain fields that have become the home of Bhutanese people for centuries. Because of its uneven features, the land is distinctly splinted into valleys, flatlands and

mountain terrains. Following are the consisted descriptions of splinted land, the valleys.

i. Valleys

Bhutan, a mountainous country has as many valleys as many other such countries do have. These valleys form the greater part of the cultivable land, human settlement and main way of water flow.

Bumthang valley forms the flowing bed of Bumthang River, Darchu and Chamkha chu. Elongated in shape, it is surrounded by a wall, one mile in circumference and imposing central tower. It is at 9,700 feet below Jakar Dzong that stands at the strategic point to command the whole valley.

Punakha valley lies on the northeast of Thimphu at an elevation of 4,800 feet. In it flows, the Mochu and Phochu, with the Punakha Dzong of 600 feet long and 240 feet width in its middle bank of the confluence. It has a sprawling six-storied regular tower.

The capital **Thimphu valley** lies on the elevation of 8,500 feet, with the Royal Palace and Tashichhodzong. Bogle in 1774 wrote on palace, "It was a very large building and contained nearly 3,000 men including 1,000 monks or Gelongs".¹⁵ It is 5 miles long and a mile broad.

Paro valley lies to the east of Haa with the elevation of 1,000 feet. "It has [newly constructed] 400 kW hydro-electric plant". It is the next indispensable valley in the country with its outlink by communication, trade and flight.

The valley that lies at the elevation of 8,700 feet and is irrigated by Haa chu is the **Haa valley**.

Bikram describes it, "The Haa valley have the firmly stronghold of Dorji family to which Her Majesty the Queen Mother Ashi Keasang Wangchuk belongs and has its own historical traditions and legends".

The **valley of Shar** lies at an elevation of 4,600 feet. It ranks third as a seat of political power after Tongsa and Paro.

Mangde valley lies east of the Shar with an elevation of 7,500 feet imposing Tongsa Dzong. In its incessant historical background, it is the seat of powerful Tongsa Penlops who ruled the valley successfully in past centuries. The hereditary king of Bhutan had its origination in Tongsa; when in 1907, Ugyen Wangchuk was elected as the first ruler, as king.

Tashigang valley lies to the most eastern Bhutan with its elevation of 3,500 feet. Historically, the valley was ruled from Tashigang Dzong during the choesid system and earlier built by Chhoegyal Minjur Tenpa (1668 –1676) the third Deb of Bhutan.

Thus, the great natural barriers of this ragged land led to physical isolation of the country that played vital role for Bhutanese to develop identical national characteristics and remained unchanged through the centuries. The routes into these valleys 'were taken by Buddhist monks who so changed the course of national history as well as invaders from Tibet'.

ii. Forestry and Cultivative Land

Except the southern foothills, small strip of plain and valleys, most part of the country is covered with forest. National statistics show that

the forest of Bhutan covers amount 64-70 percent of total land of the country. The Royal Government of Bhutan's recent policies have stressed the need for preservation of forest.

Huge walnuts, elder berries, holly, willow, ash, aspen, sweet briar, roses, brambles, Juniper wormwood, turnips, leeks, shallots, water and marsh melons, cucumbers and brinjals are common vegetations between Chukha and Tashichhodzong.

The countries dense forests constitutes the most precious herbal herbs, rare plantation and is the home for most famous and endangered wild animals as well. Most of the forest that covers the northern part of the country is certainly the naturally sanctuary. Mountain lies around the valleys up to 24,000 ft. where dwarf rhododendrons, azaleas, snow leopard, musk deer and Tibetan white eared peasant found. While Eden was leading a mission to Bhutan, elephants kept his camp in a state of constant alarm near Sipchoo. Tigers were common near the river Teesta and leopards plentiful in the Haa valley. Deer were abundant and included some very large animal; and musk deer are seen in the snows. Wild dogs are found at great heights, barking deer on every hillside and bears in the Haa, Punakha and Paro valleys. White rhinos are abounded in the southern tropical forests. Killing of animals is banned both by the government directives and by tradition of Buddhism. Bhutanese Buddhists believe that animals would offend the deities of the woods and valleys and bring down rain when it is not required.

Forest in Bhutan is used for fuel extraction, vegetable extraction, herbal medicines, sources of flowers and decoration, making handicrafts and common household utensils, shifting cultivation, water supply and grazing activities. Over 70 percent of the land is covered by forest while other large part is barren. Only a small strip of flat land in the southern part of the country is the source of its agriculture. World Bank states that over 85 percent of the Bhutanese people are engaged in agriculture while less than 20 percent of the land is cultivable. This is also an indicator to measure the intensity of population in the country.

Bhutanese farming system is traditional. Few farmers in the south use the chemical fertiliser provided by the government at the minimum charge. This was a part of government campaign to increase the productivity of the land to meet the need of growing population of the country. At the same time, agriculture is the largest source of generating government revenue. Farmers lack their annual provision and that Bhutan produces not so much rice but millet, maize, buckwheat, etc.

Bhutan is divided into three divisions. The Southern foothills constitute Samchi, Chukha, Sarpang and Samdrupjonkhar with its extension of 50 km. Inner Himalayas constitute Paro, Haa, Punakha, Shar, Mangde, Kheng and Tashigang with its width of 70 km. The Greater Himalayas lies to the northern part of the country with Jhomolhary (7316m), Gangkarpunsum (6789m) having the extension of 30 km. In the abstraction of three divisions the country's breadth is now calculated as 150 km.

iii. Extension, Boundaries And Its Neighbours

"Bhutan lies to the southern region of Asia within 26° 45' and 28° 10' north latitude and 88°45" and 92°10" east longitude. Its area is about 46,500 Sq. Km. or 18000 sq. miles with its width of 30 miles and length of 22 miles in average".

Its nearest neighbours are China and India. Its three sides such as East, West, and South, the border is attached with Indian States of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Sikkim and West Bengal. The Tibet of China has bounded the northern boundary of the country. "Bhutan's border with Tibet though under marketed, generally follow the line of watershed- from Jhomolhary (23,977 ft) in the southwest to the high peaks of Kulagangri (24,740 ft) in the north. From Kulagangri, Bhutan's traditional border runs east across the Lhodag towards the Karchung Mount (16,500 ft) and thence it takes a turn southwards and runs along the Tibetan border and NEFA in Assam". The border with India in other side has been marked after several surveys that stretch from Samchi in west to Samdrup Dzongkhar in east.

2. People

A. Population

The number of people living in a place at a particular time in the particular area is called its population.

The population of Bhutan has not been correctly estimated. There are no comprehensive censuses carried out in the country so far. However, the earlier estimation showed that the

population of Bhutan is comparatively higher than many countries.

Historically we find that the period between 500 BC and 500 AD is the time when people entered Bhutan for the first time, especially in Wang and Wandri Phodrang areas.

“During the third decade of 9th century, when Mongolian troops of Tibetan origin were sent to Bhutan for invasion, they settled there itself naming themselves Tshochhen Gyed who were called Milong in Mongol”.

The other phase of people came to Bhutan for settlement when apostate son of Tibetan King Sadnalog and brother of King Lang Dharma [836-842], Lam Tsangpa entered Bhutan for preaching Buddhism in 830 AD.

According to the historians the population of Bhutan in 1864 was 20,000. Professor Spate stated that in 1957 the population of Bhutan in that year was 300,000. Chantal Massonau marked the population in 1962 as 800,000 and in the same year *Encyclopedia Britannica* recorded the population of Bhutan as 623,000. ‘1963 Britanic Book of the Year’ recorded the population of Bhutan in 1961 as 680,000. The second publication of ‘Status of the World’s Nations’ of 1965 said the population of Bhutan in 1963 was 715,000. “The census record of 1969 done by Royal Government of Bhutan speaks the population of 931,515 and census of 1981 recorded the population of about 1,165,000”.² “Colombo Plan Bureau” noted that the population of Bhutan in 1963 was 600,000 and in 1961 was 750,000.

The sudden increase in the population in the country after 1960s shows that those people who had reached Bhutan for labour force with the start of the first five year development plan in 1961 in the initiation of the then third monarch King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. Ram Rahul mentions that, "according to the several sources in the more populous eastern Bhutan area the Bhoteas are heavily outnumbered by Indo -Mongoloid of non Tibetan origin".

US Army Hand Book (published by American University) noted the population in Bhutan by the year 1964 was 725,000. Asia Hand Book (1965) and "Statemans Year Book" (1963) mention the population of 700,000. "International Year Book" and "Statesman's Who's Who" observes the population in 1966 approximately from 700,000 to 800,000. In the "Asian Annual", 1966 population statistics was approximated at 750,000.³

Information Service of India stated the population of 800,000. V.H. Coelho said that the population in 1969 was 900,000 in his book "Bhutan and Sikkim". In 1970, the book "Lords and Lamas" of Michel Pelssel has shown the population of Bhutan as 500,000 to one million. Bell stated that by comparison with Kalimpong and Sikkim Bhutan could support 150 persons to a square mile. At present it can be only 20 or 30'. (C. 170)

The population statistics of Bhutan given by different historians have differences because exact population has not yet been calculated. The first census in Bhutan was done in 1969 by Late King

Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. The census has shown the following population figures:

Regions	Districts	Population
Eastern	Tashigang	234,708
	Mongar	121,252
	Ja	37,816
	Lhuntshi	45,651
	Chotse	46,316
	Shemgang	53,136
	Total	538,879
Western	Wangdzong	61,382
	Dar	16,908
	Pangdzong	21,212
	Thimphu	60,027
	Rimpung (Paro)	63,032
	Haa	21,356
	Total	243,917
Southern	Samchi	57,161
	Chirang	80,357
	Total	137,518

	Grand Total	920,332
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The population of Bhutan in relation to its ethnicity distribution is as follows:

Sarchops.....33%

Ngalongs.....15%

Lhotsampas.....50%

Other.....2%

The national population density could be over 19 people per square kilometre from its extension of 18,000 square miles or 47,000 square kilometres. Still there are several reports prepared by the English missions in 18th and 19th century that the indigenous population of the country was constantly on the decreasing trend. For miles, 'Eden wrote, 'not a trace of a village was to be seen where there were unmistakable sign the land having once been cultivated and terraced'. At first he thought that the Bhutanese practiced a form of shifting cultivation but later learnt that wherever possible they stayed on the same fields and only left when forced by circumstances. Another reason for the decreasing population, in his opinion, was the people's 'gross immorality and filthy habits' without specifying their nature except to refer to 'withdrawal from the country who idle away their existence either in the dreary indolence of celibacy or who find it pleasanter to form one of the bands of bravoos by whom every official is surrounded, than to earn their bread by honest labour'. In the report on his visit, Weir expressed some anxiety about the future for Bhutan as the population could be in decline owing to in breeding and the

reduction of immigration from Tibet. Few historians also mention that the problem of a declining indigenous population was accentuated by the increase of Nepalese coming into the south.

B. Origin And Settlement

There were few people living in Wang and Wangdiphdrang in the period before 500 AD. Later various races of people with different religions and traditions from around the land migrated and settled in Bhutan.

There was a slight increase in population during 5th century when Bonist entered Bhutan. The categorically animism, Bonism had dominated the life of Bhutan and neighbouring Tibet at the Time. They were followed by hundreds of Tibetan who finally settled in Western Bhutan forming a strong community. Ngalongs, present ruling elite, descends from this community. By the mid 9th century Lam Tsangpa Gyarey had attracted hundreds of people from Tibet and Mongolia to enter Bhutan for settlement. Many of them had come as the herdsmen.

There are estimations that the population of Bhutan had increased abnormally during the time when Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal entered Bhutan following his up thrust from Ralung monastery. The followers of Drukpa sect of Buddhism that permanently settled in western Bhutan gradually emerged as the politically dominating ethnic group of Bhutan. Sharchhops, who had migrated from Arunchal Pradesh in pre-historic age, occupied Eastern Bhutan. Evidently, they claim that Shabdrung, who made Bhutan a

greater country, was their ancestor and religious leader. Ngawang Namgyal also brought Nepali-speakers from Gorkha Kingdom, the kingdom of Ram Shah, and ancestor of Nepalese royal family. "Ram Shah of Gorkha and Shiva Simha Malla of Kathmandu flunked some of their citizens and handed over to Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1624 AD (1681 BS). These people went to Bhutan under the leadership of Bishan (Bishnu) Thapa".

Thus, the wide vacuum in the southern part of Bhutan was being occupied by a variety of ethnic groups in long run. Their major sources were Tibet in the north, Arunchal Pradesh in India and Nepal. There are also instances that people from Burma in the south and Mongolia in the northern most had also entered Bhutan to settle.

The dominant groups of Bhutanese population are Lhotsampas (Southern Bhutanese), Sarchhops (Easterners) and Ngalongs (Westerners – the ruling group). Leo has stated that "Nepali community, moreover, are a small minority, restricted for most part of the fringe area of the country. They are not as in Sikkim, the majority community, throughout the most of the country". However, there had been several claims that Nepali ethnic community of southern Bhutan, scattered all over the country, is the dominating ethnic group of Bhutan. The ethnic leaders had, for example, stated that Nepalis counts over 50 percent of the total Bhutanese population. In early accounts of British missions, it is being stated that the outnumbering 'Gurkha' population in southern Bhutan, gradually spreading all over the country, is proclaiming major ethnic group of the country. Bails in early 20th

century had counted over 50 thousand Nepalis within Samchi region who were increasing at an alarming rate. The ethnic Nepalis who live mostly in south have migrated to the land in and after 17th century. The other already existing communities welcomed them in 1624, when the country was in critical position because of the external aggression, especially from Tibet. Some of them settled in south, who came in the last century. They helped in building close relations with the British ruling at that time in India. The placement of Nepalis in Bhutan is being proved by the British statements that said, "We cannot afford to let the Chinese establish influence in Bhutan. However, it is fast becoming a Nepali state. Already 3/4 of the population of Sikkim are Nepalese and Gorkhas who are multiplying fast are streaming over into vacant places in Bhutan. In obvious reasons, it is of real importance to keep the Gorkha State under our control". To discourage the establishment of Chinese influences in Bhutan, British promptly evoked to call on Nepalis to settle primarily in Assam, West Bengal, Sikkim and neighbouring Bhutan that would help them keep these states under their control.

"Settlement by Nepali Bhutanese in area outside of southern Bhutan is in fact still effectively discouraged. But on the other hand, the term upon which members of this community cultivate land and pay taxes in southern Bhutan are now broadly equivalent to those of other Bhutanese. Thus, while discriminatory have not been totally eliminated, the community's economical and political status have been greatly improved over what it was in 1950s".

The Sarchhops are believed to have been the earliest inhabitants of the country. Apparently, Indo-Mongoloid in origin, the question of where they come from, or exactly when they reached Bhutan remains unsolved. Today Sarchhops live largely in eastern regions. The Sarchhops are said to be the ancient migrants whom followed the Ngalongs from Tibet and set their power in Bhutan. Most of the historical statesmen, who came to Bhutan for preaching Buddhism like Guru Rinpoche, Phajo Drugom Shigpo, Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal are claimed to fall in the Sarchhop ethnicity.

The other "group, known as Ngalongs, are descendants of Tibetan migrants who came to Bhutan from about 9th century onwards settling primarily in the west". The increasing fudalship in this ethnic group gave rise to the ruling group in 1907 that would be discussed later.

When Eden reached Paro, he observed that many of the inhabitants of this place were Bengalis who had long since forgotten their place of origin. Again in Thimphu, two miles away from Tongsa dzong; most of the villagers in the area were Bengali slaves, many of whom had been born there. They would be seen in the gaps in the forest hewing wood and collecting pine leaves use for manure for their masters. Other than these are a large number of ethnic groups in the country that remain out of the state's mainstream. People like Doyas and Totas still live in remote parts of the country, particularly in northern mountainsides.

C. Tradition And Culture

Northern Bhutanese lived on meat, chiefly pork, with turnips, rice and barely meal. Their tea came from China in the form of bricks, cut up when required in to leaves which were placed in a large hollow bamboo into which hot water was poured, followed by boiling water, salt and a little crude soda. It is 'unquestionably a very nourishing diet. A cup or two of such tea is most invigorating after great exhaustion or cold'. They have no caste system.

They live in small helmets besides the rivers and in isolated and surprisingly large farmsteads similar in appearance to those in Austria and Switzerland. They are usually made of wood, stone and clay, without any nails and have shingled roofs held down by large stones. Animals occupy the ground floor. They follow the Mahayana sect of Buddhism.

Lhotsampas follows the Hinduism and pray the Gods namely Bishnu, Krishna, Ram Shiva etc. They had distinct culture, tradition than that of other groups. Their culture is similar to those of Nepal and northern India. They had only branched in 1624 and this reason connects the same culture and tradition of these people. Leo writes, "The Nepalis who shared a basic Hindu culture with the Indians, nor do the Bhutanese share the difficulties faced by the Nepalis in defining a separate and distinct national identity from Indians".

Marriages were on agreement between the parents of boys and girls. Often the marrying ones are unseen and unknown. Very rarely, they talk and share words before marriage until recently

when they accepted the love marriage and on agreement between the boy and girl. Polygamy was widespread family planning concepts has reached the society lately.

Ngalongs had migrated from Tibet and China before 10th century and had their strong hold in western Bhutan that grew stronger after 1907. One of their most famous ancestors was Drukpa Kuenley, follower Drukpa sect who left potential influences in Bhutanese society while preaching Buddhism doctrines. Their culture and tradition has more or less similarity with Tibetans. They follow Drukpa Kagyugpa sect of Mahayana Buddhism, the state religion. These ruling elite had now spread their tradition and culture to all over the country.

The eastern Bhutanese, who had migrated earlier into Bhutan from Arunchal Pradesh, follow Nyingmapa sect of Mahayana Buddhism, the religion spread by the Guru Rinpoche and Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal. Their tradition and culture are peculiarly attached to those of Arunchal Pradesh in India.

The Bhutanese method of fighting was with bows and arrows, each side to fire and then rush forward and struggle for any dead bodies from which, according to Bose, they would extract the livers to eat with butter and sugar. They also mixed the fat and blood with turpentine in order to make candles for musical pipes and the skulls for beads. They were also mounted in silver to make receptacles for sipping water at religious ceremonies.

Marriage in this community was by mutual contract without any celebration and husband usually lived in their wives' houses. A rich man could keep as many wives as he could afford and conversely a poor man could buy a part share in a wife with his brothers, of whom the eldest was considered to be the father of any children, the younger brother being called uncles. Apparently it was no crime for a man to sleep with any of his female relatives except his mother although copulation with sisters or daughters was frowned on.

D. Kingship

As the population of the country increased at an vigorous rate, with continuing streams of flowing from around the land, the need of kingship appeared. While, Tibet and China in the north and duars in the south are being ruled by kings, the emerging kingship in Bhutan was of course obvious. In early states, local chieftainship was popular and subsequently, more powerful kingdoms came into existences in later centuries.

Before the advent of Guru Rinpoche, Bhutan was divided into smaller chamber-kingdoms and each ruled by separate kings as:

Kings	Kingdom
Deb Wangchhen Dharma Kilingling	Kurtoe
Deb Gawa	Phadung
Deb Darjam	Ngatshag
Deb Dawa	Chitsang

Deb Dola	Beneng
Deb Tonden	Tshengma
Deb Tshewang	Tashigang
Deb Dewa	Khaling
Deb Phodrang Abchen	Kanglung
Deb Lam Nagseng	Merag
Sindhya Gyab	Bumthang

Singlala Clan of Sekhya, who ruled in northern India, had built Changangkha Gome Palace in Bumthang long before Sindhya Gyab established his kingdom. When, Singlala descendent Nagoche of Sindhu came to know that the palace was built by his ancestors, he invaded Bumthang ending its existence. His descendents elaborated the kingdom to Dorji Dag, Har in Tibet and present western Bhutan.

In the 7th century Bhutan was said to be ruled by the kings of Kamrup, India and Cooch Behar by kings of Sangaldip. When king Bhaskerverma died in 650 AD, Sangaldip's sovereignty was also fanned out after an invasion of King Piranvisan from Tartary.

On the other hand, by that time Phajo Drugon Shigpo's son Dampa had established a kingdom in Paro, Garton had in Khotangkhora, Nyima had in Thimphu Wangchuk had in Changangkha and Gasa and Lam in Thimphu Dodena. Dampa conquered with Lam Lhapa in Paro. This victory helped him in tying the friendship with the kings of Bhananla [Kamata] and Kamadhala [Kamrup]. His descendents entered Sha, Wang, abolishing the kingship of Palden Drugpa. Geden Lama of Ura

Bumthang was the descendents of Phajo Drugom Shigpo.

E. Language and Literature

The National language of Bhutan is Dzongkha. About 80 percent of people speak it although it is native only to about 25 percent of them.

The word 'Dzongkha' is derived from two words –'Dzong' and 'kha' 'Dzong' means office and 'kha' means mouth or spoken language. Initially, this was the language used to speak in offices. Later on, the Dzongkha word is used as name of a language.

The national language is the mother tongue of Ngalongs. It is reformed and side-added-term-language derived from Tibetan. It is slightly reformed, changed the fundamental composition by the various well-known personalities who came to Bhutan from Tibet and China. This national language is written in '*Ukan*' script.

The land of Bhutan itself is the land of migrants and this asserts that there are many languages spoken. The community is divided into many races and ethnic groups as per their origin culture and language, though many of them have similarities. Few languages spoken in Bhutan are stated in this chapter:

1. Dzongkha

It is the national language but is usually spoken in western Bhutan, where Ngalongs had its strong footholds from ancient days. It is the language used in curriculum and taught in every school.

2. Tapadrapteng

It is a minor language spoken in Bhutan near Buxa Duar.

3. Laya Lingtshi

This is the small minority people's language usually spoken in northwest Bhutan.

4. Shalingpa

It is spoken in Shali region of Shonkhar district and most parts of the eastern Bhutan.

5. Dangpakha

It is mostly spoken in northeast part of Bhutan.

6. Mirasangtengkha

It is the language spoken in eastern Bhutan, Tashigang.

These six languages, as said are the sub divisions of the national language, Dzongkha. Besides this Dzongkha as divided language, kheng literature had its second domination among local dialects. The components of the language are as follows:

1. Madikha

This is mostly spoken in Tongsa area.

2. Gungdevhikha

In ancient time this language was spoken in the southern part of the country and in considered to have independent literature. Recently it is mixed with Kheng literature, though it had its independent script previously.

3. Khengkha

It is mostly spoken in Kheng region, South of Tongsa. With the adoption of Gungdevikha into its pocket, this language has widened.

4. Bumthangkha

It is the famous language amongst the components of Kheng literature. It is spoken mostly in Bumthang and central Bhutan.

5. Samangkha

This language has dominated the north-eastern part of the Kurtoe region.

. Yangsepakha

It is the language mostly used in northern border, Tawang and southern Tibet.

7. Kurtoepakha

The dialect is mostly spoken in Kurtoe region.

These languages didn't have their own script before but now they are written in 'Ukan' script, the script of Kheng literature as well.

Studying all these literature of Bhutan, one can say that there are many linguistic groups, races and creeds of people living together in a small country. Of all these languages, I shall find it best to describe at length the four major languages spoken in Bhutan.

1. Dzongkhka

It is the national language and is mother tongue of the ruling elite. Previously, it was mostly spoken

in western Bhutan. After the enthronement of Sir Ugyen Wangchuk as the first king of Bhutan, it took the way to national language. "It is the language of the home in western Bhutan; where small-non Tibetan communities, such as Doyas and Lepchas, who reside in this region and have tribal language of their own, also speak Dzongkha". In 1969, the third king Jigme Dorji Wangchuk converted this into a national language. Dzongkha replaced the Hindi language taught in every school as a language of instruction in early stages of the establishment of formal education in Bhutan. Dzongkha is also being used in official documents that were printed in Nepali or Eanglish earlier. It has been made compulsory subject in all levels of school curriculum and a separate division for the development of Dzongkha has been set up under the Ministry of Education. The division immensely toiled to formulate it as a codified language with the development of grammar and dictionary. The division had development a book in early 1990 designed to teach dzongkha to the southern Bhutanese giving meaning of as many common sentences in Nepali.

Today, most of the television and radio programs are run in dzongkha. The shooting of films in dzongkha widened its uses. Newspaper and other pamphlets are published and spread widely.

2. Bumthang kha (Kheng)

It is the famous language of ancient Bhutan. Now it is centralized only in Kheng region and central Bhutan. With diminishing population of Kheng people and adaptation of Nepali and

Dzongkha as their languages of communication, the Bumthangkha has in fact, vanished from the Bhutanese local dialects, unless given special attention to preserve it.

3. Sharchopkha or Chhangla

The Sharchops, eastern Bhutanese speak this language as their mother tongue. It originated in Arunachal Pradesh, as they (Sharchops) are believed to have migrated from Arunachal Pradesh. With absence of literary works and daily uses, Chhangla is also concentrated within the local community of eastern Bhutan.

4. Nepali (Lhotsamkha)

This is the language of southern Bhutanese. The dominion and majority of Nepali speaking people contributed to spread this language to the whole country. Many town-men speak this language. The language has its origin in Nepal, which is its national language. The language does not have any relation with other local dialect of Bhutan. Nepali speakers are then divided in numbers of creeds who speak their own dialects to communicate with their ethnic group. Leo E. Rose writes, "The Nepali Bhutanese who make up the vast majority of the population in southern Bhutan came from a wide varieties of communities in Nepal, most of which have their own languages or dialect".

"Dzongkha would be known only by those Nepali Bhutanese who hold government post or who need to communicate with the central authorities, on a regular basis". But many of the

Nepali speakers speak Dzongkha as they are to be engaged and regularly communicate with the communities who speak Dzongkha. Dzongkha is popular in their society as it is the language used in curriculum. Government in late 20th century had introduced several discriminatory policies virtually manipulated to dominate the Nepali language. The government had lifted it as a subject of curriculum in 1990 and many of the programs designed to promote the language were closed. Nepali programs in radio are squeezed and television is yet to adopt Nepali as the medium to launch any programs.

3. Names and their origin

In course of its history, Bhutan was being authoritatively addressed by several names. The names are given at different times when there were major changes or advent of lamas. Their origin is mostly from Tibetan views, the closest neighbour in ancient days, which have the traditional and ancestral linkage of course.

Bhutan becomes at times Bhootan and Bhotan and its inhabitants Bhootaniers, Bhotias or Bhoteahs.

The most ancient name given to the country was 'Lho Mon' [southern village of darkness]. When the preaching of Buddhism flourished in Tibetan community, Bhutan was still back from the light of Buddhism. It reveals that the country was still underway from the light of the religion. However, Bonism was said to have some influences.

The other words used for the decoration of Bhutan's names are 'Lho Mon Tsenden Jong' {The

country of cypress trees}, 'Lho Yul' {the southern village}, 'Lho Jong Men Jong' {southern country having clustered medical herbs}, 'Lho Mon Kha Zhi' {the country of four approaches} etc. To all these names the word *Lho* is used which means the 'south'. This shows that Bhutan is south of Tibet and that all these names are given from Tibetan view. And that it had close relation with Tibet.

In the time of Mahabharata, Bhutan was known by the name as Mahapradesh. In Mahabharata epic it is said that when Duryodhan humiliated Bidur {who is said to be the fair judge}, Bidur came to the bank of Ganga. He married there {at Vyas Ashram} a girl named Sudhringi. She gave birth to two sons named Bhot and Bharat. Bhot travelled through Tibet to Bhutan preaching Buddhism. He was respected there as king and from his name the place was called Bhotan.

Bhutan is also called the birthplace of priest Kashyap's wife, "Bhuti" and the place was named as Bhutistan {the birthplace of Bhuti} and ultimately the Bhutan.

Shabdrung later in 17th century named the country as Druk Gyalkhap and called the general people 'Drukpas' though the easterners are called Sharchops, westerners are called Ngalongs and southerners are called Lotshampas.

"Under the pressure of the reformist Gelukpa sect, some of the olden sects found themselves forced out of Tibet and sought fresh pasture for evangelical work outside their country. The Drukpas who had proceeded to Bhutan were so successful in their missionaries enterprise that the country of their adoption was soon established as

the main stronghold of the Drukpa sect and come as a result to be named Druk Yul”.

Beside this, the next name given to the country was Bhot-ant, which means the end of Bhot (Tibet). It is a Sanskrit word and said to be reformed into modern name Bhutan. Bhu-uttam is also the Sanskrit name given to the country Bhutan by the Indians as Bhutan has higher land than India's. It is said to be given during the time of Gupta reign and that Bhu-uttam is now changed to Bhutan.

Thus, today's official name came into existence from a long run. No record is found when Bhutan is used firstly as official name to represent the country. But after the enthronement of Sir Ugyen Wangchuk to the golden throne, word Bhutan is used in official records.

BHUTAN AS A BUDDHIST KINGDOM

1. Religious Significance

Very little is known of the religious society of Bhutan before the 8th century when Guru Padmasambhava, a monk from Swat (now in Pakistan) preached Buddhism in the country. But then also, Bhutan is more profoundly known as the kingdom of Shabdrung, a follower of Mahayana Buddhism who entered Bhutan from Ralung in Tibet. Though, Buddhism had flourished in Bhutan before the arrival of Shabdrung, the religion became stronger

that helped in the unification of the country from the time when Shabdrung stepped in Bhutan. Folk tales remark that the country was under Buddhist influence since many centuries before and retained its cultural and religious identity for longer period. “There were several reasons why Bhutan has been able to retain its cultural identity while neighbouring areas to the south and north have been undergoing profound and fundamental changes”.

Historically the remarkable degree of diversity and heterogeneity that has characterised the society of South Asia and essential tolerance of Hinduism to the cultural diversity were of considerable importance that has also influenced the Bhutanese society, especially after the influx of Hindu households in early 17th century. Along Buddhist, other religious groups also have their significant role in Bhutan for social transformation.

The two larger religions of the country, Hinduism and Buddhism have distinct geographical border separating Bhutan into two parts. The lining, though attempts were made to eliminate, emerged into distinction when Bhutan government began to mistreat Lhotsampas who adopted Christianity as their religion from early 1980s. The National Assembly even passed a resolution of elimination of Christianity from the land along the eviction of southern Bhutanese. One of such resolution is being produced for instance:

“The people’s representative of Chirang Dzongkhag requested the National Assembly to ban Christianity in Bhutan and the people already converted to be stopped from practicing the religion.

They said that Christianity was spreading in Chirang and becoming a serious problem. Bhutan being a small country should not have too many religions. Buddhism and Hinduism, which were the two recognised religions of the country were brother religions. The introduction of other religion would create serious problems. Already family strife's were taking place due to differences of religious beliefs among family members. The people's representatives said that they had heard that many emigrant who has left Bhutan and gone to the camps in Jhapa, Nepal were being converted to Christianity with incentive of Rs. 500/- and assurances of further rewards. Words were being spread in Chirang that potential emigrants should convert to Christianity so that it would be convenient for them when they arrive in Jhapa.

The people's representatives from Kalikhola stated that as per the resolution of earlier sessions of the National Assembly, Buddhism and Hinduism were only the two recognised religions of Bhutan. However, as the government had not taken any note of the situations, Christianity was spreading along the border areas and creating serious social problems.

The Samdrupjongkhar 'chhimi' pointed out that as Buddhism and Hinduism were only the two recognised religions in the country, allowing other religions would result in serious problems for the country. For the benefit of the future generations, he requested the National Assembly to pass a resolution that no other religions would be allowed in Bhutan.

Several people's representatives state that countries all over the world had their own different religions, customs and laws. Bhutan too, should allow and uphold only those religions that have traditionally been recognised. If proselytising of other religions were allowed it would cause sectarian fraction, which would lead to serious social problems.

The Home Minister pointed out that the practice of religion other than the only already recognised had been discussed several times in previous sessions of the National Assembly. During the 30th session of the National Assembly in 1969, it had been resolved that no religions other than the one already recognised would be allowed in the country. Also, as per the Article 16 of the 51st session of the National Assembly, while all other religions would be practiced privately no proselytising would be allowed. He, therefore, recommended that the house should direct the Dzongkhag Yargye Tshongchungs (DYT) to decide on the matter as per the Thrimshung Chenpo and the resolutions of the previous sessions of the National Assembly.

The representative of the Dratshang Lhentshog pointed out that all religions were good and existed for the benefit of sentient beings. The problem in the world that has been related to the religion did not arise from the religions themselves but were caused by the shortcoming of the practitioners. He therefore, proposed that, as recommended by the Home Minister, the existing laws and Assembly resolutions should form the basis for all steps taken to ensure that no sectarian problem arise in country.

Other people's representatives pointed out that if proselytising of different religions were allowed in a small country like Bhutan, it would create disharmony and may even harm the security and sovereignty of the country due to misunderstanding over religion with big countries. Buddhism and Hinduism were two brother religions in harmony with each other. The practice of different religions in the country would create disharmony and problems would arise as pointed out by the Lhotshampa Chimis.

The Dagapela Chimi pointed out that although Buddhism and Hinduism had the same origin, because there were different in practice quite a few difficulties did arise at times. But the Christianity being totally different from these two religions. The problem which had already started to arise in Chirang because of the spread of Christianity would disturb social harmony throughout the country if no timely steps were taken. He therefore proposed that the resolution taken during the 51st session of the National Assembly on the practice of different religions must be strictly implemented.

The Chirang Dzongda said that the DYT had received reports that there were many Christian trying to convert people to Christianity. This had resulted frequent problems between Christian and Hindus in the Dzongkhag. The Dzongda reported that, Bibles printed in Nepali were being sent from Thimphu and distributed to the people. Accordingly, the DYT had decided to request the National Assembly to ban Christianity.

His Majesty informed the Assembly that the issue of allowing different religions in the country

had been thoroughly discussed during the 30th session of the National Assembly in 1969, and also during the 51st session in 1979. The issue was also clearly covered by the Thrimshung. If these resolutions and laws were followed, the issue could be taken up by the DYT and there would be no need for the assembly to promulgate any new law. The Assembly resolved that copies of resolutions of the previous sessions of the National Assembly and the clauses of the Thrimshung pertaining to religion would be distributed to the chimis. The matter should therefore be taken up in the concerned DYT and dealt with accordingly.

(Source: Kuensel's "Assembly Supplement", dated Nov.4, 1992)

However, in recent years, there are instances of northern Bhutanese adopting Christianity and interliving among northern and southern Bhutanese is becoming more casual. Majority of Buddhists live in the north and in south the Hindus. The king of Bhutan himself allowed Father Machea (entitled as Brother of Bhutan) to live a prestigious life in the country. Despite his cremation was done in Kalimpong, India, he was a resource person to make the religion popular among educated Bhutanese. Even now, open preaching of Christianity has been restricted.

Historically, the first religion flourished in the country was Bonism. Led by Lhasa Shangma, the religion was not much influential in receiving overwhelming support from Bhutanese citizens. The religion virtually, did not exist to longer period as the leader himself was exiled with increasing pressure of Buddhists from Tibet in the north.

Symbolically, the existence of Bonism ended in 1222 when Phajo Drugom Shigpo entered Bhutan. In course of time, Bhutan was being stucked by Geluckpas and many other religious sects as well. When the Geluckpa drove other sect of Buddhism from Tibet, they entered Bhutan as early as 13th century. This exclusively led Buddhists to capture and rule the southern part of Tibet, now called by the name Bhutan.

This became the source that Bhutan pertains its distinct cultural heritage still today. Most of the primitive rules and social norms and values followed in Tibet were reformed and a 'new form' of Buddhism flourished in Bhutan, though its fundamental principles remained unchanged. However, there are also evidences that Buddhism had been the part of Bhutanese religious life since 3rd century. It was the period when Ashoka sent his followers including his own son Mahendra to preach Buddhism in neighbouring countries, especially in the Himalayas.

The influences of Buddhist culture started to dominate the Bhutanese social and cultural life with the efforts of Lam Gyalwa Lhanangpa afore 12th century who preached the Buddhism doctrines in wider range. Thinley Rabyang is other Lama who stretched his hands in preaching Buddhism in about 1522, in Bhutan, though he could not attain much success.

Buddhism had effectively flourished in the Kingdom Bhutan from the time of Guru Rinpochhe. Preaching of Guru Rinpochhe is the greatest in the Buddhist history of Bhutan. He is favoured person to spread of Buddhism in the Himalayan land-

sheds. Some leaders had entered Bhutan as exiled or ordered by their elders. While, Guru Rinpoche was the only one invited officially by Bhutanese in the initiation of the Bumthang king, Sendya Gyab in 784 AD. This was how, Buddhism was finally became a recognized religion of Bhutan that has now been termed as its state religion as well. Though many sects cursed it, its supremacy never fanned out.

A boy can become a novice monk between the age of five and ten. If found acceptable, the child would be invested with a red cloak and a piece of cloth placed round his neck; and thereafter he no longer belongs to his parents. The gelongs feed him, teach him to pray and read holy books. He has to renounce all connection with women and with any form of cultivation but could engage in trade or serve the government. The gelongs were obliged to perform religious worship in public, to read holy books for private individuals and to burn the dead. The gelongs are abstained from fish or flesh on 8th, 14th and 30th day of each month and were forbidden to take wine, although some drink in secret.

2. Preaching of Buddhism

Drukpa Kagyukpa is the state religion of the country. "The advent of Buddhism into Mon Yul in early seventh century A.D not only brought about a religious transformation of the people but also set a process of historical evolution of the country.

When in first century China was under Buddhist influence, Tibet was a pagan country. However, when in seventh century (before Tibet

was influenced by Bonism doctrine), the Tibetan King Tshrongtshen Gampo (624-49 AD) was married with Chinese and Nepalese princesses, both Buddhist, the Buddhist philosophy changed the spiritual and religious structure of Tibetan community. These two queens ordered the construction of 108 monasteries in neighbouring countries including Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, China and Bhutan. Kichu monastery of Paro and Jampe Lhakhang of Bumthang are the two located in Bhutan.

In the centuries that followed many Buddhist leaders entered Bhutan especially from Tibet and other neighbouring countries for preaching Buddhism in the Himalayan kingdom. Though in initial stages it was reluctantly dominated, it gradually emerged itself as a strong and dominant religion of the state and finally to such extent that Bhutanese adopted it as the state religion.

Ral Pachelan was the king of Tibet between 816 and 836. His follower Lam Shangpa Gyarey entered Bhutan preaching Buddhism in 830. Buddhism was further strengthened by brother of Tibetan king Lang Dharma (836-842). His effort lasted only for six years and was assassinated by a Buddhist monk Pal Dorji in 842 A.D.

After the clash of Nabudara, a king of southern duars in present India, and Sendya Gyab in Bumthang, 12 monasteries such as Takshang monastery, Bumthang Kurje, Damar monastery, Paro Chumphu monastery and so on were built in Bhutan as part of the Bhuddhists preaching.

During the time Tshrongtshen Gampo of Tibet, Buddhism flourished in South Asia without

hindrances. In that period 108 monasteries were built under the active leadership of Nepalese princess, Bhrikuti, in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet, China and other neighbouring places.

Buddhism was divided into two sects as Hinayana and Manayana during the Fourth Great Buddhist Council [FGBC] meeting at Jalandhara (date not mentioned). Since the people from Hinayana (Theravada) had not attended the conference, the sect was declared as the lesser vehicle and the Mahayana was to be the greater vehicle. But after the time of Garapsel, Atisa and Rinchhen of Tibet divided Buddhism into three sects as Nyingmapa {old sect}, Kadampa {reformed sect}, and Sakyapa. Kadampa existed in Tibet till Gelukpa {Yellow Hat Sect} dominated the country. Nyingmapas were exiled to Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet during the 14th century, though there the sect had been able to resist thrusts in present Arunchal Pradesh of India.

Tibetan sages and lamas had invaluable contribution in making Buddhism a dominating religion in Bhutan of whom we shall discuss briefly here below. During their discourse they had to face several attacks and counter attacks from neighbouring countries and from within Bhutan. Among the attackers, Gelukpas of Tibet and Lam Kha Nga from within the country were mentionable figures. Despite several attempts of Gelukpas and other tribal Buddhists groups of Bhutan, the Kagyukpa sect of Buddhism maintained its strong foothold in the country.

3. Legends of some Buddhist leaders

A. Guru Rinpochhe

As were the other neighbouring countries, Bhutan, in early period of the history, was divided into small states ruled by individual feudal lords fighting each other for power from time to time. Amongst these principalities, Bumthang was one. It was being ruled by a feudal king named Sendya Gyab.

Saying his forefather's kingdom, Nabudara (somewhere called Nauchhe) of southern Duar attacked the kingdom of Sendya Gyab. During the war around an iron castle on Bumthang that Gyab had built, the son of Gyab, Taglamebar was said to be killed. This loss brought in dissatisfaction to Sendya Gyab. He ordered the destruction of all temple and idols in his territory. Consequently, this itching made him serious ill.

When no sign of recovery was seen, messengers were sent to Maratika of Nepal (some say India) with cupsful of gold dust to invite then legendary Buddhist philosopher and monk Guru Rinpochhe, who is also called Guru Padmasambhava. Thus was how Rinpochhe stepped into the land of Bhutan. He subdued, as Bhutanese Buddhist folktales carry, the feudal deities and preached Buddhism, reconstructed temples and monasteries. Then Sendya Gyab and his citizens were made the followers of Buddhism, the Nyinmagma sect. This reasons that Bhutanese sometimes regard Rinpochhe 'as the second Buddha'.

B. Phajo Drugam Shigpo [1184-1251]

The other distinct Tibetan Lama who came to preach Buddhism in Bhutan was Phajo Drugom Shigpo. He came from Kham, eastern Tibet. He was instructed to preach Buddhism in Bhutan by Sangye Oendrey, founder of Drukpa School in Tibet, his teacher. Educated in Ralung, Phajo entered Bhutan in 1222 AD. Buddhist namthars indicate that he had lot of visions of Guru Rinpoche and had received instructions from him as well. With Sonam Palden, he preached Buddhism in Bhutan mostly in northern part. His efforts were resourceful in building an integrated and religious society in Bhutan, bring them under unity and make them live in friendly environment.

C. Kuenga Sengye [1314-1347]

Among the Abbots of Ralung, the seventh Abbot Kuenga Sengye was the first to come to Bhutan. He was said to have visited Bhutan in the invitation by a great grandson of Phajo Drugom Shigpo. On one of his visits to Dechenphug in Thimphu valley, it is said that he had subdued the local deity called Genyen Jagpa Melan, making him the protector deity of Buddhist faith in Bhutan. Now the statue of Jagpa can be seen in Dechenphug, regal looking, riding a red horse and holding a sword. It has been one of the important holy shrines in Bhutan and is visited by Bhutanese and Buddhists in a large number to pay respect.

D. Drukpa Kuenley [1455-1525]

A favourite Drukpa Lam of Bhutan is Drukpa Kuenley, elder cousin of Ngawang Chhoegyal. His

preaching in humour and compassion are recorded in Bhutan since 1490. He was a special form of holiness, which has been called the '*crazy wisdom*' or "*divine madness*". He is said to be against the monasteries as the priests were in habit of asking everything from the people for their survival and the teaching was in slow process. He used to be with people teaching them through humour, poetry, song, love and dance and in the ways quoted in Namthars. Historians stressed, his teachings tried to show that the spiritual life of a person is being tied and bound to his real and everyday life and that through all the different experiences, a person can achieve full enlightenment. His teachings were directed to preach Buddhism among the general people. He made lot of people his followers in short period of time.

E. Ngawang Chhoegyal [1465-1540]

This Abbot of Ralung visited first in 1497 though he visited Bhutan many times. On his visits, he was accompanied by two of his sons and supported him in the construction of temples and monasteries, mostly in western Bhutan such as Druk Chhoeding in Paro, Pangri Zampa and Hongtsho in Thimphu and Chhimey Lhakhang in Punakha. His son Ngagi Wangchuk constructed the first Tongsa, Jakar and Lhuntshi Dzongs.

All these lamas preach the Drukpa Kagyugpa sect. Amongst the lamas of other sects, Nyingmapas were successful in establishing their influence in Bhutan. Let's see little of them as well.

F. Longchhen Rabjam Drimey Oezer [1308-1363]

Of the Tibetan lamas, most famous and respected Nyingmapa lama, Oezer was one to visit Bhutan at the time Drukpa Kagyukpa was flourishing at sweeping speed. He is being regarded as the Buddhist Scholar. He spent about ten years in Bhutan preaching Nyingmapa Buddhism. On his preaching process, he built a number of temples and monasteries including Tharpaling and Ugyen Chhoeling in Bumthang and Kuenzangling in Kurtoe. He strengthened the Nyingmapa in Bhutan, which had faced domination in Bhutan before that.

G. Pema Lingpa [1450-1521]

The Bhutanese saint who further strengthened the Nyingmapa sect was Pema Lingpa. He was born in Chelwa Rithrang of Tang valley of Bumthang in Iron Horse year. As he had discovered many *Ters* {treasures} hidden by Guru Rinpoche, he was popularly known as Terton Pema Lingpa. Among many legends of his ter discoveries here is one produced:

Mebartsho Lake is said to be in dense forest of Bumthang. Guru Padmasambhawa (literally lotus-born) had buried a casket and prophesied that it would be discovered by a predestined person in future at proper time. Pema Lingpa discovered the treasure.

He preached the Buddhist faith as was instructed in the Spiritual Wisdom. Now his fame as *Terton* (treasure discoverer) spread not only in Bhutan but also in Tibet. Today his text and secret dances, commission art etc. are all important cultural treasure of the country. And the Royal

family of the country is claimed to be the descendents of Pema Lingpa.

These lamas including their many other followers, who accompanied them during their visit to Bhutan, have reformatted religious structure of Bhutanese society and were able to establish a capable theological central authority of religious leaders under the Buddhist principles of state administration. However, there were several drawbacks seen in their efforts to transform the Bhutanese society and culture. Weaknesses of those lamas were that they were not able to establish a concrete network of centralized administration to meet the need of the fragmented Bhutanese society of that period, but it is their toil that Buddhism exists today as the royal cult of Bhutan, which all Bhutanese do not deny to accept.

Bhutanese Buddhist deities had their counterparts in the Hindu Pantheon. K. K. Bose saw many similarities between the two religions. According to him, both worship the images of deities, count beads at prayers and offer clarified butter to the gods by throwing it into fire. Buddhist ceremonies were a curious compound of Romish, Buddhist and Hindu worship.

4. Advent of Hinduism

Of course, Bhutan being a Buddhist kingdom, there are many other religions that were followed by Bhutanese people. Of other than Buddhism, the dominant religion observed in present and ancient Bhutan is Hinduism. They form the major section of Bhutan's religious community.

History says “advent of Hinduism in Bhutan started in seventh century when Bhrikuti sent some architect to built Buddhist monasteries in Bhutan”⁵ in about 649 AD. It is also said that there was a Hindu King named Darpudev Lama in ancient Bhutan. Though these collections consist of a small community, the bigger of groups of Hindus' advent in Druk Yul was in 1624 AD. Bhutanese incantatory Lama Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal had visited Gorkha kingdom of present Nepal and 45-50 families were sent with him under the captainship of Bishnu Thapa (some says Bishun and Bhishan Thapa) flunked by King Ram Shah. Few years later he also visited Kathmandu and taken some art and craftsmen from Shiva Simha Malla. Existence of Hinduism was also stated in many of the reports of English missions to Bhutan. During Bogle’s Mission, the previous Deb Raja had been ambitions for more power, and had strengthened his connections with the Panchen Lama in Tibet and the Raja of Nepal as well as with the Emperor of China.

Bhutan’s political relations with Nepal arose from the assistance given to Sikkim when the Gurkha army invaded its territory in 1788. In a few months, the Gurkhas were forced to retire but as soon as the Bhutanese withdrew their help to Sikkim, Gurkhas advanced again and nearly captured much of Sikkim. Chinese then sent a force, which defeated the Gurkhas and made them accept Chinese overlordship. From then until 1813 when the British invaded Nepal, the Gurkhas, despite their enormous success elsewhere, left Bhutan to its own device, out of a healthy fear of

Chinese reaction on the one hand and of the British presence in Sikkim on the other. Thus, Bhutanese had a secure frontier out of confrontation of British, Chinese and Gurkhas. However in 1813 the Nepalese invited the Chinese to send an army through Bhutan to attack the British in Bengal, in order to force them to withdraw from Nepal, Chinese declined and as such Bhutan was spared of the confrontation.

Namgyal's visit in 1640 AD (1697 BS) to Nepal remarks that from there he took some ryots and lighted 1,000 lamps in Swayambhu. From that time, the tradition of lighting 1,000 lamps in Swayambhu by Bhutanese lamas had started. This incident indicates that having Hindu culture recognized in Bhutan, Bhutan's relation with the Gorkha kingdom of Nepal had been building to a newer phase. Lamas who followed the tradition of lighting lamps in Swayambhu and obeyed the instruction of the Head of Nepal and Bhutan, between 1640 and 1813 AD (1699 to 1870 BS), were as follows. At present, Kushyo Hang is representing Bhutanese Buddhist clergy in Nepal.

- i. Dukya Rinpoche Lama
- ii. Radyu Kushyowang Lama
- iii. Kurothyowang Lama
- iv. Rinpochhe Karmappa Lama
- v. Dukyayang Lama
- vi. Swisyawang Lama
- vii. Shyamerpa Lama
- viii. Shyamarya Lama
- ix. Payo Rinpochhe Lama
- x. Namuhan Lama
- xi. Dhyapa Sihangpanki Lama

- xii. Thangchyo Khimba Lama
- xiii. Mingje Hingwa Lama
- xiv. Ghuri Nahar Khangsa Lama
- xv. Ghewa Paccha Lama
- xvi. Chhimi Langwa Lama
- xvii. Charing Kaktse Lama and
- xviii. Lopsang Lama

Hinduism is an organised religion in Bhutan. There are many temples and idols of Hindu gods and goddess around the country. Nirmala wrote that Nepali settlement relates with the visit of noted Indian saint Guru Padmasambhawa at the invitation of a semi-historical legendary figure, Sindhu Rajah, an Indian king then believe to be reigning in Bumthang.

From the time of Shabdrung, the relation of Bhutan with Nepal had been strong with treaties signed. When first in 1831 BS (1774 AD) by Prithvi Narayan Shah had signed a traditional treaty (said to be written in gold plates), the system was continued in the time of the following king and regent's reign.

Pratap Singh Shah	(1833 BS) 1776 AD
Rana Bahadur Shah	(1836 BS) 1779 AD
Bom Shah	(1856 & 1858 BS) 1799 & 1801 AD
Rajendra Bikram Shah	(1874 BS) 1817 AD
Surendra Bikram Shah	(1904 BS) 1847 AD
Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah	(1939 BS) 1882 AD
Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah	(1968 BS) 1911 AD

ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE

1. Shabdrung: A Religious Bhutanese Leader

The internal conflict among the ruling families was turning to serious disasters in Bhutan. "No peace was felt by the Bhutanese."¹ After Shabdrung entered Bhutan, in internal conflict was intensified by the external invasion; attacks from northern neighbour Tibet became more frequent and vigorous. In such situation, Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal was to lead the Bhutanese society into peaceful existence.

Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal was born in 1594 AD under Gya Clan of Yeshe Dorji's descendent. He was entrusted to the religious Buddhist in

Swayambhunath temple of Nepal by his grandfather Mipham Chhoegyal.

Because of the uncertain demise of Mipham Chhoegyal, Namgyal had to take over the throne of Drukpa Ralung school of Tibet. Threatening from different other ruling families in Tibet came to 12-year-old Namgyal of Drukpa school of Ralung forth his enthronement as the 18th Abbot of the School. Of course the cause was religious.

He was said to be the incarnation of the Drukpa scholar Pema Karpo (or Padma Karpo-1527-1592). But the same claim was raised by the crown prince of Tsang Province Pagsam Wangpo (1593-1641).

Several attempts were made to dethrone him and take and capture the Ralung school. A number of his followers were killed and murdered while travelling to other places for negotiation to settle the issue. Thus, from the time of enthronement in 1606, threatening and attacks by his opponents made him well experienced in warfare and politics.

He realised that his life in Ralung would not be safe. So, in 1616 AD at the age of 23 he entered Bhutan with his men where he received high respect and honour. When he entered Bhutan he brought with him a sacred named Rangjung Kharsapani (Avolokiteswor), which had appeared during the cremation of Tshangpa Gyarey. Honthso Lam of Laya welcomed him into Bhutan.

A. Causes To Enter Bhutan

Most of the historians, writing on Shabdrung describe that the main causes of his arrival into Bhutan was to rescue his life and the sacred Rangjung Kharsapani. Bikram states that "[h]e was

invited by Pal Yeshe Gampa, protecting deity of Bhutan to come to Bhutan." But formal observation and analysis make it clear that there are many reasons why Namgyal stepped into Bhutan, some of which we shall see briefly:

1. He had conflict with Tsang Deb Pagsam Wangpo due to the claim over the incarnation, which became a serious problem. It created a situation that he should leave Ralung at the earliest.

2. A Drukpa saint of Gasa, Hoptso Lam wanted to strengthen the preaching of Buddhism in Bhutan. He chose Namgyal to be appropriate man who could help him best. So, Hoptsho invited Namgyal to Bhutan to help in his work, the offer which Namgyal accepted.

3. It is said that Namgyal dreamt a black Raven flying towards south into Bhutan that provided him some signs to leave for Bhutan.

4. Family deity of Bhutan Mahakali (Paldon Lhamo) and Mahakala (Yeshe Gempo) invited him in dream, as said, to come and rule over Bhutan.

5. Folklores from Namthars state, he dreamt that he would gain popularity and will be famous in due course of time, if he leave for Bhutan. This encouraged him to select Bhutan to be his preaching ground.

6. He was declared as the false incarnation of Pema Karpo by the Tsang king, Pagsam Wangpo. To overcome this argument and to prove himself to be the real incarnation of Wangpo, he would have needed a new and peaceful residence for which Bhutan was one he thought to be the best.

7. Bhutan was being divided into many principalities and rulers of these principalities were fighting against each other for power. It had hindered the expansion and strengthening of Buddhism in Bhutan. There were several other religions based in animism spreading in the country while it was clearly a Buddhist society in Tibet. For a saint entrusted with the preaching of Buddhism in the Himalayas, this situation was intolerable. He was successful in this mission of making Buddhism popular and maintaining peace in Bhutan.

8. He was dethroned from the Ralung School by the Tsang Deb. As a ruler of a province, he had nowhere to go than to unite southern neither neighbour and establish his rule.

9. Buddhists consider him as one of the incarnations of Gautam Buddha. Having this superiority, he had the responsibilities of making Buddhism a bigger religion. The good place he chose was Bhutan. As such, his religious discourses influenced the Bhutanese soon.

10. He was said to be the super-power. Traditionally, Lamaism Buddhism considers meditation and worship as fundamental practices that keep mind alive and strengthen religion. To keep up this power, he was in need of a solitary place, which Bhutan was one to suit his need. So, he left Tibet for Bhutan.

11. Leaving Tibet, he could have entered Sikkim or Nepal but he followed to Bhutan. It was because in Bhutan his ancestors had acquired popularity and have some extent of respect for Gya Clan. For

this reason, he entered Bhutan where he received respects like his ancestors.

12. During his enthronement in Ralung as the 18th Abbot of Drukpa School, he was handed over the religious texts, arts, carvings, idols etc. of his grandfather Mipham Chhoegyal. Those things needed protection for generations to come and as the source of Buddhism; for the use in future occasions of Buddhist festivals.

Because of all these reasons, Shabdrung left Ralung for Bhutan. He faced not much problems in unifying Bhutan as his ancestors' influence was already been felt. He was loyally welcomed by Bhutanese people, was respected and served him as their supreme leader. His unification brought the Bhutanese history to light. The history of Bhutan as an integrated political system commences only in the first half of the seventeenth century with the establishment of his authority.

B. Unification, invasions and suppression.

History of world says there are very less heroes who spent their lifetime for the unification of their country. Among them Ashoka of India, Prithvi Narayan Shah of Nepal, Karl Marx of Russia are some who led the foundation of greater countries. Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal of Bhutan can be compared with these heroes in the work of unifying the country.

i. Gorkha tour (an old principality in Nepal)

Shabdrung was driven out of Tibet by the Tsang power. These attacks never ended even after he left

Ralung. He felt that his unification works seemed to be feeble in Bhutan.

The relation of Nepal -Tibet had become the basis for Shabdrung to visit Nepalese of whose warfare he was aware. Hinduism and Buddhism had been the brother religions in the Himalayas for centuries. That is why, it was Hindu Gurkhas to whom Shabdrung felt necessary to build relation with. He met then King Ram Shah and asked for supports and people who could help him extend his 'new kingdom'. Bipin writes that Ram Shah contributed 40-50 families to Shabdrung having done agreement in the gold plates. These families leaving for settlement in Bhutanese were led by Bishnu Thapa. In the agreement, Ram Shah declared, 'till the kingdom of Drukpa remains, you be there protecting the territory of Palden Drukpa and extending the calm relationship of Drukpa with Hindu.' These people from Gorkha were settled from the east of Teesta to the western Thaga province (Kalimpong Dangsang area).

Few protestors also argue that long before the visit of Shabdrung to Nepal, there were ethnic Nepalese living in Bhutan. For instance Devi Bhakta Lamitarey relates the stories of Nepalese craftsmanship that are also available in Bhutan concluding that Nepalese architects and craftsmen had reached Bhutan as early as Gampo's reign in Tibet.

On the same visit, Shabdrung also visited Kathmandu valley and asked some artists and craftsmen from King Shiva Simha Malla. These people from Gorkha and Nepal (initially Kathmandu valley is being referred to as Nepal) had contributed

in the construction of dzongs, temples, monasteries and protecting the sovereignty of the nation. Most of the crafts, dzongs, temples and idols that exist today in Bhutan are portion of contribution of hard, loyal and dedicated workers, the Bhutanese of Nepali origin. It was from that time the tradition of lighting thousand lamps in Swayambhunath by the Bhutanese lamas was inaugurated.

ii. Tibetan Invasions

With removal of Shabdrung from Ralung School does not end the jealousy of Tsang rulers. They followed Shabdrung to Bhutan as well. Tibetans first attacked Bhutan in 1617, a year after Shabdrung entered the country. It was because of the jealousy of the Tsang Desi over the popularity Shabdrung had been gaining in Bhutan. However, the first attack, which was rather unplanned, was successfully repulsed by Bhutanese. The commander of the Tibetan force was killed instantly in the fight.

Having the first invasion successfully repulsed, Shabdrung sought support and solidarity from Gorkha. As the situation of the country was politically deteriorating, he was in need of strong force which Gorkhali had proven to be. He settled 50 families in Bhutan with formal agreement to treat them as his citizens.

In 1629 two incidents occurred in Bhutan simultaneously: the visit of two Portuguese and attack of Lam Kha Nga (Lhapas, Nenyingspas, Barawas, Kathogpas and Chazampas). The Jesuit priests Estevan Cacela and Joas Cabral, as Bikram

writes, had given few guns, gun-powder and one telescope to Shabdrung.⁴

All these indicate that Shabdrung managed to overcome the opposition with the materials given by Jesuit priests. Despite several failures, Tibetan invasions continued in the following years: 1634, 1639, 1644, 1647, 1648 and 1649. In 1644 combine force of Mongol and Tibet attacked Bhutan. This invasion was ordered by Gushri Khan of Mongolia. The invasion of Gushri Khan differs from historians, Sushil Manandhar mentioned the year as 1644 and Bikram mentioned it was in 1643.

The militia of Gushri Khan was led by Dalai Lama V, who was nominated as the spiritual and temporal head of the Tibet. He had proclaimed the Gelukpa or the followers of Yellow Hat Sect of Buddhism to be the national religion of the land of Tibet. The Bhutanese force also overcame this combined attempt. The repulsion of the first invasion of Tibet of 1617 and the battle of Dunsa Drug Chhoeding had encouraged Bhutanese to participate in the war against Tibet. In that battle, Shabdrung was said to have used his miracles to defeat his adversary.

In the Tibetan reverse in 1639 led by Pagsam Wangpo, second cousin of Dalai Lama V, Bhutanese were able to defeat the force yet another time. The defeat of Tibetan established Shabdrung's strong supremacy in Bhutan. Finally, successful wars encouraged Bhutanese to establish a sovereign and independent nation. Still, it remains independent and sovereign nation with respect and honour in world forums.

iii. Ngachudrugma

After the successful repulsion of first Tibetan invasion of 1617, Shabdrung left for his visit to Tango Monastery in upper Thimphu valley. He was still anxious that Tsang Desi might be preparing for attack. He offered prayers to Guardian deities and offered sacred rituals, by which he thought would overcome the Tsang Desi. Soon he heard the news that Tsang Desi and his wife both died. It was the exact time historians focused that Shabdrung wrote his famous poem entitled 'Ngachudrugma'. It is the collection of 16-line poetry, which reveals the amazing extent of his power and greatness. But Bikramjit argues that the poem was composed during 1639, which seems to be incorrect as Shabdrung in that time was completely busy to prepare the structure of Choesi, which was formally announced in 1651 AD. His real words of Ngachudrugma are in Dzongkha. The English version of the poem 'Ngachudrugma' is produced below:

*I turn the wheel of the two laws- Temporal and Spiritual.
I am the supreme refuge of all.
I am the spiritual ruler of glorious Drukpa.
I am the subduer of those who seek to falsify the teaching of
Drukpa school.
I set the seal of protection of all writings like the Goddess of
learning.
I am the sacred source of moral precept.
I am the origin of unlimited thoughts.
I confound those with false view.
I am the fountain head of the power of Debate.
Where is the man who never trembles before me?
I annihilate the hordes of evil beings.*

*Where is the strong man that can bear up against my power?
I am mighty in speeches that expand religion.
I am wise in all science.
I am the divine manifestation spoken of by the superior ones
and
I am the destroyer of false incarnations.*

2. Dzong System and Administrative Structure

A. Dzong system

Most historians regard the dzongs as the fighting places for Bhutanese against invasions in ancient time or popularly known as fortresses. They were used as defensive strategic position and were also used as the storehouse of war equipments. But from the time of third Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, they were turned to be the centre of administration and religious activities.

Going back to the history of dzongs, first such house was built by Lam Gyalwa Lhanangpa, an important leader of Lhapa Kagyud, in 12th century. It was named as Do Ngon Dzong (blue stone dzong), where now stands the Dechhenphodrang. It was used as religious centre of Buddhism. Since 1497 onwards the famous Abbot of Ralung (Ngawang Chhoegyal: 1465-1580) constructed dzongs and temples i.e. Druk Chhoeding in Paro, Pangri Zampa and Hongtsho of Thimphu and Chhime Lhakhang of Punakha, the popularity of dzong construction in Bhutan paved a new tradition.

It was only from the time of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal that the Dzongs were built in such a way that they played a significant role in the history of Bhutan. It is the peculiar way that Shabdrung had always built them at the riverside

and at the cliff of the mountains. Because the dzongs built in such sites, Bhutan's office and other important places are still in safe. It is said, and believed too, that constructing dzongs on the high edge and ridge of mountainside would make it easy in maintaining sound administration, from where whole valley can be seen. The capture of a dzong by a rival means a victory in the battle for supremacy.

During 18th and 19th century, dzongs were the strong holds of Dzongpons and Penlops. From the time of third Druk Monarch, they are used for the general administration as well. For the maintenance of dzongs, officers such as Borup (gate keeper), Khengner (cleaning officer), Zimpon (dzong administrator), Nyerchen (store keeper), Nyeryo (assistant of Nyerchen), Poengna (water carrier) and Shangyer (meat store keeper) were actively working in early days.

Some of the important dzongs have become the seat of Dzongpons, Penlops, Dzongdags and Drungpas. They were constructed of wood and hard earth, no nails were used, a pattern that was followed everywhere. We shall now brief description of each major dzongs.

i. Simtokha Dzong

It is the first dzong built by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal. The foundation for the construction was started in 1627 and completed in 1629.⁵ While Shabdrung was constructing the Dzong, Lam Kha Nga attacked and tried to put obstacles but failed in their mission. After its

completion, it was named as Sangye Zabdon Dzong and later it was renamed Simtokha Dzong.

It was damaged partly during invasions from Tibet but was restored in 1671 by third Deb Minjur Tenpa. It is located at the strategic position overlooking and commanding the entire Thimphu valley. Now, it is the centre for Rigzhung Lobdra for Buddhist study.

ii. Punakha Dzong

Access to this dzong is by two cantilever bridges whose gateways of heavy timber were studded with iron. It is of square shape with 40 feet at the base and 80 feet high. There were defensive towers at each end and the only entrance is up at light of removable steps twenty feet high. On one side was a massive masonry built from riverbank commanding the open plain. Inside, the building formed the customary rough parallelogram, divided into chambers. The first chamber housed the main citadel blocks for lay officials. The next chamber houses over 3,000 lamas whose cells were on two sides. There was a large temple in the centre and stone rooms beneath.

It was built in 1637 on the site of an old fort named Dzongchu. It is between Phochu and Mochu where they meet at Puna Tshangchu. The dzong was winter capital till 1955. Punakha Dzong had witnessed many important events in Bhutanese history. Amongst them was the establishment of the Wangchuk Dynasty as the hereditary monarchy in Bhutan on December 17, 1907. The first National Assembly session was held in this dzong in 1953 during the reign of third monarch Druk

Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. Still this is the winter residence of Je Khempo and Monk body.

iii. Wangdi Phodrang Dzong

This dzong is situated between Mochu and Dangchuu where they meet with Puna Tsangchu. The date of its construction is not known but it was enlarged in 1683 by fourth Deb Tenzin Rabgye. It is an elephant shaped separated dzong connected by a wooden bridge.

iv. Tashichhodzong

It is believed that this is the rebuilt dzong named Do Ngon Dzong built by Lam Gyalwa Lhanangpa in 12th century. Other legend is that the reformed form of Do Ngon Dzong is Decchenphodrang but not the Tashichhodzong. In 1702 Serab Wangchuk built a new dzong below Decchenpodrang and made it the summer capital naming as Tashichhodzong (the dzong of glory). The basic foundation and some of its parts were built by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1641 and was slightly enlarged in 1694. In 1955 Drukgyal Sampa Jigme Dorji Wangchuk announced it as permanent Royal Palace or the Capital Dzong and since then repairment and redesigning work continued till 1969. It is the most important dzong in the capital. It houses throne room, National Assembly hall and all offices of ministries. Its northern section is occupied by Dratshang and is summer residence of Je Khempo.

v. Paro Dzong

Paro Dzong was an along entered by a wooden bridge built beside a mountain where the fort crowned the low rocky hill with two-round towers on the north side commanding the road to Tibet.

The bridge into the Dzong, made up of large pines beams built into each bank, had a stone tower with a guard at each end under the command of a warden posted especially for the security of the bridge. An even more important piece of military intelligence was that any attacking outpost forts above the main building would have little difficulty in capturing the Dzong itself. None of their officers were allowed to live there. North east of the Dzong was the road leading straight up the valley to Phari; an important commercial town in Tibet.

Paro Dzong is built on the bank of Phochu and stands on square based boulder. Built by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal in 1646, the dzong held the seat of successive Paro Penlops for centuries and has the reasonable historical authenticity. Its left outpost leads to Trashichhodzong and the right outpost overlook the road from Bura Duar, the gateway of Bhutan. 'It is the changed form of Hungrel dzong built by Lam Drung Drung'. Lam Drung Drung is regarded as the descendent of Phajo Drugom Shigpo. It caught fire in 1905 but was immediately restored by the then Paro Penlop. It also held several National Assembly sessions before rebuilding Tashichhodzong.

vi. Tongsa Dzong

Tongsa Dzong is the Mondrupe, built by Ngagi Wangchuk, ancestor of Shabdrung in 1543. Later in 1647, though Shabdrung did not fulfil his Desire of visiting all over Bhutan, he passed his order to enlarge it and named it Tongsa dzong. Shabdrung appointed Minjur Tenpa as the first Tongsa Penlop who built Ta dzong near to it in 1652.

It is the most important dzong in political history of Bhutan. It was the head of Tongsa dzong, Tongsa Penlop, Jigme Namgyal who led the foundation for the unification of the country. His son Ugyen Wangchuk was Tongsa Penlop before the establishment of the hereditary monarchy in Bhutan. Still the crown Prince acts as the Tronga Penlop.

vii. Daga Dzong

It is only the dzong built for the administration and unification of southern Bhutan. It was built in 1651 and initially named as Trashiyangtse dzong. Tenpa Thinley was first man to sit on the seat of Daga dzong. It has become the centre of southern Bhutan's administration today. Not much than this is known about the historical background of the dzong.

viii. Jakar Dzong

The foundation of Jakar dzong was started by Lam Ngagi Wangchuk. Chhoegyal Minjur Tenpa, the first Tongsa Penlop rebuilt it in 1646. It was damaged harshly during Tibetan attacks but was restored by the Penlops and Dzongpons of same time. During the war between Jigme Namgyal and

Jakar Dzongpon, the dzong was badly destroyed and the construction continued till the time of second king Jigme Wangchuk.

ix. Tashigang Dzong

The dzong was built in 1657. First trial to build the dzong was started by Chhogyal Minjur Tenpa much before. But due to the rebel of easterners, it was completed only in 1659, under the leadership of Pekar Chhoekhal, the Kudung.

B. Administrative Structure

Kishan Kant Bose has pointed out that the dual system was established before the advent of Shabdrung in Bhutan. It formally concluded in 1637 and came into existence independently after 1651. When Shabdrung retired from active life then the system was called "*Choesid*," a different system of governance in the world. The system worked under the Shabdrung till 1651 without the appointment of Deb Rajah and Je Khrembo.

Shabdrung divided the country from east Dungsamkha to west Dalingkha and south Pagsakha to north Tagsekha into three regions- Eastern, Western and Central Bhutan. Before 1651 the regions were administered by Chilah or Chuchap lamas and each dzong by Dzongpons. Dzongpons were assisted by Zimpon and Jardrung with Shabdrung Lami Zimpon (household steward) Gelongs (monks), Zingaps (messengers), Chhangarps (menial servants). The other officials recruited in the dzong were:

Gorab – warden of fort gate

Mange – cook of Monks

Droenyer – secretary in charge of guest

Droentshap – assistant of Droenyer

Zimpon – a ration store officer

Khangnyer – officer for cleaning and sanitation of dzong

Nyerchhen – store keeper

Tapon – officer in charge of horses

Nyeryo – Assistant of Nyerchen

Shengyer – meat store man

Ma-nyer – butter man

Thapoen – chief cook

Dungtsho – chief physician

The Chinese had exercised a loose form of acknowledged sovereignty over Tibet, as Tibet did over Bhutan, whose rulers showed considerable differences to Chinese officials in Lhasa. They sent messengers once a year to the Deb and Dharma Rajas and chief Penlops instructing them to rule carefully, to put down revolt and to report any imminent foreign invasion, neglect of which would incur a fine. This was on one occasion actually imposed 20 gold coins accompanied by the imperial mandate annually that the Bhutanese sent each year 23 coolie loads of fine rice, silk and cotton goods valued at 3,000 rupees. Flowered scarves, silk, cord, gold, and silver then received from the Chinese. Although not normally exercising any direct authority, China was obviously regarded as a distinctly suzerain power even though Bhutan was not tributary in the accepted sense. The Chinese did occasionally intervene physically as on one

occasion when they dispatched troops to decide between the claims of rival parties. Despite several attempts to influence from Tibet and China, Bhutan later rulers turned their interests to Indian support that would help to end suzerainty of Tibet over Bhutan. The influences of Indian society were active after the retirement of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, the period that Bhutanese ruler was forced to accept the British authority.

Before his retirement, Shabdrung appointed Pekar Jungney as Je Khempo, Umje Tenzin Drugyal as Deb, Nakha Rinchen as Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon, Au Tshering as Thimphu Dzongpon, Pekar Rabgye as Punakha Dzongpon, La Ngeon Tenzin Drugda as Paro Penlop, and Minjur Tenpa as Tongsa Penlop. For the administration of Bhutanese Monasteries of Darcheng Ladang of Toe Gangri and of territory of Ladhak, he had appointed Gangri Lama and Gangri Deb. Lama Yangzim was appointed as Shung Droenyer for Thimphu and Punakha.

Thus, after the retirement of Shabdrung the choesid structure set its form and began functioning with two state heads of same rank. The laws and order were to be applied as per the Tsa Yig, a collection of traditional Buddhist laws prepared by Shabdrung. The theory of government in fact is framed somewhat on the same principle as in Japan, which was ruled by spiritual king (Mikando), who is not supposed to interfere in the temporal matters but leave them to the care of chief executive officer; the Tycoon. In Bhutan, however, the position of temporal ruler differs from that of Tycoon in Japan; the Tycoon possessing the real

power, while the Deb is believed to have non-at least at the present day as our (British) latest intercourse with him his government has fully established.

As per the Tsa Yig of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, the Debs and Je Khempos were two posts of equal rank looking at political and spiritual matters respectively. The duration to be in the post of Deb was only three years but later they even possessed the seat for seventeen years as Deb Sangye Dorji (1886-1903) did. The Shabdrung was to remain in the throne till his death and the new successive incarnations appear in the country. The Deb Rajah is supposed to be elected by the council of permanent ministers and to be chosen amongst from the principle officers of the country, who are eligible for seats in the council. ‘... however, in practice, the government of the country has fallen in reality into the hands of Penlops of eastern and western Bhutan, who [are] usually at war with one another, and the Deb now, rarely the nominee of whichever of the two (Penlops) happens to be for the time, the most powerful. Though in the theory they (penlops) [are] supposed to be nominated by the Deb, in practice, they fight their way to power.

The administrative head of the country was Deb and he was mainly to be aided by the ministers. The co-operation should be called upon from the local people and rule according to the whims of the people and the provincial administration. But most of the decisions taken by the government did not reflect the interest of the people but of the penlops who were at the powerful seats. ‘The institution of the ministerial council (Lyengye Tshog) consisting

of important dignitaries to advise both the spiritual and temporal authority, must have been a great co-ordination factor and the link in the event of a conflict between the two heads' which is never practice in whole of the choesid system prevailed in the country.

Deb Rajah ministerial council, which is sometimes called the 'Lenchen', was to be composed of the following permanent members:

The Lam Zimpon or the chief secretary to the Dharma Rajah, the Donai Zimpon or the Prime Minister, the Trashichhodzong, Punakha and Wangdiphodrang Dzongpons; the Deb Zimpon or the chief secretary to the Deb Rajah and Jung Kalyon or the chief judge.

There were two councils: The senior one included 12 gelongs whose main function was to exercise spiritual control. But in cases it tended to seize the secular authority as well and was supposed to have been responsible for some of the power contests with which the country was plagued. The other council, under the Deb Raja, who seldom presided, consisted of six principal officers of the state of whom the senior, the Lam Zimpon, was supposed to represent the interests of the Dharma Raja, but was usually a nominee of the Deb. The Paro and Tongsa Penlops were also entitled to seats.

Under the Paro Penlop were six subhas, so called by the Muslim rulers of Bengal with whom they had been in contact, but more properly termed Zimpons. Of these the Hartoon, Doone and Buxa Zimpons were in charge of duars adjoining British or Cooch Behar territory. Under them worked the

Doompahs in charge of the villages. The Tongsa Penlop also had six subhas under his administration. There was also another grade of official, between subha and Doompah, of which the Dewangiri Raja was one. Others whom British encountered included the Daka Penlop and Cheering Subha.

During the last decades of seventeenth century, the Debs were used to be selected by the Lyeng Tshog but from the early decades of eighteenth century, the real power of selecting Deb was confiscated by the Monk Body and appeared itself as a distinct body in the affairs of the country. In 1773 at the time of Bogle's visit to Bhutan, a council consisting of high monastic officials were given the authority to select the Druk Deb.¹³ The Deb was entrusted with the power of veto for administration, though later on seized by the fighting feuds- the Penlops. By law he was the 'chief protector ruler of his own adherent and followers, chief avenger and punisher of those who were inimical to the cause of Buddhism and the public peace. He was all those in one person and fulfilled the duties right thoroughly and efficiently. He introduces law and lawless Bhutan'.¹⁴

C. Provincial Government

While the central government of the country was vaguely imagined, the provincial administration was of course a legend. The structure of choesid framed by the Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal did not worked effectively even for half a century he died. The local leaders carried out activities of their own desire. There was lawless

Bhutan. Different provincial administrators were fighting for power, murder and killings were rampant.

Eden reported that Bhutan really has no government of any sort, that it is parcelled out into two large and a number of smaller divisions for the possession of which increasing struggles are carried on by a number of unscrupulous rubber chiefs. There is no one in the country who is capable of making his authority felt by another men... it is therefore fertile to suppose that we can secure the good neighbourhood of the Bhutanese I imagine that there never was a country in which entire anarchy had prevailed for so many years. Principally, the country was divided into three regions and each province was ruled by Penlops. The Penlops were supported by Dzongpons and other lower ranked officers. Dzongpons had considerable powers, including those of policing their areas, levying taxes and the administration of justice. Taxes were very moderate, each family being rated according to their means and paying in kind, of which Bogle wrote: 'This mode of collection, however repugnant to the refined ideas of European policy, leaves them unencumbered with a heavy expense for tax gathers and precludes the necessity of employing a numerous body of subjects in a vocation so useless to the state and so vexation to the people'. The main drain on the economy was the annual payment to the Pachen lama in Tibet.

a. Tongsa Penlop

One fourth of the country was in the hand of Tongsa Penlop. Amongst them Tashigang, Tshunge, Lenglong, Dewangiri, Jakar, Shongar, Shabdrunp Jongkhar were under his administration. To the Duars he administered over Bagh Duar, Kalling Duar, Bara Duar, Bijni Duar, Kundu Duar or Phulgiri, Dusangkha and Chinkha Duar. He was also the member of the Shungleng Tshog. He was to pay 4000 rupees annually to the central authority. The royal lineage of present day is also from the line of Tongsa Penlop, which emerged into distinct power player after the establishment of the authority of Jigme Namgyal as Tongsa Penlop.

b. Paro Penlop

The Paro Penlop was describe by Bose as ‘an officer of great consequence’ who had under him the Zimpon of Dalingcote and several of the duars as well as the Phari Penlop who ruled Bhutanese side of Tibetan border. They all paid him revenue in kind except the Zimpon of Dalingcote who was responsible for the maintenance of the readiness for emergencies. Six out of the 18 duars came under him and he ruled a quarter of the country. The administrative power of Paro Penlop stretches from Thimphu Chu to Teesta. Central Bhutan and Duars like Dalimkot, Chummrrchi, Lucke, Kyarantee and Jankso Seebu, Mara Ghat and Sangbe were under his administrative territory. Ha and Drugyal Dzong were also under his control. Drugyal Dzong was his seat and Dalimkot as his

military garrison. He used to pay 3,500 rupees to the central government annually.

c. Daga Penlop

Daga Penlop was responsible for the administration of the southern Bhutan. Its area of administration was little contracting in Buxa Duar and Chirang Duar. He was not the member of Deb's council like Tongsa and Paro Penlops. That is the reason why Daga Penlop does not have much historical evidences. He was rarely a historic figure and has no power of his own. He used to contribute 3,000 rupees to the central government annually. 'Dagana Penlop controlled the area between Buxa and Cherrung; Wangdiphorang Zimpon and Cherrung Subhas in the south controlled Siddlee and Bijnee.

d. Thimphu Dzongpon

He was also called the Tashichhodzong Dzongpon. He was assisted by one Jardung and five Drungpas. His area in North Gasa was administrated by an officer called Pillo. About eight miles south lay Wangcha under a Drungpa. To the southeast Chapchha and in duar district of Pasakha and Buxa Duar, Sa Shungpa. He was responsible for the ration to all Gelongs and celebration of the occasions. He was trusted with the power of trade and his way of life was luxurious as Royal Deb family.

e. Punakha Dzongpon

He was also called the Puna Zimpon. Lingtshi Dzongpon, Zimponum and Nyerp worked under

him. The site was winter capital till 1955. For six months the court, Je Khempo and the Deb used to shift their seat from Thimphu (Tashichhodzong) to his Dzong. During February-March, the festival named 'Dungsu' used to be celebrated here. On the occasion, Pillo and Zimpon used to gather for payment of tribute or the present to the Deb Rajah. Paro Zimpon was responsible for the ration and shelter of these people for six months. Since he was entrusted with these responsibilities, he did not pay any revenue to the central government. He also had the civil and criminal courts.

f. Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon

Wangdi Phodrang is eight miles below Punakha. His seat was at Khodakha. He was given the power of administration from south Sha Valley to Jhargaon, Chirang, Sidhi Duar and Bijni Duar. He used to pay 1,000 rupees to Deb as revenue annually. During the transmission of courts, Deb and Je Khempo from Thimphu to Punakha and from Punakha to Thimphu, he was given the responsibility of management for them on the way. He occupied third position in politics after Tongsa and Paro Penlops.

3. Laws

The judicial system appeared to be non-existence. The traditional laws prepared by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal were useless. The monopoly of local leaders led to lawless Bhutan. Laws in Bhutan were introduced since the reign of third King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. We shall discuss the modern Bhutanese laws later. Here we shall

focused mainly the laws of ancient Bhutan, before the establishment of hereditary monarchy in Bhutan in 1907.

'Where there are no rights of property and the hereditary system is unknown, there is no need of civil law and where crime is the only claim to diction and honour, there can clearly be no criminal law No one dares to complain of an offence for if the person charged pay a sufficient bribe he is sure of obtaining his revenge by having his accuser having fined and probably robbed of all his possessionsThe only resemblance to laws are those relating to etiquette'. When Shabdrung established his power over Bhutan, he also composed laws, in written, the collection of which he named Tsa Yig. It is divided into spiritual and temporal as two folds of laws. 'The spiritual laws are said to resemble the silken knot i.e. easy and light at first but gradually becoming tighter and tighter. The temporal or monarchical laws resemble a golden Yoke i.e. growing heavier and heavier'.

Temporal laws were strictly laid on common people. Earlier, capital punishment was a common form of penalty in Tibet. When Shabdrung abolished this system in Bhutan, the Tibetan government also forbidden to impose such punishments in the kingdom.

According to the Shabdrung's law, 'robbery in monastery would be fined in 100 folds, 80 times on king's robbery and 8 times on local public. Who rapes girls would also be fined'.

He had coded three folds of duties of Deb as: to look towards the well being of the people; to create

proper respect for the official hierarchy; and to support the Gedung or the Monk Body.

“A Deb must be fond of religion and he shall thus finds the path to happiness in this as well as in future lives. He should strive to learn righteousness and then the people shall act as he acts. He should encourage religious institutions and see that the priests are properly trained”, Shabdrung had law for Debs.

Some of the popular and common rules from Tsa Yig can be translated in the following manner:

“The Dzongpons are to treat the subject under them impartially and not to favour any one over anyone else. They should not give the subjects unnecessary troubles”.

“Compulsion is forbidden. Neither salt nor butter may be forced on the tenants as a part of the whole of the price paid to them or may wool be force on tenants in order that they may be compelled to weave it”.

“No official or priests are allowed to send out arms begging parties”.

“The Kutshap must not grant any remission or rent of any kind in return for private gift or grains to himself. He is not allowed to accept the first position of any ceremonial feast be it for the living or dead”.

“He should not accept or demand any present for marriage or separations for which he is the civilian representative”.

4. Trade and Economy

Each family in the country should pay their loyal tax to the government. According to 1801

data, Pembarton mission to Bhutan, the total taxation of the country annually was supposed to be nearly 200,000 rupees, but almost all tax was released in kind. There are vague assumption of the taxes collected in that period as the taxes were collected mostly in kind and their appropriate price values differed with the interests of local leaders. The assumption of British mission of the amount of taxes collected in that period would have been calculated as per the price value of the kind that fetch in British territory. "Taking also into account the revenue of the Duars plains mostly in kind – cotton cloth, silk and grains, a conservative estimate of the revenue, resources of the country may well be computed over 1,000,000 rupees annually".

There was no substantial revenue collected from other parts of the county except the duars in the south (during the Pembarton mission) that amounted to 40,000 rupees annually. Subha of Buxa duar paid 800 rupees annually.

Exports, included Tangun horses, blankets, walnuts, musk, cow tails, oranges and maddes, all of which were sold at Ranjpur from whence the trader returned on their annual caravan with woollen cloth indigo, sandalwood, 'nutmegs, cloves, and coarse cotton cloths, some of which they exported to Lhasa in exchange for tea, silver, gold and embroidered silk goods. Similar Bhutanese exports were sent to Nepal and Assam. Bhutanese economy was too dependent on the wealth and trade of the duars. Trade was confined to Bengal and Tibet, the Bhutanese activity to some extent as middlemen, obtaining, broadcloth, coral, white

cloth, cambric and elephants from Bengal via the duars, in exchange for Tibetan flowered silks, musk, rock, salt, tea, coloured blankets, gold and silver. The Bhutanese caravans usually arrived at Rangpur in February and March and returned in May and June. Bogle learnt that most of the trade between Lhasa and the low lands in the south of Bhutan was by way of Patna and Nepal and was carried out by Moguls and Kashmiris.

Today major source of income of Bhutan is hydropower, which is heavily consumed in India. Crafts and thankas had also got some share in the economy of the country.

After Bhutan was admitted to the UN, it opened its door for foreign trade as well. Cash crops such as cardamom, apple and orange have high demand in India and European markets.

Bhutan is also rich in herbal products. Dense forest is the heritage for herbal abstracts. Timbers and decorating wild flowers are also making contribution to the country's economy.

As an agricultural country, farming is also adding much share in its economy. The little but fertile plain land in the south is the main area for agriculture. According to Weir, trade figures were good despite a cholera epidemic with 500 death; and the world trade depression had not hit Bhutan (during 1929-31). But his 1931-32 report states that the world depression had affected Bhutanese trade and both imports and exports had been reduced. The import included cotton piece goods, metals, and tobacco leaf while the exports were ponies, mules, blankets, wax, butter and cotton.

CHAPTER

5

DEB RAJAS AND INTERNAL CONFLICTS

The commencement of Choesid system in Bhutan is unclear. There are not enough evidences to prove that the system had started operating in the country from 'this year'. However, it is agreeable that it was before the retired Shabdrung from his active life that he established the Choesid system in Bhutan with two powers of equal rank at the top. At all to be

defended by himself from the invasion of Tibetans, who were envious at him that he started thinking for the unification of the country, choesid system seemed successful. By his and Bhutanese people's efforts Shabdrung brought up the system of giving the entire responsibility of a particular province to a Penlop (Political-sub-ruler). At that time he divided the country into three divisions and appointed the three Penlops for the administration of each province, as Daga Penlop, Paro Penlop and Tongsa Penlop. Beside these Thimphu, Punakha and Wangdi Phodrang were ruled by individual Dzungpons but head of all these Penlops and Dzungpons was to be Shabdrung himself.

Shabdrung appointed Je Khempo, Deb, Penlops and Dzungpons for the effective administration of the country before he retired in 1650 from among the leading administrators under his authority. The Dharma Raja, also called Je Khempo, was the head of the priesthood under whom came the Lama Thripa who occupied the position during the interregnum, another Lama, who was the Dharma Rajah's spiritual teacher and the Lama Khempo, who was the visible head of the hierarchy.

Historically, we find that formally the system started functioning in 1651 when Shabdrung transferred his powers to Debs and Dharma Rajahs and went into solitary meditation. He never returned; his death was kept secret for the next 50 years in fear of Tibetan attack in absence of Shabdrung. Evidently, two powers, Deb and Dharma Rajahs appeared to be significant political spiritual leaders after 1651, which amply gives reasons to say that the choesid system had

primarily started functioning in full-fledged after the death of Shabdrung.

No evidence have been found about any conflicts occurred during the reign of first Deb Umze Tenzin Drugyal (1651-1656) who was appointed by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal to the position in 1651. Second Deb La Ngoen Pa Tenzin Drugda (1656-68) spent his time in discoveries of medicines. He also had established traditional schools of medicines, carpentry, art, education, sculpture and literature that still exist in Bhutan. During his time, large quantities of medicines were given to the Tibetan doctors as gift.

In the decade of 1680s Kirati Amchog and his supporter Mon Amchog rebelled against Gyaltsen Tenzin Rabgye (1682-94) to dethrone him from the post of Deb while the Deb was busy in the construction of Damsong Dzong. They sought military help from Sikkim and Tibet but Tenzin successfully drove them out of the country and Bhutanese army overran Sikkim confiscating the possession of Rang, and but for the interdict imposed upon them by the Gyaltsen Tenzin not to proceed further, Bhutan would have occupied Sikkim. This was the initial stage of internal strife seen in Bhutanese choesid system.

Possibly in the time of fourth Deb Gyaltsen Tenzin Rabgyal, Karbi Gueden Chhoepel, (fifth Deb) distinguished himself in the Bhutan-Tibet war and risen to the position of Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon. When he was appointed as Deb in 1694, Bhutan invaded Sikkim taking revenge of past attack to Bhutan and Chagdor Namgyal, the Chhoegyal of Sikkim fled to Tibet.

Karbi Gueden Chhoepel was assassinated by Ngawang Tshering, the Dzongpon of Wanguephodrang in 1701, whom the Monk Body appointed the next Deb.

Though Minjur Tenpa was the person who started the civil war in Bhutan, Ngawang Tshering was responsible for establishing the tradition of becoming the Deb assassinating the former.

Serious conflict started in Bhutan from the time of Druk Rabgye, the eighth Deb (1707-20). When he was Thimphu Dzongpon, he quarrelled with Puankha Dzongpon and rose to the position of Deb in 1707. "Druk Rabgye had a quarrel with Tenpa Wangchuk, the Punakha Dzongpon, and so, Druk Kuenga Gyaltsen, an incarnation of Gyastse Jampel Dorji, assassinated. All the followers of Tenpa Wangchuk, including tertön Drugda Dorji were murdered". The war was between Monk Body and Deb Chhoegley Namgyal who was the contemporary Shabdrung Rinpoche installed by Druk Rabgye.

In a bid of Mon Tawang monastery of Tashigang disagreement, Tibet in aid of Mongol militia, brought war as far as to Paro and Bumthang. This invasion of Lhazong Khan (Khoshot ruler of Tibet) got no success in Bhutan. The force was dispersed.

In the enraging civil war, Druk Rabgye felt that the defense was fatal. So, he with Chhoegley Namgyal fled from the capital. But Monk Body was successful in capturing them at Haa Langchu and brought them back to Paro. Chhoegley Namgyal was given life imprisonment and Druk Rabgye was drawn at Paro Chu from Nyangmey Zampa (bridge). Then the Monk body selected Geshe Ngawang

Gamtsho (1702-29) as a successor to the throne of Deb. He installed the previously selected Namgyal as Shabdrung Rinpoche and that again erupted the civil war in Bhutan. Monk Body had nominated another person for the post. This misunderstanding created an uncontrollable night-war between Monk Body and the administrative body. The defense seems lethal to the Deb and thus, fled to Lhuntshe making appeal to Sonam Tobgye in Tibet for military support but non-arrived. He was killed by the Thimphu force led by Lhencho Rinchen Thinley Rabgye in 1729.

In the reign of tenth Deb Rinpoche Mipham Wangpo (1730-37) Dondup Gyalpo of Karbisa revolted against, asking military assistance from Tibetan King Sonam Tobgye Palhane. Because of this military opposition against Deb, enmity arouse between the two countries, Tibet and Bhutan. But the matter was peacefully solved in the initiation of Monk Body and other influential political figures. However, the agreement is unknown.

Tibet and Bhutan had agreed to station a representative of Bhutan as Drugda or Druglochag at Lhasa and sent annual presents to Dalai Lama in reciprocal basis. The system was known as Lhochag. By this agreement the first representative to Tibet from Bhutan was Dampa Tshering Wangchhen.

No internal war had been observed during the reign of eleventh and twelfth Debs. When Sithub was enthroned, Dondup Gyampo of Karbisa revolted against him supported Tibetan force and almost captured Paro Dzong but Tshogyal Sherub Wangchuk managed to disperse them. Due to this

bravery, he was appointed as Shung Droenyer and then finally as Deb in 1744. Beside him, during the reign of fourteenth and fifteenth Debs, there was no internal war occurred. Their tenure passed without war and development activities too. On top of that, Sithub established the hearty co-operation with Cooch Behar, Nepal, Ladhak and Tibet. Meanwhile, there arose a conflict between minister and the king of Cooch Behar. Sonam Lhondup, who was the Wangzop, was sent to settle the case by Sithub. He solved the case amicably and efficiently. By his that talent, he was enthroned as sixteenth Deb of Bhutan. As soon as he was enthroned, he established close relation with Cooch Behar, Sikkim and British government, which was not acceptable to the Monk Body. So, he was deposed from the post and Kuenga Rinchhen was nominated to succeed him. Zidhar, however at Paro from British India asylum, protest the nomination of the new Deb, but was assassinated at Laya Lingtshi by the force of Kuenga Rinchhen. During the reign of Tshenlop Kuenga Rinchhen (1773-76) the trouble of Cooch Behar erupted once again. Kuenga Rinchhen tried to solve the problem but consequently, the Cooch king took asylum in British India. British India forces invaded, Bhutan. However, by Palchen Lama's intercession the case was solved and treaty of 1774 was concluded between British government and Bhutan of which the detail is given in the subsequent chapter.

After him, Jigme Singye was ascended to the throne as the eighteenth Deb of Bhutan. During his reign, there was conflict between Nepal and Sikkim.

He tried to involve in the dispute but Lama Tenzin Drugyal precluded him to involve.

In 1783, there arose conflict between Bhutan and British India regarding the occupation of Duar plains. The consequences of this will be given in the later chapters. Beside this, nineteenth and twentieth Debs, brought no progress and fought no wars. Similarly, during the reign of 21st Deb, Sonam Gyaltsen, Nepal and Tibet had some territorial misunderstandings. To help in finalizing the issue, a representative from Bhutan Lam Thinley Drugyal was sent to Tibet. The case was settled formally and a treaty was signed between the two countries. However the Punakha Dzungpon revolted the Deb, though the Dzungpon withdrew his opposition in the advised by the Je Khempo. Then Gyaltsen resigned himself from the post. And then Drug Namgyal was enthroned as 22nd Deb of the country. Since there was enmity between them, Gyaltsen took revenge and killed him. As a result, Gyaltsen himself ascended to the throne in 1803 as the Deb for the second time. Repairment of Punakha Dzong was only his progress seen in his second tenure.

During the time of 24th Deb Sangye Tenzin, Tongsa Penlop Dorji Namgyal revolted against him and civil war started. In the war that was fought in Thimphu, Sangye Tenzin was almost killed. As a result Monk Body took the matter in hand and dethroned Deb in the same year. Then Monk Body declared Umze Parop as the next Deb but again the Tongsa Penlop took weapons against his nomination. As a compromise, Monk Body nominated Boep Choeda as a joint Deb but Umze

Parop could not pull well with him. Thus, he resigned from the post in 1807.

The 26th Deb Boep Choeda was the disciple and favourite of Shabdrung Jigme Dragda (1791-1830). But the other disciple of the Shabdrung, Rincchen was his bitter enemy. As the earphone between Shabdrung and Rinchhen, Boep was assassinated by his own teacher, Jigme Dragda; and Jigme was enthroned as Deb-cum-Shabdrung. During his time, Bhutan again fell in the convulsion of civil war. Civil part of government had elected Thri Rinpoche Tshulthrim as other Deb who was to rule jointly with Jigme. On a chance, Nyagoed Dharshing, a partisan of Tshulthrim sowed the seed of discord between two Debs. They became bitter enemy and did not see eye to eye in the matters of administration. Nyagoed attempted to assassinate Jigme but himself was killed by Palbar Kota, the Punakha Dzongpon, yet another supporter of Jigme Dragda. The situation of Punakha became critical. People began to seek secure places. Then Shabdrung left for Simtokha and Tshulthrim to Trashichhodzong. Again, the case continued in the name of land revenue and resulted into armed conflict. Jigme's men robbed all granaries and took the possession of stores, killing a number of Tshulthrim's supporters. Whole country was therein over the hands of two fighting feuds for power. However the Monk Body intervened and settled the case. A year later Tshulthrim died and Jigme ruled one more year as Deb.

The religious teacher of Chinese king, Chhoegley Yeshe Gyaltsen was enthroned as Deb

in 1816. His nomination was opposed by Punakha Dzongpon Palbor Kota, who was nearly killed, but saved by Shabdrung Jigme Dragda. He fled to Baling Rinchhen Khangzang where Deb's forces setup fire on the house he had shut up himself. Deb also resigned the same year. When Tshopu Dorji Namgyal was enthroned as Deb by Tshulthrim, the then Thimphu Dzongpon took up arms. Since he was attached with Palbar Kota, at the time of 24th Deb, Thimphu Dzongpon did not approve his succession to the throne, assassinate him and declared himself to be the Deb. Evidently, he managed to maintain peace and orders in the country though he ruled only for four years.

When Mewang Sonam Drugyal passed away, his Zimpon (secretary) was appointed to the post of Deb by the Monk Body. Taking revenge of the protest to Shabdrung Jigme Dragda, Tongsa Penlop Choew revolted. Before war caused serious damage, Je Khempo and the Monk Body tried to bring reconciliation between them; but before the conference could be held, Choew was killed and the case solved till 1823.

Choeki Gyaltsen ruled the country for eight years and resigned placing his nephew Dorji Namgyal his successor, and lived with Paro Penlop Agye Hap Tshulthrim Namgyal. When Dorji Namgyal was repairing the Punakha Dzong, he was killed and Adap Thinley formally rose to the seat of Deb in 1833 as the 35th Deb of the country. No conflicts had occurred in the time of Adap Thinley (1833-35). The 35th Deb died before his enemy from Mewang could kill him. For the second time, Chhoekie Gyaltsen was appointed as Deb in

1835. Again, Shonger Dzongpon Shangpa Sangye revolted. Battle was fought in Punakha where the Deb had to accept his defeat. The Deb was forced to resign and from 1836 Shangpa Sangye worked as Zimpon-cum-Wangzop as Monk Body concealed between them. It was in the reign when Tshangpa was acting as Deb, Boileau Pembarton visited Bhutan of which the details are given in appropriate chapters. Since, disturbances continued in the country Deb resigned and retired.

Dorji Norbu was made Zimpon-cum-Wangzop by his uncle Shangap Sangye after his retirement and Tashi Dorji, one of the relatives of ex-Deb Chhoekie Gyaltsen was enthroned as Deb. Trouble aroused between them but soon the joint Deb Dorji Namgyal died and Tashi Dorji ruled as sole Deb.

When Wangchug was made Deb in 1850, problem aroused from Paro between Agye Hap (ex-Penlop) and Yonten Rinchen (new Penlop). Yonten received support from the Deb and the Thimphu Dzongpon took the opposite side. In the first conflict, which ensued, the Thimphu Dzongpon took over the ex-Penlop's party and the Deb was killed. "Wangzop Chagpa Sangye supported the Deb and disguised the Thimphu dzongpon and the latter was killed at Lotoe Lungtenphu".

The Monk Body and the Paro Penlop Agye Hap recommended and enthroned Shabdrung Tuelku Jigme Norbu as next Deb in 1851. It so happened that Wangzop Chagpa Sangye revolted against him and forced him to resign.

Chagpa Sangye had ill friendly terms with Monk Body, officials and people. So, after his enthronement civil war began. The Monk Body and

the government organized themselves united and sent force to oust him from the throne under the leadership of Tshoke Dorji, the Tongsa Penlop Jigme Namgyal, the Tongsa Droenyer Dungkhap Gyaltshe and Ketshep but did not succeed. So, Agye Hap, the Paro Penlop sent him a silken robe infected with germs of smallpox. Finally, Sangye died of smallpox in 1852.

An unpopular man with people and officials, Dorji Lopen Bachup Damchhoe Khundup was appointed the successor of Deb by the Monk Body. Apparently, people raised the banner of revolt against his appointment. So, to normalize the situation the Monk Body selected Jampa Tenzin to work as the joint Deb. Jampa ruled jointly for two years when Bachup resigned.

When Kuenga Palden (also called Sonam Tobgyal) was enthroned as Deb, Sherub Tharchin, and the Thimphu Dzongpon claimed the position of Deb. The force of Sonam assassinated the pretender. However, the country remained disturbed in his four-year's reign due to constant faction and fights of Sherub's supporters.

During the reign of 43rd Deb Ngagi Pasang Phuntsho Namgyal, Punakha Dzongpon (Darlung Tobgyal) challenged his authority with the help of Tongsa Penlop Jigme Namgyal. Because of the constant opposition of Tongsa Penlop and Punakha Dzongpon, Deb resigned in 1863. When these people selected Sithub as Deb, ex-Deb Ngagi opposed the nomination. Thus, Sithub was compelled to resign within a year. Kague Wangchuk was appointed as 45th Deb in 1864. He

was troubled a lot by 43rd Deb Ngagi Pasang. He died the vary year.

During the reign of 46th Deb, civil war and internal strife in the country had reached its climax. In early 1865, Tshewang Sithub was re-enthroned as Deb but when there was general opposition, Monk Body was compelled to dethrone him and appoint Tshulthrim Yonten as new Deb. He was even then not given peace by the ex-Deb.

By the end of 1865, Tshenyi Lupon Tshuendue Pekar was nominated the succeeding Deb. During his reign severe incidences occurred in the country due to the revolt of ex-Paro Penlop for power. People of Paro and central Bhutan were greatly disturbed by the war, which consequently forced them to leave town and settle in the remote areas of Pasakha, Kalimpong and Poedong. As the Deb found that the affair could not be solved peacefully, he resigned. The conflict lasted for five years.

The 48th Deb was Tongsa Penlop and an influential historical warrior Jigme Namgyal. He defeated his enemies within his reach. Due to that bravery, Monk Body and Penlops agreed to enthrone him as Deb in 1870. He repaired Thimphu dzong had many statues made and collected. During his reign, Tshewang Norbu, the Paro Penlop took up arms. The Deb dispatched Kitsheb Dorji Namgyal, Kawang Nakhel, Thimphu Dzongpon Gelduen Tshewang and Toep Chushim to Paro to bring him under control.

As he was unable to face the dispatched people, the Paro Penlop fled to Pasamkhar and the dzong was captured by government troops. Kawang Nakhel took possession of the dzong and

announced himself as Penlop without authority. As such, he was assassinated by Kitshep and Gelduen Tshewang. After this at the recommendation of Nyim Dorji, ex-Penlop Tshewang Norbu was appointed as new Paro Penlop. Nyim Dorji was the uncle of Tshewang Norbu and closest friend and supporter of Deb Jigme Namgyal.

At this time Ugyen Wangchuk and the Shung Droenyer Phuntsho Dorji were stationed at Ta-Dzong. Damchen Rinchen made an attempted to kill Ugyen Wangchuk but was saved by Kitshep Dorji Namgyal.

The 49th Deb, Dorji Namgyal was a famous scholar and great actor against rebellion in the country. For his talent he was appointed as Gongzim by Jigme Namgyal. Then after Jigme, he was enthroned as Deb in 1874. He housed the gunpowder in Thimphu dzong. In 1879, Umze Dewa was Thimphu Dzongpon. When Deb was killed, Gongzim Darchung also was assassinated by Kawang Sangye and Chhoegyal Zongpo. Chhoegyal Zangpo after this felt insecure in central Bhutan and fled to Tongsa via Laya Lingtshi and took shelter with Jigme Namgyal. In the war that ensued in central Bhutan, Choegyal Zangpo assisted Jigme Namgyal and killed Kuenley Dorji Wangpa, the opponent of Jigme Namgyal.

At first 51th Deb was an opponent of Jigme but as he served him loyally and honestly, he was appointed as Thimphu Dzongpon and gradually rose to the position of Deb with the grace of Jigme Namgyal.

In 1884 Gawa Zangpo was enthroned as Deb in hope that he would take the side of Ugyen

Wangchuk against Alu Dorji, Thimphu Dzongpon and Phuntsho Dorji. But during fight he remained neutral and was thus forced to resign in 1886. When Ugyen Wangchhck was Tongsa Penlop, Pem Sangye Dorji had raised his power and was nominated as Deb in recommendation of Ugyen Wangchuk. During his 18 years of rule, he was guided and supported by Ugyen Wangchuk entirely for administration of the country.

After him Chhoeogley Tuelku Yeshe Ngoedup was selected as Deb by Monk Body. During his time, Bhutan was greatly affected by flood and epidemics. In religious beliefs, this ought not to be in a Godly ruler. So, people dishonoured him. He was then summoned by Tongsa Penlop Ugyen Wangchuk and was dethroned. With this, the Choesid system in Bhutan met its end in 1907 with the appointment of Ugyen Wangchuk as the first hereditary king of Bhutan.

Bose explained the reasons for the incessant internal conflict, with which the country was wrecked in the 18th and 19th centuries, as being the Deb Rajahs either staying too long in office or of a rousing some other way the jealousy of the chief officers of state. If the Deb refused to resign and was defeated in the battle, the assembly of notable chose a Penlop or Zimpon to succeed him, with the Dharma Rajah's consent. He always had to come from either the Sha district roughly Wangdiphodrung or the Wang region that included Thimphu and Punakha. If there was no one suitable they couldn't settle matters amicably they sent it to Lhasa for a successor.

Finally, we can say that under the Choesid system established by Shabdrung, the country remained with constant conflicts and people felt their life insecure. The fight of high officials also brought a great loss to the country, her possessions and many dzongs burnt, historical documents lost and damaged. These are the major reasons for Bhutan to remain a newly emerged nation in world history.

Despite, several aggression, internal conflicts and continued feuds, Bhutan rightly maintained its identity as Buddhist kingdom between the two large expanding territories. British, an imperial power from the south defended that Bhutan remained a separate kingdom but under the guidance and as 'protectorate' of India.

CHAPTER

6

BRITISH MISSIONS AND GROWING HOSTILITIES

1. Background

Missions were sent by the British to Bhutan to strengthen their commercial relation and establish strong trade link with Bhutan an consequently with

Tibet. Before coming to contact with the actions of these missions, let's see the details of Duars, which are the bases of Indo-Bhutanese war.

The existence of Cooch Behar was from 1510. It was ruled by a king named Chandan. The history of Duars between 1510 and 1730 is very vague and only few events regarding the Duars are actually found. The main person to create trouble in Cooch Behar was the Crown Prince Bishwasimha, the brother of Chandan. He occupied some of the areas of Bhutan but not what he actually wanted. Because of the interference of Nar Narayan (1555-1587), Bhutan was forced to pay the tribute to Cooch Behar which was again stopped by Bhutan government in the time of Bir Narayan (1621-25). In 1661 Cooch Behar was captured by Mirjumla and the Behari king sought asylum in Bhutan, whereby driving the Mirjumla Bhutan had maintained its supremacy over Cooch Behar.

When in 1730, Moghul Emperor invaded Cooch Behar, Upendra Narayan seeking help of Bhutan, had succeeded in driving out the invaders. Since that time onwards, Bhutan's relation with Cooch Behar had ripened even we find the history of closer relation during the reign of Shabdrung. The relation of Bhutan and Duars during his time is related with the settlement of Gorkhalis in duars and some parts of Bhutan who had arrived from Gorkha to strengthen the powers of Shabdrung.

2. Causes of conflicts

On April 5, 1773 a treaty was signed between the ex-king Khagendra Narayan and East India Company (EIC). With the treaty, it was agreed that

if EIC supported in getting back the kingship of Khagendra, Cooch Behar would hand over half of the territory as annual payment amounted to be over 54,000 rupees to British authority. The agreement was concluded in Calcutta at William Fort.

According to the agreement, EIC sent a small force, which illegally captured the capital of Cooch Behar (name of the capital is not known). This force also over headed Pasaka and Dalimkot Duars. In this situation, Deb of Bhutan sought help of Panchen Lama, assistant of Dalai Lama. Panchen sent a letter to Warren Hastings in hands of a Hindu pilgrim Purangir and Buddhist pilgrim Paima.

The letter was handed to Warren on March 29, 1774. The letter stated that the Bhutanese Deb was innocent and he looks always for the rights of others. For that and other acts of Bhutanese officials, British entitled Bhutanese officials as underdeveloped and non-sensed people, murderer and greedy. But because of the Tibetan intercession, Khagendra was defeated. Since then Bhutan remained under the guidance of Tibetan rulers. For the security of power in Bhutan, Tibetan Lama also had asked excuse for Bhutanese Deb with EIC. Warren Hastings from south replied – “..... as an authentic and curious specimen of the [Tshechu] Lama’s good sense of humanity, simplicity of heart and above all; of the delicacy of sentiments and expression which could convey a threat in terms of meekness and supplication.”

In the initiation of the Tshechu Lama, sometimes called Panchen Lama, the issue was

settled and normalcy returned. A friendship treaty was reached. Following that treaty, a peace agreement was signed between British India and Bhutan in April 25, 1774. The main aim of the agreement was to return Cooch Behar from both sides to its own people and let the administration of the country be run according to the wishes of the Cooch rulers. Bhutan also lost Tangun horses and Chicha Cotta. It was then noticed that from the time of agreement East India Company had its direct dictation over Bhutan. Some of the administrative power of the Bhutanese was confiscated by British forces. As a result of the treaty, Bhutan also lost its forests, which were used by British for furniture.

a. Bogle Mission

From the treaty, British were jealous to have their trading mines at Bhutan. To strengthen the trade relation with Tibet and Bhutan, Warren Hastings deputed George Bogle to lead the mission for Bhutan and Tibet, which, however visited or not to Tibet. Dr. Hemilton accompanied him. They left Calcutta, capital of British colony in India on May 6, 1774. Warren said in a letter to Bogle, '[t]he Design of your mission is to open a mutual and equal communication of trade between the inhabitants of Bhutan and Bengal and you will be guided by your own judgment using such means of negotiations as may be most likely to effect this purpose.'

Bogle was also commanded to take sample articles for commerce to ask about the acceptability of other commodities and to inform himself about

Bhutanese goods 'especially such as are of great value and easy transportation'.

Bogle carried presents of 'strings of pearls (worth 4,500 rupees), a snuff box a pair of pistols, a spy glass, as well as mathematical instruments made in Bengal and 'sample of Birminagham ware'.

The route was followed through Cooch Behar. Warren Hastings had ordered him to introduce the use of potato in Bhutan, which he did. It has now become the most popular dietary item in Bhutan. Bogle planted potatoes, the first batch of ten at Jaigugu, which consisted of only three houses, and 15 plants in Maridzong (before Chukha).

When George Bogle with his companions reached Tashichodzong, Deb Kuenga Rinchen and other important officials warmly welcomed his team. There, their aim of establishing regular commercial link needed was to be confirmed. This was the first visit of foreign delegate in the history of Bhutan. Visit of George Bogle opened the way of trading to Lhasa and Bengal through Bhutan. Thus, his visit had a greatest effect in opening the trade link with Tibet and Bhutan for EIC.

When mission returned, Warren wrote a greeting letter to Deb, on November 28, 1774 for the respect of British mission in Bhutan. Bogle was the first man to write on Bhutan as historians agree. About people, Bogle wrote, "[t]he simplicity of their manner, their slight intercourse with stranger and strong sense of religion preserved the Bhutanese from many vices to which more polished nations are addicted. They are strangers to falsehood and ingratitude. That and every other spices of dishonesty to which the lust of money give

birth are little known. Murder is uncommon and in general is the effect of anger and not covetousness. The more I see the Bhutanese, the more I am pleased with them. The common people are good humoured, downright, and I think thoroughly, trusty. The statesmen have some art, which belong to their profession. They are the best built race of men, I ever saw; many of them are very handsome, with complexions as fair as the French". During his visit to Bhutan in 1774 George Bogle noted that the "first *awatar* of the first shabdrung had died 12 years earlier and that no successor [was] found".

b. Hemilton Mission

British's desire of trading in Bhutan never fulfilled with the strength of Bogle mission. They were anxious to strengthen more commercial relation with Bhutan and Tibet. So, in November 1775 Warren Hastings choosing Dr. Hemilton as leader sent another mission to Bhutan. The route of mission was same that Bogle had followed. They reached Punakha on April 6, 1776. Its main objective was to decide the dispute of Ambari Falakata and Jalpaish, which were under British control. Settling the dispute, British thought of connecting peace trade link in Bhutan, which would help them to grab the minerals and timber of the country. Though commercial relation could not be improved from the level of Bogle's establishment, Hemilton ceded Ambari Falakata and Jalpaish to Bhutan.

During the enthronement of Deb Jigme Singye, Hemilton was again sent to Bhutan by Warren Hastings to offer the Bhutanese Deb the British

felicitation in 1777. In this way Hemilton visited Bhutan for three times, however, his visits were not much fruitful for British, except that he was able to establish closer relation with Bhutanese rulers.

c. Turner's Mission

The situation arouse such that to increase the trade link with Bhutan Bogle must meet Tshechu Lama of Tibet. But unfortunately both of them died before their meet scheduled for Peking.

When Warren heard the reincarnation of Tshechu Lama a few years later, he arranged for the meet. Turner was to head and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Samuel Davis and Dr. Robert Saunders. They left Calcutta in January 1783. It was in time of his mission towards Tibet that Ambari Falakata was formally ceded to Bhutan which in time of Hemilton only an agreement was signed.

Turner in "An account on Tsheechu Lama and Narrative Journey to Bhutan" gave the description of Bhutanese people on manner, custom and religious attitudes.

In August 6, 1791, Nepalese attacked Tibet but they were driven back to 20 miles away, as far as to Kathmandu by 70,000 Tibetan force. Nepalese asked help from Lord Crownwallis but because of the intercession of the Grand Lama of Tibet, Nepal did not receive assistance from British India. Though British didn't help Nepal with military force, they helped in arranging the peace agreement between Nepal and Tibet. As the result of the treaty, Chinese commander established a chain of military post in southern Tibet because of

what interest of East India Company for commercial trade in Tibet was driven out.⁵

Turner's only major criticism was of Bhutanese attitudes towards women who he thought were treated worse than anywhere except in Tibet. They were constantly at work and their sole purpose in life seemed to be to relieve the men. As result they took little interest in their appearance rarely bathed and hardly ever changed their clothes.

In fact, in the 18th century European men cohabited quite openly with local women. Bogle, for instance, is supposed to have had two daughters by Tibetan lady, who were sent home to Scotland to be brought up after their mother's death.

In 1787 under the leadership of Tashichodzhong dzongpon, an envoy was sent to Calcutta. It appeared that Bhutan claimed the district of Hobraghat on behalf of Rajah of Bijni. It also claimed the 'mahal' of Goomah on behalf of 'Zamindar' of Beddiagong, and also a part of Zamindari of Byakantapur. When the claim was asked to those concerned person, they didn't report as the Bhutanese envoy had. Thus, the Bhutanese envoy was ashamed and failed in all other terms what they have approved.

d. Kishan Kant Bose Mission

Although Bhutan received two or three missions of British India and a mission of Bhutan by British India, the border conflict continued to remain a top agenda. British government's intention of building relation was targeted to establish commercial mines in Bhutan while Bhutanese counterparts focused their interests in acquiring land and settle

the boundary disputes. To settle these cases, David Scott, the collector of Rangpur with the sanction of government in 1815 deputed Kishan Kant Bose mission for Bhutan. K.K. Bose entered the country from further to the east than Bogle and Turner and followed a track to Siddle through long grass and high jungle, which was 'attended with innumerable inconveniences'. There were elephant and rhinoceros all around, the whole area was infested with leeches, it was intensely hot and the mosquitoes proved to be an absolute torment every morning and evening.

He crossed the Champamattee river and continued through thickly forested countryside until crossing the Sorabhanga (Possibly Tongsa Chu) and in to the Pochu-Mochu river which he followed to Punakha and Wangdi Phodrang. He returned the same route. There are not enough details of the agreements and interaction that the mission did with Bhutanese officials. For obvious reasons, report of Kishan Kant Bose is accepted as poor documents by the British authority. Still, it was Kishan Kant who wrote about Bhutan and Bhutanese in depth than others.

According to him, Lam Zhapto, the first Dharma Rajah came from the country of Lenja, north of Lhasa in Tibet. He found that the country was at that time ruled by a Rajah of Cooch Tribe. Lam Zhapto wielded miraculous power and drove him out of the country. In this way he got the possession of Punakha and the country of Bhutan. As he was entirely responsible with the cares of religion, the contemplation of Deity, he sent for a Tibetan from Lhasa, whom he appointed as the Deb

to look after the affairs of the government of Bhutan. Thus, was established in Bhutan a dual system of government which lasted until 1907. Kishan has no actual date mentioned when the Deb had captured Bhutan. Bikram doubted that Deb mentioned by Bose was to be Tenzin Drugyal (1591-1691). Since Cooch Behar had existed as a separate country long before, Cooch Behar should have its power over Bhutan what the above incident took place. He said the Deb was son of Gon Hoptsho Lam, who received the Shabdrung in 1616. He indicated the life span of Deb as 1591-1691 and it cannot be true that father can live while son died at the age of 100.

Although Kishen Kant Bose's estimate of 10,000 men capable of bearing arms could not be right, the inadequacy of supplies would unite any force to 5 to 6 thousand in any one place. The only standing army consisted to about 200 guards at the largest dzong, augmented to 3 to 4 hundred on state occasions. Thus, the mission of Kishan Kant Bose had not fulfilled the responsibly it was given, but his visit now has become the beneficial source for the Bhutanese historians. British India sent two more missions to Bhutan under the command of Pembarton and Ashley Eden, which we will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER

7

THE DUAR WAR (1864-1865)

In the previous chapter we looked briefly the historical background of Cooch Behar and situation being created for confrontation in the area. That would help us understand the causes of conflicts and hostilities seen between the Bhutanese authority and East India Company that finally resulted to war. We shall see further cases of growing hostilities, its result: the war and consequently the surrender of power to India by the Bhutanese rulers. Before entering into the scenes of war, we will look into their causes.

1. Background

After Kishan Kant Bose mission visited Bhutan, the two countries had no direct political connection

for about a decade. When East India Company captured Burma in 1826, it effected politics in the Duar areas. The seven Duars of Bhutan felt the difficulties because of British India's increasing pressure to expand their imperial power. The problem became serious when British India captured lower Assam. The Duars lie below the Himalayan foothills of Bhutan and above British India's territory with 10-30 miles width and 200 miles length in average.

The Duars (Boree, Goomah, Kalling, Narsi, Shurkhola, Banska, Chapagorie and Chapkahama) were ruled by Subah, the local chieftains acting under Dzongpons. Collectively, these were called the Assam Duars. Bengal Duars situated between Teesta in the west and Manas in the east consists Dilmkot, Zamer (Mainaguri), Chumurchi, Luckee, Buxa, Bhulka, Bura or Bijni, Gomar, Reepoo and Sidlee.

Before the advancement of British in Assam, Bhutanese authority had already confiscated the possession of the areas. In return the government of Assam used to receive annual payment as tribute in the form of yaktails, musk, gold dust, ponies, blankets and knives, amounted to 4,785 [Narayanee] rupees

Although British captured the Assam Duars and annexed into its territory, still the administration was run by a Bhutanese representative. However, the payment to be made to the government of Assam were then made to British. But British did not agree with the tribute. The case of payment added fuel to fire. The collector of Rangpur sold the articles sent by

Bhutanese government to such low cost that it didn't fetch the amounted value and in return complained that the article did not fetch the 4,785 Narayanee rupees. Thus, the problem was created which formed the basis of Duar wars.

Such and many other disputes were comparatively minor but every now and then a major incident arose which necessitated the use of troops. Such a one occurred in 1808 at Maragahat, a fairly large area consisting of several talugs (districts) of which, according to Raja of Cooch Behar, only one had ever formed part of Bhutan although they had been awarded to the Bhutanese treaty of 1774. In 1808 a party of armed Bhutanese had crossed the border and had killed five people. A detachment of the 7th Native Infantry was then sent, under Captain William Slessor to keep the area under control and maintain peace. A Bhutanese deputation was dispatched to Rangpur but the collector gave his judgment in favour of Cooch Behar which was not accepted by the Bhutanese delegate and Maragahat remained in Bhutanese possession.

In 1811 there was another affray in the same area. Troops were sent again and land was deemed to revert to Cooch Behar but this was not acceptable to the Bhutanese who again formally laid claim on Maragahat. In the following year British suggested that boundary disputes should be settled by erecting frontier posts. By Bhutanese authority refused to accept British suggestions; understandably enough if, as seemed probable, they were put up to mark irrevocably a border of which they did not accept.

On October 28, 1828 Dumpa (Dungpa?) of Boree Goomah Duar carried off the Bhutanese asylum seekers from Chatgaree in Darang district to British territory where they escaped. Similar accidents were regular in the areas in the following years that were mostly encouraged by British government in India. In 1834, Bhutan paid 2,000 rupees to British in regard of prisoners' release. In 1835 border clashes re-occurred. Assam Light Infantry and Assam Sebundy Corps under the command of British commanders captured Basakha Duar. The in charge of Kamrup district informed the British Government that Bhutan had received stolen property and gave refuge to British criminals. The officer of the Dewangiri took up arms against the insult. He sent 600 armed men for the fight, but they were scattered by British forces. Of them 25 were killed and 50 of them wounded. Other 12 cases of abduction occurred in duars in 1839 alone. In 1845 seven people were abducted by followers of Dewangiri Rajah and in 1850 refugees from Bhutan were carried back across the border.

The increasing disturbance in duars was in fact negatively observed by the British government that had hampered their mission of commercial enterprises in Bhutan. This was in other was an obstacle to contact the Tibetan authority as well. When the frontiers problems continued to grow geometrically, British India decided to send another mission to Thimphu to settle the disputes.

a. Pembarton's Mission

The settle disputes, Governor General of India selected Captain R. Boileau Pembarton to lead a mission to Bhutan. He was accompanied by Dr. William Griffiths and escort of 25 sepoys from Assam sebundy crops. The mission set off for Bhutan on December 21, 1837.

During these years Chinese were dictating over the policy of Tibet and had cut off the link between Tibet and the British in India.

This resulted in direct coverage and administration over the Assam Duars which British desired for planting the cash crops especially cotton. But Bhutanese on their part wanted to continue their farming on the fertile land of Assam Duars.

The Pembarton Mission was mandated to settle the border dispute with authority of British to control all the duar plains. It was assumed that the Pembarton had to study the up-to-date condition of internal situation. Mission set up through Gauhati *via* Banska Duar towards Bhutan.

There was internal civil growing more violent led by the Tongsa Penlop. Bhutanese requested the mission to return through Buxa Duar. But the stubborn British decided to ignore the Bhutanese notice and proceed further. So, the mission was sent on a circuitous way, which took a week to travel that could be travelled in a day and the way was also very difficult. When the mission faced such difficulties their ultimatum to Bhutan for the revenge was military force. Pembarton mission had carried a proposed treaty, which he hoped the Deb would agree on it. Its terms were:

- ❑ All criminals would be extradited to face the justice,
- ❑ The subjects of both countries could mix freely across the borders,
- ❑ All arrears or outstanding doubts would be settled,

Without much preparation of British mission and non-cooperation of Bhutanese government led to the failure of Pembarton mission. There was no agreement reached.

In 10 days of travel the mission reached first Bhutanese village inside Bhutan. They reached Dewanagiri on January 23. On the following day they climbed the height of 7,000 feet and on January 25 descended and halted at Sasee village where they rested for 5 more days and finally on January 31 they crossed a temple at 8,000 feet north of Bulphee.

On February 1 the mission reached Dumree Nudee and on February 10 they reached Tashiyantse. With a weeklong rest, from February 18 they followed the course of the river Koorsee and halted at a residence of a Subha. They left on 23rd and reached Bumthang a few days after.

They reached Punakha on April 1, having followed the valley of Pochu. On the May 9 after the failure of the mission to induo the Deb to accept and in some haste to avoid a diplomatic impasse, having refused to see the old Deb or to accompany to new one on his own forthcoming journey. On 16th Pembarton submitted the draft treaty to the Deb RajaH on 25th April 1838.

Beside a detailed description of Bhutan's geography, social life, culture, economy and other

aspects of Bhutan life, the mission ended without any progress. The unfriendliness between the mission and the host country further deteriorated the relation of Bhutan and the British India.

b. Border Dispute

When in 1839, Bhutan was convulsed with civil war, British complained the Deb that the Raikat of Byakantapur had taken over the possession of western Duars and while Bhutan Government was not strong enough to settle even the problems of its own country, British India should interfere into the issue. Lord Auckland, the Governor General also reported that "Hargobind Katma had offered to pay the British Government 50,000 rupees to be taken under British protection.¹ When Bhutan gave no concentration over the complain, Auckland on September 6, 1841, ordered to occupy those Assam Duar, paying 10,000 rupees annually to Bhutan Government for the loss of such area.² In Bengal in 1840 some Bhutanese were ejected from Khutagghat on the grounds that it belonged to the Rajah of Bijni but shortly afterwards it was reoccupied by 80 or 90 armed men including Sikhs and other serving with the Bhutanese.

Jenkins reported 'further robberies and dacoities' in April 1855. His assistant reported that on the night of the April 12 'a party of about forty Bhooteahs plundered a resident of the whole of his property, amounting to between 7 and 800 rupees.'

In 1852 Bhutanese dacoits robbed the British territory. In response, Bhutan Government claimed that Indian dacoits had stolen elephants from Bhutanese boundary. In its response, British India

cut off some of the portion of annual tribute being paid to Bhutan. To settle the case, Dewangiri Dzongpon and uncle of Shabdrung deputed an envoy to Calcutta, which returned empty hand.

In the mean time, five cases of robberies shined in Assam Duars. The cases were handed over to Dewangiri Dzongpon and Tongsa Penlop. On the other hand an agent of Assam reported to Governor General that Bhutanese kidnapped Uttam Chand, an Indian citizen. Without any fair judgement, British India decided to levy the fine of 7,000 rupees to Dewangiri Dzongpon and Tongsa Penlop. Again second Assam Infantry demanded 14,000 rupees fine, punishment to the offender and hand over all the properties that Bhutanese confiscated from Assam.

When Deb received the letter of demand, in astonishment he replied with 2,808 rupees compensation and asking excuse for all Bhutanese that involved in such activities. It was also claimed that offence might had done by Bhutanese, in a bid for fair judgement.

On such situation, a British India's spy in Bhutan, the hereditary Zamindar of Gooman Duar, sought asylum in British territory. Bhutan demanded his extradition but British denied the request. Then a Bhutanese armed force entered British territory through Bhulka pass; kidnapped Arun Singh, and other spies from Assam and fled back to Bhutan. Two more incidences of same type occurred in Mainaguri and Cooch Behar in the same year. During 1856-57 Bhutanese offenders, who were seeking shelter under British protection, were forcefully taken by Bhutanese from Assam

Duars. In 1859 the Bengal government submitted a list of 33 cases to British government of alleged aggression that had occurred in the previous two years in which 45 people had been carried off to Bhutan. Consequently, Colonel Jenkins was authorized to take over Ambaree Fallacotah.

c. Plans for Settlement

When the dispute in the border areas became more violent, Governor General sent an envoy comprising the Lieutenant of Bengal Sir F. Haillday, Assam Colonel Jenkins and other to Bhutan but the envoy did not find any solution to the continuing conflicts. Bhutanese neglected the envoy, as there was continue civil war going on inside the country.

Two such envoys returned from Bhutan without having any development of settlement of conflict that lasted in border areas. Treatment to member of later British missions gives indication to assume that these missions also faced humiliation and torture in Bhutanese courts. They should have been treated insolently.

d. The British React

By that time British had opened its military posts in Jalpaiguree and Eleventh Military group with 73th Native Infantry were assembled here. Halliday was given the charge of Military posts. When Halliday reported to Governor General that little encouragement could arose people of Assam Duars against Bhutan, Governor General ordered to do so. He called back the army fighting against Sepoy Mutiny to Ambari Falakata and Jalpaish and

sent to Bhutan for attack. However, there are no records of the war.

On the other hand in 1862, with the Dalimkot Dzongpon's order, Bhutanese kidnapped 13 villagers and 23 cowherds from Ambari Falakata. In the mean time 300-400 Bhutanese entered Cooch Behar, confiscated 123 buffalos, 2 shepherds, 6 watermen and estimated amount of 20,936 rupees. The British also took hectic steps and captured Ambari Falakata completely. Bhutanese authority then tended to credit off the treasures stolen from Sikkim and Cooch Behar. Bhutan tried for reconciliation but British rejected their proposal and suggested to meet the representative of Governor General's agent Gauhati of Assam. The meeting was held in Gauhati between the Bhutanese and British representatives but ended inconclusively. Immediately after that British India planned to send a mission to Punakha for the settlement of the case of "Border Incidences".

e. Ashley Eden Mission

To conclude the outrages of the Duars, British India planned to despatch yet another mission to Bhutan. Of course, mission was aimed not only to settle the outstanding problems of the Duars but also to study military strength of Bhutan. They were to study the situation of Bhutan so that it will be easy to spy out the feasibility for the future military arrangement into Bhutanese territory. They concluded that the only way is to force Bhutan to accept the mission in the court of Deb.

While it was the apex of civil war inside Bhutan that was led by Tongsa Penlop Jigme Namgyal.

When the Deb and his council received the news of mission approaching to the Deb's court, they ignored it and sent messages that the mission was not convenient at that time. But no problem, what Bhutanese say British organized a mission under the leadership of Ashley Eden to sent to Bhutan in 1862.

The mission deputed from Calcutta in August 1863 for Bhutan. Eden was given with a draft treaty to be finalized after discussions with Lhengye Tshog; functioning as a doll of Tongsa Penlop during that period. The terms of the treaty were:

- ❑ Ambari Falakata would be returned when the Bhutanese return the British property and captives;
- ❑ The government of Bhutan would inquire into the outrages committed by British and Cooch Behar subjects and give redress;
- ❑ The government of Bhutan would surrender all the British and Bhutanese subjects accused of crimes within British India with the assurances that the British government would in return surrender all Bhutanese subjects accused of crimes in Bhutan;
- ❑ The Bhutan government would seek the advices of British government over disputes with the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar because these were British protected areas;
- ❑ Bhutan government would receive a British agent in Bhutan; and
- ❑ Free trade and commerce shall be established between the two countries.

Ashley Eden was instructed to explain them clearly and distinctly in a friendly manner.

i. Route of mission

Departing from Calcutta, mission arrived at Darjeeling on November 1, 1863. There was internal civil war going on in Bhutan. Eden sought the advice from Governor General who directed him to proceed further.

Accompanied by the Prime Minister of Sikkim (Dewan) Cheeboo Lama as the interpreter, Dr. Benjamin Simson as medical attendant and Captain Henry Godwin Austin, mission left Darjeeling on January 4, 1864. There were problems right from the start of the journey. The coolies were unwilling to go without more direct encouragement from the Bhutanese. When they reached Teesta river, only thirty miles into their journey, many of them exhausted returned home. However, Cheeboo Lama came to the rescue and lent his own men. They then faced the problem of crossing the river, which was ninety yards wide, extremely rapid and full of dangerous boulders. They managed to get across with difficulty by constructing bamboo rafts and ferrying their stores over. Once they crossed the river they started climbing and at 3,733 feet reached Kalimpong which, although just inside the Bhutanese border, was quite well cultivated.

From the fort at Duhumsang where they arrived on the January 9 they saw on three sides, from their vantage point at 5,000 feet, the snows of Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal in the west as well as parts of Tibet in the north. The officer in charge of the fort, 'a dirty looking man, little better than a coolie', refused to let them look inside which was

hardly surprising when they had given no notice of their arrival and there had been no permission from his own government. In the next two days, they reached Labal at 6,620 feet and then began their descent down a steep and difficult road to a riverbed where a herd of 'ponies, mules and musicians' met them sent who were sent by the Dzongpon of Dalingcote as a gesture of welcome. From there on they had an uncomfortable ride sitting on unaccustomed high Tartar saddles on fidgety mules.

They camped at Ambiok on a level plain immediately below the fort, where they had marched to the accompaniment of silver flageolets and brass cymbals. Apart from the Dalingcote fort they saw few villages on the Bhutanese side. On 14 Dzongpon accompanied by 'a large and disorderly following' paid a visit to their camp nearby. There were about two hundred people including standard bearers, musicians, led ponies, mules and soldiers, who stopped every twenty yards and gave loud shouts, whilst the Dzongpon put his head down and shook himself in the saddle, explaining afterwards that it was an old custom, the reason for which he had no idea. They passed the land where they saw very few houses and rarely seen any people called Mechis in country on which Eden commented 'under any other government the whole tract would be one vast rice field for it is not unhealthy, like our Terai'

The site of mission's camp at Ambiok was on the very finest soil and yet not a village was to be seen. 'Where under good government there would have been a large standing bazaar, where there

would have been cotton fields, tea fields, timber depots and countless acres of rice, not a human habitation was to be seen' wrote Eden.

After a few days he received a letter from the Deb Rajah, 'as usual evasive and undecided', instructing Eden to say what he had come for..... to the Dzongpon of Dalingcote who would then make arrangements for a meeting with the Deb. He was now friendly enough but afraid to lead the mission and continue until more definite orders than these were received. Eden therefore wrote to the Deb to ask for a more positive reply, saying that the demands would have to be enforced in some other way if he did not assent to discuss them amicably.

Before leaving Dalingcote, they stopped at the fort, a thousand feet higher than their camp. This time the Dzongpon's manner was very different, refusing to sit down even in Eden's presence and personally serving refreshments.

The first night's halt after their departure was in an unhealthy malarial place; a feeding ground for elephants. The next day they passed through a thick forest and pitched a camp by the bank of the Mochu. They saw no people all day long.

From there they continued through an area depopulated by the former Dzongpon's oppression, to Sipchoo where they were unable to get any more coolies. Eden faced with a difficult choice. The only alternatives for Eden now was to press on despite objections of the local official who told him not to do so without the awaited permission from the Deb and reducing the escort even more, or he could return to India. To wait for the permission could be a

lengthy business with steadily dwindling supplies, only to be met, in all probability, with further evasion if not outright refusal. However, as he had not encountered any hostility, only boorish incivility and great indifference on the part of the authorities, who nevertheless expressed their desire to cultivate friendship with the British government, and great friendliness from the Pemberton mission had received similar treatment but had been allowed to leave the country unharmed. He had known that if he withdrew, the Bhutanese would make capital out of it, saying that they had planned a special reception for him at Punakha. He also recollected that the Government of Bengal had not advocated delaying his departure just because no arrangements had been made for his reception in Bhutan and would probably not approve of his turning back. He decided therefore to regard the treatments he had received as 'the natural insouciance of the Booteahs'. On February 2, they reach Saigon, where more coolies deserted before they began climbing the next day towards the top of the pass, plodding for much of the time through knee-deep snow. They halted 'in a miserable place' at 8,500 feet. 'The snow was deep and a more wretched place for a bivouac in the open air could scarcely be conceived'. Nevertheless they managed to keep their fires going all night and keep them out from the chilling cold and insect bites.

On the fourth day they reached the top of the pass at 10,000 feet and began a 2,000 feet descent. 'The men were thoroughly exhausted and despondent: and nothing but the fear of again crossing the snow alone in the jungle.....'

They became more courageous after a day's rest. The next day they reached the bank of the Amo chu, 'a very beautiful river, very rapid and broad; full of enormous boulders which make the river one continuous line of white sparkling foam'. If the country had been in any other hands than of the Booteahs, a road into Tibet would have been thrown through this valley'.

On February 6, they began climbing again, passing some hilly villages for the first time, dropping down to a small stream before ascending once again to Sangle, a pretty little hamlet of some four or five houses. They found the villagers friendly and apparently anxious of the British. They came round the camp with presents of eggs, chickens and milk. Barley buckwheat, millet and trumps were neatly cultivated in the fields. A message of his arrival was sent to the Dzongpon who in no time arrived with 'the usual noise and display'. He seemed to be the son of a Bengali slave and did not look like a Bhutanese. He had originally been sent to supersede the Dzongpon of Dalingcote who had proved immovable and was then directed to take over at Sangle where the same thing had happened and his predecessor was still there. He announced that he had received no orders about the mission from his government and could therefore give no assistance. He could not obtain coolies and he did not allow the villagers to help the mission. In this situation he could hardly be blamed for playing safe.

As most of the Nepalese coolies came from duars were suffering from frostbite incurred when crossing the pass, Eden purchased hides and

woollen cloth, despite the Dzungpon's attitude, and instructed the coolies to make themselves boots patterned on those worn by the Bhutanese. He now realized the impossibility of ever bringing up the rear party and sent orders to return Darjeeling but to leave behind the store of rice and the Governor General's presents. He also sent orders for a guard to be placed over the depot at Dalingcote and arranged for a system of runners between Dalingcote and himself. During their stay at Sangle, Dr. Simpson removed an enormous tumour covering most of the mouth of a miller who lived by the waterside. Thereafter, his reputation spread like wave of wind and wherever they went people at once, so filthy and so immoral; and there seemed to be scarily a person in the country, male or female, who was not suffering more or less in this respect'.

On the February 9, they left Sangle, passed the fort described inevitably as a wretched place, a little building of rubble and stone situated in a most lively position.

They dropped down to the river Soochu crossed over a wooden bridge and climbing up the opposite side of the valley by steep zig-zags passing a superb waterfall where the water fell from a great height and 'scattered like rain'. At the top of the hill they met a group of villager, paying the usual complement to person of distinction of setting fire to little heaps of wormwood as they passed. According to Eden they took it for granted that the visitors' objective was to assume control of the country and 'abused their own government'.

They halted at Saybee, a fine looking little village with some cultivation and good houses,

where they heard that Zigaps had arrived from the court with written orders to send them back. When Eden sent messengers to inquire into the orders from the court of the Deb, Deb's messengers only came rather reluctantly under threat of punishment. It transpired that in fact one letter was addressed to the Dzongpon of Dalingcote with orders to turn the mission back. The letter further stated that if he was unsuccessful in this he should at least ensure that they went via the Samchi and to arrange supplies. He was also threatened with execution for having allowed the British to cross the frontier. Eden made up the mind that his fears had been quite justified, to judge by the harsh tone of the letter, which was not meant for the British to see. A second letter also addressed to Zingaps who supported him on his way, supplying fodder for the horses. On February 15, they set off again towards Punakha regretting that they could not respond to the villagers' plea to take them back to Darjeeling.

Once again a steep descent was followed by a stiff climb towards the pass over the Taig Onlah Mountain. They halted at the height of 9,000 feet where there was still only a sprinkling of snow and saw a magnificent herd of yaks coming down from the top of the pass. The next day snow became thicker as they trudge upward and the country began to change. The rhododendrons, magnolias, oaks and chestnuts trees of lower slopes gave way to clumps of pines. This happened so suddenly 'a chain pulled across the mountain side would have divided one class from the other'. They enjoyed going through a pine forest with beautiful grassy glades where 'the effect of the snow and icicles on

the leaves of the pines were very magnificent'. That evening they pitched camp in a mountain of the height 12,000 feet with the thermometer showing about -3 degrees Fahrenheit. They made fires using branches of juniper and pine and Eden noted with surprise that in a camp of 'some two hundred persons' including Sikhs and Bengalis, none suffered from the cold.

The following day they reached the top of the pass of 12,150 feet high and saw the usual cairn of stones supporting poles from which fluttered prayer flags. Cairn passing travellers had attached small strips of coloured cotton to ensure safe journeys. They followed the norms; none of the collies would cross until Cheeboo Lama had added some yellow and red chintz to the flags.

Descending to the other side of the pass, the snow was even deeper and to add to their difficulties they had to cross the same stream no less than ten times by little wooden bridges. The men had great difficulty making a road through the snow and in walking on sheets of ice with large packs of food items on their backs. At several places they saw frozen waterfalls. At last they descended far enough to enter very lovely park-like scenery in the Ha valley and camped beside the bank of the Ha chu. A few miles ahead their camp, they can join the Paro road which seemed to be well used and in good repair.

They left the place on 12 and marched through the good valley road following the line of the river, passed some small 'fine valleys' with substantial three storied houses. Many of them had, however, been burnt down and many others had been

abandoned because of the civil war. Others had been left unoccupied as their owners habitually spent the winters in [Samchi] in southern Bhutan to avoid wars and chills of cold.

They were now in an area of magnificent scenery, of snowy peaks on either side and the high peaks of the Tibetan frontier in front. On the sides of the valley were grassy slopes dotted with clumps of pine trees and between them, in the centre of a wide, flat plain, flowed the clear waters of the Haa chu about sixty yards wide. Beside the riverbanks were fields, fenced with stonewalls and irrigated by system of channels, terraces and revetments. In a distant below the snow line they saw large flocks of black sheep, yaks and grazing cattle.

At Ha Tampia a large crowd of people from neighbouring villages met them. Most of the villagers had a thick deposit of pine soot on their faces as their houses had no chimneys and, according to Eden, they never washed. The next day they met the Dzongpon, a very fine and 'well mannered old man', who welcomed them. They also met his mother-in-law, wife of the Paro Penlop, who assured them that her husband would receive them well.

The following day there was a very heavy snowfall. The Dzongpon, with his wife and children, all came to ensure that Eden and his team members were not suffering unduly, bringing straw and fir poles to make huts for the coolies. Two men who were left behind were found to be dead.

The weather cleared on the February 17 but they were still unable to depart because of the depth of the snow. With the temperature now fallen

again, they were unable to explore the immediate locality. Close to the camp was a medicinal spring where baths, heated by throwing hot stones into the water, were used by sufferers from rheumatism and skin diseases. The dzong was 'a pretty little four storied building' and nearby was a monastery and a temple. Although the people of this valley, the richest inhabitants of the country, had the reputation of being lawless, the mission found them to be more civil, obliging and less given to falsehood than the people of the country generally.

On hearing that a deputation from the Deb was on its way to 'stop or delay' him and not wanting to remain in Ha engaging in protracted correspondence Eden decided to get going again saying nothing of his intentions to the Dzongpon. At daybreak Captain Godwin-Austen and Dr. Simpson set off with Cheeboo Lama's servants and twenty strong men, reinforcements sent by the rulers of Sikkim, in order to make a path through the snow hoping to reach the village the other side of the pass by the afternoon. After they had left, the Dzongpon arrived to protest, saying that he had orders to detain the mission until the messengers arrived from the court of the Deb. However when he learnt that half the mission had already gone, he accepted the situation and sent guides and sepoys to go with Eden's party, in return for a present and Eden's promise not to tell the Deb that he had assisted the mission. At three o'clock they overtook the advance party whose progress had naturally been much slower. At this point the snow, already three foot, began to get deeper: up to six foot for a time, then eight foot, so that the horses and mules

were sinking over their backs. At six o'clock they reached the top of the Cheulah pass at about 12,500 feet.

At eleven in the morning the team reached a forest where Eden allowed the coolies to take rest provided that they were in gangs of a dozen or more with one man in charge of each party. This was, he noted, to ensure that they were close together and that their fires burnt all night. Eden went ahead with an advance party, horses and mules still sinking at every step. One of his ponies went over the side of the mountain and died. But they kept going until at last at one in the morning they arrived at a village, exhausted after marching through deep snow continuously for fifteen hours.

The next morning the coolies arrived with their loads intact. Even Eden's pony had been recovered by 'the indefatigable' interpreter from the Darjeeling court who went back to look for it. Later on in the morning the main body of the deputation arrived, making themselves, according to Eden, 'exceedingly offensive, ejecting many of our people from the shelter they had taken in the houses', their servants trying to carry off the missions cooking utensils. The gang delivered the Deb Rajah's letter, said that they were ordered to accompany Eden and his party back to the frontier where they were to rearrange the frontier boundaries and resume control of the Assam duars. On February 23 the Penlop, together with his stepfather, the former holder of the office, called Cheeboo Lama, threatened at first and abused him for bringing the British into the country'. He then changed his track and said that although the mission could

undoubtedly achieve much good, the Deb's orders were that they should not proceed further. He would get in touch with the Deb again and in the meantime they were to stay until he returns with Deb's messages. They would be given comfortable stay and accorded respectful treatment. Finally the Penlop said that there was no real meaning in going on to Punakha and meet Deb as he had no authority give any decision at that venture. Further the Penlop said that himself was the ruler of western Bhutan and the proper person to deal with.

Although Eden agreed to remain, halting an approach to the Deb, the attitude of the Penlop and his men continued to be unfriendly. They were stopped when they tried to go out and told to stay in camp until further orders are received. 'Their sepoys crowed round us', wrote Eden, 'stealing everything they could lay hands on, jeering at our coolies and followers, calling them slaves and drawing their knives on them on the slightest rejoinder being made'. Villagers selling provisions or contacting the mission were punished inhumanly.

When Eden heard that the messengers to the Deb, who should by then, have returned, had not even set out, he threatened either to go on regardless or to return to Darjeeling. This produced a change of attitude, the messengers were sent off. When Eden met the Penlop he was told that his stepfather had advised the previous unfriendly course, who continued to interfere in the daily administration, although he had voluntarily abdicated his service to the government. However,

a number of informants told him that this was not the case and that it was only an excuse for 'getting out of a false position'. Nevertheless there were fewer annoyances from this time onwards. He had a friendly meeting with the former Penlop at which it became apparent that the abdication had merely been a political expedient and that the stepson was just a puppet. At a subsequent meeting the old man explained that although for the sake of appearances hostilities had been suspended during the mission's stay in the country, he did not recognize the authority of the present government as the Tongsa Penlop, having forcibly dethroned the former Deb, had usurped power. The Deb and Dharma Rajahs were both his puppets and the leading officials were incompetent.

On March 10, tired of waiting for any answer from the Deb, and with the old Penlop's support, the party left Paro. Later they learnt that Penlop had refused to obey instructions from the Deb to seize Cheebo Lama and send the others back home.

They ascended to the top of a pass at over 11,000 feet before starting a gradual descent though smooth grass and scattered pine forests. They camped at 8,500 feet near a large prayer cylinder and an empty dzong. Many of the inhabitants of this place were Bengalis who had long since forgotten their place of origin. Here at last they met messengers from the government, who turned out to be the same people whom they met earlier. They came with orders for the mission to return to Paro. They were also empowered to listen to Eden's views and, if necessary, send for

more senior officers to treat with him. Eden decided, however, that this was just a cover-up and that their sole object was to indulge in delaying tactics and that he would return only if he received unequivocal instructions from the Deb to go back to India.

The following day they reached Simtokha dzong, the oldest fortress in the country, then being occupied by the former Deb who was removed from power at the start of the rebellion. He denied even to see Cheeboo Lama as he did not want to be accused of helping the mission. From Simtokha they climbed to a pass from where they could see the whole of the Punakha valley and in the distant the snows of Tibet. They halted just above the village of Telegong 'a place chiefly inhabited by Gylongs (sic) or monks, who had as usual taken great care of themselves'. There were some fine houses with much carving and ornamental work and the area was well cultivated with mustard, barley, wheat, chillies and 'excellent turnips'.

On March 15, they descended into a valley, crossed a little river by a wooden bridge and had an easy march through open country at about 5,000 feet. Arriving at the outskirts of Punakha they could see no sign of any preparation made to welcome the mission. Messengers had been sent ahead to report their imminent arrival. When the mission reached near the dzong, they were asked to wait and were forbidden to approach by the road under the main gate and told to enter by a back road entailing 'a precipitous descent'.

They were left kicking their heels for several days receiving only a little 'inferior rice' from the

Punakha Dzongpon and a demand for the surrender of two Bhutanese subjects who had attached themselves to the mission. Eden reluctantly felt he had to comply with the demand.

Over the next two days Cheebo Lama discussed the articles of the treaty with the Tongsa Penlop who appeared only to object to the possible stationing of a British agent in Bhutan and free trade with British India, neither of which were inseparable obstacles. This seemed to augur quite well for a comparatively successful outcome. These hopes received a setback when, on March 20, after complaining of the delay, Eden was at last given permission to hold discussion with the Deb and Dharma Rajahs of which he wrote 'every opportunity was taken of treating us with indignity'.

ii. Eden's life in Danger

On the meeting of March 22, Bhutanese accepted the treaty except Article 8 and 9. Eden also agreed to omit them and complied. With prepared treaty Eden attended the meeting of March 24 with the Council. When only two articles were read, Tongsa Penlop proposed to get back the Assam Duars as soon as the treaty was signed. He also demanded that all the revenues collected from the Assam Duars (assumed to be around 30,00,000/-) per annum should be returned to Bhutan. The Tongsa Penlop took up a large place of wet dough, rubbed Eden's face with it, pulled his hair, slapped him on the back and behaved so insolently. Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon pretended that all these are the formality of friendship. He

took out some of the 'pan' leaves from his mouth and asked Dr. Simson to eat. On his refusal, Dzongpon angrily spitted on his face and seized the Cheboo Lama's wristwatch, ribbon from his neck and wrenched the watch away. Angrily, Tongsa Penlop said, 'I want nothing but Assam Duars and if I don't get them, it is better to have war than a treaty. I will write to Governor General.'

When on March 25, Eden was planning to return, Bhutanese proposal was handed over to Cheeboo Lama demanding the return of Assam Duars and compensation of 3,000,000/-; revenues collected from the area. The proposal stated that all the runaway slaves and political offenders taking asylum in British territory needed to be extradited to Bhutan. Eden didn't agree, as he was not empowered with to take such decision by the Governor General. When they could not sit for a talk in peaceful environment, Tongsa Penlop proceeds to crumple up the treaty and declared 'then we will have war; you are nobody. You have no authority from Governor General. We don't want Ambari Falakata; and as to be the demands of the Government of India, a Chaprasi (messenger) might have sent to settle them. I will have nothing more to do with you; go'. Tongsa Penlop also threatened them that they should sign and seal a paper of treaty proposed by Bhutanese otherwise they would be killed or imprisoned, as Bhutanese did not invite them. Eden decided it would be best to sign treaty and state he had done under compulsion. As no Bhutanese could read or write English, he could declare in Calcutta that the agreement as invalid and was sign under threat to ensure his safe

return. See the annex for the text of the agreement sign by Eden.

Signing the agreement, the mission took the hurry departure on 29, 1864. In this report Eden named Tongsa Penlop and Wangdi Phodrang Dzungpon as two treacherous and notoriously unscrupulous robber chiefs.

2. The war

Mission returned to Darjeeling by the end of April 1864. Eden shared his views of the humiliation of the British mission in Bhutanese court with Fort William and suggested for the:

- ❑ Permanent occupation of the country or
- ❑ Temporary occupation of the country and destruction of all Bhutanese forts, or
- ❑ Permanent occupation of Assam and Bengal Duars.

In response to the Bhutanese authority's treacherous act against the mission and its humiliation and ill-treatment, the British government in India issued is notice that they were “ever sincerely Desirous of maintaining friendly relation with neighbour states and especially mindful of obligation imposed on it by the treaty of 1774” but Bhutanese on other side failed to do so.

British mission had been insulted and compelled to sign a treaty as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the mission. Immediately after the return of the mission, British began preparation for war that seemed unavoidable. They then annexed Ambari Falakata withholding the annual compensation of Assam Duars. They demanded to free all the British and

Cooch Behar subjects kept as prisoners in Bhutan. Offering a specific period to Bhutan to comply with the demands, British assembled more than 10,000 military forces at Bengal, Cooch Behar and Assam frontiers.

a. Declaration of war

British were prepared for any kind agreement and war. They had assembled military force at Assam, Bengal and Cooch Behar area. The force was divided into two groups and four branches. Eastern group was led by General Dunsford and Western group by General Mulcaster. Far Eastern column was to start from Gauhati to march towards Dewangiri (Deothang), Central Eastern division to enter through Goalpara into Bishenshing (present day around Gaylegphug). Central Western group was to approach to Buxa and Balla (near Phuentsholing) and Far Western group was to proceed from Jalpaiguri into Chumurchi (Samchi) and Kalimpong. Having these prepared military arrangements, British India declared war against Bhutan on November 12, 1864.

b. British action

In December 2, eastern division crossed Brahmaputra river and settled at Gauhati. Three companies of Assam Light Infantry captured Dewangiri on December 10. The compensation of Ambari Falakata and Assam Duars were already withheld. British India then annexed Bengal and Assam Duars and so much of hill territory including the parts of Dalimkot, Pasakha (Buxa)

and Dewangiri as may be necessary to command the passes. Having success over these areas, British India opened military Battalion at Bengal. By this time the western group had captured Daling and Mainaguri Duar.

On the other hand on December 16, Shabdrung issued a proclamation from Punakha accusing the British of unprovoked aggression on Bhutan. He announced that Bhutanese people should be ready to resist the attacked of British and claimed that British seemed determined to take away the freedom that the Bhutanese had enjoyed for centuries.

c. Bhutanese action

British had captured these areas with some ease. Then they decided to disband their main force and left only one or two armed post in the new territory and went for resting. Taking advantage of the British force taking rest, Bhutanese force attacked suddenly and captured Dewangiri on January 29, 1865. They already had captured some bordering lands on January 25 and 26. On 27, the Bhutanese force led by Tongsa Penlop himself captured Bishensing, Buxa and Balla passes. British tried to withdraw them but failed because of the complete underestimated Bhutanese determination and misjudge of their military strength. In Chumurchi, the force under the command of Tongsa Penlop hardly aggregated 5,000 men, nearly half its constituted fighting men including some 1,500 Khampa mercenaries. Yet, it threw out gear full two columns of British force of over 12,000 men and six mountain train guns

captured, which is now kept at National Museum. By then British India recognized the military strength of the Himalayan kingdom. British had similar fate with the war with Nepalese forces. These were at that time underestimation of mountain guerrilla warfare. Bhutanese were determined to protect their country from the attacks of ambitious and 'all country destroying English'. Their popular saying goes like this: 'it is better to have cut into pieces than to come back without punishing the enemy.' This document is of some interest as it shows that however much Bhutanese may fight themselves and chronic the state of warfare may be between the Penlops of Eastern and Western Bhutan, they nevertheless seem to act in unison in resisting foreign invasions.

d. Reoccupation of Dewangiri

Now it was early in March 1865 that, British commanders were replaced. Brigadier General Frazer Tytler was succeeded by General Dunsford and Brigadier General Tombs by General Mulcaster. When the news of new arrangement for war was received by the Wangdi Phodrang Dzongpon, one of the major political figures of the country at that time, he wrote that the 'Bhutanese were ever determined to resist any kind of attacks of the ambitious and all country destroying English.'

Soon after the change of commanders, British launched sudden attack on Bhutanese fortresses. Bhutanese were forced to surrender at Dewangiri. British Indian soldiers imprisoned 120 Bhutanese militias. No records have been available about the

destruction of properties and number of people died in the war.

On 15, March Tytler successfully captured Balla without much difficulty. The stock of Tazagon was exposed to fire where Bhutanese lost 44 men and British lost six men whereas 16 men were wounded.

An historian of Duar observes that though Bhutan had frequent civil war among themselves, they were well organised to resist the incursion of foreign countries.

Dewangiri is the terminus of five passes – Balades, Gurunggaon, Darranga, Libra and Subhankhatta. So, British were determined to recapture Dewangiri. Tomb's force easily captured the stock of Balades. On March 17, a force of 800 Infantry with four guns drove the Bhutanese from Darranga and on March 21, the passes of Libra and Gurungaon were examined.

On April 1, a force consisting 1,000 strong men was sent to Dewangiri. There were three stockades at a distance of 120 to 150 yards. British opened fire on central house and Bhutanese fled of danger. Most of them were dead inside the house and 120 of them surrendered before the British whom British killed. “Non was given quarters, the ruthless auxiliaries assuaged their thirst for blood amidst the cries for mercy”. With these disgraceful scenes, Dewangiri was reoccupied by British and the prestige of British arms restored again. This recapture of Dewangiri led the end of the Duar war.

3. Treaty of Sinchula (1865)

The treaty of Sinchula was signed between the Government of Bhutan and British India at the place called Sinchila in India on November 11, 1865. It is also called the Ten Article Treaty of Rawa Rani. According to the agreement, Bhutan government agreed to cede the Assam and Bengal Duars into British territories and to surrender all the subjects of Sikkim and Cooch Behar taking asylum in Bhutan to British. Beside these, mutual extradition of criminals and establishment of free trade between the two countries were agreed. On its part, British government agreed to pay 25,000 rupees for the fulfilment of the terms of treaty, 35000 rupees on January 10, as the first payment, 45000 rupees on January 15 on the following and 50,000 rupees on every tenth January following. As the result of the treaty, 2,750 square miles (7.122square km) of the Bhutanese land was merged into the British Indian territory. Not only this, Bhutan also lost Ambari Falakata and some of the hill territories on the bank of the Teesta river. In reciprocal basis the treaty secured the exemption of the levy of duty on goods imported to Bhutan from India. It also subjected the attribution of British Government to all its disputes over Sikkim and Cooch Behar.

Sinchula Treaty between the Government of Bhutan and British India has special components, which has become the fundamental base for the Indo-Bhutan treaty of 1949 and Indo-Bhutan relation to this day. Articles that are included in the Sinchila Treaty are still working as a milestone to the relation between Bhutan and India.

4. Bhutan between 1865– 1907 and White's visits

After the end of Duar war in 1865, Bhutan and British India agreed to work out for a treaty of friendship. Accordingly a treaty was prepared and the two countries signed on November 11, 1865. Since then British had gainfully used the land of southern Bhutan for commercial activities. The British government of India had determination of establishing farms of cotton plant and tea estates in the Duar areas since years. This had become possible after the treaty. The regular missions of British to visit Punakha despite several boycotts of Bhutanese authority were meant for acquiring the southern plains for tea plantation.

The signing of treaty was also meant for ending border disputes that had been the cause of hostilities between the two governments. Though, it possibly ended the disputes, the internal conflicts and civil wars continued in Bhutan. Debs, who were assumed to be the most powerful seat of Bhutanese administration, were helpless in the hands of powerful Penlops, who were anxious to hold the position of Deb. After the enthronement of Jigme Namgyal to the seat of the Deb, his relatives occupied the major positions in all offices and hid opponent ertr ruthlessly suppressed. When Uyen Wangchuk shifted his seat from Paro Penlop to Tongsa Penlop, installing his brother as the new Paro Penlop, he adopted more abrupt policies to suppress other officials opposing his authority.

After attaining the visiting ceremony of the British Prince George V at Calcutta in 1906, Uyen

Wangchuk began preparation for the establishment of monarchical system in Bhutan. From this visit he extended Bhutan's relation, as an emerging new state, with the British Empire, which had become a boon in his mission later. His relation also saved the country and its sovereignty as an independent nation from the attacks and aggression of China as in Tibet.

Bhutan's political situation during the time, when Ugyen Wangchuk was fighting for his power, remained disturbed and deteriorating. Lives of general people were felt insecure because of the disputes between the heads. The advantage of the establishment of monarchy in the country was that constant conflicts between Penlops and Dzongpon were controlled. People hoped to see peace prevailed in the country who were then fatigued of wars and conflicts. The dual system that had failed to rule the nation and hold control of the local rulers was necessary to be replaced by a new and strong political system. The alternative was the monarchy, for Bhutanese rulers were in contact with only the British in India that was being run by monarchy. The fugitives were murdered and the strong monarchy was established under the hereditary kingship of Sir Ugyen Wangchuk on December 17, 1907, which is still a popular referendum in the country.

The mission led by J. C. White also included major F.W. Rennick of the Intelligence Department, A.W. Paul who went at White's special request, a confidential clerk an escort of 24 Indian soldiers, 2

Sikkim pioneers, 2 Sikkim policeman and the pipes and drum of the 40th pathans.

They left Gantok in Sikkim on March 29 through the forestclad hills, bright with white magnolias and scarlet rhododendrons in full bloom. The sides of the road seemed carpeted with mauve and purple premolars. Crossing the dense forests they emerged into clearings from whence they gazed across hills and an 'uninterrupted panorama to the plains of India'. Higher still, they went through snow which turned into a raging blizzard and even penetrated the chinks of the wooden huts where they slept at a transport station on the Sikkim to Chumbi road, built for the Tibetan mission. They struggled on to the Natula pass at 14,780 feet. Snow was so thick that White was unable to ride and had to plod along on foot. Then they descended to Chumbi valley where Major Rennick and a third of the collies were found to be suffering from snow blindness. Kazi Ugyen Dorji, the Bhutanese Agent who arrived via Jenglap after a difficult crossing, met the next day the party. At that time he was Agent of the Bhutanese government in India and was crowned with the Sikkimese title of 'Kazi' which was popular in Nepal as well. His close friendship with Ugyen Wangchuk was fruitful for his rising power. He was appointed Gonzim (Chief Chamberlain) of Bhutan in 1908 and became the most influential officials in the Kingdom, which his descendents also taken over. His grandson, Jigme Dorji, had served the kingdom as Lonchen (Prime Minister).

Shortly afterwards a rock fall and injured a pony which had to be shot. Two mules also died

from eating poisonous leaves of a small rhododendron. The death of animals, increasing forests and snow and error map led to intensifying the difficulties in their journey. The map they carried did not help at this stage of their march because of completely erroneous information given, which failed to show the Kyanka stream which they were following uphill and near which they pitched a camp.

They passed 'robber caves', crossed delightful glades and upland swards 'forming rich grazing grounds' and noted the proliferation of trees: spruce, larch, silver fir, holly, oak and pines as well as rhododendrons, before crossing the Lungri Sampa to a camp where their chief protection from the wind was 'in the walls of lateral moraines of which the valley presented some excellent examples'.

Despite continuous snowfall in the afternoon and in evening, they managed to shoot six pheasants, which added fuel to their diet and exhaustion. Then, climbing once again, they experienced 18⁰ cold frosts on their way up to cross the passes of the Massong - Chung Dong range which had never before been crossed by Europeans before. They marched on through frozen snow hard enough to ride on, as far as the final ascent, and White's cook (a Mugh, from Chittagong in the Arakan where all the best cooks came from) even managed to ride up to the top. The pass at Kyula was at 13,900 feet and looking back they could see the whole of the Jaylap range. In front of them was a steep dip between themselves and Ha La pass known as the 'bridge of death' offering no shelter

from storms and no source of firewood, with precipitous cliffs to the north and a deep snowdrift in the south. However, they ably traversed it in calm conditions without trouble and reached the Ha La. They could now see the snowy peak of Chomolhari rising up in the distance and nearer still the Massong Chung Dong.

On descending from these heights, they met Tongsa Dronyer who had been instructed to accompany the party during their stay in Bhutan. At Tsangpa-Pilau they found three small riding mules awaiting them, sent by the Paro Panlop. On these they followed a good road to Damthong at 10,400 feet where they found awaiting them 'a zareba of fresh pine boughs encircling a well laid out camp' in a beautiful setting of gently sloping grassy glades leading to a series of wide valleys with at each side 'a deep fringe of fine trees of every age'. White noted that 'the Bhutanese seem to have acquired the secret of combining in forests self-reproduction with unlimited grazing'.

When they were comfortably settled into their tents in this delectable camp, the Tongsa and Paro officials and the Ha Zimpon and Nyerpa brought further salutations from the Penlop in the form of a piece of silk for White and rations for everyone.

The next day they passed through an open valley noting the small shrines perched on every commanding promontory. They crossed the beautiful plain known as Gyang Karthang. They saw an annual dance and fair held and at every village and the inhabitants turned out to greet them with tea all along these villages.

The mission was now in the hands of Bhutanese government, which treated them as honoured guests and took over the administration, transport and arrangement of campsites, leaving the party free to visit forts and monasteries untroubled by the problem of housekeeping or logistics.

On the way to the top of the Chiuti La they caught glimpses of the Ha valley where Eden had come. At the top of the pass they met servants sent from Paro with murwa in order to keep out of the cold. White expressed his experiences with the Bhutanese people that are sharp contrast with that of Eden's. White suspected that his predecessors had been deliberately guided away from the proper route to a cattle track.

They saw the Drugyel Dzong in a distance and reached the monastery at Goriana where White compared the brass open work overlaying the altar hangings favourably with anything he had seen in Lhasa. On the ridge below they were greeted with salvos of artillery, fired from iron tubes bound with leather and were made the Paro Penlop bend and three 'richly caparisoned' mules. Slowly they descended through a clayey slope that would have been impossible in wet weather. They passed the Paro Dzong and its bridge through a quadruple avenue of willows towards Paro itself where on a level plain their camp had been pitched. At the entrance 'a new Swiss cottage tent' had been erected. This was a very different reception to Eden's experience of trying to find a campsite at Paro.

White was now free to take note of the thing he saw in his surroundings down to the smallest

detail. He was very much interested in agriculture and forestry, in flowers and birds, in geological structures and soil changes (he had noticed that rhododendrons did not grow in this part of the country because of the absence of peat). He had also noted the smallest details of the constitution and the office and functions of all the officials he met. This awareness of everything around him, his knowledge of a wide variety of subjects and keen interest in arts and crafts, together with his unpatronising and friendly attitude to people of other races made him the ideal observer of changing Bhutanese society. He even noticed the custom of feeding mules with eggs broken, which he mentioned to be strange for him. Each mule in the camp was given two or three raw eggs broken into a horn and poured down the throat of the animal to add strength for the day's march. They all thrived on this strange diet. The ethnic Nepalese in the south also feed the weaker animals with such diet that helps in improving the health of the animal.

The following morning the Paro Penlop, accompanied by his young son, made a formal call to White. White guessed him to be around 56 and, according to White he was 'a fair man with a weak, discontented, though not unhandsome face'. The son was 'a most ill-mannered cub who would have been all the better for a good thrashing'. The boy's mother was the Penlop's second wife who ruled her husband. She had given him her own daughter by a previous husband as his junior wife to prevent his affection from alighting elsewhere. Both women lived together in an attractive house across the

valley, as no women were allowed in the dzong at night.

White was also critical of the Paro Dronyer. 'A low drunken ignorant fellow, the only person with whom I had any trouble', he mentions. 'Going about in a state of maudlin intoxication from early morning, it was difficult to keep him in place, for under the pretext of friendliness and relationship to purchases a temporary respite with a present of a pair of binoculars that he badgered everyone for and at last we parted from his almost sober; but he was the one exception to the other officials and the people throughout the journey were extremely well behaved and very friendly.'

The morning after the call from the Paro Penlop White rode to dzong to return the courtesy, crossing the moat by the heavy drawbridge leading straight to the third floor. They turned to the left under a huge gateway into the eastern courtyard in a corner of which was a series of rooms used by the Penlop. They entered a long low room filled with retainers seated in four rows, two on either side facing each other, reminding White of descriptions of baronial halls in medieval England. There were shields and spears, matchlocks and bows and arrows hanging from the walls.

Presents of a rifle and ammunition were given to the Penlop and a knife; binoculars and magnifying glass to the son before White took his leave, having first obtained permission to look around the dzong of which even Eden had written 'It far surpassed the expectations we had formed from anything we had heard of Bhootian architecture'. White and his party visited the public Gompa and the great hall,

which he considered to be even larger than the Potala in Lhasa. It had a particular impressive hanging lattice work of pierced brass. They met the head of monks, Lama Kunyang Namgyal whom White and Paul had known on the Tibetan mission. He had exercised a good influence over the monks. He took them round the dzong seeing the same fascinating sights that Turner and Eden had described.

The Dzongpon gave them a Bhutanese lunch of scrambled eggs and sweet saffron rice washed down with murwa (beer) and chang as well as milk, walnuts and dried fruits. The armoury, said to be the best in the country, was in a fine room with a large bow window facing south and looking down the valley. In the outer courtyard they saw men making gunpowder and silversmiths and wood turners at work and White liked the 'air of bustling activities'.

They continued on their way the next day, camping for the night in grove of walnut trees. White always showed himself to be a close observer of men and nature, his comments covering subjects as diverse as the game of quoits played by boys, unusual succession of prayer walls and the contrasts of the countryside, where thickly wooded slopes covered with masses of flowering pears and peaches gave way to barren hills with sparse and stunted trees. He also saw the well cared-for house of the former Paro Penlop, whom Ugyen Wangchuk had allowed to return from exile in Kalimpong to die in peace at home.

The next camping ground was near an enormous weeping cypress spoilt by the howling

wind roaring up the valley and they were glad to be on the move, passed a cantilever bridge carrying a wooden channel to irrigate the rice fields. White wrote that he had often noticed 'how remarkably skilful the Bhutanese are in laying out canals and irrigation channels and the clever way in which they overcome what to ordinary people would be insurmountable difficulties.'

They passed the knoll where the Punakha Dzongpon had been overcome by Ugyen Wangchuk's forces during the civil war in 1885. It was said to have been done by an act of treachery in the course of a parley. He thought that the peace talks had been genuine enough but that a quarrel had arisen amongst the supporters, which had led to the stabbing of the Punakha Dzongpon, some visitors told him. He was convinced that Ugyen Wangchuk had had no hand in anything treacherous.

Shortly after this they reached the Tashicho dzong on the outskirts of the capital, Thimphu. It was 'imposing edifice in the form of parallelogram' the longer side parallel with the river. Unusually, it had two large gateways, one of which was only opened for the Deb and Dharma Rajahs. Inside were the chapel and private apartments of the Dharma Rajah and the Thimphu Dzongpon's personal and official quarters. The square tower had only been built a few years before to replace the original damaged by an earthquake. The northern section was occupied by the lamas and was not permitted for laymen: the inner courtyard led into a fine audience hall decorated with frescoes, silken ceiling cloths, embroidered curtains

and banners; and on the western side contained a thousand images of Buddha. The elephant tusks supporting the *alter* were even larger than usual in Bhutanese shrines.

The next day the mission continued on its way to Punakha as Thimphu was not then the permanent capital. At Simtokha dzong White thought that one of the statues was an unflattering likeness of the Kaiser.

Next day, after going through a wet zone with a completely different climate, they reached the ancient capital of the country Punakha.

They made a ceremonial entry the next morning in heavy rain along a road of thick clay on which it was difficult to keep walking. They were preceded by musicians and dancers who led them across the bridge over the river Mochu to the sound of a fifty-gun salute. They found their camp made ready, including a two-roomed wooden house, a large 'Swiss Cottage' tent for White and a smaller one for Major Rennick. Also awaiting them were the Tongsa Penlop, the two Punakha Dzongpons, the Shung Dronyer and the Deb Zimpon, all of whom White had known before. He had met the Penlop and the Dzongpon during his mission to Tibet.

The following day, after finishing off an accumulation of official work with his confidential clerk, White began a series of courtesy calls, which were in turn returned by Bhutanese officials. The most important of these was with the Deb Rajah who was a recluse occupied with spiritual affairs. This was because a reincarnation of the Dharma Rajah had not yet been found. Until then he was standing in as the Dharma Rajah's 'speech

incarnation' and his spiritual duties weighed more heavily than the temporal.

The next day the whole party proceeded to the ceremonial durbar, White and Rennick in full dress uniform preceded by an escort of the 40th Panthans commanded by their Subadar, Jehandad Khan. The durbar was a wide-balconied chamber covered in silken hangings and embroideries. In front of a high alter and its images on a raised dais sat the Deb Rajah clothed in yellow silk, his lamas ranged behind him. To the right were four scarlet, covered chairs for White, Rennick, Paul and the Subadar, each with its own table and refreshments. Behind stood orderlies with the gift that were to be presented. Opposite on a low dais sat Ugyen Wangchuk in a robe of dark blue Chinese silk and below him were ranks of officials. At the lower end of the hall the men of the escort were seated; behind them were rows of junior officials and lamas sat in the aisles leaving just enough room for four officers who paced up and down with whips and batons to keep order.

After a clerk had read out on his behalf a short address in Tibetan language, White accompanied by Rennick, carrying on a cushion the insignia and warrant of Knight Companion of the Indian Empire (KCIE), placed the ribbon around Sir Ugyen's neck and pinned on the star. Ugyen then rose and gave his thanks for the award after which he was presented with gifts, including a rifle, a number of framed photographs and the usual scarves.

There began 'an almost interminable procession' of lamas bringing scarves to Sir Ugyen who was almost smothered in them. Then the whole nave

filled up with gifts of various sorts. Including heaps of tea and bags of rice and corn, rolls of fabric, little bags of gold dust and heaps of rupees. Tea and refreshments were served and betel and pan passed around. Finally a large cauldron of chang was ceremoniously blessed and a small portion poured into Ugyen's hands. A wooden spear with a red cloth and a white scarf were also blessed and waved around his head. Finally there were prayers led by the Deb Rajah and followed by all lamas present for the occasion.

Describing the ceremony White wrote: 'It says a great deal for the change in conduct of affairs in Bhutan and the anxiety to show respect to the British government that they should have made the presentations of the decoration ... the first occasion of so public and elaborate a ceremony'.

After the ceremony they visited the dzong. Access was by two cantilever bridges with gateways of heavy timber studded with iron. There were defensive towers at each end and the only entrance was up a flight of removable steep steps twenty feet high. On one side was massive masonry wall built from river to river commanding the open plain. Inside, the buildings formed the customary rough parallelogram, divided into courts.

The first court housed the main citadel 80 feet high and a number of two storied blocks for lay officials. The second court was similarly divided by the main durbar hall that occupied the whole width and a smaller hall to the east of it. The next court housed almost 3,000 lamas whose cells were on two sides. There was a large temple in the centre and store rooms beneath.

Their stay in Punakha passed pleasantly. White gave a dinner party attended by Sir Ugyen and the Dzungpons who so much enjoyed the magic lantern show by Major Rennick, which had to be displayed for the second time on special request at the dzong, mostly of slides depicting scenes of Tibet, India and Europe.

White and Paul also visited the monasteries of Talo and Norbugang, passing through glades of pear and clematis to reach them. At Talo there were small well-kept two-storied houses with covered carved verandas and painted facades scattered over the hillside, each with its garden of flowers and trees. There was also a huge temple and the residence of the former Dharma Rajah. The head lama sent his band to meet the party with attendants bearing oranges for their refreshment. They were led into an embroidered tent; given tea and liquor and being shown around. They saw the caskets of the first Shabdrung Rimpoche and his most recent successor as well as some beautifully carved pillars and canopies. In describing these White referred to Bhutanese art and workmanship as 'both bold and intricate'. He regretted to present impoverishment of the country and the apparent lack of encouragement for the continuance of these skills.

At the temple of Norbugang the chapel was full of excellent specimens of metal and embroidered and appliqué work; and three kinds of incense were being manufactured by mixing into a paste finely powdered charcoal, aromatic herbs and rice water.

Back at Punakha the ladies and other relatives of the late Dharma Rajah had entertained the party

by English, returned and the lamas stayed to dinner. White noted that the Bhutanese were very appreciative of European food and being Buddhists, without any caste problems, regarded it as an honour to be invited to meals and were always anxious to return the hospitality. Afterwards gifts were usually given and those most appreciated were models of animals, especially animated ones like the elephant, given to the Tongsa Lama, which waved its tusks and grunted. The Pathan escort put on a display of Khattak dance. Archery meeting was held for the soldiers.

The day before their departure White and Paul took formal leave from the Deb Rajah who showed them special favour by rising to greet them. He sent his thanks to the Viceroy for sending the party and expressed 'the hope that he would continue to favour his little state whose sincere endeavour was to carry out the wishes of the British government'. Leading officials visited the mission's quarters bringing letters for the Viceroy and for senior British officials whom they knew. The Thimphu Dzongpon, acting as their spokesman, made a speech of farewell. He said that as per the Bhutanese custom letters were always wrapped in a scarf. They had therefore selected the whitest of scarves without blemish 'in which to envelop their letter to His Excellency and hoped that its purity would be considered an emblem of their own perfect purity of mind and intention '.

On their journey back home, this first camp on their return journey was at Wangdi Phodrang where the dzong was built in two sections. It was connected by an enclosed and loop-holed bridge

and had a more interesting interior than any except Drugyel dzong. White noted that there had been no alteration in the stream since Turner's visit 120 years before.

The next day, on a beautiful morning, they followed a bridle path up the right bank of the Tanchu for six miles, passing the summer residence of the right of the Punakha Dzungpon high up above the path. They pitched camp in the middle of a grove of pines near a lake. White's little Tibetan spaniel, his friend of many journeys in Sikkim, died of a heart attack on the next day's march. But their spirits were lifted up again the following day by the sight of snow-capped mountain ranges and lush valleys filled with rhododendrons, oak trees, chestnuts and walnuts, all in their new foliage. Despite the heavy rain that night they remained comfortable on a campsite, which had been levelled for their tents and where mats had been laid. Here also a cowherd brought to give them fresh milk.

The following day they had to trudge through thick clay as the rain had ruined the road surface. They met with more rain and heavy fog as they crossed the top of the Pela-la at 11,000 feet descending to 9,400 to camp at Rukubji. On the march once more they again passed through strikingly beautiful country but marred by rain and mist. The mules began to tire so that the following day their progress became slower down steep zig zag paths through rocky country leading right to the walls of the dzong at Tongsa. Here they crossed a stone-flagged courtyard through a gateway and on to their camp a few hundred yards away where

retainers met them with 'gaily caparisoned' ponies and mules although there were hardly necessary as the Punakha Dzongpon had already placed excellent mules at their service. Amidst a salute of guns reverberating through the rocky gorge they emerged from the bridge to be met by minstrels, singers and dancers who ceremoniously ushered them into the camp where Ugyen Wangchuk was waiting to greet them with tea and milk. He sent four men to carry Paul who had suffered from a backache. However, he denied the offer. White was obliged, much against his inclination, to ride up the ladder-like step to dzong with specially selected men on either side of him in the saddle so that he could not fall off.

The Tongsa dzong had suffered in the 1897 earthquake and the upper storeys of the Penlop's residence had to be rebuilt. Behind it was the main tower surmounted by a gilded canopy and the usual courts and buildings, including some very fine temples. In the last courtyard was a lofty chapel in which Sir Ugyen was in the process of organizing the erection of a gigantic sitting image of the 'coming Buddha'. Below the east wall was another building situated in a ravine containing prayer wheels. There were two sets of these, each axle containing three mains, or cylinders, of prayers, one above the other. As they had not been used for some time White and his companions, 'having nothing better to do, assisted in putting them in order, by clearing out the waterways which had been blocked by stones and rubbish, and hoped 'that it may be placed to our credits as a work of merit'.

Early one morning during their stay at this hospitable place the members of the mission watched the spring ceremony of blessing the rice fields in which the man from an unwatered attacked the women defending an irrigated upper field lower one. When, as on this occasion, the women managed to drive the men off, a good season is forecast with increased fertility and enlarged flocks. They also watched some dancing by the lamas whose robes had been presented by Ugyen Wangchuk.

From Tongsa dzong they began the last leg of their journey home, passing through country that changed from narrow gorges to broad valleys with hundreds of yaks in the upper ones and barley, buckwheat and mustard fields in the lower. The substantial nature of the buildings showed that they were entering a prosperous and well-governed area and at Gyetesa. There was a good solid rest house for travellers. The next day they had a plethora of mules to choose from as the Tongsa Penlop's nephew and sister had both sent some to augment those already provided by Ugyen Wangchuk himself. They saw his sister's house as well as his own delightful summerhouse and echoed Dr. Griffith's eulogies on the beauty of the countryside with masses of violet primulas and scarlet rhododendrons. There were more cultivations than in his earlier visits, much of which had begun after the interline quarrels had ended eighteen years earlier.

Sir Ugyen visited their camp bringing his sister and two of his daughters as well as the daughter of the Thimphu Dzongpon. They all wore the

attractive and distinctive Bhutanese costume of a long piece of cloth woven into collared strips, raped round the body and fastened at the shoulder by a silver brooch and tied at the waist by a band of cloth.

White particularly enjoyed the next few days as they were the private guests of Sir Ugyen in his home district and it gave him 'a much deeper insight into the customs of the Bhutanese'. They were shown around his home, built in the customary courtyard style, including a silk factory where girls were waving silk and cotton fabrics. They also watched an archery contest. The host gave White some books on early Bhutanese history, survivors of a large collections destroyed by fire. His life had been difficult as his wife had died shortly after the birth of their second daughter and he had found solace in the reading of history. He impressed his guest by his unusual interest in general subjects 'both foreign and domestic' and by his great sense of responsibility towards his country. The two men discussed many schemes for improvement. White bitterly regretted that the process of Anglo-Bhutanese co-operation had not begun twenty years earlier, when Paul had first suggested to the government that White should hold the office of political officer to Bhutan as well as to Sikkim. During those years there had been wholesale cutting a valuable Bhutanese forest along the disputed boundaries of the duars, presumably by British Indian subjects.

The members of the mission enjoyed themselves for several days being entertained by Ugyen Wangchuk and his family. They reached the

ancient temple of Janpai (sic) Lhakhang. At Kuje Lhakhang they saw what was said to be an impression of Padmasambhava's back which had formed as he reclined against the rock; also his holy water bottle and a weeping cypress that had taken from his staff. They were entertained by Sir Ugyen's sister at a house-warming to which White responded by holding a magic lantern show and the escort gave a military display.

When they left giving the usual presents, although by now the stock was getting low, the family accompanied them to the main bridge where they presented scarves before departing with obvious reluctance. The mission returned to its old campsite at Gyetsa. They were met by 'beviies of songstresses' a custom that appears to have been more prevalent during Pemberton's visit. Sir Ugyen Wangchuk who preceded them, meet the party and took them to the dzong where lamas danced for them 'in gorgeous dresses of every imaginable colour, with the weird tom-toms, huge trumpets, flutes and cymbals, which produce a strange and unusual but rather fascinating music of their own'. Continuing their march in pouring rain Sir Ugyen once again rode ahead of them to the next camp in order to greet them on arrival with refreshment.

He and White not only held long talks on Bhutanese affairs and new methods of governance but also discussed such mundane matters as method of preserving provisions and the making of the chutneys included in the missions stores.

At the top of the Pele La pass the mission took its leave from this remarkable man. The escort, who had acquired a great respect for him,

presented arm and gave three cheers. White wrote: 'I think he felt our departure as much as I can honestly say I did and I cannot help repeating myself and saying again that no host could be more courteous, more hospitable and more thoughtful of his guests...'

They continued a slippery wet mass to their next camp and then had a long haul to Samtengang, seeing new flowers each day. They followed a different road from their outward journey on the right bank of the river until once again having to ascend the Dokyong-la pass, which they found to be easier this time. At Simtokha the Thimphu band and dancers met them and played them music three miles to their camp on the wide plain from the dzong making what White called 'a goodly procession with their led and ridden mules and gay trappings, monks on ponies, orderlies in bright uniforms, bands of musicians and dancers and all the rest of our motley following...'

At their camp a new wooden house had been erected which had a large room and windows facing away from the prevailing winds. The Thimphu Dzongpon welcomed them. Other officers at a temple were decorated with the finest ponies White had ever seen. A cauldron of change was blessed, a ladle poured over the hands, the sacred flame touched and a series of teapots brought in, each with a different type of tea donated by different officials in honour of the White and his team.

The next day they paid their farewell call on the Deb Rajah who expressed his gratitude to the Viceroy for 'sending such friends to see him' and trusted that relations between the two country

would be 'as pure as white scarf with no blot to mar its whiteness and as dissoluble as water and milk when mixed'. They then adjourned to the Thimphu Dzongpon's room for a Bhutanese breakfast of bawls of rice, omelettes, sausages and pork before going on to the courts of the lamas. Abbot showed them dancing classes in progress in the dzong. White wrote of the event 'It was very pleasant to find the same cordial wishes and expressions of goodwill repeated by everyone in turn and to be made to feel so thoroughly that our visit was looked on in the light of a compliment to their country, and that everything was thrown open to us, instead of finding obstacles and difficulties in our way'.

They continued on their way, entering a narrow gorge which led upwards towards the plains of Tibet bordered by stupendous cliffs formed by horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks, consisting layers of limestone, sandstone, slate or shale and quartzite. They crossed the Chinchu six time altogether before arriving at the camp. Ascending the Yakle-La of 16,800 feet they found the maps to the hopelessly wrong. After a steep descent they followed the valley for six miles and set up camp at a good spot on a spur with fine views of the Chomolhari glaciers. They stayed there for a couple of days. They visited the ruined dzong where the Bhutanese had to keep a stone garrison to defend themselves against the Tibetans who had built a fort inside the Bhutanese frontier. The Dzongpon said that now they relied on the British to defend them against the Tibetans. They did a little more exploring and went to a valley enclosed with

glaciers where they saw two avalanches and were taken to a flat slab of rock where human corpses were exposed to be eaten by lammergeyers and beasts of prey.

The last leg of the unknown part of their return journey lay over the Lingssi La pass: first through a fertile valley and then along a series of fairly easy gradients, each of which brought them to the top of cliff until they reached an almost precipitous slope up which they zig-zagged with the laden mules and ponies to the Tibetan fort at the summit. From there a short incline brought them to the top of the pass at 17,000 feet where they had magnificent views over the plains and hills of southern Tibet. Much of the earlier part of their descent was very steep and snow covered in places. That evening they dined for the last time with the Thimphu Dzongpon from whom the next morning they received scarves before bidding him and the Tongsa Dronyer, who had been with them all the time, a fond farewell. The latter had proved to be 'a most jovial officer, never under any circumstances put out and ever obliging, fond of a glass but never the worse, a real Bhutanese Friar Tuck with a great fond of information'.

From this point onwards they followed their well-known route to the Chukya military encampment. From hence to Phari and then home.

White's next recorded visit to Bhutan, in May 1906, was part of an exploration he had wanted to make of the Eastern Bhutan and part of Tibet. On this occasion he found that the best point of entry was via Guwahati in Assam. The second visit of White was to attend the crowning of Ugyen

Wangchuk as king. We shall discuss the visit in detail in the following chapter.

With growing power of Ugyen Wangchuk in administration, suppressing his opponents, the kingdom had almost returned to normalcy after the harsh civil conflict for centuries. This had obviously raised respect and honour for Ugyen who finally established kingship in the kingdom gave it a name and rebuilt the ruined nation into an independent and sovereign one. There were no remarkable events occurring in Bhutan between the end of war with British and emergence of monarchy in the kingdom. The next chapter will deal the establishment of monarchy and its continuity until the start of democratic movement of 1990. It has almost covered the Bhutanese society and its history of 75 years and plus, focusing especially the development seen in the initiative of successive kings.

CHAPTER

8

EVOLUTION OF MONARCHY

For centuries, the state of Bhutan was run by a number of feudal lords and lamas fighting each other for powers. This has dismantled the course of perpetual history of the country. After Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal established the dual system of administration in the country, it faced several uncommon discourses. The choesid system tried to build a path for history but it never could establish itself powerful mechanism with strong foundation. Though, many politicians argue that political history of Bhutan has emerged after the establishment of authority of Shabdrung, the internal conflict and civil strife drew it backward. However, there are records after Bhutan emerge as a powerful nation state in the

region only after the choesid system was introduced.

Even then, we can find a good series of development history and political transformation on Bhutan after the establishment of hereditary monarchy in Bhutan. The establishment of kingship ended the feudal fights in Bhutan and widened its relation other than British in India. This helped her emerge as a independent kingdom in south Asia. The political and social circumstances between 1865 and 1907 magnified the emergence of monarchical system in Bhutan. Jigme Namgyal set the foundation of monarchism and his son Sir Ugyen Wangchuk established it in 1907.

1. Ugyen Wangchuk (1907 – 1926)

a. Early career

Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, Knight Commander of Indian Empire (KIEC), the man of Bhutan's destiny was born to Jigme Namgyal and Ashi Pema Chhoekey in 1862. His both parents were from the respected and high lineage of Bhutan. They descended from the legendry Terton Pema Lingpa (some historians state him as Padma Lingpa) whose descendents had settled in Kurtoe, eastern Bhutan and were known as Dungkar Chhoeje dynasty, and the noble descendants of Lhalung Pelgi Dorji of Byakar region. But there are fewer legendary tales to prove that present royal family of Bhutan is the direct lineage from Terton Pema Lingpa and Lhalung Pelgi. These families came to Bhutan ".....with other Buddhist sects with the descendants of a member of the Lhasa Royal family

who had fled to Bhutan in the 10th century at the time of the overthrow of the centralised monarchy in Tibet.”¹ This is why the ancestry of Bhutanese royal family has cultural and ethnical linkage with Tibet. Thus, “the political elite of Bhutan have been largely Tibetan in origin but it is far more important in this respect that virtually all their ancestors come to Bhutan as political refugees.”²

His father Jigme Namgyal was a great warrior and had managed to control the since he came to power as Tongsa Penlop. Historically, the Tongsa Penlop hold the major power in decision making process during the choesid period and this engraved him a good track to take control of nation’s power when he captured the seat of Tongsa Penlop. He managed to throw the enemies out and gradually rose to the position of Deb Raja by the time his son Ugen ably controlled the position of Tongsa Penlop.

Seeing the courage, reliable judgement, maturity to political affairs and intellectual efficiency, Jigme Namgyal installed Ugyen as a Paro Penlop in 1879 at the age of 17.

In 1870, Jigme Namgyal was enthroned to the post of Deb. Tshewang Norbu and Punap Ngoedub revolted against him but they were taken under control by a team comprising Kitsep Dorji Namgyal, Phuntsho Dorji and Ugyen Wangchuk. Ugyen Wangchuk was nearly killed but was saved by Kitsep Dorji Namgyal and brought back to Punakha. Jigme Namgyal, his half brother, enthroned Kitsep for this deed as Deb in 1874.

As a power position in the country, two uncles of Ugyen Wangchuk, Dunkar Gyaltshen and Pema

Tenzin were fighting for the position since a long time. Though Pema Tenzin was peacefully installed as Paro Penlop, Singye Namgyal from Punakha assassinated him to whom he had vowed to install as Tongsa Droenyer.

ii. As Tongsa Penlop

Ugyen Wangchuk was deeply shocked murder of his uncle. His first action was against Tshering Norbu, then Tongsa Penlop, Sha Ngoduep and Punakha Dzongpon. They were evicted out of the country and were allowed to take asylum in Darjeeling in India. On the other hand Alu Dorji, the Thimphu Dzongpon was withheld for the past three years with British subsidy for the right share of the Tongsa Penlop. When Tshering Norbu was shackled, Alu Dorji was positive in succeeding to the position but the overcome of the post by Ugyen Wangchuk in 1883 disheartened him.

Soon Ugyen Wangchuk took charge of the Tongsa Penlop, a group had emerged to uproot him. The protestors Alu Dorji, the Dzongpon of Thimphu, Phuntsho Dorji, the Dzongpon of Punakha and Dawa Penjor, and the Paro Penlop sought the assistance of British India for the share of Tongsa Penlop. They organized several open revolts in many places including Shar Rithrang. When Ugyen Wangchuk was victorious over them in all revolts, the Paro Penlop Dawa Penjor made ally with Tongsa Penlop Ugyen Wangchuk. The two groups again fought at Mendegang, between Thimphu and Punakha and at Jiligang, above Punakha. After the failure of several revolts, the oppositions agreed for negotiation at the place

called Changlimithang, below Thimphu. Some 4,000 soldiers of Tongsa Penlop were garrisoned at Simtokha Dzong fearing that dispute may breakout and enforcement may need.

iii. Revolt of Changlimithang (1885)

To settle the deepening dispute over the share of Tongsa Penlop between to faction led by Ugyen Wangchuk Alu Dorji, a meeting was held at Changlimithang ground. Dawa Penjor, the Paro Penlop represented the Tongsa Penlop and Phuntsho Dorji represented the opposing side as representative of Alu Dorji, the Thimphu Dzongpon. The discussion lasted till lunch. In course of the hot debate Tongsa Penlop's representative concealed that Phuntsho Dorji had kept his forces behind the tent. With anger Dawa Penjor and his forces attacked Phuntsho and his team. They killed Phuntsho Dorji on the spot and his forces were dispersed. Messengers were sent to Simtokha to convey the news of victory of Ugyen Wangchuk and to Thimphu to tell the defeat of Alu Dorji.

After the defeat and failing to get support from British India, Alu Dorji sought help from the Lhasa government .The Chinese representative in Lhasa suggested Ugyen Wangchuk for a conference to be held in a neutral territory and indicated the site to be Chumbai valley of Galing in Sikkim. They told that Ugyen Wangchuk should handover Ha, Gasa and Lingshi to Alu Dorji, but Ugyen Wangchuk turned his deaf ear to the request of Lhasa government. In desperation Alu Dorji committed suicide at Yatung in 1888. 'After suppressing an insurrection by the former Dzongpon of Punakha,

the last flicker of a century of strife, he was able to turn his attention to internal organizations and the development of a sound foreign policy.’ (C134)

Thus he suppressed all his opposing voices. Soon after the new Punakha Dzongpon tried to revolt against the power of Ugyen Wangchuk but was smashed to Buxa Duar by the force of Ugyen. However, there was smaller violence going on around the country, as under the leadership Ugyen Wangchuk, the country gradually restored the peace. People felt secure of their lives and properties. The agenda of national unity was raised against the tribal and feudal powers. Thus, ‘by the end of the nineteenth century, a pattern of external association had emerged.’³

Though the northern Bhutan was convulsed into civil war frequently in thought out the centuries, southern Bhutan remained peaceful. This would be the probable reason why we rarely find a Daga Penlop in national sphere and national politics. He merely reached the political game, allied with one against another and took himself arms.

iv. Foreign Relation

Bhutan’s foreign policy has been greatly affected by the Indian policies since the time of British. With the growing conflict with the Tibetan authority and increasing hostilities between the two communities, Bhutan’s relation with India grew gradually.

Even at the time to Ugyen Wangchuk’s uprising in Bhutan, Chinese authority tried to tighten its relation with him. But Ugyen Wangchuk felt that

the good will be if the British support was desired not neglecting the Chinese. To strengthen the relation of Bhutan with the British authority in India, Ugyen sent Paro Penlop Dawa Penjor to visit the British political agent at Kalimpong in 1889. He even acted a mediator between Tibet and British India to lead the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa. It was through his effort that Anglo-Tibetan convention was signed in 1904.

In 1905, British political officer in Sikkim John Claude White visited Bhutan and presented to Ugyen Wangchuk with the insignia of "The Knight Commander to the Empire of India." This encouraged Ugyen to be more loyal to the British than with Chinese.

In 1906 Ugyen Wangchuk himself visited British India during the visit of Prince of Wales, George V that further supported to strengthen the Indo-Bhutan relation. Her relation was then not limited to India but far beyond in Britain. Thus, in short span of time he came to power, Ugyen Wangchuk ably maintained good relationship with neighbouring countries that drew the picture for independent statehood. As late as 1910, the year when the Imperial Chinese empire was replaced by the republic of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the Viceroy in India was cabling anxiously about the Chinese attempts to interfere in Bhutan. It was because of their annoyance at the Dalai Lama's supposed intentions to travel through Bhutan to India offer. Chinese troops had entered Tibet and were trying to enter Bhutanese territory. In fact, the Dalai Lama had travelled through Chumbi to Kalimpong and stayed with Ugyen Kazi for a week. Apparently

the Chinese had told people in Yatung that Bhutan must accompany the Chinese soldiers and the Chinese Amban in Lhasa had proclaimed that Chinese currency must circulate in Bhutan. The viceroy in British India instantly made it clear that Britain was in charge of determining Bhutan's external affairs and would not permit the interference of Chinese in Bhutanese case by any other reasons.

In late 1908, Bell was able to revive the deepening cold Sino-India relation. He was also quite successful in maintaining relation with Tibet and Bhutan. He wrote; 'out policy with regard to Bhutan should show her all the friendliness we can and if opportunity offers, to make a brief treaty with her so as to enable us to control her foreign relations while leaving her absolute freedom in her internal affairs. This will enable us to keep Chinese agents, Chinese troops and Chinese influence generally out of the country.....'

British were also apprehensive about the inevitable influx of [Nepalese] immigrants. Then British considered that the only alternative to lower risk of external aggression over Bhutan would be secured by a treaty with her. Consequently, it was recommended therefore that Bell, the British political officer in Sikkim should be empowered to enter into secret negotiations with the king of Bhutan. While many a times, they had said Bhutan was just a princely state within the Indian Empire, and that since the treaty of 1774, British had controlled the external policy of Bhutan, which they wanted to strengthen.

In the summer of 1910 Bell had forwarded a letter from the king confirming that Bhutan would not enter into any agreement with any other foreign powers or permit the entry of agents of such foreign states. British political officers in Sikkim were continued to be vexed by the Chinese interference in Bhutan. Bell had also received a copy of a letter from the Amban to the Paro Penlop who continued to favour the Chinese cause. "Chinese, however refuse to relinquish their claims and in April 1911 reasserted that Nepal and Bhutan were vassal states of the Chinese empire." The following month a Trade Agent in Yatung reported political officer that a Chinese official had left for Bhutan in order to strengthen the relation with the Paro Penlop. Paro Penlop continued to be very friendly with the Chinese Trade Agent in Gyantse.

The succeeding political officer in Sikkim Weir was dumfounded of the way Tibetan had suddenly chosen to interfere in the Bhutan's internal affairs. But he was of the opinion that it had been because certain Bhutanese who were personal friends of the Dalai Lama, had engineered the whole thing and that events in India may now had given Lhasa, the idea that as the British hold was weakening in India ancient claims of Chinese emperor could be reasserted. However, the campaign of Sir Ugyen Wangchuk was never fanned out for the establishment of an independent nation. His authority still continued to tilt the relation of Bhutan and end the interference of British in the internal affairs of Bhutan. His acts were also directed towards in falsifying the claim of Chinese ruler that Bhutan was a part of his empire.

v. Election as the king

Deb Pem Shangye Dorji ruled the country under direction of Ugyen Wangchuk and Jigme Namgyal for 18 years and resigned in 1903. With the recommendation of Ugyen, the council nominated Tshoegley Tuelku Yeshe Ngoedub as Deb-cum-Shabdrung in the same year. While Dorji was dethroned on the pretext that misfortune overran the country, the situation continued during the reign of succeeding Deb as well. During Yeshe's rule, the country was convulsed into epidemics and flood. "He even disturbed the Shabdrung's Kudung."⁴ All circumstances were favourable for his termination of Yeshe, who was also to be the last Deb of the Bhutanese history. Ugyen Wangchuk summoned him to Bumthang and dethroned him from the post in 1907.

The dethroning of Yeshe was not conclusively due to epidemics and flood but for formal declaration of hereditary monarchy in the country for which Ugyen had received ample words from the British authority in India. On December 17, 1907, Monk Body, State Councillors, Chillahs and other representatives unanimously installed Ugyen Wangchuk as the first hereditary monarch of Bhutan. They declared their allegiance and loyalty to him to serve him and his heir faithfully and best of their ability. "After the enthronement of monarch in Bhutan in 1907, the last Druk Deb retired to a life of sedition and religious meditation and the office was abolished."⁵

"Ugyen Wangchuk was in full to Buddhayana Dharmasastra in which king was a supreme entity

devoid of spiritual powers because he was charged with the primary duty of physical protection for which he received a mundane material remuneration of 16 percent of the produced as his wages – *Sadbhagabhrto Rajah Raskat Prajahm*."6 The coronation ceremony of that occasion was attended by John Claude White, the British representative with H. Hyslop, Major Reniek and Captain Cambell.

The following is the oath allegiance signed during the coronation of Ugyen Wangchuk as the first hereditary monarch of Bhutan:

*To the foot of the two-fold judge most respectfully prayeth,
There being no hereditary Maha Rajah over this state of Bhutan and the Deb Rajahs being elected from amongst the lamas, lopons, councillors and the chillahs of the different districts, with the undersigned Abbots, Lopons, and the whole body of the lamas, the State Councillors, the Chillahs of different districts with all the subjects, having discussed and unanimously agreed to elect Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, Tongsa Penlop, the prime minister of Bhutan as hereditary Maha Rajah of this state, have installed him in open Durbar on the golden throne on this the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of Earth Monkey Year, corresponding to 17th of December 1907 at Punakha Palace.*

We now declare our allegiance to him and his heirs with unchanging mind and undertake to serve him and his heirs loyally and faithfully to the best of our ability. Should anyone not abide by this contract by saying this and that, he should all together be turned out of our Company.

In witness thereto we affix our seal and sign of all third class officers of Punakha.

Seal and sign of all the third class officers of Tashichodzong.

Seal and sign of all the third class officers of Angdu Phodang.

Seal and sign of all the third class officers of Tongsa.

Seal and sign of all the third class officers of Rinpoung (Paro).

Seal and sign of Tarkar Zimpon Dorji.

Seal and sign of Nyerchhen Wangpo.

Seal and sign of all the subjects of Thekar-Kyon-Chu-Sum.

Seal and sign of all the subjects of Shar-tar-gyed.

Seal and sign of all the subjects of Bar-khor-tso-tug.

Seal and sign of all the subjects of Tsen-tong-ling-tung.

Seal and sign of all the Huh subjects.

Seal and sign of all the subjects of Shacho-khorlo-tsip-gyed.

Of all great invitees, John Claude White, the British Political Officer in Sikkim was in the top. Though there were instances that representatives were sent to Nepal to get supportive words and invite the rulers there in the ceremony, no one from Nepal is known to have attended it. Chandra Sumsher, who was then the Prime Minister of Nepal and 'Shree Teen' sent his congratulations but did not send any representative to attend the ceremony. The only foreign eyewitness of the Wangchuk's instalment was White. He was the special guest of the installation ceremony representing the British government in India. White was allowed to attend the ceremony but not to his suggestion that the opportunity should be taken to enter into a new treaty. The faith of Bhutan's ruler in the British and Government of India was not yet fully reciprocated and White was told that there was no need to change the treaty until the new government had proved its worth.

Prepared White set out on November 27, 1907 from Gangtok on his third official visit to Bhutan, accompanied by Major Rennick and Wilton of the councillor service. Captain W. L. Campbell, the assistant political officer, went ahead to Chumbi to make the arrangements and the party was joined by Captain H.H.G. Hyslop, by special request of Sir

Ugyen who had already met him and escort of twenty five men of the 62nd Punjabis under the command of a Viceroy's Commissioned Officer. There were also three pipers, two drummers and a medical assistant.

They began their journey through Phari on a fine sunny morning and climbed up to the pass at Tremo La. They sheltered in a valley where they receive message of welcome from Sir Ugyen and were met by the Dzongpon's band of drums, gungs and cymbals. On the next stretch through a rocky gorge, Rennick was carried by a Bhutan helped by two or three others on either side. On the far side attendants with mules and ponies, which White again described as 'gaily caparisoned', met them. Soon they reached a beautiful spot where they came in a grove of larch and spruce, with magnificent views of forests and spruce village.

With their new Bhutanese transport, they left camp to the strains of the escort's pipes. Hyslop, a Scot, was very critical of playing these instruments. After an attractive march through pine forest to Drugyel dzong on the right bank of the Pa Chu they reached the finest camp site of all where the walls of the guest room were hung with arrows, shields, old guns, saddle cloths and curious bridles, which had already been pitched for them. They passed two days in this sylvan place, taking photograph, pheasant shooting and going to Taktsang monastery, one of the holiest places in the country. Captain Campbell, who had not visited Bhutan before, was fascinated to note how different the people were from the Tibetans in the Chumbi valley

where he had worked as British agent for so many years.

The following day they went on down the valley where Rai Ugyen Kaji Bahadur met them, the Bhutanese Agent in India. Later when they reached Paro, they met Paro Penlop. The team was surprised to find that the dzong had been burnt down since the last visit of White and although the ruins were still smouldering rebuilding had already begun.

On December 10, they were called on by the Penlop at his private house. Like all Dzongpons who were obliged to live in the dzongs, he had a house near the dzong where in fact, he used to spend most of his days. The team passed through an afternoon crowd with armed retainers and were received in an inner room by the Penlop, 'an old man with tired eyes', only about five feet tall and with 'a small and curious shaped head.' He also met the Penlop's sixteen-year-old son and his bride married only two days earlier.

White went down with fever. The mission spent next two days before they could go on their way, riding up the valley towards Punakha. From the pass of Dokyong La they were able to see range after range of snow-capped summits with Chomolhari peak on their left. They camped at Chalimaphe at the foot of a giant cedar, 250 feet high and 52 feet round the trunk at the base. They spend a whole day there and Campbell took the opportunity to visit Tashichodzung, the summer capital, up the valley of the Wang Chu.

On December 14, they left Chalimaphe on a steep and narrow path repeatedly crossing and re-

crossing the river and from the top of a pass obtained superb views of the snowy mountains which divide Bhutan from Tibet to the north, including the snow covered Kulagangri with line of glittering peaks on further west peaks leading to the Chomolari range. Campbell was unable to obtain satisfactory photograph of the snow because of the thick growth of rhododendrons and oaks along the pass leading to Punakha.

Four miles out of Punakha, they met a delegation from the Tongsa Penlop, dressed in coats of Chinese brocade in every hue and bearing scarves to welcome them. They carried basketful of fruits, and wicker-covered bamboo and containers of *murwa* and *chang*. There were also five or six mules with decorated trappings, a band dressed in green and two trumpeters in red. As a dzong in view more people joined them and guns were fired in salute. The procession was an impressive sight with the pipes and drums leading the Punjabis, followed by twenty mules with brightly collared saddle cloths, then the Tongsa Penlop's bodyguard of twenty men in silks and brocades, each with a yellow scarf, who preceded the band, and dancers all twisting and turning. Then came White and his party, followed by all orderlies and servants, mounted and in scarlet uniforms. As they closed in to single file across the bridge through the corner of the dzong to the ground they had occupied in 1905, minute guns were fired and everywhere large crowds watched the procession.

The Tongsa Penlop, (still Ugyen Wangchuk's official designation) and his council received them at the entrance to the camp and escorted them up

a path covered with red cloth between banks of flowers and shrubs in pots to the mess house that had been built for them. The Paro Penlop, the Thimphu Dzongpon and other officials were waiting there in order to present scarves to each member of the mission. After offering them refreshment Sir Ugyen Wangchuk welcomed each of them individually to Bhutan.

The following morning, on December 17 – a day when, according to Campbell, 'The Magna Carta of Bhutan would be signed' – at 10 o'clock precisely, the procession along the British invitee team set forth for the dzong; dressed in their best uniforms preceded by the pipers playing 'Highland Laddie' following White's orderlies in Sikkimese dressed and the escort of 62nd Punjabis in their ceremonial uniforms. Tongsa Penlop and Council received them at the entrance to the main gateway into the hall that was decorated with banners and religious picture scrolls embroidered in silk. The Tongsa Penlop Ugyen Wangchuk sat on a central throne; White on his right and Lama Khembo to his left. All other members of the British team sat on the right with the members of the council just below them. To the left of the throne was the Tango Lama, brother of the late Dharma Raja, and other Lamas wearing robes of their respective offices and brocade hats. In the gallery was band of lama musician. White orderlies and his escort lined up behind his and those of the other officers' seat. At the far end of the room was an altar covered with lighted silver butter lamps facing Sir Ugyen who wore a robe of blue brocade with the star and ribbon of the KCIE and a scarlet shawl.

The proceedings opened with formal presentation of gifts from the durbar of British Government in India beginning with a ceremonial scarf, followed by similar presentation from the head Abbot and then by the lamas taking off their mitres and silken copes, advancing and twice prostrating them. The councillors and the Dzonpons present on the ceremony, most of them presenting rolls of cloth surmounted by scarves although, did this in similar way. Presents included a bag of gold dust and five bags of silver coins. The mission was then given scarves, first by the Tongsa Penlop and then by the council members.

After this lengthy ceremony a procession of lamas entered the hall bearing teapots and vessels of copper, gold and silver for it was time for tea drinking ceremony. Three kinds of tea, as well as rive and pan were offered to each of the mission members in turn followed by a long grace intoned by one of the lamas. The head clerk to the council then read out from a parchment scroll the oath of allegiance to the new 'Maharaja' and the great seal of the Dharma Raja was fixed to the document. This was a slow process watched intently by everyone as the paper was first dampened and then the huge five inch square seal was painted over with vermilion before an impression was taken.

Then in turn the members of the council, the Lamas, Dzungpons and high officials each affixed their seals and impressions in black. Two copies of the document were prepared, signed and sealed. White then rose and handed Sir Ugen the Viceroy's 'Kharita', the recognition of status which confirmed Indian princes as officially accepted rulers of their

kingdoms in the eyes of the British 'Paramount Power.' Then the ceremony was followed by a short speech of congratulation in which White said: 'I have known Bhutan for many years; and with an intimate knowledge of the political questions relating thereto, I am convinced you have taken a wise step in thus consolidating the administration to the state. Sir Ugyen has been my friend for many years and you could not have made a better choice. His integrity, uprightness and firmness of character commend him to everyone and his accession to the Maharajaship is not only a gain to Bhutan but is of great advantage to the British government who will henceforth have a settled government with a man of strong character to negotiate with.'

The other members of the British mission then congratulated Sir Ugyen Wangchuk on becoming Maharaja, as White has recommended the title for, of Bhutan and presented him with white scarves, before they all moved on to the King's apartments for refreshments.

On the next morning of the coronation ceremony the new King Ugyen Wangchuk visited White and was given presents for his family, including broadcloth, silk and cotton piece goods, tools cutlery, sewing mechanical toys. The councillors, who visited in the afternoon also received presents, the Thimphu Dzongpon obtaining a galvanic battery that had given as much pleasure as a similar gift during Turner's visit in 1783.

They spent a few more days in Punakha, during which time White handed over the subsidy of 50,000 rupees to Ugyen Wangchuk new authority.

Government of India had paid it since the treaty of 1865 annually in return for the duars in south, which Bhutan lost in the war with British. White, in the meantime, also attended a private council meeting, at the request of the newly crowned King as a personal friend.

On the Christmas Day White took photographs of the king, his council and the king distributing 'doles' to the poor in the neighbourhood. That evening he organized a dinner party for the king and council. As a highly accomplished amateur photographer, White took every opportunity to record Bhutan, its landscapes, architecture and people, as well as the formal state occasions with the King and his ministers.

The next day the mission broke up, Campbell going back to Chumbi valley with the escort and Rennick and Hyslop to India via Buxa. White stayed on for a few days in Punakha to discuss new schemes for development with the new King. The new projects included development of education, population, trade, roads, minerals and the possible cultivation of tea, for all of which the greatest restraint was the lack of funds.

White was deeply moved when he took a final farewell from the country he had grown to love and of its ruler who had become his such a personal friend. Ugyen Wangchuk escorted him for about four miles until they halted and talked for a couple of hours under the shade of a large pine tree, once again planning beneficial developments, until they had to bid each other goodbye.

After he was enthroned as the hereditary monarch of the kingdom of Bhutan no Tongsa

Penlop was chosen but was made it the seat of Crown Prince before he takeover the Bhutanese throne as a king.

Thus, the age old faction and disturbances on people was settled and the game of enthroning and dethroning of Debs and Shabdrungs according to the will who ever be powerful for the time, ended. One strong, firm and shrewd monarch then guided the country.

vi. Treaty of Punakha

Towards the end of 1909 Bell began to make his preparation to go to Punakha. He asked the British authority in India if he could take 100,000 rupees with him to handover on the spot as an impressive gesture of goodwill if Bhutanese accepted the proposed treaty alteration. The money was to be packed seriously in the boxes each holding 2,000 rupees.

Bell submitted a draft treaty, which was approved, although the usual central government wariness asserted itself when the proposed clauses subjecting it to ratifications by the Viceroy and Council and the Maharaja's Council were deleted. The treaty was to be solely between Bell and Ugyen Wangchuk leaving the government of India and the British cabinet free to disavow it as they had with sections of Younghusband's treaty. Bell protested and in the end was permitted to use his discretion if he thought that additional signatures would increase the treaty's validity.

Accompanied by Captain Robert Kennedy, he at last set forth in January 1910 and wrote from his first camp just across the border to say that he had

prepared the ground by having a preliminary meeting in Darjeeling with Kazi Ugyen Dorji who had taken a draft in English and Tibetan to the King.

On arrival at Punakha, Bell found that the King 'had done his work very well.' The whole council, including the Paro Penlop had assembled and the initial scruples of some council members opposed to the surrender of foreign policy control, had been overcome. On the January 8, 1910 the treaty was signed in the marquee in the compound of Bell's camp, with Bell and his assistant, Kennedy, in full uniform. It was 'first explained to the Maharaja in the presence of the council that he must not enter into any agreement with the authorities of foreign state without the assent of the British government and that he must not, without the consent of the British government, permit agents or representative of foreign powers to reside in Bhutan, or part with land to the authorities representatives or officials of any foreign state.' The Bhutanese king and his council accepted these conditions in their entirety. The treaty was signed, placed on all documents of major importance, as well as the King's own seal and those of council members entitled to have their own seal and, at Bell's insistence, the seal of the monk body. 'Even if anything untoward happens to the Maharaja and his family,' he wrote, 'there will be no getting round so completely sealed a document.' He had insisted on this as all his experience in frontier districts had taught him that 'chiefs are always ready to back out of agreements to which they are not finally committed.'

By one o'clock the singing and sealing were finished and, according to Bell, Bhutan was then incorporated in the British Empire.'

On the other side in 1910, Choe-Erth-Feng, the Chinese Warden of Szeenwan Lhasa and Thubten Gyamtsho, the 13th Dalai Lama took refuge in India. On the succession on the taking over Lhasa, Chinese Emperor claimed over the kingdom of Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim. On such situation king Ugyen Wangchuk thought to tighten relationship with British India. Since the link with Tibet was cut off, British were also ready for the purpose and they agreed to sign a treaty between Bhutan and Anglo-India. British agreed to increase the annual tribute of 50,000 to 100,000 (Art. 4) and Bhutan agreed to be guided by British on its foreign affairs (Art. 8).

So, the treaty of Sinchula was replaced and the era of relation between British India and new monarch of Bhutan developed. Bhutan also felt the security from Chinese influence over the country.

Thus, the king Ugyen Wangchuk had brought the country to peaceful nature and gave his people happiness and prosperity. He was right to what Manusmriti states on rulers – 'ruler who collects his dues from his subjects but fails to offer them protection and to do his duty sinks into hell.'⁸

Ugyen Wangchuk maintained peace and prosperity in the country and ended the age-old dual system that lasted for centuries with internal conflicts between the local chief and gave rise the shrewd monarchical system. However, he could not find enough time to bring about the radical socio-economic changes in the country particularly in the

economic development. He opened few primary schools imparting western education standard. He mainly focused on the training of monk and Gelongs, building temples and monasteries to strengthen Buddhism. He even encouraged trade and commerce with India. With his interest, Anglo-Bhutanese Extradition Agreement was signed on November 1, 1910 corresponding to Bhutanese date the 20th day of 9th month of Iron Dog Year. The original versions of the treaty and extradition agreement are produced in the annex of this book.

2. Jigme Wangchuk (1926-1952)

Born in 1906, the second king Jigme Wangchuk was educated in Buddhist literature, Hindi and English. He was made Tongsa Droenyer at the age of 17 in 1921. In 1922 he married Ashi Phuntsho Chhoden and a year later was appointed to Tongsa Penlop. After the death of his father on August 21, 1926, Jigme Wangchuk was enthroned as the second hereditary monarch of Bhutan. He was barely 21 years during his coronation to the throne.

In January 1931, the British again invest the insinia of KCIE to the second king, sending Weir as its representative to the ceremony. Such awards to successive Bhutanese rulers, still invariably described as 'Maharajas', supports later Bhutanese and Indian critics that British tended to regard Bhutan as little different from any other of the 'Princely states' of India which owed allegiance to the British crown.

There were no such great reforms brought about in the country during the 26 years long

reigning of king Jigme Wangchuk. Internal developments were at a standstill. The worth mentioning of the king is the signing of the Indo Bhutan treaty of 1949 which is still in function. Beside that he settled the dispute over the ownership of Tawang Monastery of Tashigang. The Tibetan authority had been claiming the monastery. The dispute was peacefully solved in 1935, whereby the monastery should be owned by Bhutan, was finally recognized. He rarely introduced schools, opened dispensaries and reduced land revenue and other taxes. Few rough roads were constructed.

In 1933 Ludlow and Sherriff, two botanists of British Museum in India, were allowed to collect plants in eastern Bhutan. As part of stretching relations with other neighbouring countries, Bhutan participated in the Asian relations conference held at New Delhi in 1947.

Indo-Bhutanese Treaty –1949

Bhutan's first step to end the age-old policy of isolation was the 1949 treaty with India. In 1948 a Bhutanese delegation visited free India to discuss on Bhutan's relation with her and other countries through her. The visit was fruitful in preparing for Bhutan relation with India. As a result Indo-Bhutanese Treaty-1949 was signed at Darjeeling on August 8, 1949. Sri Hariswar Dayal, the representative of government of India and Palden Dorji representing the Bhutan government signed the treaty.

According to the treaty, India would assist in the external affairs and do not interfere in the internal

affairs of the country (Art. 2). Modifying the Article 4 of the Sinchula Treaty-1965 and Punakha Treaty-1910, India agreed to pay Rs. 5 million instead of Rs. 1 million as the compensation of the loss of the duar areas in the south since the duar war in 1864. India also agreed to return to Bhutan government Dewangiri area of 32 square miles (Art. 3). Free trade and commerce was established (Art. 5&6). Citizens were treated equally as of own citizen in both countries (Art. 7). Thus, Bhutan's first step approach for the friendship with other sovereign countries was however, squeezed within the foreign policy of India, still strategically acting as a guide for strengthening Bhutan foreign relation. With strengthening of foreign relation after this treaty, Bhutan started receiving grants and donations from abroad. Indo- Bhutanese friendship became the cornerstone of Bhutan's foreign policy. The isolation that lasted for centuries in Bhutanese history had ended and new era for Bhutan emerged. Relation with Britain, certainly, was reprimanded within Indian policies but the friendship was firm and her guidance for the far extent of development of the country, Bhutanese accepted.

From the treaty then, Bhutan emerge as a "became independent from British subsidy and retained its sovereignty. With the treaty, "Bhutan could not be an Indian state 'strictly so called' and could not be taken even to be a state in India. Its precise legal status was, therefore, of a foreign state govern by treaty relation. It was foreign because it was in law not an Indian state nor was it a British territory. It was governed by the limitations

imposed by the agreement with Bhutan had signed in 1910 with British in India.” Some historians mark that Bhutan is more independent than Sikkim and less than Nepal.

The dependency of the country was shifted from British Empire to new Republic of India. “It definitely pronounced that Bhutan was no part of the territory of India as was therefore a totally autonomous independent political unit whose external relation could be governed only by the concern of Bhutan as expressed in the Treaty” of 1949.

By the end of his life, the situation of the country fell into the hands of provincial heads. The administration in distant places from the capital seems at their own will. Without the end of the problem, King Jigme Wangchuk died in 1952, after ruling the country for 26 years.

3. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (1952-1972)

The third hereditary king of Bhutan Jigme Dorji Wangchuk was born in Thrupeang Palace of Tongsa in 1928. He was well in Buddhist literature, English, Hindi and knew little French. His early education began in Bhutan and continued in India. He proceeded to England for the higher studies at the age of 15, for a year.

Dorji was appointed to the position of Paro Penlop when he was 17. When in 1952, his father Jigme Wangchuk died, at the age of 24 he ascended the Golden Throne as the third hereditary monarch of Bhutan. He was the chief commander of the armed forces. He was the man of far sightedness and he had brought the country into

modern development within the reign of 20 years. He changed the title from His Holiness to His Majesty. “By judicious statesmanship, he steered the country away from the policy of isolation, what Jigme Wangchuk initiated, endowed it with political unity, brought about religious and social consolidation and set the country on the path of economic development.”

i. Internal movement of BSC

The internal situation of the country did not go consolidated in the reign of the second king. The local administration remained vaguely within the personal whims of local chieftains. They grew shrewder and suppression over villagers surpassed. The situation in the south and east was more vulnerable and ultimately, people raised their protest against the state suppression in early 1950s. This was the period that Jigme Dorji was taking over the responsibilities of the country statesmanship.

The peaceful existence on Bhutanese society started seeking some political changes in the early 1950s. There were problems that were growing bigger on the fronts of social unity. The situation of the east and south had gone deteriorating. Especially in southern Bhutan movement for social rights and end of discrimination, had erupted against the atrocities of provincial administrators that had been arising due to the flexible overlook of Jigme Wangchuk. Many political manipulators interpreted this movement as the cause of political change in Nepal and its consequent influences in

Bhutan. They also exaggerated the situation as the inclination of southern Bhutanese towards Nepal. One such puts in:

“The large Nepali Bhutanese community in Bhutan which is still a potential source of dissension within the country further complicates the question of diplomatic relation with Nepal. There is some apprehensions that closer relation might rise expectation of support from Kathmandu for political movement in southern Bhutan and the sensationalist highly exaggerated reports on Bhutan that appear on occasion in the ‘guided’ Nepali press do not relieve Bhutanese anxieties on this point. There are, thus, several good reasons for the Royal government welcome diplomatic relation with Nepal, but at least for the immediate future the argument against such venture will probably prove to be more persuasive.”

Government was in fear that the political organisation would be the challenge for ethnic power. “The Bhutanese authorities had carefully noted the way in which the Nepali dominated Sikkim State Congress (SSC) had made Sikkim accession to India and integral of it program in 1948 – 54 period.” Indeed the platform in the political manifesto of the Bhutan State Congress aroused the greatest concern on the government circles, was the call of closer economic and political co-operation with India. Despite, there the society was still immature in Bhutan that can easily consolidate the political changes and ride the democratic system at the time. It was subsequent results of independence in India and evolution of

democracy in Nepal whose influences were easier enough to hit the Bhutanese society.

Though government had maintained the closer economic relation with India, political relation at people's level did not progressed. Political or nay sort of association by Bhutanese as in India were banned and if found involved were to be dealt severely.

Bhutanese in south especially were fatigue of discriminatory action of provincial administration. At the same time, relation with people in Sikkim and bordering India was easier. As such they were encouraged by the ideology of Sikkim State Congress for political consciousness. "Their political leaders met at Pat Gaon in Assam in November in 1952 and formed Bhutan State Congress under the leadership of D. B. Gurung, D. B. Chhetri and G. P. Sharma. Initially at least primary objective was "the redress of the grievances of those people then living as refugees in Goalpara and Jalpaiguri" but this was soon expanded to conclude demands for more broad base political reforms internally in Bhutan and a closer association with India." "The programme of BSC as stated in Party's political Manifesto was scarcely radical except possible in Bhutanese context."

"One potentially dangerous exception to be quiet polity was the Nepali Bhutanese majority in southern Bhutan which by 1948 had a limited exposure to the radical political thriving across the border of India. The Nepali in India, for instance had been organised since 1920s for both political and social purpose by the Gorkha League. The character of this movement had undergone

substantial change with the formation of Nepali National Congress in Calcutta in 1947. The new party was assertively modernistic in ideology and had as its primary objective to overthrow the autocratic Rana family regime in Nepal. So, too in neighbouring Sikkim, several local Nepali Sikkimese political organisations had been formed in 1946, most of which were observed into the anti-royalist Sikkim State Congress on its formation in 1948.”

As part of their program, they initiated campaign into Bhutan in early 1950s. They tried to receive support and sympathy from southern Bhutanese but failed to receive any. The political unawareness and trivial political and social agenda in favour of southern Bhutanese, dominance of government authority and suppression of anti-royalists were some of the causes seen in the failure of the movement. The movement had its origin in the Dagapela area of southern Bhutan. Its greatest appeal was to redress the Nepali settlers who have fled across the border in India after confrontations. It is said that the Royal government of Bhutan moved to enforce the forest regulation to barren land these settlers were cultivating alleging them of settling in the area after illegal clearing the forest. These refugees had settled in Assam and West Bengal on temporary basis.

“Organisation’s activities, among Nepali Bhutanese residents in the areas of India bordering in Bhutan, observed the attention of Bhutan Congress until 1953 and it was only in early 1954 that an effort was made to extend the party’s operation into Bhutan itself. On March 22

approximately 100 volunteers of Bhutan State Congress marched across the border to launch a Satyagraha campaign at Sarbhang, the centre of largest confrontation of Nepali Bhutanese in southern Bhutan. The Bhutan government, forewarned by the numerous public statements issued by the party leaders in their efforts to attract supports from a variety of sources in India, has mobilised the national militia and dispatched it into the Sarbhang area to maintain order.

Bhutan State Congress was not so successful in its campaign. They were scattered by dispatched military force. Cooperation from general people was almost absent except from those who were forced to leave the country. The Bhutan State Congress could not gain the confidence of villagers in regard of their rights and thus, the movement vanished.

“When in 1953 the Bhutan State Congress leaders called upon the Indian political officer in Sikkim reportedly to seek Indian support for the projected Satyagraha campaign and sent a delegation to the prime minister of Nepal for the same purpose; the determination of royal government to exclude political party’s activities from Bhutan was intensified. As it turned out the party did not receive support from either source, and it was the Indian government’s order barring Bhutan State Congress from using Indian territory as a base of operation; that was partly responsible for the failure of 1954 Satyagraha.”

After the failure of 1954 Satyagraha campaign, the Bhutan State Congress continued to exist as a minuscule party in exile with its headquarters at Siliguri in Indian state of West Bengal. The

government had not formally banned political parties but it is well understood by the Bhutanese elite, the formation of such organization at this time is still discouraged. Some high ranking Bhutanese officers foresee the day when political parties will not only be permitted but will indeed be an essential ingredient in a liberalized participatory political system. The party has been reactivated after the movement of 1990.

The king and the government of Bhutan at that time did not overlook the more important constitutional, political and economic fields, which were vital to the country's well-being. The government's intention shouldn't be concentrated to ban such political organisations but should have encouraged them in mobilizing people to participate in the national development and to create social awareness. They must have been used as the agents to social and economic changes in the country. Such initiation would have made people aware of the modern changes going around than and imitate such changes into their community and individual life that would add prosperity to the Bhutanese society.

The consequences of the movement were depressing. One of the leaders Mahashur Chhetri was drowned to Manas and D. B. Gurung with his colleagues was exiled from the country. "In 1969 the Druk Gyalpo granted its (Bhutan State Congress) few remaining head persons to return to Bhutan without prejudice." For instance D. B. Gurung was granted pardon after which he returned to the country; the Royal Notification of which is produced in this book.

Beside, the dissention also brought some changes in the political changes in the country although the government did not announced that the changes were due to the pressure from movement. "An effort was made by the government of Bhutan to meet Nepali Bhutanese demands on [those] issues that did not conflict with the basic policies. The community was granted representation to the Tshogdu when the National Assembly was established in 1953-54 and on the proportional terms that were essentially equitable. Bhutanese citizenship was extended to the community in 1959." ²³

These comparatively liberal approaches of the Bhutanese regime were meant to make Nepali Bhutanese unresponsive to the political organisations and agitation and make them feel that they are required to attain community and regional objectives. The instance adopted by Bhutan government on this question is not solely attributable to its perception of its internal situation in southern Bhutan.

"The Dorji utilised the source of Nepali family, the Pradhans, who brought in a large numbers of Nepali migrants into southern Bhutan after 1910 under a contract system."

The Pradhans were Newari family originally from Kathmandu valley. Earlier a number of Newar families had arranged to importation of Nepali labour force to work in the Tea garden in Darjeeling district of Bengal as well as for the settlement of much of southern Sikkim by Nepali.

1964 Crisis

As in other countries, the internal conflict within the ruling group was heightening during the reign of third monarch. The king remained 'off' most of the time from country's daily affairs. The responsibilities were transferred to courtiers who misused their power and authorities at several instances in their best interest.

Soon after the consolidation of dissention of southern Bhutan, the internal conflict on the ruling family had reached its peak. The incident of 1964 was a turning point in the Bhutanese history.

A member of Dorji family, originally from Kalimpong in India was acting as the chief administrator of southern Bhutan and Prime Minister of the country. Son of Ugyen Wangchuk's ally while defeating the provincial powers before 1907, Jigme Palden Dorji had efficiently controlled the southern Bhutan. Still, the Dorji family holds major political power in Bhutan and is influential in framing any national policies. Dorji family is second to the Wangchuk holding economic sphere of the country.

"On April 5, 1964 Lonchhen, as Prime Minister was called in Bhutanese language, Jigme Dorji was assassinated at Phuntsholing by a no commissioned officer of the Royal Bhutan Army. Druk Gyallpo Jigme Dorji was in Switzerland at the time undergoing treatment for the heart attack he had suffered in March 1963, but he returned to Bhutan immediately on hearing the news. On April 14 he ordered the arrest of 41 persons allegedly involved in the assassination conspiracy including the commander and the quartermaster general of the Army Brigadier Chebda Namgyal Bahadur (the

king's uncle) and Bashu Phugyal. The quartermaster general committed suicide in prison on May 8 and Brigadier was executed on May 16." However, the reason for the assassination had not been revealed. Dorji, who had earlier drowned his friend-in-law Mahashur Chhetri in Manas, also met similar fate within a decade. The state of other arrested remained silent for all these years.

After the assassination of Prime Minister, king resumed full power of country's affairs to himself. But due to his continuing ill health, he delegated responsibility for civil administration to Jigme Dorji's younger brother Lhundup (who assumed the title of acting Lonchhen) in July that year. Few months later, control over the Army was handed over to his own half brother Namgyal Wangchuk.

Despite his attempt to take control over the administration and security agencies, king failed to implement his intension. Local administration, army forces and few leading families in the kingdom were out of his control. This is due to continuing ill health and his absence in the kingdom, for king spent most of his time for his health check up outside the country in later part of his life.

However, all responsibilities and powers were not handed to Namgyal and Dorji. "Nor was Lhundup Dorji's assumption of the office of acting Lonchhen in mid 1964 made over the objection of Druk Gyalpo or as the consequences of pressure from member of the Dorji family. Indeed, according to the reliable source, Lhundup's mother (the senior member of the Dorji family) especially advised the king against giving any title to

Lhundup as this might make the internal political situation even more explosive. Nevertheless Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk informed the National Assembly to appoint Lhundup as Lonchhen and Colonel Tangshi as Brigadier.”²⁶ Of course the National Assembly approved the king’s proposal but internal situation did not improve even after their appointment. When the crisis deepened and became controllable to their capacity, both these officials took refuge in Nepal, which will be detailed later.

Neither India nor China played a significant role in the 1964 crisis although India on several occasions had a bit part because of its deep involvement in Bhutan. While there were a number of Bhutanese officials who doubt about the wisdom of Bhutan’s broad alignment with India and opening of the country to a massive external pressure, they were by no means united behind any of the contending factions and the relationship with India was seldom raised as a substantive issue in this period. Nor is there any real evident that Lhundup Dorji’s departure from office in 1965 was due to Indian pressure as has been alleged because of New Delhi’s concern over this supposed and anti Indian attitude.” However, there are doubts that India’s involvement in the crisis was unavoidable when the acting Lhonchen Brigadier fled to Nepal for refuge while India was the nearest neighbour for refuge.

“The primary organising force behind the assassination of Jigme Dorji was the Father of Druk Gyalpo’s influential Tibetan mistress Yangki” many historians had stated.

In late 1964 the Druk Gyalpo's health deteriorated once again and he was forced to return to Switzerland for medical treatment without having solved the political crisis. Lhundup Dorji was functioning as acting prime minister, which led Yanki and her father suspect that he would use the king's absence from the country to revenge his brother. He attempted to flee into India but was apprehended and detained at Gaylegphugg town in southern Bhutan.

It was reported that Yanki was abused and mistreated while in detention reached the king in Switzerland allegedly from Indian sources. He immediately sent a strongly worded, if somewhat ambiguous message to Thimphu, which was interpreted by Lhundup Dorji and Brigadier Tashi was personally threatened. Lhundup Dorji then immediately flew to Switzerland to explain this event, but on the advice of Edward St. George, a British confidant of the king, he was denied to meet king. He was advised to remain absent himself from Bhutan for the next six months. After the expiration of duration, Lhundup asked if he could return to his country but was told that it was best for him to remain outside the country for sometime more. It was at this point that Lhundup went into exile in Nepal as long as Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk was alive. Brigadier Tangsi also fled to Kathmandu but was allowed to return to Bhutan a few years later after the conciliation with the king."

"Yangki and her father, meanwhile, had been released and resumed a prominent position in court circle. The Yanki faction, composed of random selection of officials from diverse

background played an important role in Bhutanese politics until the Druk Gyalpo's death in 1972. However, the four children borne of her were never legitimised as royal members nor were they included in the line of succession in the throne in the ordinance issued by the king in 1969. On his deathbed, however, the king asked the crown prince not to take any punitive actions against Yanki and her children, a request to which he was said to have agreed to. Yanki was allowed to retire to the estates that had been granted to her in the Bumthang area and continued to draw income from extensive investment. Repeatedly she and her children and her supporters were accused of involvement in the so called 'Tibetan conspiracy' organized by the Dalai Lama's brother which was allegedly plotted the assassination of the young king and his replacement on the throne by one of the Yanki's male children. She fled the country with her family and settle down in India while several members of her faction were placed under arrest, tried and convicted for their involvement in the plot." As a result of this crisis, Yanki is now living in exile in India with her family.

Thus the seat of prime minister in Bhutan ended and was abolished in the first 26 years of the present king. The seat was recreated in 1998 after king Jigme Singye Wangchuk dismissed the age-old council of minister.

C. Constitutional Reforms

The greatest achievement of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk is the setting of Tshogdu, Lodoe Tshodoe and other constitutional bodies.

He was farsighted statesman. His feeling of bringing political consciousness among people and involve them in solving problems of national importance motivated in drawing plans to organize the Tshogdu, the National Assembly and Lodo Tshogdoe, the Royal Advisory Council to administer the country. The National Assembly has right hand on such matters and had played very important roles in its 52 years of history.

To assist in rules formulation to the king, Lodo Tshogdoe was established. It acts as a mediator between king, council of ministers and people. It also advises the government on the common issues and matters of national importance.

Thus, people had enjoyed freedom and participated in solving their own problems of national level. That is why the reign of third king is referred by some historians as the called constitutional monarchy and golden age in the Bhutanese monarchical history.

i. Tshogdue (National Assembly)

Because of the pressure exerted by movement of Bhutan State Congress, King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk established the Tshogdue in 1953, which was then the heaviest body of the country for the administration with the representation strength of 150. The present strength of the Tshogdue is 151. They were represented by the people with the following strength percentage.

Ethnic groups	No. of Representatives	Percentage
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Ngalong	77	51
Sarchops	58	38
Lhotsampas	16	11
Total	151	100

The representation data in accordance to the district distribution to the National Assembly is as follows:

Region	District	Number of MPs
Western and Central	Haa	3
	Paro	7
Eastern	Dung	2
	Thimphu	8
	Chapcha	3
	Gasa	3
	Punakha	4
	Wangdi Phodrang	7
	Daga	4
	Tongsa	5
	Zhemgang	6
	Jakar	4
	Lhuntshi	5
	Shongar	13
	Tashigang	19
Southern	Samchi/Chirang	16

The other members of the assembly would be from government service and Monk Body represented by 32 and 12 respectively. The

members to represent the government would be nominated by the king. The assembly holds two sessions every year in autumn and spring seasons until recently when its sessions are set to call once in a year.

The movement of BSC had put pressure on king to go for institutionalisation of democratic systems in the country. However, the murder of Prime Minister in 1964 and fight for power among the high ranking officers in the country motivated the king to hold absolute authorities in his hand, “although the king may have plans to establish ultimately a constitutional monarchy with the people having the final voice in the country’s affairs.”²⁹

Although Bhutan has achieved much stability and prosperity under a system of hereditary monarchy vested with absolute power, Jigme Dorji Wangchuk felt that in keeping with the changed circumstances prevailing in the world, a system of constitutional monarchy would be the most desirable form of government for the country at that period. He suggested the Tshogdue that thenceforth Bhutan should develop a system of government in which the King would continue to rule as long as he enjoyed popular support from his people expressed in the National Assembly through their representatives. He therefore proposed that if the people did not want a particular ruler, he could be removed by a two-third-majority vote of the Tshogdue members. Throne would then be occupied by the next ruler in order of succession of the Wangchuk dynasty. After a prolonged debate, the proposal was adopted with an overwhelming

majority of the National Assembly. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk proposed that Tshogdue should vote on the issue of a king's continuance as a matter of routine expression of people's mandate to the king. The period was to be three years as Tshogdue members were elected in every three years.

"After a debate it was decided by the Tshogdue that the routine on whether the ruling king should continue or not, should be taken by secret ballot. This routine voting on whether the king enjoys the confidence of the people" or not was first taken in 1969. Out of 137 members present, 135 voted in favour of the king and two against, and in 1971, 133 voted in favour with four against. "Tshogdu also decided to initiate this procedure of routine by taking a vote of confidence of the king."

"In the April-May 1968 session of the Tshogdue, the king ordered that Bhutan would thenceforth be a constitutional Monarchy." Nagendra says that Bhutan had then emerged as constitutional Monarchy with Tshogdue as the sovereign body representing the will of the people.

Preliminary functions of the National Assembly has never been specified or described. In many instances, it had acted as the formalization body of government and king's decisions. Broadly, Tshogdu does triple function:

- ❑ Enacting laws
- ❑ Approving senior appointments and
- ❑ Advise government

The first speaker of Tshogdue was elected in 1966 and in 1968, he was granted with the power of veto, which he never used. "In 1969 the Tshogdu, again, on the motion of king, was granted

full sovereignty even to dismiss a king if he ever act against the welfare of his people.”

“The Tshogdue itself also has the right to appoint ministers. The king also retains the right to appoint ministers but such appointments must be approved by a majority vote in the session. Appointments of senior civil servants by the king also require ratification by the Tshogdue”. The appointment of ministers and senior officials has never always been appointed by the consent of the National Assembly, while at other times, it was indirectly been instigated to approve such appointments. Most particularly, after the enthronement of King Jigme Singye Wangchuk and fight for power among senior officials in 1972 'attempted coup', ministers and senior officials were directly appointed by King and his council of ministers.

The dream of finally changing Bhutan into a constitutional monarchy began to get into shape with the establishment of National Assembly and Royal Advisory Council. The king also declared in 1968 that thenceforth the country would be a constitutional monarchy. But the concept of constitutional monarchy in Bhutan got setback after his death till 1999 when Jugme Sinye, his son declared that he wanted such reforms in the country and ordered the drafting of new constitution. Bhutan can never be regarded a constitutional monarchy in this period while powers of judiciary, executive and legislative are vested in king himself. However big efforts King Jigme Dorji had out in his time, Bhutan could not emerged into a democratic kingdom in absence of a

constitution which is to be the highest law of any country. "Bhutan has neither written constitution nor any document that can be reasonably defined as the basic organic law. Bhutan's only law is the Tshogdu, whatever it has, the National Assembly representing the people but under the direction of the king himself. "The National Assembly is made up of the traditional ethnic chiefs or village headman from the hills or the pliable, loyal and faithful subjects of southern Bhutan" and "the Assembly lacks the ability to provide the government with a critical and frank review of its preformences." For instances, the National Assembly after the dissidence in southern Bhutan in early 1990 decided to stop all kinds of development activities and dispatch military to evict all people allegedly involved in the rallies and demonstrations. In fact, it should have suggested the king and his council of ministers to bring the situation under control and hear the demands of dissidents, if it was a constitutional monarchy. It was of course the failure of the National Assembly, which in last few decades acted under the direction of king and the government.

According to the article 18 of the constitution of the National Assembly, the king was empowered since 1954 to amend or reject any decision arrived at through the National Assembly. Hence the king ceased to exercise this power and all decision of the National Assembly were not treated as final.

The membership to the National Assembly is bias enough. Unless a person is a 'Bhutanese citizen of 25 years or above and had not served the

jail terms or convicted of crimes' the membership to it is restricted.

Since the establishment of National Assembly in 1953, it worked effectively, the government claims, and had helped it to find solutions to a number of problems of national importance. A few of such important and initial resolutions passed by the National Assembly are produced here for references:

Resolution No. II (3) First Session – 1953

In the view of current year being inauspicious or 'lona', His Majesty King was pleased to command that the issue of the Shabdrung Rimpoche be taken up during the next session. However, some member pointed out that troublemakers from abroad in the garb of pilgrims might approach the Shabdrung, attempt to influence him politically. As Shabdrung live in remote part of Tashigang the government would not be able to keep abreast of development there.

According to the chimis or National Assembly member suggested that the Shabdrung be brought and kept with central Monk Body with two government officers and three monastic personal serving as escort. At the same time it was suggested that the best place for the Shabdrung's mother residence would be Talo, Gompa, where Dzongpon Umze and Kudung (various monastic officials) of Talo monastery could take care of her.

Resolution No. III (3) First Session 1953

With the aim of converting the Nepali of southern to Buddhism, His Majesty King was

pleased to command the establishment of Monk Body consisting of five monks with one head lama in the Nepali village of southern Bhutan. In this connection, the house represented that 'Choda lama' and 'Sipu lama' would be the most suitable choices for the said assignment.

ii. Lodoe Tshogdoo (Royal Advisory Council)

To advise the king on the issues of national importance, Royal Advisory Council was established a decade later than National Assembly in 1963. It consists of nine members out of which six are people's representatives, two from monk body and a nominee of king who acts as the Kalyon (Chairman) of the council.

The Royal Advisory Council act as a link between king, Council of Ministers and the people. It does regular surveys to check whether the administration, judgement and development are on peaceful continuation. In case of any disturbances over any area on any matter, it reports to the government and the king for the settlement. It also does the inquiries whether the Tshogdue's enacted laws were practiced in regular rhythms or not. The 1953 document merely stated that the king "will nominate members of Royal Advisory Council from government servants and did not equate executive office with Tshogdue membership except in this indirect fashion.

The third king also separated the judicial from executive. His intention was to make judiciary free from pressure and can work on its own. The High Court was established in Thimphu in 1968. "The High Court has five judges appointed to hear

appeals in the first instance. The final appeal for justice lies to the king who has power to make law in his will and dismiss the decision of the court. Such power was vested on him since the inception of monarchy in the country that has not changed throughout its century old history. For instance, the court convicted the human rights activists Teknath Rizal for life sentence in 1994, but king dismissed the issue and ordered his release on December 17, 1999.

“Following the establishment of the Council of Ministers in 1968, it was considered necessary to establish a broad based royal consultative body to advise the king on policy activities of the various organs of the government. The Lhungye Shuntshog (State Committee) was created for this purpose with a membership consisting of the ministers of Lodoe Tshogdoo, the speaker of the Tshogdu and since 1972 the two sisters of the king who serve as his representatives in the ministries of Finance and Development. The Lhungye Shuntshog met every Monday, usually with the king in attendance.

This is simply an imitation form of organization what “the first Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal [had] established an advisory body, the Lhungye Tshoke (State Council) as a regular part of the new political system that he created.

In 1961 for the separate administration of secretariat of Druk Gyalpo, a separate Department Secretariat headed by a secretary General (Gyelon Chichap) was set up with its headquarters in Paro, some 40 miles away from Thimphu. Its office was transferred to capital Thimphu in 1967.

D. Economic Development

In 1958, Prime Minister of new independent India Jawarlal Nehru visited Bhutan at the invitation of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuuck. The two heads of the government discussed widely on the specific problems of Bhutan. Nehru promised to provide financial assistance to Bhutan for economic development. "It was realized that Bhutan posses no resources beyond her normal civil revenues and the merge Indian subsidy, that it needed to develop her communication, improve her agriculture, forest and power resources, provide for better education, health and industrial development." When Nehru was asked how Bhutan had reacted to India's offer of aid, he replied, "You will be surprise to learn how reluctant the MahaRajah (Druk Gyalpo) is not at all happy. He could have had aid the last two or three years he had asked for it."

In 1961 a draft of five-year development plans was prepared. India instantly agreed to provide all costs necessary for economic development of Bhutan.

i. First Five Year Development Plan (1961 – 66)

Funded entirely by the Indian government, the first five-year plan came into enforcement in 1961 with the following outlay:

S. No	Items	Provision in millions
1	Road	62.00
2	Education	10.00
3	Transport	7.50

4	Health	3.20
5	Forest	3.20
6	Agriculture	2.00
7	Power	1.60
8	Animal Husbandry	1.50
9	Industries	1.10
10	Miscellaneous	9.10
	Total	101.20

Note: Since the Bhutanese currency came into use after 1974 the provisions were calculated in Indian currency that has equal value with Bhutanese currency at present.

With the total budget of 62 million, more than 900 kilometres of roads were constructed for the first time. The main among them was 208 km long highway linking Phuentsholing on the Indian border with the capital Thimphu and Paro crossing the altitude as high as 10,000 feet. This opened up western Bhutan in a most remarkable manner to the economic and social development. The road from Paro to Haa was extended. To the east, Tashigang was linked with Darranga. “Roads from southern foothill town of Sarpang and Gaylephug running north to Chirang and Tongsa opened linkages between southern and central Bhutan⁴⁷ with the markets in India. With the occupation of Tibet by Chinese in 1949–50, all trade with Tibet and China virtually had come to an end. This also influenced the government of Bhutan to draw plans to link Bhutanese roads to the Indian border in the south, together with the reason of easy access and easy construction.

Work was continued for the years 1961–66 on a 480 km west to east lateral road between Thimphu

and Tashigang and with its completion, Bhutan got effectively served by a regular system of road network. The organisation of regular road transport service among major towns of the country, all virtually joining the Phuentsholing town, made it necessary for starting automobile workshop at Phuentsholing and Thimphu.

A formal postal system was introduced into the country only in 1962 with 36 post offices opened in the country.

A public health department under a chief medical officer was set up at Thimphu. "Steps were taken to eradicate malaria. 31 hospitals and 40 new dispensaries were established in different parts of the country." Malaria and other seasonal viral diseases were rampant in Bhutan's tropical region. The establishment of dispensaries and hospitals helped in controlling these influenza epidemics.

"The development programme has brought with it the establishment of the regular department of agriculture which has started a large number of modern agricultural farms, seed multiplication farms, agriculture research stations and development of extension works."

Bhutan preserves very rare wildlife and wild plants. For the protection of such rare and precious animals, a wild life sanctuary was set up in the forest of Manas, popularly called Manas Game Sanctuary.

The Hydel Directorate (of India) had sponsored in the construction of 400kw Hydel Project in Thimphu to serve the capital and another of 400 kw in Paro to serve the western Bhutan.

With the completion of first five-year development plan, both India and Bhutan were satisfied with their efforts and results. The people in Bhutan began to feel the progress of modernisation of the country. These encouragement and in order of accomplish, a continued advance towards modernisation and economic development of the country, the second five-year development plan was launched in 1966.

ii. Second Five Year Development Plan (1966 – 1971)

Encouraged by the developments, achievements and participation of the people in development activities in the first plan, the second five-year plan was initiated in 1966. The investment rose abruptly to double the previous plan. With the outlay of 200 million, in second five year plan, Bhutan developed the following:

S. No	Items	Provision (in mill)
1	Development wing, headquarters and offices of FA and CAO	6.30
2	Agriculture	35.00
3	Animal Husbandry	6.60
4	Cottage Industries	0.80
5	Education	25.00
6	Forest	8.10
7	Health	12.80
8	Postal Service	5.70

9	Publicity	1.70
10	Transport	15.30
11	Mechanical Workshop	5.90
12	Power	7.30
13	Road, Water supply, electrification	68.00
14	Industries and Exploitation of natural resources	0.90
15	Preservation of ancient monuments	0.40

By the end of the plan, 480 km long road linking Tashigang and Thimphu was completed. “The foothills towns of Sarbhang (sic), Bhur, Gaylegphug (sic) and Samtrup Geonkar (sic) and Deothan (sic) [were] being linked with Assam bridge to get supply of water.” The capital Thimphu was supplied with adequate drinking water.

Agriculture was emphasised with the distribution of improved and hybrid seeds and use of chemical fertilisers. “A number of seed farms and agricultural research stations were set up and 15 extension centres were established.

Horticulture got improved. Steps were taken to increase the production of apples, cardamom and other cash crops. Also steps were taken to improve the animal husbandry. Cheese production plant was set up at Gogona. Mithun breeding centre at Thromong and mule and horse breeding centres at Bidung were established. Some 28 Bhutanese students were trained as veterinary assistant. “The bank of Bhutan was established on May 28, 1968 at Phuentsholing with a capital of 2.5 million.

Rapid progresses were seen in the promotion of modern education system. The progress of education shall be discussed later. One Teachers' Training Institute was set up at Samchi.

Health sector also received great impetus. The number of hospitals rose from four to six and dispensaries from 11 to 34, by 1971. Nurses and compounders were trained and steps were taken to eradicate malaria and small pox.

By the time the plan ended in 1971, there were nine regional agricultural research stations and extension farms, three central agricultural research stations, four Orchards and one sericulture research station in Bhutan.

At the end of second five-year plan, His Majesty Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk addressed the National Assembly to encourage the members of National Assembly and the general people for their interests and involvement in the processes of the development of the country. He said their works pleased him. The king further encouraged them to involve at the same rate in the years to come. The excerpt of the speech given by the king is produced here:

Nearly ten years have passed since we took the path to development and much has been achieved through the efforts of you members and those of the various government servants. You have contributed your abilities for the national benefits but still in comparison with other advanced nations, we have much to achieve. The members of this Assembly have done appreciable work and have brought forth many points and these have been most beneficial. Your devotion to the national cause without any

tinge of self-interest, your richness of thought and selfishness will maintain the momentum of success for the nation, identified in national peace and prosperity.

In 1971 it was found and realized that the two five-year plan were successfully been implemented and the country was fast increasingly to economic and social development. To cope with the increasing development activities, king Jigme Dorji Wangchuk set up a Planning Commission for the country to direct plan activities, in particular, to plan and approve annual plans, review their progress and implementations. With these steps, the Government of Bhutan started its third five-year development plan in 1971.

iii. Third Five Year Development Plan (1971–1976)

It was only after 1971 that formal system of budget allocation to different departments on regular basis was formulated with the establishment of Planning Commission. Before the commissioning of the body, budget allocation was controlled by Gyaltshi Khalowa (Royal revenue officer) and thereafter by Finance Ministry.

In the third year plan, Bhutan received Rs. 33 million as grant from Government of India. Beside aid from India, this time Bhutan also received financial support from many foreign countries.

Australia as a member of Colombo Plan contributed US\$ 150,000. By 1969, the total assistance receive from US amounted to US \$68,000. The assistance from Japan reached

\$47,000, New Zealand \$21,000 and from Thailand \$ 100.

The UNDP general council earmarked \$ 2.5 million for Bhutan during the period 1972-76. Combining all these support from third party, the government of Bhutan drew the third year plan in the following way:

S. No	Items	Provision (in mill)
I	Agricultural Programme	
1	Agricultural production	36.90
2	Minor irrigation	10.00
3	Soil conservation	2.50
4	Animal Husbandry	2.50
5	Forest	16.00
	Total	77.90
II	Co-operation	1.80
III	Power	24.80
IV	Industries and Mining	
1	Large and Medium Industries	4.33
2	Mineral development	0.30
3	Village and Small Industries	11.70
	Total	16.33
V	Transport and Communication	
1	Road	69.10
2	Road Transport	6.90
3	Post and telegraphs	13.00
4	Tourism	1.70
	Total	90.70
VI	Social Service	

1	General Education	63.30
2	Technical Education	8.75
3	Health	28.60
4	Water supply and sanitation	5.90
5	Urban development	2.00
	Total	108.55
VII	Miscellaneous	
1	Publicity	2.70
2	Statistics	0.50
3	Development headquarters	10.00
4	Capital projects	20.00
5	Protection and preservation of ancient monuments	1.50
6	Planning cell in the office of the representative of India	0.20
	Total	34.90
	Grand Total	354.98

The third five-year plan remained incomplete in the life of Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. However, it was the third plan that brought Bhutan out of its century long isolation to the world stage. Bhutan began to receive donations from third countries and its relation with them began to grow.

Transportation services were made accessible to major parts of the country. People of Thimphu and Paro enjoyed the facilities of electricity.

Thus, the modest efforts of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk led the country to rapid modernisation and brought a big measure of material prosperity to the people of Bhutan.

In March 1974, Bhutan and India agreed to construct Chukha hydro project with 60 per cent of

the total cost as grant by the Government of India and 40 per cent as loan.

Expert from All-India Radio visited Bhutan in October 1975 to work out for the proposed radio station in Thimphu. The works, though, started during fourth five-year development plan. India granted Rs. 70 million to Bhutan for the project.

E. Education

There were rarely any schools imparting modern education in Bhutan when five-year development plan began in 1961. Few schools were run under traditional education system where Buddhism was taught in temples in the north and traditional Hindu rituals in pathshalas in the south. Despite that few writers stressed that there were already schools set up in Bhutan as early as First World War.

“The origin of the modern education may be traced to the advent of first world war in 1914 when a batch of 17 boys from eastern Bhutan and belonging to some of the leading families of the kingdom were sent to the mission school at Kalimpong in India for secondary education. Another 46 boys were being educated in Ugyen Dorji's schools at Kalimpong and Haa under teachers provided by the Church of Scotland mission. For this Bhutanese received education outside Bhutan, obviously, it cannot be included in the educational history of Bhutan.

In the same year a small number of schools were opened at Haa, Bumthang and in central Bhutan. Education, which then began to be mentioned with increasing frequency in the

political officers' reports, was slowly developing, but only for a few well connected and leading families of the kingdom. In his reports Bailey, the political officer from British India in Sikkim in 1920s, said that 'of the original 46 boys sent to Kalimpong 11 had passed their Indian Matriculation exam. By the end of the 20s, a new school was opened in Bumthang where boys were taught in English and Tibetan languages. This was also supported by Ugyen Dorji, who, according to Bell, was responsible for importing English education to Bhutanese boys. The report of 1919-20 M.D. Macdonald stated that the schools were doing well with 21 students in Bumthang and 28 in Haa. The performances of Bhutanese students at the Kalimpong High School were also satisfactory. In 1921, 'four of the Kalimpong boys had reached the Indian University entrance standard and the others were ready to go on to further training. King wanted them to be trained as doctors and vets; in science and in teaching methods so that six of them could take charge of a training school for primary school teachers; in agriculture and dairying, weaving, tanning, forestry, mineral, civil engineering, hydro-electric engineering and printing press technology. By 1922 the number of students rose over 50 and four of them appeared for the university entrance examination in India. British India, during 1924 and 1928, supported Bhutan to train 14 matriculated students in diverse field. "Two of them were trained as teachers at the Teacher Training School at Bhagalpur, two as sub-Assistant surgeons at the Campbell Medical School of Kolkata, two as tanners at the Harness

and Saddler Factory at Kanpur, three as kangars at Forest School of Dehra Dun, one as a mining engineer at the Bengal Engineering College at Sipper in Kolkata, two as veterinary assistants at the Veterinary College of Kolkata and two received training in cultivation from Palami district of Bihar. Beside these, Bhutan Government also sent two non-matriculated boys for military training at its own expense, who were later attached to the Gorkha Rifles at Silong.

By 1950 primary schools were opened at Paro, Thimphu, Mongar, Samchi, Sarpang Wangdi Phodrang, Chirang, Lhuentse, Tongsa, and Tashigang. Before the development plan begun, there were 36 pre-primary schools and 23 upper primary schools. Total enrolment of the students was estimated to be about 2,500. In 1961 there were 60 primary schools enrolling over 3,000 students. In 1968, 20 students matriculated in the examination conducted by Bhutan Board of Examination. In the sixties 3 or 4 teachers were engaged privately to educate the royal family, and children of selected families. By 1970, there were 15 secondary schools. And by 1988 there were 108 schools, including two run by private investors. The student enrolment had reached 15,000 students in Bhutan.

In 1971, 500 Bhutanese students were studying in India. By 1976, primary schools reached to 85 in numbers, junior high schools and central high schools to 12 each. Thus, during the 1975–76 the central high schools were opened rapidly. These 12 junior high schools are located at Thimphu, Damphu, Ghumauney, Sibsoo, Haa, Wangdi

Phodrang, Tongsa, Jakar, Zhemgang, Gaylegphug, Deothang and Lhuentshi. Other 12 central high schools are located at Paro, Tashigang, Mongar, Sarpang, Samchi, Thimphu, Tongsa, Punakha, Zhemgang, Jakar, Lhuentshi and Deothang.

Thimphu Public High School was established at Thimphu in 1965 and Sherubtse College of Kanglung was built by Dantak (Border Road Organization). By 1976, 120 Bhutanese graduated.

During the third five-year development plan, Bhutan mostly invested in education; its expenditure on education in that plan is given here:

Maintenance of schemes established during first and second plans	– 43.80 million.
Expansion of existing schemes	– 18.80 million
<u>New schemes</u>	<u>– 16.20 million</u>
Total	– 78.80 million

By the time Bhutan began its third plan, number of educational institutions operating in the country can be summarized in the following chart:

<u>Institutions</u>	<u>no. of institutions</u>	<u>no. of stds</u>
Primary Schools (CI –I – V)	69	6300
Junior high Schools (CI –VI –VIII)	12	3000
Central High Schools (CI –IX –XI)	5	1700
Public Schools (CI –I –XI)	2	515
Teachers Training Institute	1	150
Technical School	1	200
Rignay Monastery School	1	150

Four new Central High Schools were scheduled to be opened during the third five-year development plan, but only one had actually commenced its operation by 1975.

In all these schools Hindi, English, Dzongkha and Nepali were taught evenly till the death of late king Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. Hindi was the medium of instruction before English was adopted to the medium of instruction in 1969. "Under the 1975 policy, it was agreed that English should be continued to be the language of instruction for another 10 years, while Dzongkha should be second language taught in all schools and Nepali, a third language for all those who wish to study it." (mostly to southern Bhutanese) and ultimately by 1990 teaching of Nepali was banned in all schools.

F. Foreign relation

The most nearest neighbour and big financial aid for the economic development of Bhutan is India. Bhutan is also attached with Tibet (China) but from the time when China captured Tibet, Bhutan's relation with Tibet and China declined. Bhutan neither turned its ear to China's proposal for economic support nor maintained diplomatic and public relation with it. Even though Bhutan had its close relation with India, it sometimes fears that Bhutan should not be the State of India as Sikkim and thus was the reason why Bhutan Government dominated the BSC movement of 1950s alleged to have encouraged by Sikkim State Congress (SSC), the failure of Sikkimese to save its sovereignty.

In fact, Bhutan relation with India dates back to centuries, even before the advent of British. Closeness to the southern neighbour has begun to take its shape after the participation of Ugyen Wangchuk in the Younghusband mission to Tibet.

The treaty of Sinchula, the treaty of Punakha gave further reinforcement to the Indo-Bhutan relation. The relation has become stronger after the signing of Indo-Bhutan Friendship Treaty of 1949 and India became the first of all to donate for Bhutan's economic and social development. There was little contact with Sikkim except for minor trading; and the only other country with which there could conceivably have been some minimal vicarious contact was Russia as there were supposed to be Russian agents in Tibet. Several merchants from Lhasa whom Pemberton met in Bhutan described foreigners similar to the British in dress, appearance and manners; who sat at tables in the same way, writing and reading books. He considered that these people could have been the Nepalese aggressive attitude and its consequences for Bhutan. In reality, however there were more likely to have been only offensive American traders.

According to Eden, 'from their unscrupulous and marauding habits, the Bhutanese [were] on bad terms with every one of their neighbours. The Sikkimese looked upon the Bhooteahs as unscrupulous robbers. The Tawang Rajah, a lama subordinate to Lhasa, who rules in the east, was in 'a state of chronic feud' with them, retaining a force of five hundred armed lamas to protect the people of south east Tibet from the raids of the Tongsa Penlop [For the past few years] the Tibetans had made the Bhutanese deliver their annual tribute at the frontier, to avoid the marauding habits of those Bhutanese who used to escort it to Lhasa.

The relation of Bhutan with British power was established after Ugyen Wangchuk attended the

welcome program of British Crown Prince in India in 1905. Since then Bhutan's relation with British remain unchanged. Bhutan's contact with countries other than India and Britain increased after 1960 when in that year Jigme Palden Dorji, the then Prime Minister visited India. "After consultation with Prime Minister Dorji in New Delhi, Nehru wrote to Bhutan government that it would be advisable for Bhutan to establish direct contact with foreign powers." As this would involve it in big power of confrontation, his advice was accepted.

"As early as 1959, the legal advisor to Bhutan government D.K. Sen (an Indian citizen) have announced that Bhutan was considering in establishing diplomatic relation with third country including USSR, the USA, Great Britain and few other Buddhist neighbours."

With the guidance of India, Bhutan joined the Colombo Plan, which helped her to establish friendship with other foreign countries. The Colombo Plan was established in January 1950 after the meeting of commonwealth foreign ministers in Colombo. In 1950 its members were only seven commonwealth countries and by 1968 the membership extended to 24, including non-commonwealth countries. Bhutan joined the Plan in 1962. By then, Bhutan's foreign relation increased and financial support for its development plan also had increased.

Universal Postal Union is the oldest inter-governmental international organisation. The second Postal Congress meeting held in 1878 agreed to rename the organization General Postal

Union as Universal Postal Union. By 1961, the membership to the organization had reached 112. In July 1, 1965, it has risen to 137. Bhutan was admitted to this big world union under the Article 2 and 4 of the constitution of the Union, which is worth to reproduce here:

Article 2

Any sovereign country, which is not the Member of United Nations, may apply for the admission as a member country of the Union.

Article 4

A country which is not the member of United Nations will be deemed to be admitted as a member country if its application is approved at least by the two- third member countries of the Union.

Bhutan's admission to the Union as the 138th member, was completed in the year 1969. To approve the application of Bhutan into it, out of 137 members 121 voted in her favour and 16 against.

Giving continuity to maintain relations with international bodies, Bhutan joined the United Nations Organization. In 1970, Bhutan attended the UNO General Assembly as an observer. On December 10, 1970, Bhutan made an application for membership to the UN:

Date: 10 Dec. 1970

I have the honour on behalf of the Government of Bhutan to make application for Bhutan to be admitted to UNO.

I should be grateful if you would arrange for this application to be placed before the Security Council and General Assembly.

My Government endorse the prepose and principles stated in UN Charter and declares that it accepts the obligations incumbents upon members of the organisation and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

The Government and people of Bhutan are actually aware of the proven value of the UNO to small and developing nations of the world and consequently attach great importance to membership.

(Signed)
Jigme Dorji Wangchuk
The King of Bhutan

In response to the application of Bhutan for membership to the United Nations, the Security Council held its meeting on February 9, 1971. As a neighbour and advocator and first supporter of Bhutan's admission to this organization, on request, India was allowed to attend the meeting. Indian representative to the UN said:

“As one of the India’s closest neighbours, Bhutan has intimate relations with my country in many fields. We have historical, cultural, economic and political links going back many centuries. Naturally, through the ages we both have had our ups and downs and we both hope that the lessons learnt of the past will help us contribute our utmost to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter. We are therefore, both proud and gratified

that Bhutan is about to enter this great organization to participate with the other members of United Nations, on the endeavours to promote peace and prosperity all over the world. Is it gratifying and wholly commend that under the able, active and imaginative guidance of its present monarch, His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, Bhutan is determined to introduce and pursue programs for full economic and social development in corporation with rest of the world. We on our part have done and will continue to do whatever we can do to have these developments in Bhutan.

While my delegation would like to reiterate on this occasion the Government of India's qualified confidence in Bhutan's ability to fulfil the obligation of the Charter as a member of the United Nations, we are at the same time confident that Bhutan's membership would be welcome assets to this Organization both in its political and its development activities. I would therefore, conclude by welcoming the decision of the Security Council, by thanking once again and by expressing the hope that Bhutan will be a full and active member of the United Nations before long. Meanwhile, we pledge, a full support to work in co-operation with Bhutan. We have particularly with our neighbour and we look forward to the closest bonds of friendship, co-operation and understanding with this new colleague of ours in the United Nations."

On accepting the application of Bhutan into UN, a number of nations expressed their hope to extend friendship to this new member. Sir Colin Crowe of United Kingdom said that the member-states of the UN should welcome Bhutan as its member, with

whom his country has maintained relation since the visit of George Bogle as a business exploration mission:

“For nearly 200 years since the visit of George Bogle, my government has enjoyed close relation with government of Bhutan, and my countrymen have formed valve and lasting friendship with its people. We are thus, especially, glad that the government of India has been the first to lend its support to the application which Bhutan has made for membership of the United Nations.

Today Bhutan no longer avoids intercourse with strangers under a democratic monarch and his accomplished queen and Bhutanese have already taken several important steps forward on the world’s stage..... In 1969 and 1970 representatives of the government of Bhutan, including the king’s half brother–Prince Namgyal Wangchuk, whom many of us have had the honour of meeting, attended sessions of the General Assembly. It is always pleasing to find that someone who has attended our gatherings wishes to become even more closely associated with us. We for our part are very glad to join in recommending the admission of Bhutan to the United Nations and look forward to extending a warm welcome to its representatives when they are seated among us.”⁶⁵

Member of permanent mission of Belgium to the UN Longerstaeys gave an extended.

“My delegation feels that Bhutan fulfils the conditions set forth in the first paragraph of Article 4 of the Charter and we have therefore supported the recommendation for its admission which the

Security Council will make to the General Assembly.

My government is very pleased at the decision of the sovereign of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuk to ask for the admission to his country to the United Nations. In fact, that independent state has already affirmed its international personality since it already taken an active part in certain activities of the community of Nations, particularly by its adherence to the Universal Postal Union and by its participation in the work of the organization changed with the implementation of Colombo Plan. Bhutan can be proved a long historic past and some of the evidence of the past can be traced back to the ninth century true its most noble Buddhism tradition, it has preserved its cultural and religious development from foreign influence and has thus, consolidated its political independence, its spiritual teachings have constantly inspired oriented the beneficent action of the sovereign and of the government particularly in the humanitarian field, in the emancipation of women and agrarian reform.

My government is very gratified at the confident relations, which exists between the Indian Union and Bhutan. Thanks to the generous and substantial assistance given by the government of New Delhi. The five year development plans for 1961 to 1966 and 1967 to 1971 have adequate financial and human resources. My delegation expresses the hope that this harmonious co-operation will continue and that it will further increase in the future, particularly in the

implementation and utilization of the natural resources of the country.

Now that Bhutan is broadening its horizon to the entire world, new perspectives of development are opened in the specialized agencies of our organization. Its government can rest assured of the best understanding and of the effective assistance of Belgium when questions, which are of particular interest to Bhutan are examined the various organisations which are members of the United Nations family.”

Kosciusko Morizet of France, member of permanent mission to the UN welcomed Bhutan as the 128th member of the world family.

"Indeed, the objective of universality that we must seek is still far from having attained. But during the last few months, the objectives appear nearer. The great family of UN has welcomed, with the admission of Fiji, a short time ago, its 127th member and the Council has today pronounced itself unanimously in favour of the admission of Bhutan.

Thus, after the Islanders of the sunny shores of the Pacific, we trust that the highlanders of the country of snow-capped, mountains will from the very next session of the General Assembly join us in our common effort to achieve a better and peaceful world. Coming from widely differing regions, imbued with diverse cultures and traditions, both group thus, attest to the prodigious diversity of the organization and to the scope of the message inscribed in the Charter.

My delegation had no doubt that Bhutan is ready to assume the obligations of our Charter. It is

therefore, without any surprise that it welcomed the conclusions of the committee on the admission of the new member and we wish here to hail that committee says, "When a Bhutanese draws his sword, the entire valley trembles." We are nevertheless convinced that Bhutan is a peaceful country. It is true that this 'land of Dragon' carries on its flag the image of that redoubtable beast. But we know that image in white, the odour of purity.

Bhutan has enjoyed the sponsorship of India, a nation with which France is happy to maintain friendly and confident relations. In accordance with the treaty of 1949 between Bhutan and India, that country agreed to be guided by the advice of Indian government concerning foreign affairs. We are gratified that the Indian guide has led his companion to the very gates of the United Nations.

Like its majestic summit corned in mist, Bhutan itself for centuries has exercised a mysterious fascination on the foreigners. Have not some sought to see in this snowy kingdom the legendary Shangri-La, 'that mountain paradise where innocent peace and beauty preserved the secret external youth.' Until very recently few travellers or few westerners have had the rare privilege of admiring this grandiose and these well known monasteries-fortress-the dzongs whose formidable silhouettes dominate the important strategic mountain passes.

But for the last few years the mist has been dissipated under the impulse of enlightened monarch, Bhutan while remaining faithful to its age-old traditions has opened its doors to the world beyond and resolutely undertaken the road to

progress. In 1960 it took six days travelling on a mule to reach the capital [Paro] from the Indian frontier. According to the press, the same destination may be reached in the hours travelling by car. Jeep, buses and trucks are replacing horses, mules and yaks as a means of transport. No doubt the lovers of the picturesque will deplore it. But none will regret that in the last few years, Bhutan has made a spectacular step forward towards democracy and economic and social progress and that since 1952, the year when the present sovereign took the throne, these steps have been taken with seven-league-book.

Desirous of improving its independence and at the same time wishing to maintain its originality, thanks to the assistance international community and to speed up its evaluation so boldly outlined by its sovereign, Bhutan has today obtained our support without difficulty. We have no doubt that the next General Assembly, in accordance with our recommendation will admit Bhutan to membership of the organization and that in the future, the United Nations will be able effectively to assist it to achieve its legitimate aspirations.

From its part, United Nations can only benefit from a closer co-operation with the country that is imbued with the Buddhist spirit of tolerance and respect for life.

Some contend that our organization aged prematurely. How should it then fail to hasten to welcome a state possessing the secret of external youth? May its vigour be strengthened by breathing the revivifying air coming from the Himalayan mountain tops."

Tsuruoka, then chairperson of the International Law Commission, welcomed Bhutan to UN as his historical and cultural neighbour.

“I am much pleased to take the part in this meeting of the council and seeing its members offering blessing to the kingdom of Bhutan which has applied for membership to the United Nations as its 128th member. To the delegation of Japan, it is indeed a source of great joy that the first work assigned to us in the Security Council this year should be such a felicitous item, the admission of the new member to the UN. The pleasure of my delegation is all the greater because the application in question comes from an eminent member of Asia, to which my country belongs. Although, Bhutan and Japan are geographical neighbours, our two countries have much in common closely connected by ties of Eastern Asia civilisation. It might be recalled in particular that the ancestors of the two people were already linked as early as sixth century. This link was made possible through the religion and civilization of Mahayana Buddhism, which started in that part of the world. Based on relations between two people, this has developed a particular sense of friendship and mutual respect between us.

In recent years the relation between the two countries has also been friendly and cordial. In 1969 we had the honour of welcoming to my country Her Majesty Queen Kesang Dorji. On the occasion of Expo’ 70, we had the pleasure of receiving the Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs of Bhutan, His Excellency Dhonduk Phuntsho as a

special guest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

In the field of economic and technical co-operation, the relation between the two countries were placed on a source basis in 1962 when the government of Japan supported Bhutan's application to the membership of Colombo Plan for co-operative development. Since, then there have been an increasing number of programs of economical and technical co-operation. In 1967 my country also supported the application of Bhutan for membership to International Postal Union and in September 1969 we welcomed the Minister of Development His Excellency Dawa Phunthsok when he attended the sixteenth congress of Universal Postal Union held in Tokyo.

The kingdom of Bhutan, one of the oldest nations in Asia, has population estimated at nearly one million and a territory more than 1,800 square miles. I should like to refer to the letter of the king of Bhutan, His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, reproduced in document S/10050 in which he stated that his government:

Endorses the purpose and principles stated in the UN Charter and declares that it accepts the obligations incumbent upon members of the organization and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them”

In the light of all these and other pertinent facts, there is no doubt that the Kingdom of Bhutan as a sovereign state, is able and willing to carry out the obligation of members states under the Charter.

My delegation is very happy that the draft resolution contained in the reports of the admission committee has been unanimously adopted by this council.

The USSR representative Malic also supported the Bhutan's admission to the United Nations. He said:

"My delegation supported the request by Bhutan for admission to the membership in the United Nations. This position of Soviet Union was determined by the basic principle of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in a new historical era and started the formation of new independent states in the countries of the East, as all those countries were then called that fell outside the countries of Europe and America. The national liberation and rebirth of the "countries of the East" begin at that time.

The Soviet Union has always been, and remains a determined supporter of enlisting the active participation in world politics and in international life of the people of the countries of the Asia and Africa and the people of all over the countries, which for one reason or another, are denied such an opportunity. On the basis of this principle followed by the soviet states, my delegation welcomes Bhutan the emergence yet another- the 128th -member of the United Nations.

Vinu representing Italy stressed the importance and emergence of Bhutan as further steps of universality.

"The unanimous decision the Security Council has taken today is significant not only for Bhutan

but for the United Nations, since it represents our view further steps towards the universality of our membership, towards objective which we consider of the greatest importance for the organization. This world organization, being called upon by the charter as well as by the rising expectations of mankind to seek solution to the world's problems on a global scale, has in fact a vital interest in widening its authority over all continents. We are therefore glad to associate ourselves with the unanimous recommendation adopted today. So, since my delegation had no doubt whatsoever, from the very moment the application was introduced, that Druk Yul, 'the land of dragon' known as Bhutan, met all the requirements indicated in Article 4 paragraph one of the Charter.

Bhutan is a relatively small country of 1,800 square miles, but with a population of nearly a million proud inhabitants, who have strongly asserted their independence throughout the centuries—a country respectful of its ancient religious, cultural and national heritage and solidly attached to a tradition of internal stability and at the same time responsive to man's everlasting search for political, social and cultural advancement and economic progress as testified to by the development of democratic institutions, the implementation of the far-reaching reforms and the achievement of the two five year plans for socio-economic development.

Lofty mountains of majestic beauty surrounded Druk Yul but since it is land-locked its people have never been spurred to turn down for peaceful contacts with the external world. And may I recall

that the western world woe the first testimony on the Land of Dragon to two fathers who were sent to Bhutan by the superior of the Jesuit order, the same religious order which in the early seventeenth century for the sake of studying the Buddhist and other oriental civilization, established in my own home, Nepal is an institution whose main aim was to assist visitors from the far east in their approach to western Christian world. The legends says that Bhutan was so called 'the land of hidden treasure' since Guru Rinpoche had buried there invaluable spiritual and cultural treasure to preserve them for future generation. We think that world civilization can only gain from the riches of Bhutan's culture and tradition."⁷⁰

An African from Burundi, Terence supported the admission of Bhutan to UN saying that the universal peace could only be achieved if all the nations of the world can join the vast organization.

"Finally the delegation of the Burundi would wish to express itself on the matter before us, namely, the admission of the Kingdom of Bhutan to UN and admission which fills us with joy. By doing this, the delegation of Burundi remains faithful to the idea that it laid down for itself with regard to the universality of our institution. It subscribes then by this act to the desire of the people of Bhutan to increase the UN family.

Along the same order of ideas, my delegation believes that the peace in the world cannot be achieved until all the nations, great and small, have joined the UN, and in this connection we could not silence our congratulations-which are well deserved to the new member of UN, namely the

Kingdom of Bhutan. We would also presume that this new member will have an important role to play in the international arena, the role which all nations, great and small, are called upon to play in order to round out the roles already played and the contribution already made by other members of UN.

It goes without saying that universality which we attached such importance will not be fully achieved as long as important power of China is kept out of the UN and we trust that Lacuna in our organization will be correct in the not too distant future so that the UN may be able full to play and to respond in a more concrete manner to the role given to it, namely, achieving international peace and security among the nations of the world.”⁷¹

"The small kingdom Bhutan is broadening its doors to the world family. The peace loving country which extended to join the organization should be welcomed by the 127 members of the UN with warmth and enthusiasm." These words of warmth were produced by the representative from Sierra Leone, Savage. He further adds:

"My delegation deeply entranced in its belief in universality, has always stressed the significance this concept has for international peace and security, for the continued vitality of this world organization and therefore for mankind.

A small peace loving country opening its frontiers to the outside world and stretching out its hand for acceptance by all and admission should, in our opinion, be received with warmth and enthusiasm.

Those are some of the reasons why we have voted here this afternoon in favour of fellow developing nation that wants to become the 128th member of our world organization. We look eagerly forward to the day when the Kingdom of Bhutan will be seated in the various organs of the UN.⁷²

The representatives from Poland, Somalia, Argentina, Nicaragua and Iran also spoke in favour of admitting Bhutan in the world organization, as it produced its desires to do so. The representative from Iran said that Bhutan had served as bridge between two great civilizations.

“The admission of Bhutan to membership to the United Nations is likewise a great pleasure to us. Because of its geographical position, Bhutan has served as a bridge between two great civilizations. We are confident that Bhutan will also make valuable contribution to the work of this organization.”⁷³

Khatri from Nepal welcomed Bhutan to be the member of United Nations, to which his country has social and cultural connectivity, strong historical and ethnic ties.

“If we rejoice at the increase in the membership of UN and further steps taken to this way towards the universality of the organization, the delegation of Nepal find particular reason to be gratified at the admission of the Kingdom of Bhutan, a country, with which my country shares many common features of geography, a neighbouring country with which my country is bound by strong historical ties of social, ethnic and cultural affinities. In recent years the personality of the land and its people

have developed from strength under the enlightened leadership of a beloved monarch His Majesty King Wangchuk of Bhutan.⁷⁴

The Bhutanese delegation to the meeting for acquiring membership to the UN was led by Prince Namgyal Wangchuk. To the end, he addressed the meeting, expressing thanks to all members attended for favouring Bhutan to admit it in the UN from the forth session.

“President, it gives the greatest sense of pleasure to address this assembly today on the occasion of admission for us marks the realization of one of our most cherished dreams. On behalf of His Majesty King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the Government of Bhutan and the people of Bhutan, I should like, therefore to take this opportunity of expressing our deepest gratitude to all members of this organization assembled here today, and in particular to the Republic of India, which has spared no effort of securing our admission of this free association of sovereign countries.

May I, president, also take this opportunity of congratulating you on your election to the high office of president of the General Assembly. We have no doubt that you will guide the deliberations of this session with wisdom and dignity.

It is only a decade or so since we ended our age-old policy of isolation and opened our country to the outside world. The policy of national isolation was motivated in the past by self-interest due to geo-political considerations and not because of lack of desire of capacity to play an active role in the international community. The policy serves its end and was instrumental in pre-securing our country’s

sovereignty and independence. With the changing of circumstances in the world and our desire to participate actively in the functioning of the international community, the policy lost its relevance when we join the 'Colombo Plan' for co-operation and economic development in south and Southeast Asia in 1962.

Our government and people are fully committed to the policy of modernization, although we are at the same time aware of the importance of preserving our national identity by retaining the best in our ancient culture and traditions. None of us that this will be an easy thing to do—to achieve this fine balance and synthesis but with all our mind and effort directed towards this goal, we are confident of our success.

As we present before this assembly a short outline of present development in our country, it is important to emphasis the fact that all the radical changes in the country have been initiated by the king himself. In the field of government and administration, it has been our aim to reform our institutions (traditional) like the National Assembly, Council of Ministers and Royal Advisory Council have been established. The sovereign powers of the monarch have been voluntarily surrendered to the National Assembly. The Judiciary is separated from executive and a uniform legal code based on customs and present necessity has been introduced. With technical and financial assistance provided by the Government of India, we have successfully completed two 5-year plans and have recently launched a third. The social and economic infrastructure of our country is being built up

through these plans. Implementing all these development projects, it has been our constant endeavour that they should not conflict with the existing values of our societies; the peace and purity of our environment and the rights of individuals to pursue his private life without influence.

That we should succeeded in gaining admission to this organization which aim to represents the highest aspirations of the mankind, whose contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security has been substantial, and whose work in nation building has done so much for the progress of mankind, in an occasion of great happiness and rejoicing in my country. I should like to take this opportunity now of expressing our government's fullest confidence in its ability to participate as an active and useful member of this organization and also of its firm resolution to avoid by the basic obligations required of its members as enshrined in the Charter.

My government is extremely happy that Bahrain and Qatar are admitted as the members of the United Nations along with my country. I should like to extend our warmest felicitations to the delegation of Bahrain and Qatar on this auspicious occasion.

Before I conclude, may I, president convey the greetings of His Majesty the king of Bhutan to you and through you to all the delegations assembled here today."

The meeting was held as per the UN Charter Article 59 for Bhutan's admission to UN which states, 'unless the Security Council decides,

otherwise, the application is referred by the president (of the council) to the committee of the Security Council upon which each member of Security Council shall be represented. The committee shall examine any application referred to it and reports its conclusions thereon to the council not less than 35 day in advance of the regular session of the General Assembly.

“Having examined the application of Bhutan for admission to the UN” (*UN Doc S/10050*) the Security Council recommends to the General Assembly “that Bhutan be admitted to membership in the United Nations. (*UN Doc S/10109, 9/2/1971*)

The following session of General Assembly that was held on September 21, the third Tuesday of the month, Bhutan was admitted to UN as its active and sovereign member.

“Admission of Bhutan to membership in United Nations, the General Assembly concluded that, ‘having received the recommendation of the Security Council of 10th February 1971 that Bhutan should be admitted to membership of United Nations,’ “having considered the application for membership of Bhutan decides to admit Bhutan to the membership of United Nations.” {*UN Doc 2751 (XXVI) 24 Sept 1971*}

Thus, Bhutan continued to participate in the international forums with its admission to the UN. Later, Bhutan adopted a number of international instruments passed by the Assembly. Not only in UN, Bhutan also had membership to Non-Aligned Movement (the group of 77), SAARC, BIMSTEC and many other regional organizations of which we shall discuss later.

Bhutan foreign relation had begun with the stationing of its representative in New Delhi. The government of India and Bhutan decided by mutual agreement to appoint a special officer of India in Bhutan in 1968. His function was mainly to co-ordinate, expedite and facilitate the implementation of various Indian aided projects in Bhutan also to act as the Liaison Officer of the government of India with the government of Bhutan on all matters of mutual interest. This was for the first time that Bhutan allowed the resident representative of other country.

In May 1971, a Bhutanese ambassador was appointed to New Delhi, and in July 1971 an Indian ambassador was welcomed in Thimphu. Lyonpo Peme Wangchuk presented his credentials as Bhutan's first residential representative in India to the president of India on May 17, 1971. B. S. Das represented his credentials as India's representative to Bhutan to His Majesty Druk Gyalpo on July 15, 1971. Bhutan Royal Liaison office had already begun functioning in New Delhi since March 1, 1971.

Finally, Bhutan was then recognized universally as an independent and sovereign country. Its membership to the United Nations opened its door to the outside world for the closer relation with the other countries for its economic, technical and social developments. After Bhutan had entered the world arena, the natural beauty of the country has become one of the bigger sources of the national income. Today, tourism has become an important part of generating national income. The rich water

resources of the country have been the target of the foreign donors for production of the electricity.

G. Force

There was no standing army in until few decades back; but, as in medieval Europe, troops were called out to follow their landlords, and were all trained in the skill of archery.

The hall of every public office in the land was hung around with matchlocks and shields with which the retainers were armed in time of war. Other weapons included: broadswords with shagreen handles, "Targets" of shield made of coiled canes, bamboo bows and quivers and arrows and a few pikes. Soldiers wore quilted caps, iron netted hoods or helmets; some had coats of mail and most wore woollen hose soled with leather and gartered under the knee. Over their tummies they carried several striped blankets. They slept in the open keeping themselves warm with their plaids and their whisky.

Most of the soldiers wore a quilted jacket over a tunic with blanket over the top. Their helmets were made of cloth with flops that sometimes turned down over the ears and a piece to cover the nose. Over one arm a convex shield of painted cane was carried and a long straight sword was worn across the body. A bow and quiver was slung on a belt behind the back, the arrows being drawn from over the left shoulder. The bow, which was six feet long and held in the right hand, was made of bamboo. Only a particular type of bamboos from the hills was used for making bows and arrows as they were remarkable for their elasticity and strength and

made of a split piece or two places fixed together by bands. The greatest attribute of Bhutanese troops was undoubtedly their accurate archery and skilful use of shield and sword. Bose had stated that there were about 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. There were garrisons setup in Paro, Punakha and Tongsa that consisted of about 1,400 men. Of them only about 600 were armed with matchlocks.

To ensure internal security it was seen essential that more Bhutanese should receive training in a Gurkha regiment in India for Bhutan's military qualities were despised by the Gurkha subadar of the escort.

In 1917-18 Major W.L. Campbell, officiating political officer, who had been to Bhutan with White in 1907, wrote of unsuccessful attempts to recruit soldiers for the Indian Army from the Nepalese settlers in Bhutan.

Gould wrote that the Bhutanese army was shaping well. In the previous year or so 15 men had gone to the 7th, 9th and 10th Gurkhas, of the main batch of whom their colonel had written that they were 'without exception the finest party of recruits' that he had ever seen. Some 124 Bhutanese subjects of Nepalese origin had joined Gurkha regiments. In Bhutan itself there was a very smart platoon, mostly Gurkha trained, and a reserve of 1,900 rifles.

The armed force in ancient Bhutan was of the simple peasants. During war the ordinary farmers gather at the dzong and fight against enemies. This system was regularly strengthened during the time of Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal. Kishan Kant Bose in his report after his mission's visit to Bhutan

wrote that every man of the country were the armed force of the country. He had estimated the armed force would be no less than 10,000.

The regular system of force vanished itself during the critical rule of Debs. The country had flunked into the civil war and every man in the area had to come up for helping the leaders of their area during the fight. Thus, the time had out headed in the country, as every man had to be trained as army man.

Formal organization of the force was started during the time of third king Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, though steps towards it was taken from the time of second monarch Jigme Wangchuk. The Royal Bhutan Army was started formally in 1959 for the security of the country from external aggression and to guard the borders, “when an international crisis arouse and Bhutan was threatened by an external foe. The Police Force was organized to maintain peace and harmony in the country in 1963. Leo estimates that before 1950 there were 10,000 archers working as military of the country.

From the time of Jigme Dorji Wangchuk the military system has formally come to existence in Bhutan. The organization of force was instigated by the threatening of the Chinese government over Bhutan by capturing Tibet in 1950–51 and rebels of the Tibetans in 1959 in central Tibet against China and 1954 rebel in Kham, (eastern Tibet). The other reason of the establishment of security force was encouraged by the agitation of Southern Bhutanese in early 1950s. The little military of archers at that time failed to function effectively in

the agitation in southern Bhutan in the period 1948–54. However, The movement had collapsed largely because of its inability to mobilize the Nepali Bhutanese for political action.

This was however, the starting of the armed force in Bhutan. Bhutan needed to secure its sovereignty from the external aggression and maintain peace internally. “In 1954 five more Bhutanese were sent to Indian officer training camp at Dehra Dun there of whom were commissioned in 1956.

Established in 1959, Royal Bhutan Army was given free command to the chieftains but the 1964 crisis made it clear that it needed the strong and dynamic leader at the central level. It had also become transparent of the need of the further training as well as the strict commands. After the assassination of Prime Minister Jigme Palden Dorji, his close relative Sikkimese Tashi was appointed as the commander of armed force. but he also failed to take control of the force. The conflict continued to derail the peace and security of the country. To end this distraction, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk took control of the post of Commander-in-Chief of security force in 1968.

“The past records of some army officers moreover, have not encouraged confidence in the reliability of the army as a supportive base for the Royal Government. Some army officers were involved in 1964–65 conspiracy and counter conspiracy that seemed to threatened at one point, the very existing of the regime. It has been argued that these officers were acting in their individual, rather than their institutional capacities, and that

indeed if the army officers corps as an institution had been involved, the result would have been quite different. This may well have been the case but it does not lessen the concern, which the army's potential for political involvement is viewed by the Palace, the bureaucracy and the Tshogdu.

All these circumstances and involvement in conspiracies degraded the potentiality in the army force. The 1964 crisis is serious as some of the army men were involved. But, the conspiracy did not remain hidden. "A major shake-up of the Royal Bhutan Army to place in assassination of Prime Minister Jigme Dorji in which the Brigadier was involved. The political struggle, which ensued thereafter, culminated in the education of the Brigadier and flight of two other high army officials to Nepal several months later. When the Brigadier General of Armed force fled to Nepal, he never returned and the rank was not substituted by anyone for long as such it was prohibited, to any or abolished. Late Colonel (Magsi Ogma) was highest in rank of army before 1968 when the Tshogdue again agreed to open the post of Brigadier at the request of Druk Gyalpo. But no army man was ranked to such post in accordance to the merit of performances. Then, "Late Colonel Lam Dorji was made Chief operation officer, but the commanding capacity was given to king's half brother Namgyal Wangchuk. The operation in command had not gone peacefully. From 1968 the commanding order of army was transferred to the hand of king, which is continuing till now.

The distribution of Army was mainly camped in dzong because it is the administration centre of

district now. “Each dzong or district has a small contingent of militia men with the strength of about 25 under the charge of an officer and they assist the Thrimpon or the Deputy Commissioner in the main tenancy of law and order in the dzong.”

The store they need to store, house is also provided. “All the Bhutan Army’s military equipment has been supplied by India to date. In 1962–63 however, prime minister Jigme Palden Dorji reportedly approached the US and West Germany for arms aid at a time when Bhutan’s need were great and India’s capacity to supply arms was limited by the rapid expansion of the Indian Army following the 1962 war with China. The reply from both countries was that this was an Indian responsibility and request was rejected. In 1967, the Bhutanese were reported to have British arms and stating that India provided only outdated Lee–Enfield rifles, while Bhutan required automatic rifles and machine guns but again they were turned down.

Thus, many attempts were made for the promotion of military system and keep in control to avoid any other crisis like that of 1964, fate never favoured Bhutan. To some point security force was controlled in the command of king in 1970s and 1980s but the decade of 1990s was unfortunate for all Bhutanese. It erupted as serious case in southern Bhutan with rape, murder, killing, kidnapping etc. outnumbered in the residential areas in Southern Bhutan. So, the east Switzerland, once had called for its purity of peace and co-existence, had no rest and peace in higher level and the whole country in 1990s. The main

cause of such conflicts and unrest in military force is because of semi-political and semi-democratic concept.

H. End of the Gyalpo

It is apparent to us that the third Druk Gyalpo has no praiseworthy health. His acute problem of deteriorating health created vacuum in administrating the kingdom in effective manner. The 1964 crisis, murder of the prime minister had erupted in his absence. He also could not devote his time in the development programs he had initiated. As a result of his absence to monitor the development activities, he had commissioned the National Planning Commission under the leadership of then crown prince Jigme Singye Wangchuk from third plan launched in April 1971. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk spent his most of the time Switzerland and other European hospitals for health treatment. To the end of 60s, his health again deteriorated drastically.

The month of July of 1972 was bad-luck for Bhutan. From the starting of the month, Druk Gyalpo was serious and admitted to a hospital in Nairobi, Kenya. On July 21, 1972 King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk died at an early age of 43 years. The next day the body of the beloved king was flown from Nairobi to Bhutan where its subjects in tears received it. Bhutan suffered an irreparable loss at the premature demise of their great monarch, who was greatly loved by his people and may rightly be designated as the 'Architect of Modern Bhutan.' The dead body was embalmed and kept in Thimphu for 89 days. On October 20, 1972, the

last remains of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk were taken in ceremonial procession to Kurje in Bumthang for funeral rites and a week later (October 28) the cremation took place with all the Royal honours and religious Buddhist ceremonies.

Before he died, in deathbed, King Dorji advised then Crown Prince Jigme Singye:

“In my life, I have committed a very big blunder by having an affair with Yanki. Being young, I stayed with her a few times and before I could keep the affair within limits, no one or two but four children were born. So, I could not serve my connection with her. Kesang Wangchuk is completely in the right. She was consecrated with me in the Tashi Ngasol ceremony as my true queen, and such the children born from her are legitimate princes and princesses. In the case of Yanki, she is only a girl friend and legitimate wife as such children born from her cannot be considered as Royal children but are to be considered as legitimate children.

You should never give any government services and status to Yanki’s children. It will create problems for you. It will be enough if you treat them like other Bhutanese subjects.

I have given adequate wealth, so they should not face any hardship. In case they face any hardship, may be you will help them.

In case I die, let them stay outside the country for a few years; after that do as you deem necessary. The reason why I am saying this is for your own benefit; Jigme.”

I. Father of Modern Bhutan

As the busiest monarch of Bhutan, King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk steered the country into modern development. By judicious statesmanship he steered the country away from the policy of isolation, endowed it with political unity, brought about religious and social consolidation and set the country into the path of rapid economic flourishing, a task begun by king Ugyen Wangchuk in 1907.

Bhutan between the Republican Democracy (India) and Communist State (China) needed to protect its sovereign independence. King realized how fragile his country was without strong international links and concrete central administration, fact he and his people were still living in isolation. This realization motivated him in drawing plans and policies fairly suited for the country with the change of time, and for protecting and promoting the country's sovereign independence.

He also improved in administration and traditional laws. The establishment of Tshogdue and Lodoe Tshogdue helped in implementing the economic programmes and give justice to the people with the separation of judicial away from executive body. Beside these reforms, he also maintained close relations with international community. The admission to Colombo Plan, International Postal Union and United Nations Organization introduced Bhutan to international stage as an independent and sovereign country of the world.

Because of all these deeds, he is always been loved by his people and fairly and confidently

remarked and remembered as the “Father of Modern Bhutan.” Taking into account the fact that Bhutan’s long history of Deb Rajahs (Druk Debs) and kings has never produced a monarch as such His Late Majesty.

4. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuk

He was born in Dechhencholing Palace Thimphu on 11th November 1955 corresponding to Wood Sheep year. As he started his education as early as seven, he received his early education from St. Joseph College, Darjeeling and proceeded to London Colleges for his higher education. In 1970, he returned to Bhutan and studied at Ugyen Wangchuk Academy and finalised his education.

From 1971 he was trained in administration section and was attached as a leader of Bhutan Planning Commission. His involvement helped the successful completion of the Third Five Year Development Plan started by the late king. As late king Druk Gyalpo Jigme always to be in medical treatment, Jigme Singye has superior power in the administration and had gained the knowledge of strict administration of whole country from the age of 15 itself before enthronement to the Golden throne. On 5th May 1972 he was appointed as Tongsa Penlop but he did not serve there long because of the sudden demise of his father Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. When third Druk Gyalpo died in 1972 his son Jigme Singye Wangchuk succeeded him, being coronated in 1974.

By March of progress started by Jigme Singye, Bhutan had really improved in its economical field

and international co-operation with the world at large diverse field. "Spread of education on modern lines, foreign travel, improved communications, modernised agriculture and animal husbandry, enlargement of health serves, utilisation of power resources and a continued process of planning and development has transferred the country's economic and social structure."⁹¹

With the financial and technical assistance, steps have been taken to exploit the abundant natural resources of forest, mineral and hydropower. Bhutan's present policy is to achieve economic self-reliance. But then, as a developing and a land locked county, it demands an equitable share of the wealth of seas and oceans which are the common heritage of mankind. With the farsighted leadership of the present king, Bhutan now attends the conferences of United Nations Organisation (UNO), Universal Postal Union (UPU), Colombo Plan, World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Fund for the Agriculture and Development (IFAD), United Nations Volunteer (UNV) programmes, Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), World Health Organisation (WHO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), International Red Cross Society (IRCS) and other Human Rights, Women Rights and Child Rights Agencies. It is also the active member of South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) and Non - Aligned Movement (NAM). In 1947 it participated the Asian

Relation Conference at New Delhi and in 1975 the Non Aligned Foreign Ministers' conference at Lima, Peru.

The introduction of currency from the year when he ascended the throne instead of using the Indian currency is his other most important deed. Codification of Laws*, formation of Land reform committee and Annual National Judicial conference in 1978 and 1976 were his other achievements. He also introduced the Television and Radio. The construction of Chukha led Bhutan to the modern development in electricity.

A. Problems' Arousing

Problem had arisen from the starting of Jigme's turn to throne. Before his coronation, the vote of confidence to the king was abolished. The system of electing ministers every after five years by the National Assembly introduced by king Jigme Dorji Wangchuk in 1971 was banned from 1978. From 1980 onwards the people's representatives were being nominated by dzongdags instead of people using the 'Ballot Box.'

Though some laws were codified by Jigme Singye, in whole they are not made but brought in reinforcement of laws coded by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal Rinpoche. When in 1977 under the direction of the king National Assembly passed the Citizenship Act 1977, most of the Indian citizens who were serving in Bhutanese offices were legalised with the citizenship of Bhutan as in KA – 1, since there were mostly Indians serving in the Bhutanese offices for longer time. But the ignorant people in the rural areas having no concept of

nationality and citizenship even didn't heard what National Assembly resolved and enforced, as such, they are termed now the illegal citizen of the country. Though KHA -2 inquires that no one is to be given citizenship of Bhutan having acquired the citizenship of any other foreign country, it came into force not so effectively. The KHA - 4 (iii) forced the southern Bhutanese to follow the customs and traditions of Ngalong ethnicity and KHA -4 (iv) deprived the Bhutanese to express their view and criticise the government in its misconducts.

The citizenship Act of 1977 was framed but it does not come into force effectively. It only became the base for the formation of the citizenship Act 1985 which is produced in the appendix.

In 1975, Teknath Rizal was selected as the National Assembly member from Lamidara. As he was active in the finding of the National Problems, he became the star in the National Assembly circle. His words became so important that it was sometimes recognised as a whole one resolution of the National Assembly as Resolution no. 45 of 1975 session. In 1980 he was called by RGB emergencily to Thimphu and tried to influence him against southern Bhutanese like that of Om Pradhan and B. P. Bhandari. In his memoir of that day, he has written:

"Once in 1980, I was called to Thimphu to an emergency meeting by the Royal Government of Bhutan. Lyonpo Om Pradhan had sent his private vehicle for my travel from Lamidara to Thimphu. In Thimphu I was summoned to a meeting which was presided over by His Majesty the King. Other senior Government officers attending the meeting were

gonglen Lam Dorji (Chief of the RBA), Lyonpo C. Dorji, Lyonpo Dago Tsering, Lyonpo Om Pradhan, Dasho V. Namgay (ADC to the king), Gup Wangchhen (king's secretary) and other officers. There I was asked if the landless southern Bhutanese could migrate to Nepal if the government paid them compensation equivalent to the cost of three acres of land. I was totally dumb-founded. In the meeting when the question of citizenship in Nepal for those willing to migrate arose, some bureaucrats opined that it was very easy to obtain citizenship in Nepal. They said if a person paid around 2000 rupees to the Chief District Officer, obtaining citizenship would be no problem. Further it was deliberated that if people migrate en-mass willingly, the Government would pay the extra money required to bribe the Nepalese officials to obtain citizenship. It was also discussed that, through people like Nado Rinchhen, arrangements could be made to obtain citizenship in Nepal. In course of discussion, when I was asked to give my views, I said the issue under discussion was a very critical one, therefore, the government must thoroughly discuss with the senior southern Bhutanese officers like Bhim Subba, R. B. Basnet, D. K. Chhetri, D. N. Katwal, S. K. Pradhan, Hari Adhikari, D. B. Subedi and others. ⁹³

In 1977, the Bhutan government amended the 1958 Nationality law and acquired the 1977 Citizenship Act. At the National Assembly's 50th session of 1974, Tek Nath Rizal suggested the RGB to distribute the ID cards to Bhutanese citizens. Implementing the 1977 Act, RGB initiated the census in 1981, which count the population of

southern Bhutan as 1165,000. Half way through the census, RGB tried to evict the landless southern Bhutanese as T.N. recorded in his memoir already stated.

Here instead of issuing the ID cards, the Government of Bhutan moved to enact a citizenship legislation as Citizenship Act 1985. This way, having amended and being amending, conducting the worthless census to issue ID Cards to Bhutanese citizens, the Royal Government of Bhutan initiated the steps to evict the southern Bhutanese. The people's representatives from southern Bhutan urged the government to bring former into consonance with the later. But the Government remained dumb and shelved the 1985 Act and started to distribute the citizenship cards. The concern here to be given is that after having the census conducted, Royal Government of Bhutan has easily recognised the way to evict the southern Bhutanese stating them illegal immigrants as what Dago Tshering in 1988 in National Assembly session (66th) reported as, "according to an assessment in September 1987, there were over one hundred thousand non – nationals in the country."

In 1988 implementing the 1985 Citizenship Act, RGOB conducted another census exclusively in southern Bhutan. The Census Team began to harass, intimidate and categorised the southern Bhutanese into seven groups – starting the crisis. The seven groups of RGB's census team is as follows:

F1: Genuine Bhutanese

F2: Returned Migrants (those who left Bhutan but returned)

F3: Dropouts (those who were absent during the census)

F4: A non National Woman married to Bhutanese Man

F5: A non National Man married to Bhutanese Woman

F6: Adopted Cases

F7: Non Nationals (illegal Immigrants)

As a cause of this census, a lady from Chirang named Sita Motey, committed suicide in fear of departing or separation from her family, as she was categorised in F4. She was an India married to Bhutanese man. It also deprived many Bhutanese children from their nationality to be the Bhutanese as in the case of Man Bahadur Sunar.

The US Human Rights report of 1994 on Bhutan expressed serious concern about the RGB's right practices and implementation of the 1985 Citizenship Act and the failure to prosecute security force members who committed rape, torture and abuses in name of enforcing the Citizenship Act. Straightway speaking, the 1985 citizenship act and 1988 census policy had really targeted in the eviction of southern Bhutanese and the same was reported by the Amnesty International in August 1994 entitled "Bhutan: forcible Exile" – "the 1985 citizenship act of Bhutan contains a number of vague provisions, and appears to have been applied in an arbitrary manner. It also contains provisions which could be used to exclude from citizenship many people who are not the member of dominant ethnic group as well as those who oppose the Government policy by peaceful means." It is also just opposite to the statement of king during the National Day celebration at Gaylegphug on December 17, 1978, -

southern Bhutanese are true citizens and cannot be considered or treated otherwise."

The census team did such that a person is not Bhutanese if he/she was not able to produce the land tax receipt of 1958 but have the availability of 1959. Initially, the RGB said that those who have lost or misplaced the 1958 land tax receipt could seek the verification and domicile from the Chhokpas (special categorisation committee) who could recognise him/her as a bonafied Bhutanese citizen. The committee constitute of the three village elders. But when the census proceeded theses Chhokpas were barred from verifying the villagers who have lost or misplaced the land tax receipt of 1958.

Though in statements from mouth, the government of Bhutan is in favour of southern Bhutanese, its dog -tailed policy never favoured them, the Nepali speakers. Having done the investigation on the unwanted activities of the security forces and census team in southern Bhutan, the councillors Tek Nath Rizal and Bidhya Pati Bhandari appealed to His Majesty the king Jigme Singye Wangchuk on 9th April 1988. It was also suggested that the cut off date for implementing the Citizenship Act 1985 need to be 1985, the 10th June instead of 1958, the 31st of December. The plea was declared an act of treason and forcefully amended the cut off date as 31st December 1958 which is just fun to the words of the king as, 'we have not yet decided but it could be 1985.'⁹⁴

However in a charade to settle the citizenship problem, the 67th National Assembly session of 1988 passed the resolution:

Illegal immigrant who had acquired property in Bhutan would be entitled to a Special Residency Card who would guarantee almost all facilities and benefits acquiring to bonafied Bhutanese citizenship. This official declaration is not yet implemented in the country, thus, reflecting the power and conformity of the resolution of the National Assembly of Bhutan. Then Home Minister Dago Tshering had also spoken, "We are not planning to throw out anybody. We wanted to issue Identity Cards –red ones to the genuine residents, who were here before 1958 and green ones to later immigrants. The green ID modelled the green card of US, gives all rights to residents except the right to vote and right to apply for foreign scholarship." It is yet to be implemented.

The red ones were distributed to few residents but no green cards are issued to the later immigrants. Focusing this point, the Amnesty International in its report of 1994 made clear, "In November 1988, the king had recommended the National Assembly that resident permits should be issued to foreigners married to a Bhutanese citizen so that parents and children and husband and wives need not to be separated. The National Assembly, therefore, decided that non –nationals married to Bhutanese Citizens would be entitled to a Special Residency Card that would entitled them to health, education and other social welfare benefits available to bonafied citizens. People from families divided between different categories that

Amnesty International interviewed had not been given a Special Residency Card.”

The appeal of councillors was tabled. King assured justice but asked councillors to await for the return of the Deputy Trade Minister Lyonpo On Pradhan from China who went on the consultation of border disputes. In the mean time king paid his personal visit to southern Bhutan to access the first hand the gravity of the situation. When he returned to capital, a Royal communiqué was dispatched to the Kuensel, the only bulletin of the country, controlled by Government. However, the ruling coterie censuring the communiqué, changed its content and after clothing it in falsehood sent to press. Its printing was vigilantly supervised by Col. V. Namgyal (ADC to the king) for English version, Phub Wangchhen (Royal Secretary) for the Dzongkha version and Nado Rinchhen for Nepali version. Thus, a completely distorted and false version of the appeal was published for the public and international consumption.

Having considered the appeal as an act of treason, councillor Tek Nath Rizal was arrested on 3rd June 1988 and freed soon and was then restricted to attain in gathering of people more than three and also ordered to leave the capital immediately. When the situation became quite unbearable, he took refuge in India and ultimately to Nepal. He then began to work for the establishment of Human Rights in Bhutan.

Historically, the freedom movement had been continued since 1907 when Sarchhops were deprived from being ruling elite as their ancestor had united the kingdom in 1616, the Shabdrung

Ngawang Namgyal. It did not come to be such in large demonstration from eastern Bhutan. The movement for freedom had once come up during 1950s under the leadership of D. B. Gurung, D. B. Chhetri and Mahasur Chhetri (Basnet) (BSC) which impressed the third monarch Jigme dorji Wangchuk to bring into existence the constitutional and democratic designs in Bhutan as National Assembly, Royal Advisory Council, High Court and other. Thus, the movement of 1990s is the only unendured toleration of inhuman activities of the Royal Government of Bhutan after the enthronement of the forth monarch.

The People's Forum for Human Rights –Bhutan (PFHRB) came up in exile on July 1989 under the chairmanship of Tek Nath Rizal and began disseminating booklets and pamphlets designed to promote the people of Bhutan about Human Rights and social justice. But the executive members of the Forum were arrested and the active functioning of the forum declined in the lack of the active members.

Meanwhile the Royal Government of Bhutan began to plan for the eviction of all southern Bhutanese from their homeland. It even requested some of the institutions in Austria, Denmark and Japan to create a one-kilometre “Green Belt” in the southern border of the country. However the proposal was rejected there, sparing the eviction of 30 percent of the population of southern Bhutan.

“The one nation one people” a racist policy also have the basic foundation to force the different groups in Bhutan to raise voice of cultural pluralism in the country which until 1970s the

government even was not obsessively concerned about. The policy forced every people of Bhutan to follow the customs, traditions, religion and use the dress and language of the ruling elite.

On 2nd June 1990, Bhutan People's Party was formed and applied an charter of demand to His Majesty for the Human Rights and Constitutional Monarchy as:

- Unconditional release of all political prisoners*
- Change from absolute to constitutional monarchy*
- Reform of the judiciary*
- Amendment of the Citizenship Act*
- Right to culture, dress, language and script*
- Freedom of religion*
- Freedom of press, speech and expression*
- Freedom of formation of unions and political parties*
- Freedom of trade and occupation*
- Right to equitable distribution of wealth and funds*
- Right to equality and opportunities in public employment*
- Right to education*
- Right against exploitation*

Despite of all these demands and appeals, the people of southern Bhutan failed to hear any response from Thimphu. They have the negative impression as then king stated, "that is bogus. They made 13 demands, then nine more. Most are on problems we didn't have in Bhutan, as the southern Bhutanese themselves will tell you. In a nut – shell, they want two things – democracy and a separate identity. The long list is cosmetic."

So, in September 1990, Bhutan People's Party called peaceful rallies, demanding the restoration of democratic principles in Bhutan and political changes denouncing the atrocities committed. Unfortunately, the peaceful rallies was regarded the act against the king, country and the people and

named violence as the Royal Bhutan Army, assisted by the police force resorted the bayonet-and-bullet formula, resulting in the death of many innocent people. Thereafter, army rule was imposed in southern Bhutan, followed by intimidation, arbitrary arrest, torture, rape, arson, looting, economic sanction and confiscation citizenship cards by Army personnel.

“Many schools were closed. Some subsequently being used as army Barracks, health services were disrupted and hundreds of people seen as anti nationals by the government forces had their land confiscated and had their homes burnt and demolished.”

Conclusion

Bhutan having land locked territory had been progressing much in modern technology in recent days. Though there is no remarkable progress at the reigns of first and second monarch, the third and fourth kings have done much to participate in the external and internal development. In the starting of third Gyalpo's reign, problem arose but then also suppressed as it is necessary. There were no efficient leaders who would hold the position to lead the government in democratic pattern and that the movement was being encouraged by the Sikkim State Congress, which finally failed to attains its maturity and the state of Sikkim collapsed to the Indian empire. To avoid the occupation of Bhutan to such, it was wise to suppress the movement. As king realised that people need some democratic reforms in the country, he established the National Assembly and Royal Advisory Council, and Council

of Ministers and also separated the judiciary from the executive and announced that henceforth the Bhutan will be a constitutional monarchy having the people's voice as the highest. The uniqueness of Bhutanese movement we can see is that when the movement for democracy starts in Nepal simultaneously it furnishes the leaders of Bhutan. The 1950s also witness the restoration of democracy in Nepal and in the same time the movement erupted in Bhutan. And when in 1990 the democracy was restored in Nepal, it affected the Bhutanese intellectuals. This shows that cannot be cut-off.

And in the same manner the government of Bhutan has the odds that the movement is suppressed always and there existed the constitutional changes in the country, which liberated the people to an extent.

In spite of monarchical act upon the people the programmes started by the third monarch have been expending much in the time of fourth monarch and now Bhutan attains much development with high GNP. The hydro projects it constructed and harnessing of hydropower progressed its economic development. The publication of newspaper {Kuensel} ranged its literary upliftment. Though in 1970s -80s there came a magazine called Druk Losel, it could not continue for longer time. The government had banned its publication which vividly expressed the power exercised by the executives to make the news its mouthpiece.

The establishment of radio and telecommunication system in the country and

computer institutes, though under government's directions, has done much in technical development of country.

Under the efficient leadership of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuk now Bhutan has developed the diplomatic connection with many countries of the world. The diplomatic, commercial, technical, political and traditional relation of Bhutan with many countries of the world widened its sovereignty and emerged as an independent and sovereign nation. As a developing country, it receives donations from donor countries and agencies, which adds to its national income.

On the other hand, not establishing the big industries helped great in preserving and conserving the pollution and natural resources. Most of its land is covered by forest, which helped it in the conservation of the wild life, which are rare in the world. The herbs it contains had great value in its medical development.

As an active member, Bhutan's effort on a regional cooperation is also appreciable. Its efforts on SAARC helped in many fields .The establishment of such regional cooperation will help in great deal for the development and peace. "The success of the SAARC may also be expected to lead in the long run to wider regional association bringing the SAARC and ASEAN closer."⁹⁹

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ARTICLES OF THE TRADE PROPOSED BY GEORGE BOGLE IN 1774 TO THE DEB RAJA OF BHUTAN

Whereas the trade between Bengal and Tibet was formerly considered, and all the Hindu and Mushalman merchants were allowed to trade into Nepal, which was the centre of communication between two countries, and whereas from the war and oppression in Nepal the merchants have of late years been unable to travel in that country, the governor as well as the Deb Raja, united in friendship, being desirous of removing these obstacles so that merchants may carry on their trade free and secure as formerly, have agreed on the following articles:

That the Bhutanese shall enjoy the privilege of trading to Bengal as formerly, and shall be allowed to proceed either themselves or by their gomasthas to all places in Bengal for the purpose of trading and selling their horses free from duty and hindrance.

That the duty hitherto exacted at Rangpur from the Bhutan caravans be abolished.

That the Deb Raja shall allow all Hindu and Mussalman merchants free to pass and repass through his country between Bengal and Tibet.

That no English and European merchants shall enter the Deb Raja's dominions.

That the exclusive trade in sandal, indigo, skins, tobacco, betel nut and pan shall remain with the Bhutanese, and that the merchants be prohibited from importing the same into the Deb Raja's dominions, and that the Governor shall confirm this in regard to Indigo by an order to Rangpur.

APPENDIX II

ANGLO BHUTANESE TREATY – 1774

Article 1: That the honourable company wholly from consideration for distress to which the Bhutanese represented themselves to be reduced, and from the desire of living in peace with their neighbours, will relinquish all the lands which belonged to the Deb Rajah before the commencement of the war with the Rajah of Cooch Bihar, namely, to the eastward, the lands of Chitchacotta and Pangolahaut, and to the westward, the lands of Kyrunttee, Marragaut and Luckypoor.

Article 2: That for the possession of the Chitchacotta Province, the Deb Raja shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangun horses to the Honourable Company which was the acknowledgement paid to the Bihar Rajah.

Article 3: That the Deb Rajah deliver up Dhujinder Narain, Rajah of Cooch Bihar, together with his brother, the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.

Article 4: That the Bhutanese, being merchants, shall have the same privilege of trade as formerly, without the payment of duties; and their caravan shall be allowed to go to Rangpur annually.

Article 5: That the Deb Rajah never cause incursions to be made into the country, not in any

respect whatever molest the ryots that have come under the Honourable Company's subjection.

Article 6: That if any ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from honourable company's territories, the Deb Rajah shall cause him to be delivered up immediately upon application being made for him.

Article 7: That is the case the Bhutanese, or any one under the Government of the Deb rajah, shall have any demands upon or disputes with any inhabitants of these or any part of the Company's territories, they shall prosecute them only by an application to the magistrate, who shall reside here for the administration of justice.

Article 8: That whereas the Sunneeyasies are considered by the English as an enemy, the Deb Rajah shall not allow any of them to take shelter in any part of the district now given up nor permit them to enter the Honourable Company's territories, or through any part of his, and if the Bhutanese shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the resident part of the English, in Cooch Bihar, and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sunneeyasies into those districts any breach of this treaty.

Article 9: That in case Honourable Company shall have occasion for cutting timber form any part of the woods under the hills, they shall do it duty free, and the people they sent shall be protected.

Article 10: That there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

This treaty to be signed by the Honourable president and Council of Bengal, etc., and the honourable Company's seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deb Rajah on the other part. Signed and ratified at Fort William, the 25th April 1774.

APPENDIX III

**BHUTANESE COUNTER PROPOSAL WHICH MR.
EDEN SIGNED UNDER COMPULSION IN 1864**

Agreement:

That from today there shall always be friendship between the Feringees (English) and the Bhutanese. Formerly the Darma Raja and Company's Queen were of one mind, and same friendship exists to the present day. Foolish men of the frontier having caused a disturbance, certain men belonging to the British power, living under frontier have taken Bulisusan (Julpigorie?) Between Cooch Bihar and Kam Raja, and Ambares, near the border of Sikkim, and then between Banska and Gualparah, Rangamuttee, Bokalibaree, Motteeamaree, Papareebaree, Arioetta, and then the seven eastern Dooars. Then certain bad men on the Bhoteah side stole men, cattle, and other property, and committed thefts and robberies, and the Feringees' men plundered property and burnt down houses in Bhutan. By reason of these bad men remaining, the ryots suffered great trouble; and on this account the Governor General, with a good intension, sent an envoy, Mr. Eden, with letters and presents, and sent with him Cheeboo Lama, the Minister of Sikkim, and on their coming to the Dhurma and Deb Rajas, making petition, a settlement of permanent nature has been made by both parties. The Dhurma Raja will send one agent to the east and one to the west; when they shall arrive on the frontier of the Company's territory, they shall after an interview with the Feringees' agents receive back the tracts above mentioned belonging to Bhutan, and after these shall be given

back, and on full proof being given against persons charged with cattle stealing, etc., the feringees will surrender such offenders to the Bhutanese, and the Bhutanese we in like manner surrender offenders to the Feringees. After that such shall take charge of his own territory, look after his own ryots, and remain on friendly terms, and commit no aggression, and the subjects of either State going into the neighboring State shall be treated as brothers.

If, notwithstanding, any bad men on either side shall commit any aggression, the rulers of the place in which the offender lives shall seize and punish him. And as Cheeboo Lama is the interpreter between the Feringees and the Bhoteahs, the Sikkimese are therefore henceforth to assist the Bhoteahs. We have written about that the settlement is permanent; but who knows, perhaps this settlement is made with one word in the mouth and two in the heart. If, therefore, this settlement is false, the Dharma Rajas demons (names omitted) will, after deciding who is true or false, take his life, and take out his liver and scatter it to the winds like ashes. The Bhutan Army will take possession of Sikkim, and if the Raja of Cooch Bihar shall attempt to take any land belonging to Bhutan, the Bhutan Government, the Sikkim Government, and the Company will invade Cooch Bihar. If the Feringees attempts to lands from Bhutan, the Bhoteahs, Sikkimese, and Beharees will invade the Company's territory; and if the Behar Raja shall invade Sikkim, the Bhutanese, Sikkimese, and the Company shall invade Behar. Whichever of the four states, Bhutan, Feringees,

Behar, Sikkim, commit aggression, the other three shall punish it; and if, whilst this agreement remains, any other enemy shall arise to any of the states the other shall all assist him. This agreement is made between the Feringees and the Bhutanese. And this is the seal of the Dhuram and Deb Rajas.

APPENDIX IV

**BRITISH PROCLAMATION REGARDING THE
ANNEXATION OF BENGAL DUARS (12TH
NOVEMBER, 1864)**

For many years past outrages have been committed by the subjects of Bhutan Government within British territory, and in the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar. In those outrages property has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken, and many innocent persons have been carried into and are still held in captivity.

The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maintaining friendly relations with neighboring States, and specially mindful of the obligations imposed on it by the Treaty of 1774, has endeavoured from time to time by conciliatory remonstrance to induce the Government of Bhutan to punish the perpetrators of these crimes, to restore the plundered property, and to liberate the captives. But such remonstrance have never been successful, and, even when followed by serious warning, have failed to produce any satisfactory result. The British Government has been frequently deceived by vague assurances and promises for the future, but no property has ever been restored, no captives liberated, no offenders punished, and outrages have continued.

In 1863 the Government of India, being averse to the adoption of extreme measures for the protection of its subjects and dependent allies, dispatched a special mission to Bhutan Court, charged with proposals of a conciliatory character,

but instructed to demand the surrender of all captives, the restoration of plunder property, and security of the future peace of the frontier.

This pacific overture was insolently rejected by the Government of Bhutan. Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British Envoy was insulted in open Durbar, and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate.

From this insult the Governor-General-in-Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhutan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Doars and Ambaree Fallacottah, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British territory. At the same time still anxious to avoid an open rupture, the Governor-General-in-Council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs, formally demanding that all captives detained in Bhutan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last five years should be restored.

To this demand the Government of Bhutan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisition of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bhutan and its subjects of the means and opportunity of future aggression.

The Governor-General-in-Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Doars of Bhutan, and so much of the Hill territory, including the Forts of Dallingkot, Pasakha, and Dewangiri, as may be necessary to commend the passes, and to and to prevent the hostile or predatory incursions of Bhutanese into the Darjeeling District or into the plains below. A Military Force amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance, has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve.

All Chiefs, Zamindars, Mundual, Ryots, and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government, to remain quietly in their homes and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract. Protection of life, and property and a guarantee of all the private rights is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all. The lands will be moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited.

The future boundary between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhutan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhutan within this boundary will cease forever.

APPENDIX V

THE TREATY OF SINCHULA – 1865

Article 1: There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Government of Bhutan.

Article 2: Whereas in consequence of repeated aggression of the Bhutan Government and the refusal of that government to afford satisfaction for those aggressions, and of their insulting treatment of the officers sent by His Excellency the Governor – General – in – Council for the purpose of procuring an amicable adjustment of differences existing between the two States, the British Government has been compelled to seize by an armed force the whole of the Doars and certain Hill Posts protecting the passes into Bhutan and whereas the Bhutan Government has now expressed its regret for past misconduct and a desire for the establishment of friendly relation with the British Government, it is hereby agreed that the whole of the tract known as the Eighteen Doars, bordering on the districts of Rangpoor, Cooch Behar and Assam, together with the Talook of Ambaree – Fallacottah and the Hill territory on the left bank of the Teesta up to such point as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the Purpose is ceded by the Bhutan Government to the British Government for ever.

Article 3: The Bhutan Government hereby agree to surrender all British subjects as well the subjects of the Chiefs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar who are

now detained in Bhutan against their will, and to place no impediment in the way of the return of all any of such persons into British territory.

Article 4: In consideration of the cession by the British Government of the territories specified in Article 2 of this treaty, and of the said Government having expressed its regret for past misconduct, and having hereby engage for the future to restrain all evil-disposed persons from committing crimes within British territory or the territories of the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar and to give prompt and full redress for all such crimes which may committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agree to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhutan of a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (Rs.50,000) to be paid to officers not below the rank of Dzongpon, who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhutan to receive the same. And it further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:

On the fulfillment by the Bhutan Government of the conditions of this Treaty, twenty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 25,000)

On the 10th January following the first payment thirty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 35,000)

On the 10th January following, forty-five thousand rupees (Rs. 45,000)

On every succeeding 10th January, fifty thousand rupees (Rs. 50,000)

Article 5: The British Government will hold itself at liberty at any time to suspend the payment of this compensation money either in whole or in part in the event of misconduct on the part of the

Bhutan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects or to comply with the provisions of this Treaty.

Article 6: The British Government hereby agree, on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhutan Government, to surrender, under the provisions of Act VII of 1854, Of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhutan Government, all Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the following crimes who may take refuge in British dominions. The crimes are murder, attempting to murder, rape, kidnapping, great personal violence, maiming, dacoity, thuggee, robbery, burglary, knowingly receiving property obtained by dacoity, robbery or burglary, cattle stealing, breaking and entering a dwelling house and stealing therein, arson, setting fire to village, house, or town, forgery or uttering forged documents, counterfeiting current coin, knowingly uttering base or counterfeit coin, perjury, subordination of perjury, embezzlement by public officers or other persons, and being an accessory to any of the above offences.

Article 7: The Bhutan Government hereby agree on requisition being duly made by or by the authority of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to surrender any British subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the above Article who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhutan Government, and also any Bhutanese subjects who after committing any of the above crimes in British territory shall flee into Bhutan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall

satisfy the local court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

Article 8: The Bhutan Government hereby agree to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes with, or causes of complain against, the Rajas of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, and to abide by the decision of the British Government; and the British Government hereby engage to enquire into and settle all such disputes and complains in such manner as justice may require, and to insist on the observance of the decision by the Rajas of Sikkim and Coch Behar.

Article 9: There shall be free trade and commerce between the two governments. No duties shall be levied on Bhutanese goods imported into British territories nor shall the Bhutan Government levy any duty on British goods imported into, or transported through the Bhutan territories. Bhutanese subjects residing in British territories shall have equal justice with the British subjects, and British subjects residing in Bhutan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Bhutan Government.

Article 10: The present Treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Sinchula on 11th Day of November, 1865, corresponding with the Bhutea year Shim Lung 24th day of the 9th month, and signed and sealed by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Bruce, C. B. , and Samdojey Deb Jimpey and Themseyremsey Donai, the ratifications of the same by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-

General or His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council and by their Highness Dhurma and Deb Rajas shall be mutually delivered within thirty days from this date.

APPENDIX VI

THE TREATY OF PUNAKHA, 1910

Whereas it is desirable to amend Articles IV and VIII of the Treaty concluded at Sinchula on the 11th of November , 1865 ,corresponding with the Bhutea year Shing Lang 24th day of 9th month ,between the British Government and the government of Bhutan , the under mentioned amendments are agreed to on the one part by Mr.C.A. Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim ,in virtue of the full powers to that effect vested in him by Right Honourable Sir Gilbert John Elliot-Kynynmound, P.C., G.M.S.I. , G,M I E. ,G.C.M.C.,Earl of Minto,Viceroy and Governor – General of India-in-Council ,and on the other part by his Highness Sir Ugyan Wangchuk, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Bhutan.

The following addition has been made to Article IV of the Sinchula Treaty of 1865;

“The British Government has increased the annual allowance to the Government of Bhutan from fifty thousand rupees (Rs. 50,000) to one hundred thousand rupees (Rs. 1,00,000) with effect from the 10th January 1910”.

Article VIII of the Sinchula Treaty of 1865 has been revised and the revised article runs as follows:

“The British Government undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part, the Bhutanese Government agrees to be guided by the advice of British Government in regard to its external relations. In the events of disputes with or causes of complaint

against the Maharajas of Sikkim and Cooch Behar, such matters will be referred for arbitration to the British Government which will settlement them in such manner as justice may require and insist upon the observance of its decisions by the Maharajas named”.

Done in quadruplicate at Punakha, Bhutan, this 8th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten, corresponding with the Bhutia date, the 27th day of the 11th month of the Earth – Bird (Sa – ja) year.

This Treaty was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor –General of India- in – Council at Fort William, on the 24th day of March, AD one thousand nine hundred and ten.

APPENDIX VII

**ANGLO BHUTANESE EXTRADITION
AGREEMENT – 1910**

Whereas the Government of Bhutan have applied to the Government of India for a simpler form of procedure for the mutual surrender of criminals than that at present in force, Mr. C.A. Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim, in virtue of full powers vested in him by the Right Honourable Sir Gilbert John Elliott-Murray-Kynynmound, P. C., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., G. C. M. C., Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor – General of India and Rai Ugyen Dorzie Bahadur, Deb Zimpen, in virtue of full powers granted to him by His Highness Sir Ugyan Wangchuk, K. C. I. E., Maharaja of Bhutan, hereby agree as follows:

1. The British Government shall, on demand being duly made in writing by the Bhutan Government, take proceedings in accordance with the provision of the Indian Extradition Act 1903 (of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhutan Government), for the surrender of all the Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the first schedule of the said Act who may take refuge in British territory.
2. The Bhutan Government shall, on requisition being duly made by the Government of India, or by any officer authorised by the Government of India in this behalf, surrender any British subjects, or subjects of a foreign Power, whose extradition may be required in pursuance on any agreement or arrangements made by the

British Government with the said Power, accused of any crimes, specified in the first schedule of Act XV of 1903, who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Bhutan Government, and also any Bhutanese subjects who, after committing any of the crimes referred to in British territory, shall flee into Bhutan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local court of district in which the offence may have been committed.

Done in quadruplicate at Kalimpong this 21st day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten corresponding with the Bhutea date the 20th day of the second ninth month of the Iron Dog year.

APPENDIX VIII

INDO – BHUTANESE TREATY – 1949

The Government of India on the one part, and His Highness the Druk Gyalpo's Government on the other part, equally animated by the desire to regulate in a friendly manner and on a solid and durable basis the state of affairs caused by the termination of the British Government's authority in India, and to promote and foster the relations of friendship and neighbourliness so necessary for the well being of their peoples, have resolved to conclude the following Treaty, and have for this purpose, named their representatives, that is to say Shri Harishwar Dayal representing the Government of India, who has full powers to agree to the said Treaty on behalf of the Government of India, and Deb Zimpon Sonam Tobgye Dorji, Yang-Lop Sonam, Chho-Zim Thondup, Rin-Zim Tandin and Ha Drung Jigmie, Palden Dorji, representing the Government of His Highness Druk Gyalpo, Maharaja of Bhutan, who have full powers to agree to the same on behalf of the Government of Bhutan.

Article 1: There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Bhutan.

Article 2: The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the

advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations.

Article 3: In place of the compensation granted to the Government of Bhutan under the Article 4 of the Treaty of Sinchula and enhanced by the Treaty of the eighth day of January, 1910 and the temporary subsidy of Rupees of one lakh per annum granted in 1942, the Government of India agrees to make an annual payment of Rupees five lakhs to the Government of Bhutan. And it is further hereby agreed that the said annual payment shall be made on the tenth day of January every year, the first payment being made on the tenth of January, 1950. This payment shall continue as long as this Treaty remains in force and its terms are duly observed.

Article 4: Further to mark the friendship existing and continuing between the said Governments, the Government of India shall, within one year from the date of signature of this Treaty return to the Government of Bhutan about thirty-two square miles of the territory in the area known as Dewangiri. The Government of India shall appoint a competent officer or the officers to mark area to return to the Government of Bhutan.

Article 5: There shall, as heretofore, be free trade and commerce between the territories of the Government of India and the Government of Bhutan; and the Government of India agrees to grant the Government of Bhutan very facilities for the carriage, by land and water, of its produce

through the territory of the Government of India, including the right to use such forest roads as may be specified by mutual agreement from time to time.

Article 6: The Government of India agrees that the Government of Bhutan shall be free to import with the assistance and approval of the Government of India, whatever arms, ammunitions, machinery, war like material or stores that may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Bhutan, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all times as long as the Government of India is satisfied that the intension of the Government of Bhutan are friendly and that there is no danger to India from such importations. The Government of Bhutan, on the other hand, agrees that there shall be no export of such arms, ammunitions, etc., across the frontier of Bhutan either by the Government of Bhutan or by private individuals.

Article 7: The Government of India and the Government of Bhutan agree that the Bhutanese subjects residing in Indian territories shall have equal justice with India subjects, and that the Indian subjects residing in Bhutan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Government of Bhutan.

Article 8: (1) The Government of India shall, on demanding being duly made in writing by the Government of Bhutan, take proceeding in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Extradition Act, 1903 (of which a copy shall be

furnished to the Government of Bhutan), for the surrender of all Bhutanese subjects accused of any of the crimes specified in the first schedule of the said Act who may take refuge in the Indian territory.

(2)The Government of Bhutan shall, on requisition being duly made by the Government of India, or by any officer authorised by the Government of India in this behalf, surrender any Indian subjects, or subjects of foreign Power, whose extradition may be required in pursuance of the agreement or arrangement made by the Government of India with the said Power, accused of any of the crimes, specified in the first Schedule of the Act XV Of 1903, who may take refuge in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Government of Bhutan, and also any Bhutanese subjects who, after committing any of the crimes referred to the Indian territory, shall flee into Bhutan, on such evidence of their guilt being produced as shall satisfy the local court of the district in which the offence may have been committed.

Article 9: Any difference and disputes arises in the application or interpretation of this Treaty shall in first instance be settle by negotiation. If within three months of the starting of the negotiations no settlement is arrived at, then the matter shall be referred to the arbitration of the three arbitrators, who shall be nationals of either India or Bhutan, chosen in the following manner:

1. One person nominated by the Government of India;

2. One person nominated by the Government of Bhutan;
3. A Judge of the Federal Court, or a high Court in India, to be Chosen by the Government of Bhutan, who shall be Chairman.

The judgment of this Tribunal shall be final and executed without delay by either party.

Article 10: This Treaty shall continue in force in perpetuity unless terminated or modified by mutual consents.

Done in duplicate at Darjeeling this eighth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty nine, corresponding to the Bhutanese date the fifth day of the sixth month of the Earth Bull Year.

APPENDIX IX

**CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
OF BHUTAN**

His majesty the King has been pleased to command the following rules to be observed by the Members of the National Assembly (consisting of the Members of the royal Advisory Council).

It is the duty of every countrymen to develop this beautiful country of ours in the political and religious fields; when our country is developed then every Dzong and people living therein will be happy and prosperous.

Our constitution may not be as big in comparison to other countries of the world but taking into consideration the welfare and the improvement of the living conditions of the people, all Members have agreed to take up the measures necessary so His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo graciously established the National Assembly.

It was always wiser to arrive at a decision (to improve our country) in consultation with many intellectuals than to have one single make decision alone. This will prove beneficial not only for contemporary times but for the prosperity too.

The administration will be run according to the decision taken by the National Assembly. Due to the grace of God and the able steps taken by our previous rulers, we have maintained the independence, we still backward because of the

lack of education. We have not been able to improve much.

Other countries of the world have achieved rapid improvement because of the rapid progress in the education. Under the present circumstances, we too must bring ourselves to a point equal to that of these developed nations. As such, we must place great emphasis on National development. This must be the foremost duty of all of us.

All Members, therefore, should work in unity to improve the country keeping in mind our culture, religious heritage and traditions of the past. We must thrust aside, selfish attitudes and dedicate ourselves to the task of the nation building. We must learn from our past follies. With these in view, the following 18 Rules and Regulations will be followed by the National Assembly.

Rule No. 1

His Majesty will nominate the Members of the Royal Advisory Council from Government servants, the Monk Body will elect its Members from the Central Monk Body and the People's representatives shall be selected by the people.

Rule No. 2

The Identity Cards of the Royal Advisory Council will be issued by His Majesty, Identity Cards of Members from the Monk Body will be issued by the Central Monk Body, and the People's Representative Identity cards will be issued by the People's Body.

Rule No. 3

The Members unable to attend the National Assembly session due to sickness or otherwise cannot send any other person on their behalf. The Speakers must be informed of any inability to attend in writing.

Rule No. 4

In accordance with the Bhutan's Law Book A(12), chapter 2, the following person shall not be eligible for Membership of the National Assembly:

1. A person who is not a Bhutanese National;
2. A person who is less than 25 years old;
3. A person who is mentally disabled;
4. A convict;
5. A person who have served a prison sentence.

Rule No. 5

All Members shall hold office for three years but should it be necessary for the Members to be changed, an application should be made to the speaker.

Rule No. 6

Should a Member be found unfit to serve as a Member, the National Assembly may decide in favour of his removal.

Rule No. 7

The number of National Assembly Members shall be decided once every five years by the Assembly

itself and the number decided upon shall be fixed – no more, no less.

Rule No. 8

Election of the Speaker: The Speaker shall be elected by the National Assembly every three years. Should the Speaker is unable to attend due to sickness or any other reason, then the Assembly resolves it right to elect another Speaker.

Rule No. 9

The Speaker has the full powers to maintain the order in the Assembly hall. No Member shall object against him.

Rule No.10

The Speaker shall fix the date of the session of the National assembly, which shall be twice in a year. But in emergencies and under extraordinary circumstances, the Speaker, with the Royal Command of his Majesty, may convene a meeting at any time.

Rule No. 11

Every Member shall have the full right and privilege to express his thoughts in the Assembly. No rule or law can interfere with the Member's freedom of expression.

Rule No. 12

Every Member shall be equal in the National Assembly and all Members may discuss any subjects till a suitable decision is reached.

Rule No. 13

No Member shall raise a subject of any nature in the Assembly, which is motivated with a desire to fulfill his own or that of his relatives' self interests. Such matters shall not be permitted to discuss.

Rule No. 14

Members may not contradict or take personal advantage of any decision that has been reached by the Assembly. Should any Member attempt to find fault with the decision, to start a quarrel or take the matter to court, he shall be termed a convict and be removed not only from service but also from society and ultimately from the country.

Rule No. 15

If a Member wishes to raise a point which is for the welfare of a particular person but not the Member of the Assembly, then that Member may come to the Assembly and petition the Speaker who can grant his consent.

Rule No. 16

No Member may reveal to an outsider any secret decisions that have taken place in the Assembly.

Rule No. 17

All the proceeding of the meeting, be they large or minor, shall be passed by two-third majority vote.

Rule No. 18

All Assembly decision may be changed either by the Assembly or by the king. No one can ratify these decisions.

APPENDIX X

THE NATIONALITY LAW – 1958

Having found it necessary to amend this law relating to the requisition and the deprivation of citizenship which has been in force till this date , His majesty the Druk Gyalpo, in accordance with the suggestions put up by the Royal Advisor, people and the Monastic Body, is pleased to incorporate the following changes:

1. This law may be called the Nationality Law of Bhutan –1958 and shall be effective throughout the kingdom of Bhutan.
2. This Law shall be in force throughout the kingdom of Bhutan from the date of its enactment.
3. Any person can become the Bhutanese National:
 - a. If his/her father is a Bhutanese National and is a resident of the kingdom of Bhutan.
 - b. If any person is born within or outside Bhutan after the commencement of this law provided the previous father is a Bhutanese National at the time of his/her birth.
4. (a) If a foreigner who has reached the age of majority and is otherwise eligible, presents a petition to an official appointed by His Majesty and taken an oath of loyalty according to the rules laid down by the Government to the satisfaction of the concerned official, he may be reenrolled as a Bhutanese National, provided that:
 - i. the person is resident of the kingdom of Bhutan for more than ten years; and

- ii. own agricultural land within the kingdom.
 - (b). If a woman, married to Bhutanese National, submits petition and takes the oath of loyalty as stated above to the satisfaction of the concerned official and that she has reached the age of majority and is otherwise eligible, her name may be enrolled as a Bhutanese National.
 - (c). If any person has been deprived on his Bhutanese Nationality or has renounced his Bhutanese Nationality or forfeited his Bhutanese Nationality, the person cannot become a Bhutanese National again unless His Majesty grants approval to do so.
5. (a). If any foreigner submits petition to His Majesty according to the rules described in the above sections, and provided the person has reached the age of majority and is otherwise eligible, and has served satisfactorily in the government services for at least five years and has been residing in the kingdom of Bhutan for at least ten years, he may receive the Bhutanese Nationality certificate. Once the certificate is received, such a person has to take the oath of loyalty according to the rules laid down by the Government and from that day onwards, his name will be enrolled as a Bhutanese National.
- (b). Any foreigner who has reached the age of majority and is otherwise eligible, can receive the Nationality certificate provided that in the opinion of His Majesty his conduct and his service as a Government servant is satisfactory.
6. Any person who :

- i. becomes a national of a foreign country and resides in that country; or
 - ii. has renounced Bhutanese nationality and settled in the foreign country; or
 - iii. claims to be citizen of a foreign country if pledges oath of loyalty or that country; or
 - iv. registered as a Bhutanese national but has left his agricultural land or has stopped residing in the country; or
 - v. being a bonafied national has stopped residing in the country or fails to observe laws of the kingdom as per his Nationality Certificate, shall forfeit his nationality.
7. (a) If a Nationality Certificate has been obtained on presentation of false information or wrong facts or omission of facts, the Government may order the certificate to be cancelled.
(b)
 - i. If any citizen or national, engages in activities against His Majesty, or any national of Bhutan
 - ii. When Bhutan and India are engaged in a war with other country if citizen or national of Bhutan is found indulging in business, correspondence or helping the enemies; or
 - iii. If any person within the period of five years from the day when he was enlisted as Bhutanese National, if imprisoned in any country for more than one year, the person is liable to be deprived of his nationality without prior notice.
8. To implement this law, if necessary, His Majesty may incorporate any additional rules.

9. This law supersedes all laws, rules and regulations, ordinances relating to the ordinances relating to the acquisition and for future of nationality from the day of its commencement.

APPENDIX XI

CITIZENSHIP ACT OF 1958

(As revised by the Lyengyel Shuntshog in its 68th session held on March 22, 1977)

Conditions required for the grant of Citizenship

1. In the case of government servants an application should have completed 15 years of service without any adverse records.
2. In the case of those not employed in the government, an application should have resided in Bhutan for a minimum period of 20 years.
3. In addition, an applicant should have some knowledge of the Bhutanese language both in spoken and written and the history. Only those applicant who fulfills the above requirements may apply for the grant of citizenship to the Ministry of Home Affairs, which will ascertain the relevant facts and submit the application to the Royal Government for further action.

Eligibility and power

1. The power to grant or reject an application for citizenship rests solely with the Royal Government. Hence, all applicants who fulfill the above conditions are not necessarily eligible for the grant of citizenship.
2. Any applicants hold the citizenship of another country or with criminal records in other countries or those who are related to any person involve in the activities against the people, the country and the king should not be granted

citizenship even if all the other conditions are fulfilled.

3. A person granted citizenship by the Royal Government is required to register his/her name in the record of the Royal Government from the date of the grant of the citizenship.
4. All those granted citizenship are required to pledge (ascribe) to the following oath to be administered by the Home Minister:
 - a. Henceforth, I owe allegiance only to His Majesty the king of Bhutan.
 - b. I shall abide by and observe the rules and regulations of the Royal Government with unswerving reverence.
 - c. I shall observe all the customs and traditions of the people of Bhutan.
 - d. I shall not commit act against the TSA-WAS-SUM; the king, country and the people.
 - e. As a citizen of Bhutan, I hereby take this oath in the name of Yeshe Gempo and undertake to serve the country to the best of my abilities.

Special grant of Citizenship

1. A foreigner in possession of special or extraordinary qualifications will be granted citizenship without consideration of the required conditions except for the administration of the oath of allegiance.

Renouncement and re -application for Citizenship

1. In case a Bhutanese citizen, who having left the country returns and applies for citizenship, the

Royal Government shall keep the application on probation for a period of at least two years. On successful completion of the probation period, the applicant will be granted citizenship provided the person in question is not responsible for any activities against the royal Government.

2. A person who has been granted Bhutanese citizenship may apply to the Royal Government for permission to immigrate with his/her family. Permission will be granted after an investigation of the circumstances relating to such a request. After grant of permission to immigrate, the same person may not re -apply for Bhutanese citizenship. In the event of an adult family member of any person permitted to leave the country, does not wish to leave and makes an application to that effect, the Home Minister will investigate the matter and will permit such persons to remain in the country after ascertaining that the country's interest is not harmed.
3. If anyone, whether a real Bhutanese or foreigner granted citizenship, applies for permission during times of crisis such as war, the application shall be kept pending until normalcy returns.

Procedure for acquisition of Citizenship **CHA**

1. When a Bhutanese woman is married to a foreigner, only she is a citizen, her husband and children will not be considered a Bhutanese citizen. if they desire Bhutanese citizenship,

such cases will be considered in conformity to the procedure laid down in this Act applicable to foreigners applying for citizenship.

2. When a Bhutanese man is married to a foreign woman, the children will be considered Bhutanese. The wife will have to fulfill the requirement of the\is citizenship Act as applicable to the foreigners applying for the citizenship.
3. In the case of Bhutanese citizen residing in other countries, the Citizenship Law subhead KA – 12, no. 2, which is reproduced below, shall be applicable.

Reproduction of Thrimshung KA –12, 2

1. With the exception of a genuine Bhutanese, whose family domiciled in Bhutan but he himself had to stay away in other country in connection with works of the Royal Government, private business or religious practices but other who live in foreign countries, serve the Government and the people of such counties or have settled in a foreign country or holding official post in foreign government are considered non –nationals.

Registration procedure

CHA

1. All children born of a father who is a Bhutanese citizen should be registered in the official record

within one year of their birth whether the children born inside or outside the country.

2. All children born within the country are required to be listed with the Dzongkhag or Dungkhag of their birth. Children of Bhutanese parents born in other countries should be recorded with the Royal Bhutanese Embassies. Where there is no Embassies nearby, the information should be conveyed to the Home Ministry through correspondence.
3. If a child is more than one year and not registered within that period, registration is not permitted but may apply for registration to the Home Ministry by the concerned authority. The Home Ministry will then investigate the matter before granting permission for the registration.

Validity of the census record

JA

1. All census reports must bear the seal of the Royal Government and the signature of an officer not lower in rank than a Dzongdag. Other records will not be acceptable.

Enquiry of Kashog

NYA

1. All Kashog with the people which are not granted by His Majesty will be investigated into by the Home Ministry and report to the Royal Government.

Penalty for the violence of rules

TA

1. Anyone having acquired Bhutanese Citizenship involves in act against the king or speaking against the Royal Government or being in association with people involved in activities against the Royal Government shall be deprived of their citizenship.
2. In case of any person knowingly presenting false information at the time of applying for citizenship, the Kashog granting him/her citizenship will be withdrawn after due verification of the false information presented.

THA: Status of the Provision

1. In case of conflict between the provisions of this Act and the provisions any previous laws, rules and regulations, provisions of this Act shall prevail.

APPENDIX XII

THE BHUTAN CITIZENSHIP ACT –1985

1. This act may be called The Bhutan Citizenship Act – 1985. It shall come in to force from twenty-third day, 4th month of wood bull year of the Bhutanese calendar corresponding to June 10,1985. In this act and the provision of any previous laws, rule and regulation relating to citizenship, the provision of this act shall prevail.

2. Citizenship by Birth

A person whose parents are both citizens of Bhutan shall be deemed to be a Citizen of Bhutan by birth.

3. Citizenship by Registration

A person permanently domiciled in Bhutan on or before December 31, 1958 and whose name is registered in the census register maintained by the ministry of home affairs shall be deemed to be a citizen of Bhutan by registration.

4. Citizenship by Naturalization

A person shall be deemed to apply for Bhutanese citizenship to the Ministry of Home Affairs in forms KA-1 and KA-2 must fulfill all the following conditions to be eligible for naturalisation:

- i. The person must have attained the age of 21 years, and 15 years in case of a person either of whose parents is a citizen of Bhutan;
- ii. The person must be mentally sound;

- iii. The person must have resided in Bhutan for 15 years in the case of Government employees and also in the case of applicants, either of whose parents is a citizen of Bhutan and 20 in all other cases, and this period of residence must be registered in the records of the Department of Registration;
- iv. The person must be able to speak, read and write Dzongkha proficiently;
- v. The person must have good knowledge of the culture, customs, traditions and the history of Bhutan;
- vi. The person must have good moral character and should not have any record of imprisonment for criminal offences in Bhutan or elsewhere;
- vii. The person must have no record of spoken or acted against the king, country and the people of Bhutan in any manner whatsoever; and
- viii. The person must be prepared to take a solemn Oath of Allegiance to the king, country and the people of Bhutan according to the prescribed form KHA. On receipt of the application form KA -1 and KA -2 for naturalisation, the Ministry of Home Affairs will take necessary steps to check all the particulars contained in the application. The Ministry of Home Affairs also conduct written and oral test to access proficiency in Dzongkha and knowledge of the culture, customs, traditions and history of Bhutan. The

decision of the Ministry of Home Affairs on the question of eligibility for naturalisation be final and binding. The Royal Government of Bhutan also reserves the right to reject any application for naturalisation without assigning any reason.

5. Grant of Citizenship

- a. A person whose application for the naturalisation has been favourably considered by the Ministry of Home Affairs, shall take the Oath of Allegiance according to the Form KHA of this Act.
- b. A person shall be deemed to be a citizen of Bhutan upon receiving a Kashog from His Majesty the king of Bhutan in accordance to the Form GA of this Act.

6. Termination of Citizenship

- a. Any citizen of Bhutan who acquires the citizenship of another country shall cease to be a citizen of Bhutan. The wife/ husband and children of that person if they are Bhutan shall have the right to remain as citizens of Bhutan provided they permanent domiciled in Bhutan and are registered annually in the Citizenship Registration maintained by the Ministry of Home Affairs.
- b. Any citizen of Bhutan who has acquired the citizenship by naturalisation may be deprived of citizenship at any time if it is found that naturalisation has been obtained by means of

- fraud, false representation or the concealment of any material fact.
- c. Any citizen of Bhutan who has acquired the citizenship at any time if the person has shown by act or speech to be disloyal in any manner whatsoever to the king, country and people of Bhutan.
 - d. If both the parents are Bhutanese and in case children leaving the country of their own accord, with the knowledge of the Royal Government of Bhutan and their names are also recorded in the citizenship register maintained in the Ministry of Home Affairs, then they will not be considered as citizens of Bhutan. *{Resolution No. 16 (II) adopted by the National Assembly of Bhutan in the 62nd session.}*
 - e. Any citizen of Bhutan who has been deprived of Bhutanese citizenship must dispose off all immovable property in Bhutan within one year, failing which, the immovable property shall be confiscated by the Ministry of Home affairs on payment of fair and reasonable compensation.

Debs of Bhutan

1. Umze Temin Drugyl (1651-56)
2. La Ngoenpa Temin Drugyl (1656-68)
3. Chhogyal Minjur Tenpa (1668-68)
4. Gyalse Tenzin Rabgyl (1660-94)
5. Karbi Geduen Chhoephel (1694-1701)
6. Ngawang Tshering (1702-04)
7. Umze Peljore (1704-07)
8. Druk Rabgye (1707-20)
9. Geshe Ngawang Gyamtsho (1720-29)
10. Rinpoche mipham wangpo (1730-37)
11. Khu zimpon pemjor (1737-40)
12. Sachong Ngawang Gyaltsho (1740-44)
13. Chhoegyal sherub eangchuk (1744-64)
14. Druk phuntsho (1764-66)
15. Druk Tenzin (1766-69)
16. Sonam Lhundup (1769-73)
17. Tshenlop Kuenga Rinchhen (1773-76)
18. Jigme Shingye (1776-88)
19. Druk tenzin (1798-92)
20. Umze chabchap (1792-99)
21. Sonam Gyaltshen (1792-99)
22. Druk Namgyal (1799-1803)
23. Sonam gyaltshen (1803-05)
24. Sangye tenzin (1805)
25. Umje parop (1806-07)
26. Beop choeda 1807-08)
27. Shabdrung Jigme Dragda (1809)
28. Jigme Dragda (1810-11)
29. Chhogley yeshe gyaltshen (1811-15)
30. Tshaphu Dorji (1815)
31. Mewang sonam Drugda (1819-23)
32. Tenzin Drugda (1819-23)
33. Chhoekie Gyaltshen (1823-31)

34. Dorji Namgyal (1832-33)
35. Adap Thinley (1833-35)
36. Chhoekigyaltsen (1835-38)
37. Dorji Norbu (1838-50)
38. Wangchug Gyalpo (1850)
39. Shabdrung Tuelku Jigme Norbu (1851)
40. Chagpa sangye (1851-52)
41. Lopen Bachup namchoe Lhundup (1852-55)
42. Kuenga Blden (1856-60)
43. Ngagi pasang Phuntsho Namgyal (1860-63)
44. Tshewang sithub (1863)
45. Kague Wangchuk (1864)
46. Tsulthrim yonten (1865)
47. Tshenye Lopen Tsuendue pekar (1865)
48. Jigme Namgyal (1870-74)
49. Kitshen Dorji namgyle (1874-79)
50. Chhogyal zangpo (1879-1882)
51. Lam Tshewang (1882-84)
52. Bawa zingpo (1884-86)
53. Pam sangye Dorji (1886-1903)
54. Chhogyal Tuelku yeshe Ngoedub (1903-1907)

Je Khempas of Bhutan

1. Pekar Jungney
2. Sonam Ozer
3. Pekar Lhundup
4. Tamcho Pekar
5. Ngawang Gyaltsen
6. Zoba Thinley
7. Ngawang Lhundup

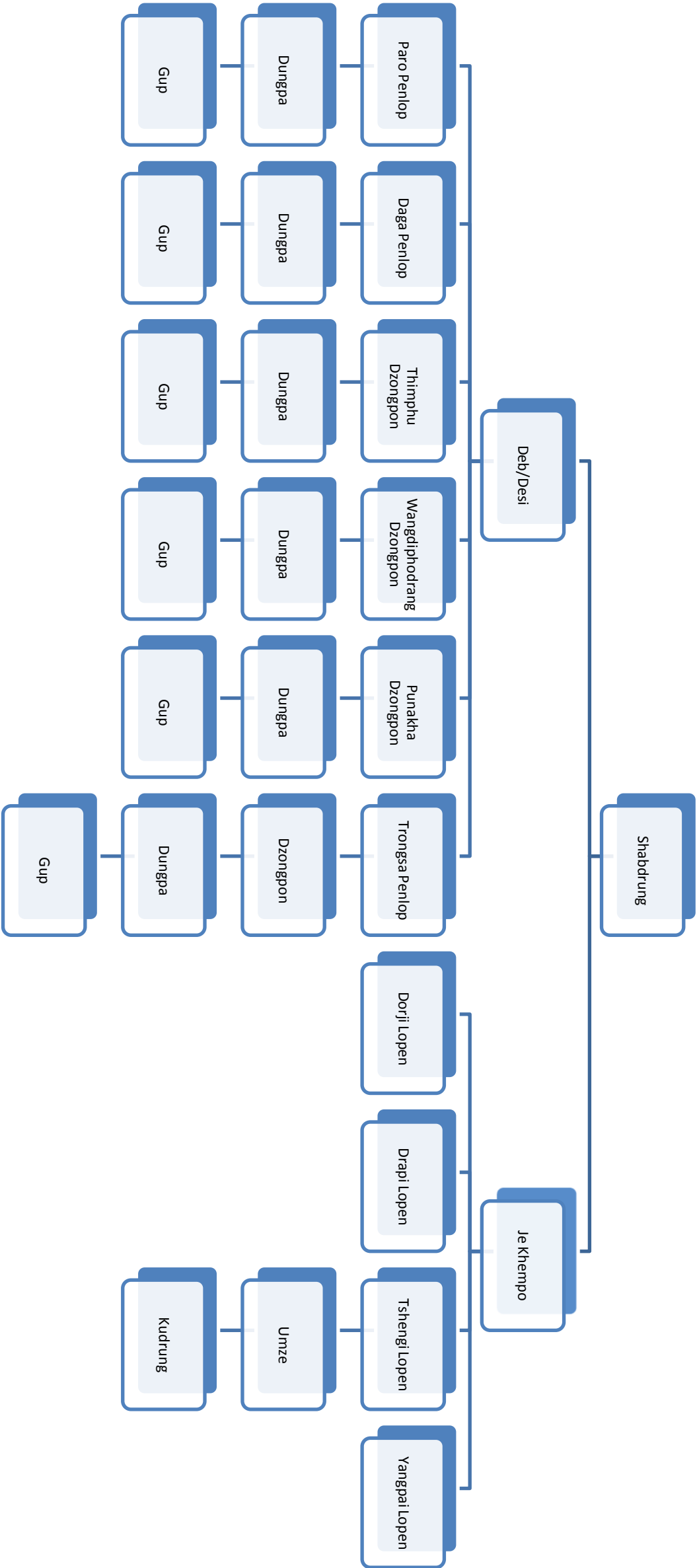
8. Ngawang Thinley
9. Sakhya Rinchen
10. Gyse Tenzin Norbu
11. Tenzin Chhoegyal
12. Ngawang Thinley
13. Ngawang Kuenga Gyatsho
14. Yonten Thaya
15. Tenzin Namgyal
16. Kuenzang Gyaltsen
17. Po Sherub Sengye
18. Jamba Yeshe Dorji
19. Jamyang Gyaltsen
20. Ngawang Gyaltsen
21. Zambe Dhaba
22. Sakya Gyaltsen
23. Sherub Gyaltsen
24. Yonten Gyatsho
25. Pema Zam
26. Rinchen zam
27. Jamba Gyatsho
28. Yeshe Ngodup
29. Tshulthrim Gyantshen
30. Kuenga Penjor
31. Sidub Yeshe
32. Sakya Gyaltsen
33. Yonten Pejang
34. Kuenga singye
35. Lodoi Gyantshen
36. Peka Yeshe
37. Ngawang Tendon
38. Thinley gyaltsen
39. Tenzin Lhendup
40. Thinley gyatso
41. Tamcho Gyaltsen

42. Sherub Lhendup
43. Jamyang Rinchen
44. Rinchin Nyingpo
45. Zambe Shenyen
46. Jamba Tobjang
47. Pendeng Sengye
48. Yeshe Dawa
49. Mipham Wangpo
50. Ngawang Gyaltsen
51. Yeshe Namgyal
52. Chhogley Tulku Yehse Ngodup
53. Chhogyal Wangchhen
54. Ngawang Thinley
55. Samten Gyatsho
56. Yonten Lheundup
57. Thinley Lhuendup
58. Samten Pejang
59. Yeshe Singye
60. Tulku Nang Le Thinley Lhuendup

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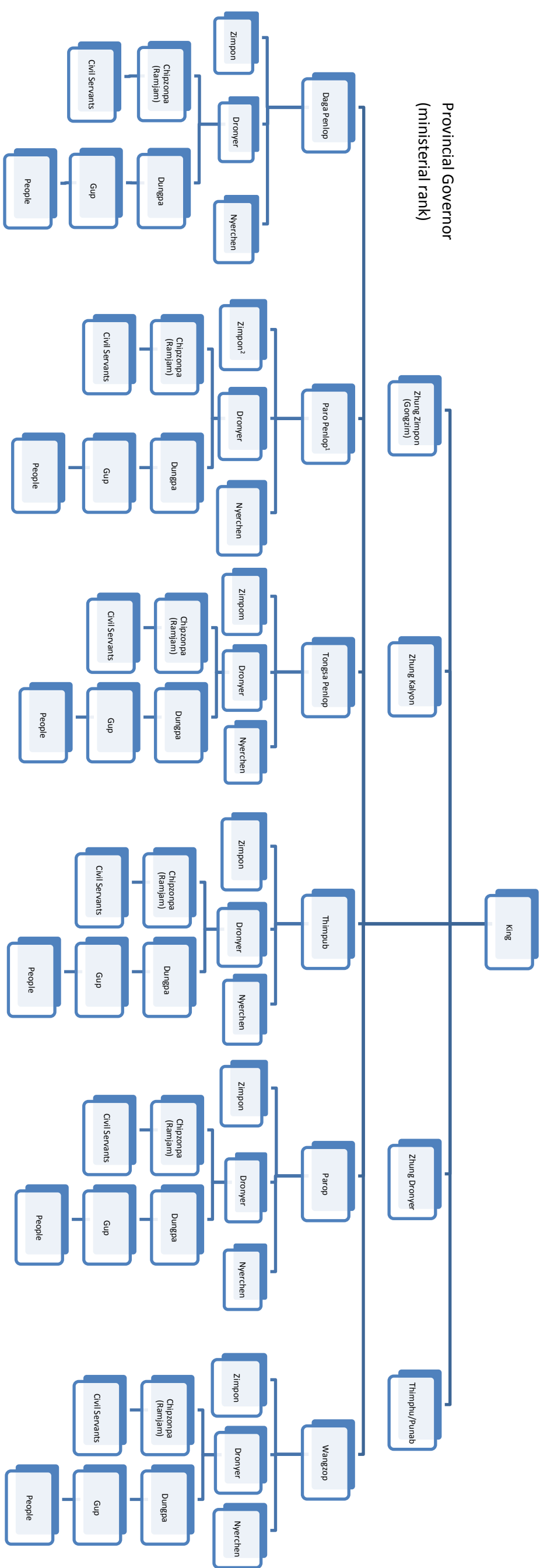
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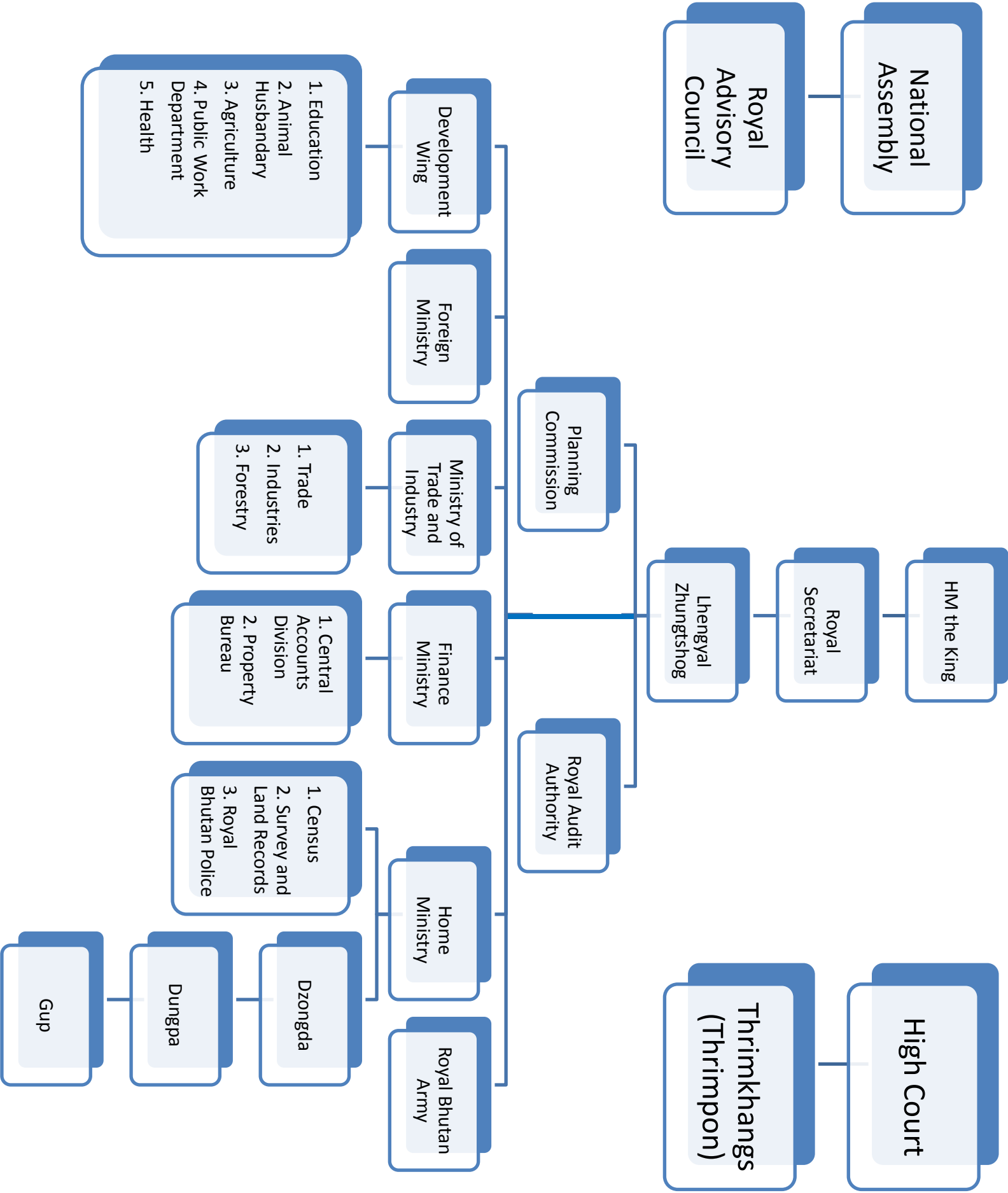
The Choesid System established by Shabdrung

Structure of government under first and second kings

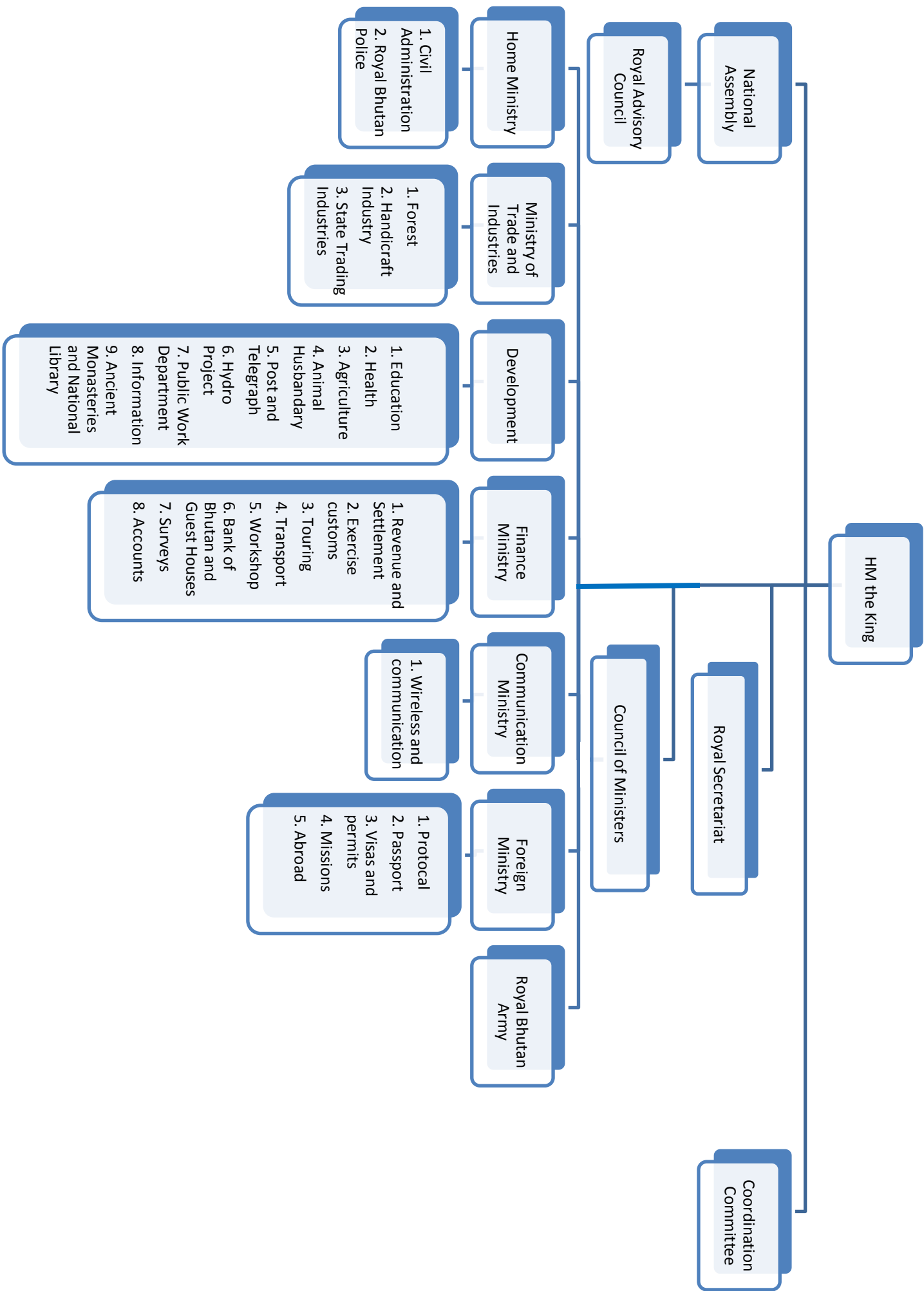


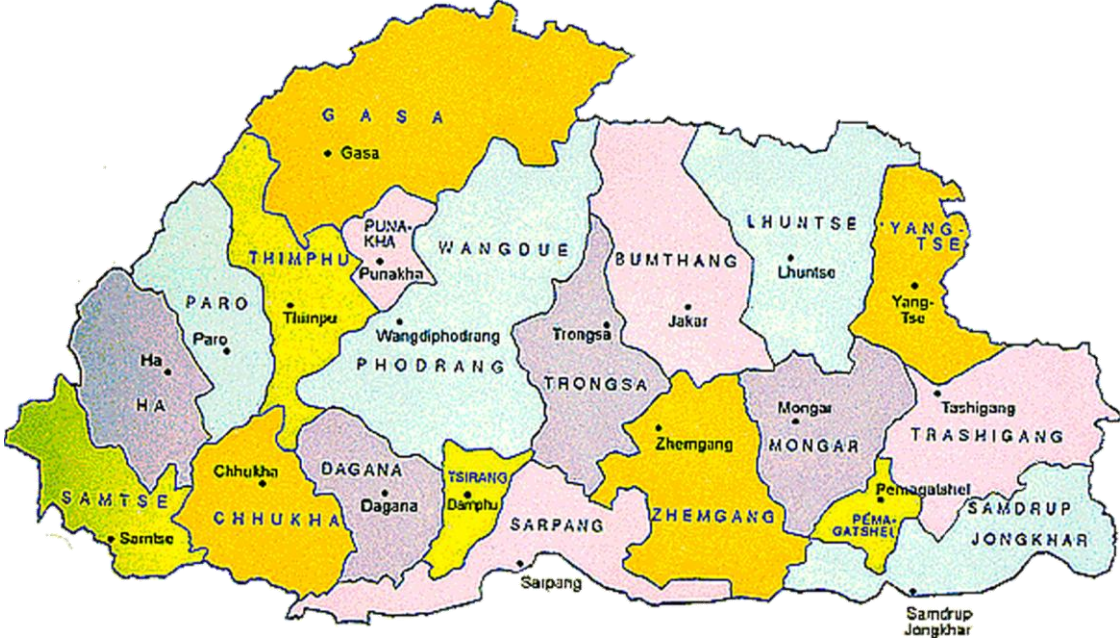
1. Central cabinet (ministerial rank).
2. Red Scarf staffs.
3. White Scarf staffs.

Structure of government under third king



Structure of government during fourth king





The old map of Bhutan



The new map of Bhutan