

MODERN BHUTAN

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Preface

BHUTAN is an ancient land of ancient people. It has always existed as a politico-administrative unit in one form or another. In ancient times, in the Eastern Himalaya, next to Kamarupa (present-day Assam and the neighbouring States of north-eastern India) and Tibet, Bhutan was one of the oldest principalities. Until the first part of the seventeenth century, there never was an authority in Bhutan exercising a real control over the entire country. From 1616 to 1907, Bhutan was a theocracy. Since 1907 it has been a hereditary monarchy.

Bhutan is much too small a country compared with India or China, which it adjoins. Owing to its strategic location, it is a vital point in the mastery and defence of the southern glacis of the Eastern Himalaya. And thanks to the right policy and skilful diplomacy of its rulers it has always stood as a bulwark of stability in the region.

Modern Bhutan is the first book of its kind on Bhutan. I first describe the land and people of Bhutan and the dynamics of its social system. I follow it up with a history of Bhutan in which I make a survey of the period up to 1907, when the present line of kings begins, and then deal with the subsequent period. Next I discuss Bhutan's system of government, including its structure and functioning. I then go into the various aspects of the Buddhism of Bhutan,

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especially the impact of the religion on the life and culture of the people. After this I consider Bhutan's relations with its neighbours, including China and India. I conclude the study with an attempt to make certain projections on the future of Bhutan so far as it is possible to do so on the basis of its history and politics and the nature of relations between China and India.

The system of government in Bhutan has its roots completely in Tibetan statecraft although in recent years it has undergone several notable and far-reaching changes. Despite the excellent documentation on Bhutan in Tibetan sources, I have not found it easy to trace the various phases of the structural development of the Bhutanese State, not even the evolution of the main offices and organs of administration in Bhutan. Besides, there are numerous chronological complications which have defied my persistent efforts to resolve. However, I have done my best to place faithfully on record all the relevant facts available in the archival material I have consulted in Bhutan and India, as well as in certain documents of Tibetan origin within my reach.

I have used the phonetic forms of the various geographical and proper names and have indicated their literary forms within brackets where they occur for the first time in this study. I have besides, appended a glossary of some Bhutanese terms of frequent occurrence and have indicated their literary forms.

I take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the many courtesies which I have received from the officials of the Royal Government of Bhutan in the different parts of the country visited by me in the course of my field research

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I

Introduction

BHUTAN LIES on the southern slopes of the western half of the Eastern Himalaya. It borders India in the south-east, south, and south-west (from the Me La trijunction between Tibet, India, and Bhutan to the 10,000-foot-high Rishi La trijunction between Bhutan, India, and Sikkim), Sikkim in the west (from the Rishi La trijunction to the Gyemo Chhen [RGYAL MO CHHEN] trijunction between Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet), and Tibet in the north (from the Gyemo Chhen trijunction to the Me La trijunction).* The Pangchhen (SPANG CHHEN) Valley in the Mela border region is a sort of a no-man's land between Bhutan, India, and Tibet. A lama (BLA MA, Buddhist monk) from Eastern Bhutan discovered it in the nineteenth century. He just strayed into it. There is a holy lake in this region, called Pema Ling (PADMA GLING). Southern waters from it flow into Bhutan and northern waters into Tibet. The Donkya La (HBRONG KHYAGS LA) range separates Bhutan and Sikkim for the greater part. It also

* La means a "mountain pass."

separates the basins of the Aino Chhu/Torsa River in the east from that of the Teesta River in the west.

Bhutan's boundary with India was demarcated in 1867-68 and 1872-73. The boundary between Bhutan and Sikkim is a natural divide. The boundary between Bhutan and Tibet follows the crest ridge of the Eastern Himalaya. This is a boundary sanctified by custom and usage. China, which took Tibet in the summer of 1951, does not recognize this traditional boundary. Thus this boundary is not effective any longer. This is now causing much concern to the Government and people of Bhutan.

Formerly Bhutan was a much bigger and more extensive territory geographically and had common borders with Assam, the principality of Bijni in Assam, Koch Bihar in Bengal, Bihar, and Nepal. After the war of 1864-65 with the British, Bhutan lost the entire strip of the Duars on the Assam and Bengal borders and the present Kalimpong subdivision of the district of Darjeeling. This territory now constitutes the rich belt of the famous tea gardens of Assam and Bengal. The development of the Kalimpong subdivision and the establishment of the tea gardens in the Duars particularly after 1914 have had a tremendous impact on Bhutan. In the 1950s, independent India gave Bhutan the 32-square-mile Diwangiri tract, which now forms the south-eastern tip of Bhutan.

The present area of Bhutan is 18,000 square miles and comprises the catchment areas of several great rivers and their affluents. From the bounding mountains of these great river-basins there run mighty spurs which form the watersheds between these river-basins. The general trend of the ranges which separate Central Bhutan from Eastern and Western Bhutan

is from the north to the south. The Pele La range, which runs from the north to the south, is the divide between Central and Western Bhutan. The Dong La (HBRONG LA) marks the divide between Central and Eastern Bhutan. These passes also divide Bhutan ethnically and linguistically. The people of Eastern Bhutan, their customs and their dialects, are quite different from those of Western Bhutan.

Bhutan's traditional name is *Lho Mon Kha Shi* (LHO MON KHA BSHI). The name *Bhutan* is derived from the Sanskrit *Bhotanta*, i.e. the end (*anta*) of Tibet (*Bhota*) or the borderland of Tibet. The Bhutanese, however, call their country *Drukyl* (HBRUG YUL), the land of the Druk school of Kagyupa (BKAH RGYUD PA) Buddhism of Tibet; they call themselves *Drukpa* (HBRUG PA), i.e. people belonging to the Druk school or the people of Bhutan; and they call their king *Druk Gyalpo* (HBRUG RGYAL PO). This is because the Bhutanese belong to the Drukpa Kagyupa, which has been the State religion of Bhutan since 1616, when Lama Ngawang Namgyal (BLA MA NGAG DBANG RNAM RGYAL), 1594-1651, of South Tibet firmly established it there. The expression *druk*, which primarily means "dragon", is the name of a small monastery in Central Tibet from which the Drukpa Kagyupa sprang.

There are also different names for the different regions of the country such as *Bumthang* (HBUM THANG, one hundred thousand plains) and *Kur* for the western and eastern parts of Central Bhutan and *Paro* (SPA GRO) and *Punakha* (SPU NA KHA) for the western and eastern parts of Western Bhutan. (In common parlance, *Punakha* is referred to as *Puna*. Properly, the name is *Punthang*.) There are also the

expressions *Kurto* (KUR STOD) for Upper Kur and *Kurme* (KUR SMAD) for Lower Kur. For Western Bhutan there is the collective term *Sha Wa Pa Sum* (SHA DBA SPA GSUM), short for Shar, Wang, and Paro or *Thed Thim Pa Sum* (THED THIM SPA GSUM).

There are three distinct physiographic zones in Bhutan: the low-hill southern zone rising to a height of 5,000 feet above sea level; the mid-hill central zone situated at a height ranging from 5,000 feet to 12,000 feet above sea level; and the high Himalaya northern zone stretching from the snow-line upwards. Correspondingly there are three climate and vegetation zones in Bhutan.

Southern Bhutan consists of a heavy network of steep hills, including the foothill and submontane lands covered with large tracts of dense forests. This zone is largely uninhabited.

Central Bhutan has several beautiful valleys and gentle slopes. Indeed it is the nucleus round which the Bhutanese economy has developed. The valley of Bumthang is the most elevated and fertile of all the valleys of Bhutan. Tradition connects it with the legendary Sindhu Raja of Kamarupa, who was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism in Bhutan. Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuk (O RGYAN DBANG PHYUG), first king of Bhutan, made this prosperous valley the Gyasa (RGYAL SA, Royal Seat) of the royalty of Bhutan. Before the closing of the border between Bhutan and Tibet in the summer of 1959, there used to be a great trade fair in the valley twice a year. The fair used to attract large numbers of people from Tibet as well. The Bhutanese traders went to Tibet from here with the famous rice and blankets of the region. Up to 1959, the Govern-

ment of Tibet used to appoint officers called *Dre Dubpa* (HBRAS GRUB PA, Rice Collector), who were based in Phari (HPHAG RI) in Tsang (GTSANG), Nang in Lhota (LHO BRAG), and Tsona (MTSHO GNAS) in Lhokha bordering Bhutan and whose sole duty was to collect as much rice from Bhutan as possible. Other Tibetans were not allowed to buy rice from the Bhutanese. The Punakha Valley is the least elevated of all the valleys of Bhutan. Rice is the principal crop of these valleys. Forests of beech, chestnut, and oak cover Central Bhutan. The maximum concentration of the population is in these central valleys.

Northern Bhutan consists of high snow-capped mountains which separate Bhutan from Tibet. The 24,784-foot Kulha Kangri (SKU LHA GANGS RI), the 24,600-foot Gangkar-punsum (GANGS DKAR SPUN GSUM), and the 23,997-foot Chomolhari (JO MO LHA RI) are the highest peaks in the Bhutan Himalaya. Considered sacred both in Bhutan and in Tibet, these mountains dominate Northern Bhutan. They are especially sacred in the Bon tradition. They are the seats of the Bon deities. The slopes of the mountains are covered with the birch, the magnolia, and the rhododendron. For many months in a year the summits with their bare rocks and lush grass are decked with snow. Population in this zone is sparse.

The foothills and the submontane lands have a humid, subtropical climate, and the vegetation consists of the evergreen bamboo, the fern, and the palm. The mid-hills have a cool, temperate climate, and the vegetation consists of several varieties of conifer, larch, pine, and spruce. Shrubs of

different kinds, especially juniper, distinguish the landscape. Farther north the temperature is cold. Indeed, it is severely so during winter.

Several great rivers like the Dangme Chhu/Manas River in the east and the Amo Chhu/Torsa River in the west cross Bhutan. Most of them rise in Tibet beyond the high Himalaya, drain the Bhutan Himalaya, and, flowing down the slope from the north to the south, eventually join the Brahmaputra in India. The union of the Nyamjang Chhu, the Kuru Chhu, the Bumthang Chhu, and the Mangde Chhu forms the Manas River, which is Bhutan's largest. The Manas and its tributaries drain the mountains of north-east Bhutan, including the waters of the highest peak Gangkar-punsum. The Kuru Chhu, the main tributary of the Manas, rises in Tibet beyond the crest of the central ridge of the Himalaya. According to tradition, Tibet's first king, Nyathi Tsanpo (NYAL KHRI TSAN PO), went up to Tibet from India along the Manas Valley route, the historic highway between Eastern India and Central Tibet. Pilgrims from Siberia and Tibet to the Hajo shrine near Gauhati in Assam have also always trudged along it. The Dhansiri River forms the boundary between lower Bhutan and NEFA (North-East Frontier Area) of India. The Sankosh, the Raidak, and the Torsa, known in their upper courses in Bhutan as the Mo Chhu, the Wang Chhu, and the Amo Chhu respectively, start either from the Great Himalaya or beyond and flow for more than a hundred miles to the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam and Bengal transversely to the ranges. The Sankosh is the dividing line between the Eastern and Western Duars as well as between Assam and Bengal. The Wang

Chhu and its tributaries drain the 23,997-foot Chomolhari group of mountains, as also the Thimphu, Paro, and Ha valleys. The natural route for those who would travel from India to Tibet is the one that goes up the Amo Chhu Valley. The Amo Chhu, which rises in the 15,219-foot Tang La on the Bhutan-Tibet border, drains Western Bhutan and the entire Chhumbi Valley of Tibet. The upper part of the course of the Amo Chhu is in Tibet and the lower in Bhutan. The Jaldhaka River, called Di Chhu in the upper part of its course, separates Bhutan from the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts of North Bengal and forms the Bhutan-India international boundary here for twelve miles. The catchment area of the Jaldhaka reaches up to Gnatong, which is 12,000 feet above sea level, in Sikkim.

According to the tradition of Bhutan, the first Bhutanese descended from heaven. According to the Sanskrit tradition, it was the Koch tribe that originally inhabited Bhutan. The people of Tibetan origin arrived in Bhutan during the time of King Ralpachan (r. 816-36) of Tibet.

The origin and history of minor tribes like the Drokpa (HBROKPA), the Sherchokpas (SHAR PHYOGS PA) of Eastern Bhutan, and the Doyas of Western Bhutan in the Dorokha Subdivision of the Samchi District are obscure, as are those of the various other little known ethnic groups throughout the country. The Drokpas spread all over the country living at high altitudes. They are herdsmen tending cattle and especially yak, and they lead a nomadic life wandering with their herds between their summer and winter pastures. They are of Tibetan stock with their own customs and language. Over their coat, made of purple cloth and belted at the waist,

they wear a skin coat. They also wear boots made from hides. They wear a characteristic hat made of yak hair with prongs projecting sideways to drain rain water. They carry on trade between Eastern Bhutan and Tawang (RTA DBANG). The Doyas live at low altitudes in the foothills. They are agriculturists, although their methods of cultivation are most primitive. They wear a scanty dress. According to legend, the Doya kings ruled there for several hundred years. There are ruins of the Doya court at Demchhuka, north-east of Dorokha, across the Torsa River.

The bulk of the people of Bhutan are of eastern Tibetan origin and are physically quite like the eastern Tibetans, robust with prominent chin and strong bones and slit eyes. The people of Eastern Bhutan are different from those of Western Bhutan. The Bhutanese who live in the area east of the Dong La have more similarities with the people of Western NEFA. The Bhutanese who live in the area west of the Pele La have more similarities with the people of the Chhumbi Valley of Tibet and North Sikkim. The people of Eastern Bhutan came originally from the Assam Himalaya. Along the greater part of the northern border live the Tibetans.

The Nepalese of Southern Bhutan and the Lepchas of Western Bhutan came later, in the nineteenth century. The people of Bhutanese origin in the adjacent parts of Assam and Bengal are the descendants of those who spilt over to those areas during the civil wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There are also descendants of the agents of the Bhutanese traders in Assam and Bengal.

Bhutan is primarily an agricultural country. The economy

of the country is mainly agrarian, with most of the people engaged in agriculture and livestock-rearing. Those who live in Southern Bhutan are mainly agriculturists. Those who live in Northern Bhutan are both agriculturists and pastoralists. They especially raise yaks, which play an important role in their economy. The chief food crops in dry cultivation are barely, buckwheat, maize, millets, mustard, and peas, and in wet cultivation rice and wheat. The Bhutanese practise both permanent and shifting cultivation, the latter mainly in Eastern Bhutan. For tilling they use both animal and man power. The chief implements used are the plough, the hoe, and the sickle. The plough is crude and primitive. Women do most of the agricultural work.

Formerly there was a flourishing trade between India and Tibet through Bhutan, the Bhutanese functioning as carrying agents. The trade routes that passed through Bhutan connected India on the one hand and Tibet on the other. They were mainly the Manas River Valley in the east and the Paro Valley in the west. From Assam, Bengal, and Koch Bihar the Bhutanese used to collect dyes, *endi* (coarse silk made of the produce of silk-worm fed on the castor-oil plant, called *eri* locally) cloth, *supari* (arecanut), and tobacco, and to exchange them for wool, tea, salt, and musk from Tibet. They also traded spices including chillis, lac, madder, rice, grains, and other agricultural and forest produce in return for the merchandise of Tibet. From India they also imported, increasingly in recent years, bars of iron, copper and silver, cotton textiles and woollens. To India they sent cattle and ponies, hides and skins, wool, beeswax, ivory, lac, and fruit including cardamom.

The Bhutanese women are good weavers; they weave on local looms erected in the porches of their homes. The carpets they weave are very artistic in design. Though Bhutan has plenty of goats and sheep, the Bhutanese purchase woollen dress materials from Bengal. Formerly they used to make metal utensils and decorative objects. They make fine paper. They are expert in woodwork which is evident from the beautifully decorated doors and windows of their houses and monasteries.

The common man in Bhutan wears *ko* (GOS), a sort of thick cotton or woollen gown reaching below the knees and belted round the waist. The folds of the front part of the *ko* are used as a pouch. High officials wear a kind of fine full-sleeved robe, which is wrapped round the body and belted round the waist. The dress is well-designed and is usually a combination of red and yellow. The chiefs usually wear the same type of dress as the common people; only the belt or sash is made of silk. The *ko* is now the national dress of Bhutan. Women wear loose coats. The lamas wear a kind of deep-coloured, maroon garment, one end of which is thrown loosely over the left shoulder; the right arm invariably remains bare. Common men rarely use shoes. Girls and women from custom wear their hair short. Girls and women in certain areas bordering Tibet, like those in areas bordering India, wear their hair long. They also wear peaked hats of bark or bamboo strips.

For settling disputes and for attending to other day-to-day matters, every Bhutanese village has its own council, headed by the *gup* (HGO PA, village headman). In the southern parts, where the population is dominantly of Nepalese origin,

the village headman is called *mandal*. The village council refers unsettled disputes to the authorities of the *dzong* (RDZONG, district).

The Bhutanese houses are not built on plan due to uneven surface. They stand close to one another in clusters, and each such cluster is a village. The ordinary houses are oblong in shape; the better ones are more irregular. Most houses in Northern and Southern Bhutan are single-storeyed; in Central Bhutan they have two or three storeys, with a number of rooms provided with wooden balconies. The ground floor is for the livestock. The chapel and the living rooms are on the first floor, generally without any ventilators or windows. A wooden ladder cut from a single piece of wood or a wooden staircase leads to the first floor. The fire-place in the main living room is the centre of the house. The chapel is generally in the living section of the house. The top floor consists of the store rooms. The doors and windows are made of wood and carved beautifully. No iron nails are used for fixing the doors and windows. Where the pine is available, roofs are made up of planks and held down with stones. Where the bamboo is available, it is used instead of wooden frames. Where grass is available, roofs are thatched with dried grass. A strip of cloth inscribed with a prayer or hymn generally flutters over the house top. Almost every house has a farmhouse and a farmyard properly fenced with boulders. In the farmyard pigs and chickens may frequently be seen roaming about freely. Most peasants have two sets of farms and pastures, one set at higher altitudes and the other at lower altitudes. In the winter they move down to the farms and pastures at lower altitudes; and in the summer they move up

to the farms and pastures at higher altitudes. This offers an interesting parallel to the practice of transhumance found among the nomads and indicates that the ancient Bhutanese society was a nomadic one.

The Bhutanese are great builders. The dzongs, monasteries, and palaces are solid buildings of superior structure and plan. The dzongs and monasteries have been built with an eye to defence. They are sited on hills or spurs and are provided with defensive walls. The numerous strong, iron-chain suspension bridges, built on the principles popularized by the great ascetic Thangton Gyalpo (THANG STON RGYAL PO, 1385-1464), are vital links in the communications system.

Among the people of central and north Bhutan social stratification is based on economic status. Most Nepalese groups in the southern parts of the country practise the caste system. All Bhutanese groups, including the Nepalese, are endogamous. The people mostly practise monogamy. Polygamy is also there, but the consent of the first wife is necessary before a man can take a second. Only the wealthier section of the Bhutanese society practises polygamy. Formerly the Bhutanese also practised polyandry, but now there is no evidence of it. Perhaps the practice is still prevalent in the remote northern parts. The present social laws, however, do not countenance it. Usually the wife goes to live with the husband's family. In the past it was equally common for the husband to go and live with the wife's family.

The Bhutanese society permits divorce. There is no great fuss over seeking divorce. Either party can decide on a

separation. Of course, consent of both parties is essential. Otherwise the party that desires separation must pay compensation to the other party. Formerly compensation used to be paid in kind. Since the recent codification of social laws, the compensation has taken the form of money. The present laws require every case of divorce to be registered. Therefore, though simple, divorce is an expensive proceeding, and only the wealthy can afford it.

The Bhutanese observe a joint family system of a sort. All members of a family live in one household. Cultivation of the agricultural land is the responsibility of the entire family. Indeed, it is the women who are generally in charge of all the work of the household, including agriculture, for the men, always hard-working and full of enterprise, have other things to do as well, such as accompanying a trading caravan or taking part in military exercises and sports.

According to custom, in Eastern and Western Bhutan, the eldest son alone had the right of inheritance; and in Central Bhutan the eldest daughter alone had it. The younger sons of the family either became the dependants of their eldest brother or entered the monastic order or joined the service of a dzong or married girls who had inherited property from their parents in the absence of male heirs. One who married an heiress and lived with her was known as a *magpa*. In the event of the eldest son choosing to become a monk, the property went to the second son. If there was no male heir, it went to the eldest daughter. In the event of the first son dying without issue, the second son could succeed to the inheritance even if he had become a monk. The acceptance of an inheritance in such a case entailed renouncing the

monkhood or, as the Bhutanese put it, "returning the vows."

Recently, however, following the codification of social customs, the right of inheritance was conferred equally on both sons and daughters throughout the land.

Serfdom or slavery of a sort was prevalent in Bhutan in early days. In both the Ahom and Mughal periods the men taken prisoner in the course of military expeditions and winter raids on the plains used to be treated as slaves and made to labour for the dzong or the State. Closer contact with the British towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, considerably discouraged this practice. The present Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (HJIGS MED RDO RJE DBANG PHYUG, Fearless Mighty One) has now abolished it.

When a person dies, the body is kept in the house for several days according to the economic and social position of the family concerned, and food is offered to the body. The Bhutanese invite the lamas to cremate the body. The ashes are collected after incineration and are thrown into the river. The Bhutanese give away to the lamas certain personal articles of the deceased. They also entertain them with food and drink. Besides, they offer food and light butter lamps in the *gompa* (DGON PA, monastery) for the welfare of the soul and put up flags inscribed with the scriptural words *Om mani padme hum* ("the jewel is in the lotus") on house tops. If a person dies in an epidemic, the body is first buried for three days and then cremated.

Buddhism of the Tibetan form has been the State religion of Bhutan since the time of Sindhu Raja, who was a contemporary of Guru Padmasambhava. The social and cultural

life of the Bhutanese centres in a number of old and new gompas. The Taktshang Gompa (STAG TSHANG DGON PA) in Western Bhutan is the oldest and most sacred of all the monasteries of Bhutan. Taktshang, meaning the "tiger's nest", gains its name from an ancient legend which says that in the eighth century a tiger flew over the mountains from Tibet carrying on its back Padmasambhava, who brought Buddhism to Bhutan. The abbot of the Taktshang Monastery, which is perched on a jut of the sheer vertical face of a granite rock, is believed to be an incarnation of the Guru.

A section of the people, especially in the extreme east and the extreme west, still believe strongly in animistic practices, known collectively as *Bon* (PON),* which was the religion of Bhutan before the advent of Buddhism. They still practise black magic, though on a much smaller scale than before. Even Buddhist Bhutanese, being conditioned by their natural environment and way of life, sacrifice animals to avert the evil influence of spirits. Some of the *Bon* practices have crept into Buddhist rituals, and the lamas feel the need to engage the adherents of *Bon* to look after that part of the rituals. In Eastern Bhutan, owing obviously to the fewer monasteries there, the Buddhists are less strict in the observance of their rituals than elsewhere. The *Doyas* are entirely animists. They offer monkey flesh to the spirits in order to propitiate them.

The folk tales of Bhutan mainly relate to how the earth was created, how man appeared on the earth, how the people migrated to Bhutan, and how Buddhism spread there.

* *Bon* is the cult of spirit worship and sorcery.

Archery and quoits are national games. In the archery game, the archers shoot arrows from their bows at a fixed point. The game of quoits, which consists in a stone on a flat palm being projected at a fixed mark, requires more skill and accuracy than archery. Both these games are quite exciting. Horse-racing is also an important item in the annual game of archery. Music is associated with all the games. The favourite instruments are trumpets, drums, and clarionets as well as the ceremonial horns of the lamas. During the annual festivals the lamas arrange dances on the premises of their monasteries and dance both with and without masks. People assemble in their best dress in the common ground, irrespective of sex, age, and status, and enjoy the festivals.

Bhutan has a great potential for economic development. The principal resources are the unending forests for forest-based industries and cottage crafts, the perennial rivers as sources of limitless power for industrialization, and mineral deposits like gypsum and limestone though to a lesser degree. These resources are quite substantial from the point of view of commercial and industrial exploitation. The forests cover two-thirds of the country. Besides the tremendous forest resources, Bhutan also abounds in medicinal herbs and plants, which can be exploited commercially. Bhutan can also commercially exploit the tremendous power resources of its great rivers. Both soil and climate are highly suitable for horticulture, especially for the cultivation of fruit, cardamom, and tea. Small-scale timber-based industries are already producing goods for home consumption. The Bhutanese factories will soon be producing matches, pulp, and rayon. Not-

withstanding all these advances in the industrial field, it is agriculture and animal husbandry, thanks to the new impetus they have received from the process of modernization in operation in the country, will continue to dominate the economy.

II

Historical Perspective

THE EARLY history of Bhutan is rather obscure, and its chronology could at best be a matter of conjecture. The political instability that shook north-eastern India after the passing away of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa in A.D. 650 exposed Bhutan to incursions from the north, and to its ultimate occupation by Tibet. Bhutan, which had till then been part of Kamarupa, became separate.

The Tibetan sway in Bhutan ended with the collapse of the central authority in Tibet in the 840s, during the time of King Lang Darma (GLANG DAR MA, r. 836-42), but Bhutan had been so extensively colonized by the soldiers of the Tibetan garrison and their descendants by that time that Minhaj-us-Siraj, a thirteenth-century Muslim historian, even characterized the invasion by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji of the hill country north of Lakhnawati in Bengal and Kamarupa as a military campaign against Tibet. Undertaken in 1205, this expedition extended only to one of the southern valleys of Bhutan, whose brave bowmen engaged the invaders in a fierce battle. According to the various Muslim sources for this campaign, including the Indian

Muslim sources, the hillmen were equipped with armour, bamboo-lances, helmets, and shields. They burnt all the harvest and fodder and thus compelled the enemy to retreat after suffering heavy casualties. These sources also estimated the then population of Bhutan to be 3,50,000 and the military strength of Bhutan to be 30,000-cavalry and 10,000-infantry.

The lamas, like Gyawa Lhanangpa, Phajo Dugom Shigpo (PHA JO HBRUG SGOM SHIG Po, born some time in the latter half of the twelfth century), Longchhenpa Drime Ozer (KLONG CHHEN PA DRI MED OZER, 1308-63), Barawa Gyaltsen Pasang (BA RA BA RGYAL MTSHAN DPAL BZANG, 1310-91) and Kunga Pajo (KUN DGAH DPAL SBYOR, 1428-76), who came to Bhutan from Tibet for missionary work after 1200, exercised a measure of nominal temporal control in Western Bhutan. Lhanangpa (Lhapa, for short) of the Nyo (GNYOS) lineage was perhaps the first to do so. Lhapa controlled only Paro. Later the Lhapa Kagyupas became active around Thimphu and near Bumthang in the east. The Lhapa Kagyupas applied the dzong system of Tibet to Bhutan. This made them rivals of the Drukpa Kagyu of Ralung for more than four centuries. When Phajo Dugom Shigpo and his five companions of the Drukpa Kagyu came to Bhutan in the early part of the thirteenth century to claim the support of the chiefs of Bhutan for their school, they found themselves pitted against the powerful adherents of the Lhapa Kagyu. Drime Ozer, the great Nyingma teacher, founded several monasteries in Bhutan.

Phajo Dugom Shigpo, by his drive and energy, made the

Drukpa Kagyu the dominant school in Bhutan. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, he built a small dzong on the right side of the upper Wang Chhu and named it Dongon Dzong (RDO SNGON RDZONG, Blue Stone Dzong). The people of Bhutan regard him as the forerunner of the present Drukpa Kagyu School of Buddhism in Bhutan. The majority of the aristocracy of Western Bhutan today claim descent from him. The present royal dynasty traces its ancestry to Pema Lingpa (PAD MA GLING PA) of the fifteenth century, who was a Lhanangpa of the Nyo lineage.

Bhutan, in the thirteenth century, meant only Western Bhutan, and the rivalry between the various sects of the Buddhism of Tibet for supremacy there was the most significant aspect of its history of the time. The Bhutanese tribesmen were then rather fragmented linguistically. Western Bhutan became a political unit because the tribes there tended to adopt a form of Tibetan, *Dzongke* (RDZONG KE, Dzong language), as their *lingua franca*. There was enormous linguistic diversity in Eastern Bhutan. Even now the numerous dialects have not coalesced to yield a common speech.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a struggle between the Bhutanese and the Tibetans over the control of an ancient dzong which was a watch-tower situated at the foot of Mount Chomolhari on the Bhutanese side of the Bhutanese-Tibetan border. The mountain itself was important, being sacred to the goddess Chomolhari. Although the contest was keen, the Bhutanese succeeded in their effort to wrest control of the dzong. Later they built a

monastery south of it. However, the dzong and the monastery are both now in ruins.

Lama Ngawang Namgyal (BLA MA NGAG DBANG RNAM RGYAL, 1594-1651), a scion of the house of Gya (RGYA) of Druk and Ralung, the leading Drukpa monastery and the headquarters of the Drukpa Kagyupa, and the head of the hereditary branch of the Drukpa Kagyupa, came to Bhutan in 1616. Owing to a bitter sectarian dispute he had made up his mind to emigrate, and he availed himself of the timely invitation from Bhutan and came away. His father, Tempai Nyima (BSTAN PA I NYI MA), was already in residence in Bhutan. Gradually, with the help of his allies in Bhutan led by the Omtso (OB MTSHO) family of Garsa (SGAR SA), he was able to force the submission or exile of his chief rivals, the Lhapa of Nyo and Nenyngpa (GNAS SNYING PA) of Gya and other schools and to bring the whole country under his own control. He strengthened the Drukpa Kagyupa in Bhutan and made himself the supreme religious and political head of Bhutan with the title of *Shabdung* (SHABS DRUNG) or, as he is known in East India, the *Dharma Raja*, "King of Righteous Law". He did not, however, oust the Nyingma Sect from the country. He gave his monastic order—the Lho Drukpa Kagyupa—its own rituals and mode of worship. He created a hierarchy of offices in 1637, of which the office of *Je Khempo* (RJE MKHAN PO, Lord Abbot) was the highest. He put each monastery in the charge of a high lama. These lamas were designated *Umze* (DBU MZAD).

In his struggle for supremacy, Ngawang Namgyal faced

opposition both from Paksam Wangpo (DPAG BSAM DBANG PO, 1593-1641), a bastard cousin of Dalai Lama V, Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (NGAG DBANG BLO BZANG RGYA MTSHO), of the powerful family of Chonggye (HPHYONG RGYAS), and from the Depa Tsangpa (SDE PA GTSANG PA, King of Tsang), Phuntsok Namgyal (PHON BHOGS RNAM RGYAL). The dispute between Ngawang Namgyal and Paksam Wangpo related to the recognition of the rebirth of Kunkhyen Pema Karpo (KUN MKHYEN PAD MA DKAR PO, 1527-92). The Depa Tsangpa invaded Bhutan in 1639. According to legend, as the Tibetans poured into the country and all seemed lost, the guardian spirit of Ngawang Namgyal materialized all of a sudden in the shape of a bird very like the eagle and came to his defence. With it came a whole army of the same species of bird as if from thin air and harassed the invaders till they either died or surrendered or fled back to their own country precipitately from the battlefield. From that day forth the bird became the sacred bird of Bhutan, and an image of it formed the crest of the Shabdung's ceremonial head-dress. (It became a part of the crown after the hereditary monarchy was established in 1907. The present ruler, however, has had it removed, although it still continues to be an object of worship.)

This defeat and discomfiture of the Tibetans was a great achievement for Ngawang Namgyal. He was, however, too great to gloat over it. Indeed, when Sonam Wangchuk (BSOD RNAM DBANG PHYUG), who was then head of the Sakya sect, interceded with him on behalf of the prisoners of war, he readily and graciously forgave them and

set them at liberty.

Nagwang Namgyal's success so greatly impressed his neighbours that he received many friendly missions from the rulers of Koch Bihar, Gorkha, and Nepal.

When Ngawang Namgyal visited Thimphu in 1641, he defeated the Lhapa and took the Dongon Dzong, which had belonged to the Nyo. He constructed another, larger dzong on the site of the old Dongon Dzong, and named it Tashichho Dzong (BKRA SHIS CHHOS RDZONG, Dzong of Glorious Religion). The Tashichho Dzong was repaired and renovated from time to time by the later rulers of the country, as parts of the dzong were destroyed by fire several times. In 1960, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the present king of Bhutan, conceived the idea of constructing a new dzong and a city on the site of the old Tashichho Dzong, as the old structure had been damaged by a series of earthquakes. This new dzong is today the administrative capital and the royal seat, the Gyasa (RGYAL SA). Till 1960 the seat of royalty used to be at Bumthang in Central Bhutan, but King Jigme Dorji has now built a palace, Dechen Chholing, three miles up the valley from the new dzong.

During this period, there was trouble between Bhutan and Tibet over the question of the Monpa monasteries. Dalai Lama V wanted to impose his will on the Bhutanese, who had refused to recognize his authority over their remote valleys, especially Mon Tawang. When, therefore, the Mongol troops of Gushri Khan invaded Bhutan in 1644, Bhutan decided to make it up with the Dalai Lama. Two years later, in 1646 Bhutan and Tibet entered into negotia-

tion and drew up an agreement which restored the original position in respect of Mon Tawang between Bhutan and Tibet. The peace, however, did not last long. In 1647 the Mongol-Tibetan troops came again, and reached as far as Paro in Western Bhutan. This expedition lasted up to 1649. This time they suffered a really disgraceful defeat. According to legend, the invading Tibetans were sat upon by bees hiving in the nearby wood. As the bee-stung Tibetans ran in pain and panic, their long hair became hopelessly entangled in the brambles of the undergrowth, where they fell easy prey to the counterattacking Bhutanese. The armour and weapons captured from the Tibetan troops are still preserved in the old dzong at Paro, just above the present dzong. The historic wood has now disappeared from the scene of this beautiful valley: the Government of Bhutan utilized it to build Bhutan's first air-field in 1968.

Ngawang Namgyal ruled in accordance with Buddhist laws. The people held him in very high esteem. He promulgated his own religious tenets. His glories, as witnessed by himself in a decree carved on a wooden seal immediately after his triumph over Depa Tsangpa of Tibet in 1639, are as follows:

(1) I turn the wheel of the two laws, spiritual and temporal.

(2) I am the supreme refuge of all.

(3) I am the spiritual ruler of the Glorious Drukpa.

(4) I am the subduer of all who seek to falsify the teachings of the Drukpa.

(5) I set the seal of perfection on all writing like the

Goddess of Learning.

- (6) I am the sacred source of moral precepts.
- (7) I am the origin of unlimited thoughts.
- (8) I confound those with false views.
- (9) I am the fountainhead of the power of debate.
- (10) Where is the man that would not tremble before me?
- (11) I annihilate the hordes of evil beings.
- (12) Where is the strong man that can bear up against my power?
- (13) I am mighty in speech that expounds religion.
- (14) I am wise in all the sciences.
- (15) I am the divine manifestation spoken of by the Superior Ones.
- (16) I am the destroyer of false incarnations.

These have since been known as *Nga Chudukma* (NGA BCHU DRUG MA, "my sixteen deeds") . This seal is the most sacred seal of Bhutan, and the king even today keeps it in his own personal custody. It is used to authenticate only the most important State documents.

In 1650, Ngawang Namgyal created the *Lhengye Tsok* (LHAN RGYAS TSHOGS, State Council). In the same year he also created the office of *Deb*, on the pattern of the office of *Depa* (SDE PA, Regent) of Tibet (or, as he is known in East India, the *Deb Raja*) to administer the country. He appointed his own *Umze*, Tenzin Druggyal (BSTAN HZIN HBRUG RGYAL), to this high office of State. Also, in the same year he organized Bhutan into Eastern, Central, and Western Bhutan, and appointed a *Chila*

(SPYI BLA, monk chief) in each of the three regions of the country and a *Dzongpon* (RDZONG DPON, chief of district) in each district to look after the administration. Later the designation *Chila* was changed to *Ponlop* (DPON SLOB, "Chief Teacher or Governor). He appointed Mingyur Tempa to the high office of *Chila*. Tenzin Druggyal, who was Deb from 1651 to 1656, promulgated the first constitution of the State of Bhutan, which provided for hereditary monarchs who would also be religious and constitute the supreme authority in matters of religion in the country. The policies of Ngawang Namgyal sought, above all, to expand into Central and Southern Bhutan.

Ngawang Namgyal introduced the dzong system of Tibet in Western Bhutan. Under this system, the dzongs, which had originally been the strongholds of the local chiefs or petty kings of pre-Buddhist Tibet, concerned themselves with military functions and eventually formed a network of military-administrative centres responsible to whatever Government was in power in their respective areas. For the protection of the peasantry, Ngawang Namgyal made laws forbidding the levy of anything beyond voluntary contributions. Indeed, we may well regard him as the first real law-giver of Bhutan. He controlled the nomads and suppressed banditry in the country. He gave special attention to bridge-building and irrigation and sedulously promoted commerce and handicrafts in the country. All these activities helped him consolidate and expand his political and religious authority.

Three separate, recurring manifestations of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal were recognized. That is, *Kutul* (SKU SPRUL, body manifestation), *Sungtul* (GSUNG SPRUL,

speech manifestation), and *Thuktul* (THUGS SPRUL, mind manifestation). The *Sung* and *Thuk* manifestations remained in Bhutan. The *Ku* manifestation, recognized in a Sikkim Prince, died out three centuries ago. The mode of discovery of his reincarnation as well as his installation is akin to that of the Dalai Lama and other high lamas of Tibet.

The successive manifestations continued to rule the country, actually or nominally, until 1907, when the present monarchy was established.

Jampal Dorje (HJAM DPAL RDO RJE, 1631-80), son of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal and styled Gyase (RGYAL SRAS, Crown Prince), succeeded Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal, on his death in 1651, to the Golden Throne of Bhutan. He died in 1680 without a male heir. He reigned only in name. His daughter Tsokyi Dorji (MTSHO SKYES RDO RJE, born 1680), however, made a memorable impact on the Bhutanese politics of the time. With Jampal Dorje's death ended the legitimate Ralung branch.

Tenzin Rabgye (BSTAN HZIN RAB RGYAS), also styled Gyase, succeeded Jampal Dorje to the Golden Throne of Bhutan in 1680. He was a son of Tenpai Nyima, father of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal, but by a different woman. With his accession, the Golden Throne reverted to the Dorje Dempa (RDO RJE GDAN PA), a collateral branch of the Druk family descended through Drukpa Kunle (KUN LEGS). He abdicated in 1694. Gedun Chhophel (DGE HDUN CHHOS IIPHEL) of the Karbi (DKAR SBIS) family, the power behind the throne, engineered the abdication of Gyase Tenzin Rabgye. The failure of

Tenzin Rabgye lay in his inability to bring an end to the bitter family feuds and ensure peace in the country as well as to produce a male heir. His daughter Lhachham Kunle (born 1691), one of the great ladies of the Bhutanese politics of the time, became the founder of a line of incarnations. The first incarnations were female, but later on they began to manifest themselves as males.

The investing of the supreme religious and political authority in one person and the elective nature of the office of Deb greatly influenced the subsequent course of the history of Bhutan. Frequently there were civil wars over the issue of succession to the office of Shabdung or over the question of election to the office of Deb, so that Bhutan hardly knew any internal peace until the creation of the hereditary monarchy early in 1907.

In 1657, as a result of an incident involving the killing of a Bhutanese chief, Chhoje Namkha Rinchhen, who had close contacts with Tibet, Tibetan troops once again descended on Bhutan. We do not know the details of this campaign, which was the third expedition to be made by the Mongol-Tibetan troops against Bhutan.

In 1676, the Tibetans invaded Bhutan for the fourth time. In retaliation the Bhutanese invaded the Chhumbi region of Sikkim, but they withdrew in the face of Tibetan opposition. However, things quickly complicated themselves. King Delek Namgyal (BDE LEGS RNAM RGYAL, r. 1675-1705) of Ladakh (LA DWAGS) intervened on behalf of Bhutan as he and his people belonged to the same sect—the Drukpa Kagyu—as the people of Bhutan. Sengge Namgyal (r. 1590-1645), Delek Namgyal's predecessor, granted the

Lho Drukpa Kagyu a large estate consisting of a number of villages in West Tibet around Mount Kailas and Lake Manas—all to meet the expenses of worship there. Up to 1959, a Bhutanese monk officer, designated *Druk Kangri Lam* (HBRUG GANGS RI BLA MA), with the assistance of a layman, administered those villages from his summer headquarters at Tarchhen and winter headquarters at Khochar. In the mid nineteen forties, the designation of the officer was changed to *Lachap* (BLA KHYAB, representative of the Lama).

Tibet was so annoyed with Ladakh for siding with Bhutan that it declared war on Ladakh.

In 1680, Lama Mera (religious name BLO GROS RGYA MTSHO) of Mokto, popularly called Merak Sakteng, in East Bhutan founded the famous Ganden Namgyal Lhatse (DGAH LDAN RNAM RGYAL LHA RTSE) Monastery in Tawang.

In 1700, taking advantage of the internal situation in Sikkim, Bhutan invaded Sikkim as far as Rabdentse, the then capital of Sikkim, and held the country for six years. Chhogyal Chhagdor Namgyal (PHYAG RDOR RNAM RGYAL, 1688-1716), the minor king of Sikkim, fled to Tibet. In 1706, Bhutan evacuated the part of Sikkim which lies to the west of the Teesta River, except certain areas in the south-east up to the Tagona La. Thus, Bhutan took from Sikkim the entire tract east of the Teesta.

In 1714 Tibet invaded Bhutan. The Tibetan and Bhutanese material offers no positive clue to the cause of this Tibeto-Bhutanese war nor to the terms of peace. Perhaps Lhazang Khan, the Khoshot Mongol ruler of Tibet (1697-

1717), picked up this quarrel with Bhutan in order to strengthen his insecure position in Tibet.

Owing to oppressive taxes, several groups of the Monpa and Sherchokpa tribes moved from Eastern Bhutan to the Pemako (PADMA SKOD) and Pachakshiri valleys in the high Assam Himalaya via the Dakpo (DWAGS PO) and Kongbo districts of Tibet up to the delimitation of the Assam-Tibet boundary in 1914, they continued to owe allegiance to the Druk Gyalpo and go on pilgrimage to Mon 'Tawang and Paro Taktsang.

In 1728-33, a civil war broke out over the question of succession to the office of Shabdung Rimpochhe. Defying the wishes of the high lamas of Bhutan, Deb Geshe Ngawang Gyatso (SDE PA DGE SHES NGAG DBANG RGYA MTSHO), called Wang Phajo (DBANG DPAL SBYOR), installed his own chief councillor, Lama Chhole Namgyal (BLA MA PHYOGS LAS RNAM RGYAL, 1651-1723), i.e. the *Sungtul* of Ngawang Namgyal, as Shabdung Rimpochhe. The high lamas of Bhutan retaliated by an appeal to arms. Wang Pajo fled from Thimphu and took refuge in the fortress of Lhuntse (LHUN RTSE) in central Kurte. From there he sought military support from Sonam Tobgye Polhane (BSOD NAMS STOBS RGYAS PHO LHA NAS), then ruler of Tibet, Polhane did nothing beyond making a promise of help. Wang Pajo was hunted down and slain by Lhochho Rinchen Thinle Rabgye (LHO PHYOGS RIN CHHEN HPRIN LAS RAB RGYAS) in 1729. The high lamas thereupon reinstalled their nominee Jigme Dakpa (HJIGS MED GRAGS PA, 1724-61), i.e. the *Thuktul* of Ngawang Namgyal, as Shabdung Rimpochhe

and also appointed Lhochho Rinchhen Thinle Rabgye as Deb. Soon after, however, there arose a quarrel in the victorious party. The two rival factions clashed at a point north of Pangri Zampa near Thimphu. This time Polhane intervened, and the frontier troops of Tibet crossed into Bhutan towards the end of 1730 and joined the troops of Thondub Gyalpo (THON GRUB RGYAL PO). Together they marched on Druggyal Dzong, ten miles up the Paro Valley,* and Paro and occupied them. They also forced the Bhutanese to recognize Jigme Dakpa as Shabdung Rimpoche. Panchhen Lama II, Lobzang Yeshe Palzangpo (BLO BZANG YE SHES DPAL BZANG PO, 1663-1737), the head of the Sakyapa, and the heads of other Nyingma sects interceded with Dalai Lama VII, Lobzang Kezang Gyatso (BLO BZANG SKAL BZANG RGYA MTSHO, 1708-57), and Polhane and persuaded him to consent to an armistice. Karmapa Changchub Dorje (DKAR MA PA BYANG CHUB RDO RJE) and Shamarpa Chhokyi Thondub (SHWA MAR PA CHHOS GYI THON GRUB) played key roles in the mediatory proceedings. The Sakyapa then had a representative in Bhutan for purposes of worship there. The terms of the armistice were negotiated at Paro, but the peace agreement was signed at Thimphu. The Bhutanese undertook to send a representative to Tibet to guarantee their ful-

* Druggyal Dzong, ruined by fire years ago, perches on top of a promontory at a point where the Paro Valley narrows. Its strategic position on the main road between Paro and Phari used to enable the Government to keep watch on those seeking to enter Bhutan from Phari. Indeed, it dominates the route to Phari. It was first constructed in the days of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal in commemoration of the victory over the Tibetans.

filling their obligations under the agreement. Accordingly, Deb Lhochho Rinchhen Thinle Rabgye sent his uncle Dampa Tsering Wangchhen (DAM PA TSHE RING DBANG CHHEN) with presents for the Dalai Lama in the first year after the agreement. This custom, known as *Lochak* (BLO PHYAG), lasted till the Chinese take-over of Tibet in the summer of 1951. The custom and practice of *Lochak* was always of greater economic benefit to Bhutan than to Tibet. The Tibetans used to call it the *Druk Lochak* to distinguish it from similar missions from other countries such as Ladakh (which they called *Ladakh Lochak*) and Nepal (which they called *Gor Lochak*).

Thus, by a clever exploitation of the dissensions in Bhutan and with the minimum exertion Polhane succeeded in establishing the influence of Tibet over Bhutan. He also secured a weakening of the central authority in Bhutan, as the successful faction now practically became the equal of the Deb, the temporal ruler of the country. Despite several *coup d'états* afterwards, this superior power of the leading chiefs and lamas as against the nominal ruler lasted till the creation of the hereditary monarchy in 1907.

This bloody fracas decisively established two principles in the politics of Bhutan: the pontifical primacy of the "mind manifestation" of Shabdung Rimpochhe Ngawang Namgyal to the Golden Throne and the regency of the "speech manifestation" during the interval between the disappearance of the "mind manifestation" from this world and its reappearance and attainment of the age of discretion.

Not being able to expand in the east and north, Bhutan tried to expand in the south and west. It acquired the large

tract of the Duars along the foot-hills on the Bengal border and often made inroads upon Koch Bihar, a buffer between Mughal Bengal and Bhutan, especially after the death of Raja Narnarayan (r. 1555-87) in 1587, the second and most powerful among the rulers of Koch Bihar* Raja Narnarayan had extended his sway over all of Lower Assam and had occupied the adjacent Bhutanese territory between the Hindola and Sankosh rivers. In the factional feuds in Koch Bihar, Bhutan frequently supported the Raikat (also called Raja) of Baikunthapur, hereditary Prime Minister of Koch Bihar, against the *Chhatra Nazir/Nazir Deo* of Balrampur, hereditary commander-in-chief of Koch Bihar. Raja Modnarayan (r. 1665-80), in the early years of his reign, brought the army under his control, sentenced to death some of the officers who had sided with Nazir Mahinarayan in the struggle for succession, and banished others. This policy culminated in open war. Eventually, the Raja also sentenced Mahinarayan to death. The surviving sons of Mahinarayan fought with the Raja with the help of Bhutan, but without success. On the death of Raja Modnarayan in 1680, Nazir Yajnaryan tried to secure the throne of Koch Bihar and, to that end, engaged the assistance of Bhutan. He, however, failed. At last, in 1711, during the reign of Raja Rupnarayan (1704-

* The territory of Koch Bihar, like Bhutan, was a part of the kingdom of Kamarupa in ancient times. It came to be called Koch Bihar after the Koch kings seized power in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Koch Bihar is the country or land of the Koch people. Literally the expression *Bihar* means "abode" in the Bengali language. Therefore, the term *Koch Bihar* means the "abode" or "habitat" of the Koch people.

14), Bhutan succeeded in establishing its influence firmly in the affairs of Koch Bihar. This followed an uneasy compromise between Nazir Shantnarayan and his ally, the Nawab of Bengal, on the one hand, and Raikat Darpa Deo and the Bhutanese on the other.

The decline in Mughal power in the early part of the eighteenth century helped Bhutan in strengthening its position in the affairs of Koch Bihar. A family feud in the royal family of Koch Bihar led to Mughal intervention. Raja Upendranarayan (r. 1714-63) sought the help of Bhutan against the Mughals in the mid-1730.* This resulted in an accretion of Bhutanese influence in the affairs of Koch Bihar. Bhutan's influence further increased during the reign of the minor Raja Devendranarayan (r. 1763-65). In 1766, Nazir Rudranarayan contrived the assassination of Raja Devendranarayan, then under Bhutanese protection. Naturally this disturbed and enraged Bhutan, which had gradually extended its authority over Koch Bihar.

When the question of succession to the throne of Koch Bihar came up, the Government of Bhutan not only put up a candidate, Dhairyendranarayan (a step-brother of the late Raja's), but also compelled Nazir Rudranarayan to leave Koch Bihar. Rudranarayan was intending to raise to the throne his own nephew Khagendranarayan. Raikat Ramnarayan, who was Raja Devendranarayan's uncle's son and a grandson of Raja Rupnarayan, objected to this. Dhairyendranarayan was

* The earliest of the letters from the Dharma Raja and the Deva Raja of Bhutan to the Raja of Koch Bihar, his ministers, and his principal officials is in the Bengali language and bears the date mark of 246 Rajsaka (i.e. A.D. 1755).

Ramnarayan's third brother. Druk Tenzin, Deb of Bhutan since 1765, avenged the assassination of Devendranarayan by seizing and putting to death Ramanand Gosain, the instigator of the crime. Thereupon Nazir Rudranarayan sought the assistance of the Government of the East India Company against the Bhutanese.

At this time Bhutan had an agent designated *Gya Chila* (RGYA SPYI BLA) in the capital of Koch Bihar with a small escort of Bhutanese soldiers. Pensu Toma was his name. Without his sanction no measure of importance could be carried out. Bhutan also struck its own currency, the *Ngutam Ghatika* (DNGUL TAM GHA TI KA, a silver coin of the value of a half-rupee), for circulation in Koch Bihar. Every year the Dzungpon of Baxa in the outer Bhutan hills* and a few leading Bhutanese would come down as far as Chechakhata. The Raja of Koch Bihar with his Raikat and Nazir Deo would go out to meet them and entertain them at a feast and exchange presents. The Bhutanese would then return to their own country, and the Raja of Koch Bihar would go back to his capital.

Sonam Lhendup (BSOD NAMS LHAN GRUB, self-originating merit), popularly known as Shidar, became Deb in 1768. Under his leadership Bhutan kept up its pressure on Koch Bihar. In 1770, Shidar invaded Sikkim and the princi-

* The Baxa Duar is one of the principal passes into Bhutan from the south. From there the main highway from Koch Bihar and Bengal to Bhutan led to Paro, Punakha, and Thimphu. After the war of 1865, the British set up a military outpost and stationed a native infantry in the Baxa Duar. Bhutan also on its part stationed an agent there. Again, it was here that the British used to pay their subsidy to Bhutan until a political agency was established in Sikkim in 1889.

pality of Vijayapur (Morang) between Purnea in Bihar and Sikkim. In pursuance of the terms of the alliance between Bhutan and Koch Bihar, Shidar invited the Raja of Koch Bihar to participate in this campaign. Raikat Ramnarayan joined the army of Bhutan in the invasion of Vijayapur. They were, however, thwarted by Raja Prithvinarayan Shah of Nepal (r. 1769-75), who took Vijayapur for himself. The Bhutanese troops were obliged to withdraw from Sikkim, owing to a severe reverse at Phodong. Shidar then directed his power towards Koch Bihar and invaded it in 1771. The provocation for the expedition was the murder of Raikat Ramnarayan by Raja Dhairyendranarayan and the courtiers who were jealous of the great power of Raikat Ramnarayan. Raja Dhairyendranarayan had made his own younger brother Surendranarayan his Prime Minister.

Ramnarayan had been a force to reckon with in Koch Bihar politics. His murder was an affront to Shridar and to Bhutan. Taking advantage of the internal struggle for supremacy in Koch Bihar, he arrested, on the occasion of the annual feast, not only Raja Dhairyendranarayan and his brother Raikat Surendranarayan, but all other persons connected with the murder of Raikat Ramnarayan. The only man who was able to make his escape was Khagendranarayan, who had been Nazir Deo since the death of his uncle Nazir Rudranarayan. Shidar then installed the Raja's brother Rajendranarayan on the throne. Rajendranarayan died in 1772, after a short nominal reign of two years.

Again a war of succession followed. Nazir Khagendranarayan installed Dhairyendranarayan's son Dharendranarayan on the throne. Shidar did not approve, and he remonstrated

with Nazir Khagendranarayan against it. Nazir Khagendranarayan refused to change his choice. The Bhutanese then came down in force, and on their approach Nazir Khagendranarayan took away the young Raja, his mother, and all the royal family to Balrampur. Shidar sent out a large force of about 20,000 men under the command of his own nephew—i.e. his sister's son—and Zimpon, who overran the country and occupied the capital. He then made Bijendranarayan, the son left by Raikat Rammarayan, Raja.

Thus worsted and driven out of Koch Bihar, Khagendranarayan approached the British, in the name of the dethroned Raja, for help against the Bhutanese. On 5 April 1773, he acknowledged the supremacy of the Company in a nine-article treaty concluded at Fort William in Calcutta. He undertook to pay at once a sum of Rs 50,000 to the British Collector of Rangpur to defray the expenses of the troops sent out to assist him. He also consented to surrender one half of the State revenues to the Company every year. Koch Bihar thus entered into feudatory relations with the British for the first time. Warren Hastings, Governor-General of the territories of the East India Company in India, who had already been convinced of the need to possess Koch Bihar as it was within the natural limits of Bengal, accorded protection to Koch Bihar at once by sending out troops to drive away the Bhutanese. He thought that he could make certain other gains too at the expense of Bhutan in the event of the expedition being successful. The British drove the Bhutanese out of Koch Bihar in the spring of 1773.

While Deb Shidar was thus confronted by British troops,

his ally Prithvinarayan Shah, a foe of the British, called the attention of Panchhen Lama III, Lobzang Palden Yeshe (BLO BZANG DPAL LDAN YE SHES, 1738-80), to the plight of Shidar and tried to persuade him to intercede with the British on his behalf. Prithvinarayan Shah foresaw in Shidar's defeat and humiliation a bleak prospect for Nepal. He did not, therefore, want this conflict to end in disaster for Shidar. A strong Shidar could always keep the British engaged in the Eastern Himalaya and leave no time for them to create trouble on the Nepal border.

In the meantime, taking advantage of Shidar's absence at Baxa Duar in the outer Bhutan hills, the rival faction in Bhutan pulled off a *coup d'etat*. Shidar had made himself unpopular at home. Some of his acts had deeply offended the people. For instance, when the Tashichho Dzong was once destroyed in a fire during his regime, he had tried to rebuild it within one year with forced labour. He had even sought to change the name of this dzong. Indeed he had named it after himself, but this name was never used after his fall from power.

The alliances among Assam, Bhutan, and Nepal were forged largely to counter the growing threat from the East India Company to the security of the northern countries. The frequent dispatch of British troops to the Assam frontier and the extensive reconnaissances made by British surveyors on the borders of Bengal with Bhutan and Nepal had created uneasiness all round. In order, therefore, to win the friendship of Shidar, Prithvinarayan Shah of Nepal presented him with several estates collectively called *Magpa Shing Sum* (MAG PA SHING GSUM). No doubt this kind of connexion bet-

ween Bhutan and Nepal and the holding of estates by Bhutan in Nepal had precedents in the Malla period. Bhutan's privileges increased particularly after the conflict between Nepal and Tibet in 1788, and Bhutan had estates even beyond the Kathmandu Valley in Lower Mustang, in the Tamang country, and in Yolmo, the country of the Western Sherpas. In 1855, however, Jang Bahadur of Nepal annexed these Bhutanese estates in Nepal in retaliation for Bhutan's alleged support for Tibet and refusal to help Nepal in the war between Nepal and Tibet. The Bhutanese maintained that they had been strictly neutral and that they had refused to help Nepal because it was inconceivable for them to support Nepal or any other Power, however friendly, against a country like Tibet, with which they were bound by the bond of religion. The misunderstanding also resulted in the closure of the Bhutanese mission in Kathmandu. Would it be right to say that the Nepalese estates from which Bhutan collected religious dues belonged to Bhutan on that ground? The Nepalese and Tibetan concept of religious offering is rather difficult for non-Nepalese and non-Tibetans to understand.

Prithvinarayan Shah did not recognize the new regime in Bhutan. He sent, it is said, 200 troops to help Shidar. But that was too late. Shidar fled to the north. He lived at Paro for a while. From there he went to North Bhutan. The British policy of siding with Koch Bihar in its war with Shidar was an important factor in his discomfiture and undoing in Bhutanese politics.

To relieve Shidar from his unhappy engagement with the British, Panchhen Lama III, Lobzang Palden Yeshe (BLO BZANG DPAL LDAN YE SHES, 1737-80), interceded on

Shidar's behalf with Warren Hastings. The Panchhen Lama's letter reached Calcutta on 29 March 1774. Hastings had then already received a communication from the new Bhutanese rulers soliciting peace, offering to give up the whole open country, and limiting their claim just to the woods and the lowlands below the foothills and to the freedom to trade duty-free, as formerly, with Rangpur. Hastings had made up his mind to cease his military operations against Bhutan on receiving this communication, but he now tried to make political capital out of the whole affair by announcing that his decision was due entirely to his regard for the Panchhen Lama. He obviously calculated that to offer easy terms to Bhutan, ostensibly at the request of the Panchhen Lama, was the best way to establish friendly relations with Tibet. Moreover, there was a report that Raja Chet Singh of Varanasi was in correspondence with the Panchhen Lama. Hastings naturally thought that any unresponsive attitude on his part might make the Panchhen Lama continue his diplomatic exchanges with the various rajas in India.

Thus, in anticipation of friendly relations with Tibet, Hastings concluded peace with Bhutan on 25 April 1774 at Fort William in Calcutta. By Article III of the peace treaty, Bhutan agreed to release the Raja of Koch Bihar and his Prime Minister. In order to make a good impression upon Bhutan, Hastings returned to Bhutan a part of the disputed Duar territory on the border between Bhutan and Koch Bihar, including the forts of Chicha, Daling (MDAH GLING), and Passakh, which the British had taken in the spring of 1773. As he now had access to Bhutan and Tibet, he deputed two of his men, George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton, to

visit both Bhutan and Tibet and explore the possibilities of trade in those countries as well as to obtain political intelligence. Another British mission went to Bhutan, under Samuel Turner, in 1783-84.

During the time of Deb Jigme Sengge (1776-86), the King of Nepal sent word to the Deb through the Bhutanese agent in Nepal, Lama Tenzin Druggyal, that he would invade Sikkim and that Bhutan should not help Sikkim. Bhutan, owing to the common tie of religion, actually wanted to help Sikkim, but Sikkim did not accept the offer. After defeating Sikkim, the King of Nepal presented Kalari and Thong Mon, as promised, to Bhutan in return for its neutrality during the war. This naturally led to misunderstanding. Successors of Tenzin Namgyal (BSTAN HZIN RNAM RGYAL) of Sikkim (1769-93) blamed Bhutan for the trouble with Nepal. After the rupture between Nepal and Tibet, the Swayambhunath Temple came under the protection of the Shabdung Rinpoche of Bhutan. During the time of Deb Druk Namgyal (1799-1803), Nepal intimated Bhutan, saying that it wanted to invade Assam and that it proposed to take its forces by way of Bhutan. This was a period during which Nepal was an expansionist Power. It had annexed a part of Sikkim in the east, a long strip of Tarai (including Gorakhpur) in the south, and Kumaun and Garhwal in the west. Bhutan, however, refused to oblige.

There was no contact between Bhutan and the East India Company up to 1826, i.e. till the British annexed Assam. The Bhutanese and the British again clashed on the question of the Duars on the Assam border. These Duars had once been the property of the Ahom rulers of Assam. The Bhu-

tanese had acquired them in the early part of the eighteenth century by undertaking to pay the Ahoms in return an annual tribute consisting of a fixed number of yak-tails, ponies, and blankets, as well as a fixed quantity of musk and gold-dust.

In 1837-38, the British Government sent a mission to Bhutan under Captain R. B. Pemberton to settle the dispute over the Assam Duars, but the effort came to nothing. In 1841, the British Government decided to annex permanently all the Assam Duars and pay a sum of Rs 10,000 to Bhutan annually, by way of compensation, from the revenue of these Duars. This was in addition to the sum of Rs 2,000 that the British Government had been paying to Bhutan annually for the Ambari tract west of the Teesta River.

The British felt annoyed with Bhutan for its sympathetic attitude towards the general uprising in India against British rule in 1857. There were frequent disturbances in the Assam and Bengal Duars on account of this strain in the relations between Bhutan and the British. In 1863, the British sent Ashley Eden, who was then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, as their emissary to persuade Bhutan to enter into a relationship more acceptable from the British point of view. The Government of Bhutan was so angry with the British that it tried to prevent his coming. When Ashley Eden forced himself upon the Bhutanese, they not only dealt with him with discourtesy but also forced him to sign an agreement obligating the British to return all the Duars to Bhutan as well as all runaway slaves and political offenders. On Eden's return to Calcutta, the Government of India repudiated the agreement. Also, on 28 November 1864, it declared war on Bhutan. The Bhutanese fought

hard, but were forced to make peace in the end. On 11 November 1865, they signed a ten-article treaty of peace in Sinchhula. By this treaty they agreed to free trade and conceded the right of the Government of India to arbitrate in all disputes that might arise between Bhutan on the one hand and Koch Bihar and Sikkim on the other. They also surrendered the agreement they had extorted from Ashley Eden. Besides, they allowed the Daling/Kalimpong area to be attached to the British possessions in India. The Government of India on its part agreed to pay Bhutan a subsidy of Rs 25,000 on the fulfilment by the Government of Bhutan of the conditions of the treaty, Rs 35,000 on 10 January following the first payment, Rs 45,000 on 10 January following and Rs 50,000 on every 10 January thereafter. The subsidy was meant as a sort of sop to the Bhutanese to cease their raids into Indian territory.

The British retained possession of the entire strip of the low country below the Bhutan hills as well as the hilly tract of Daling/Damsang, which was co-extensive with the Western Duars, to the east of the Teesta River. The country so annexed was formed into two districts: the Eastern Duars and the Western Duars. The Eastern Duars were later incorporated into the co-extensive Goalpara District of Assam. On 1 January 1867, the Daling tract was transferred to the Darjeeling District. On 1 January 1869, the Western Duars, together with the Morang strip below the Darjeeling hills, were made into a new district, the district of Jalpaiguri, which, until then, had no separate entity. It had been a part of the district of Rangpur.

The subsequent history of Bhutan is characterized by in-

ternal feuds, with group alignments changing frequently. The Tongsa Ponlop, Governor of Central and Eastern Bhutan, and the Paro Ponlop, Governor of Western Bhutan, were major figures in the wrangles. Jigme Namgyal (HJIGS MED RNAM RGYAL, 1825-81) became Tongsa Ponlop in 1853 and Deb in 1870. He was popularly known as Deb Nagpo, the Black Deb. When he retired as Deb in 1874, he appointed his brother Kyitselpa Dorje Namgyal in his place. Kyitselpa ruled till 1878. In the civil war in 1876, the Paro Ponlop, whose name was Tsewang Norbu, and the Punakha Dzongpon, whose name was Shawo Ngodub (DNGOS GRUB), sought asylum at Darjeeling. The Government of India granted asylum not merely to these two but also to *Deb Zimpon* (SDE PA GZIMS DPON), Secretary to Deb Kyitselpa Dorje Namgyal. It also sanctioned them a generous allowance for several years and protected them by refusing to deliver them up on demand to Jigme Namgyal on behalf of the Lhengye Tsok of Bhutan. Jigme Namgyal defeated Dzongpon Ang Druk Topgye, the strong man of Wangdi Phodang, and thus laid the foundations of the political power of the present royal dynasty. Tongsa Dzong is a great fortress, strategically sited at a commanding height on the vertical walls of a giant rock. This impregnable position of the Tongsa Dzong also enabled Jigme Namgyal to become the most powerful of all the chiefs of Bhutan.

Ugyen Wangchuk (O RGYAN DBANG PHYUG, 1861-1926), who was Tongsa Ponlop from 1881 to 1907, was the son of Jigme Namgyal. In 1884, along with Dawa Paljor (1850- 1909), who had been Paro Ponlop since the civil war of 1876 and who was related to him (by blood according to

some sources, by marriage according to others); he rebelled against Deb Kawa Zangpo (1882-83), who was supported by Alu Dorji, the Dzungpon of Thimphu, and Phuntsok Dorji, the Dzungpon of Punakha and brother-in-law of Alu Dorje, for withholding his share of the British subsidy. A meeting was held in Thimphu to settle the dispute. Ugyen Wangchuk was represented by the Paro Ponlop, and Alu Dorji by the Punakha Dzungpon. It is said that Phuntsok Dorji's horse refused to go beyond the stone bridge called Chhuba Chhu. This was considered a bad omen. In the battle of Changlingane Thang (BYANG GLINGA GNAS THANG), the site of the present helipad below Thimphu on the right bank of the River Wang, fought in the summer of 1885, Phuntsok Dorji was killed. Alu Dorji fled via Gasa La to Tibet, and appealed for help. The Chinese *Amban* (Political Officer) in Lhasa asked the leading chiefs of Bhutan to take Alu Dorji back, but they refused to obey him. He then convened a conference of the chiefs of Bhutan and Sikkim at Galing near Phari in the Chhumbi Valley. A suggestion was made in this conference that Ugyen Wangchuk should give Ha, Lingshi, and Gasa to Alu Dorji, but Ugyen Wangchuk, who made as if he had no objection to a settlement at this price, never cared to fulfil it.

The Galing Conference is one of the few events in the modern history of Bhutan and Sikkim regarding which we have very reliable data.

The reverses suffered by Tibet in its conflict with the British in Sikkim in 1888-89 broke its power and influence. The cause of Alu Dorji, who had fought for Tibet in the

attack on Gnatong in Sikkim in the summer of 1888, was doomed. The Bhutanese frustrated all subsequent attempts of interference by the Amban. Completely humiliated, Alu Dorji appealed to Tibet for help. Even this came to nothing. He died in Yatung after some time. There is a rumour that he committed suicide.

Ugyen Wangchuk established himself so firmly that no significant civil or internecine strife occurred in Bhutan thereafter. Ngodub, the ex-Punakha Dzongpon, again came to fight in Ugyen Wangchuk's time but escaped to Baxa Duar and died there some time after.

A most interesting feature of these conflicts was the complete indifference of the people towards them. Peasants worked on in their fields even when battles were being fought in their neighbourhood.

During the British expedition against Tibet in 1888, the Amban sent a directive to Bhutan, asking it to help Tibet. Bhutan ignored it altogether. On the restoration of peace between the British and the Tibetans in 1889, China decided to cultivate Bhutan. Accordingly, on the recommendation of Shengt'ai, the Amban in Lhasa, Emperor Kuang hsu (r. 1875-98) of China offered to confer upon the Tongsa Ponlop and the Paro Ponlop the titles of Chief and Deputy Chief of Bhutan respectively. In 1891 the Amban visited Paro with a letter from the Emperor for the Tongsa Ponlop. These overtures, however, failed to evoke any response.

The British felt greatly concerned over China's efforts and overtures to increase its influence in Bhutan. They were also anxious to make sure of Tibet in the context of their rivalry with Russia for influence in Central Asia. They,

therefore, sent a military expedition to Tibet in 1903-4 under Colonel F. E. Younghusband. This expedition received considerable support from Bhutan. A friendly meeting took place between Younghusband and a high Bhutanese official, the Thimphu Dzongpon, at Chhumbi in Tibet. Ugyen Wangchuk, the Tongsa Ponlop, assured the British of his full cooperation and allowed a part of Western Bhutan to be surveyed for a road up the Amo Chhu. Later, along with a relative of his, Lama Kunzang, as well as Lama Kunyang Namgyal, the head of Paro Datsang, and other senior officials of Bhutan, he accompanied the British expedition to Lhasa. He even tried to play the role of a mediator between the British and Tibet. The respect in which these Bhutanese leaders were held in Lhasa helped Younghusband in getting a convention signed by the high monks and senior officials of the Government of Tibet on 7 September 1904. The Younghusband mission to Tibet was thus a great landmark in the history of the relations between Bhutan and the British. On 1 April 1906, the Government of India transferred the State of Bhutan from the political control of the Government of Bengal to that of the Government of India.

The Deb and the Shabdung died in 1901 and 1903 respectively. Chhole Tulku Yeshe Ngodub (YE SHES DNGOS GRUB, 1851-1917,* who was then Je Khempo, briefly held both offices during 1903-5. This was the first instance in the history of Bhutan after 1651 of a single person holding the offices of Deb and Shabdung concurrently. However, Yeshe

* That is, the *Sungtul* of Chhole Tulku of Sangchhen Chhokhor, five miles from Paro on the way to Druggyal Dzong. Yeshe Ngodub had held the office of Je Khempo once before. He seems to have continued as Je Khempo up to 1917.

Ngodub was a great recluse. And although he held both offices, he occupied himself entirely with the spiritual affairs of the country. As the Chhole Tulku, he held the spiritual seat during the interval between the disappearance of the Shabdung from this world and his reappearance and attainment of maturity. Ugyen Wangchuk managed all temporal affairs with the help of the Lhengye Tsok. On 17 December 1907, the high dignitaries of Bhutan—chiefs and headmen and lamas and laymen—deliberated together and unanimously proclaimed Ugyen Wangchuk, the most influential chief among the contenders for the office of Deb, as the first Druk Gyalpo and declared the title hereditary.

The British, who had throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought for a strong central authority in Bhutan, not only supported the installation of Ugyen Wangchuk on the Golden Throne of Bhutan as the first Druk Gyalpo but also decided to describe him as His Highness the Maharaja (Great King) of Bhutan. In fact, it had held it imperative to establish, maintain, and support a central authority in Bhutan since the treaty of 1865, and had always disliked the idea of having to deal directly with the powerful local chiefs over the head of the central Bhutanese authority.

For a while, a few local chiefs who owed allegiance to Dawa Paljor, the Paro Ponlop who had been Ugyen Wangchuk's adversary, remained practically independent. To Dawa Paljor, Ugyen Wangchuk was only one of several Poslops, and hence an equal, and he could not concede to him the first or supreme position as the head of the State of Bhutan. Ugyen Wangchuk was, however, able to win the loyalty of all the chiefs after the death of Dawa Paljor in 1918. Thus,

hereditary monarchy replaced the noble institution of Shab-dung in the political life of the country.

The history of Bhutan from 1616, when Lama Ngawang Namgyal came to Bhutan, to 1907, when Ugyen Wangchuk ascended the Golden Throne as the first hereditary monarch of Bhutan, shows that the Bhutanese were always masters of their own affairs and that no foreign Power ever exercised any control over them. Bhutan conducted its foreign relations independently of Tibet and China and Britain. As early as the first part of the seventeenth century, the Bhutanese fought with the Tibetans, the Mughals, and the Ahoms. In the beginning of the eighteenth century they invaded Sikkim and held it for six years. In 1771, they again invaded Sikkim and the principality of Vijayapur (Morang) between Bihar and Sikkim. They did all this without consulting or seeking the clearance of any foreign Power. They also concluded the first treaty with the British East India Company on 25 April 1774 without consulting or seeking the clearance of any foreign Power. They also always remained neutral in the wars of their neighbours, like the wars between Nepal and Sikkim in 1773, between Nepal and Tibet in 1788, 1792, and 1855. between the British and Nepal in 1814, between the British and Burma in 1824, between the British and Sikkim in 1861, and between the British and Tibet in 1888 and 1904. Thus, Bhutan was a fully sovereign State during this period. No foreign Power ever represented the Government of Bhutan in dealing with India or Nepal or Sikkim or Tibet or any other foreign state.

III

Thunder Kings

BHUTAN ENTERED upon a new phase of its history with the turn of the twentieth century. Its contacts with the outside world became more tangible. Its problems and political relationships with the neighbouring countries hastened its advance into the twentieth century.

What happened in Tibet after the British withdrawal from the Chhumbi Valley early in 1908 affected Bhutan as well. For no sooner had Chao Erh-feng, Warden of the Szechwan Marches with Tibet, occupied Lhasa early in 1910 and compelled Dalai Lama XIII, Thubten Gyatso (THUB BSTAN RGYA MTSHO, 1876-1933), to seek refuge in India than he laid claim to Bhutan, Nepal, and Sikkim. The British Government now woke up to the Chinese menace on the north-eastern frontier of India. Both to forestall the Chinese effort to bring Bhutan within its sphere of influence and to obviate the danger of Bhutan's turning into a hot-bed of Chinese intrigue, it thought it expedient to persuade Bhutan to agree to be guided by its advice in the conduct of its external relations. By Article VIII of the Treaty of 1865, Bhutan had undertaken to refer all its disputes with Koch

Bihar and Sikkim to the arbitration of the British Government in India and to accept the decisions. However, it was still free to regulate its relations with any foreign Power, like Tibet or China, as it pleased. That is to say, it was still a fully independent country, neither a state under British paramountcy nor a British protectorate.

The British, therefore, sought and secured a revision of the Treaty of 1865. They achieved their objective of placing Bhutan's external relations under their own control by substituting the following in place of Article VIII of the Treaty of 1865:

The British Government undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part, the Bhutanest Government agrees to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to its external relations. In the event of disputes 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 settle them in such manner as justice may require, and insist upon the observance of its decision by the Maharajas named.

The new treaty was signed and sealed at Punakha on 8 January 1910. The Bhutanese seals included those of the Druk Gyalpo and the members of Bhutanese Council.

Thus, by the revised treaty the Government of Bhutan agreed "to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to its external relations". The British undertook to abstain from interference in the internal affairs of Bhutan.

They also raised their annual subsidy to Bhutan from Rs 50,000 to Rs 100,000 with effect from 10 January 1910. They did this not only to secure the goodwill and friendship of the Bhutanese people but also to bring them into more intimate relations with themselves in India.

This treaty was a turning point in the history of modern Bhutan. It placed the external relations of Bhutan under the control of the British. It put Bhutan, so far as the management and conduct of its foreign relations was concerned, on the same footing as Sikkim. It brought Bhutan into the closest relationship with the Government of India. Bhutan was now under British tutelage almost like an Indian State. It no longer remained a fully sovereign state. It lost its external sovereignty and became in effect a British protectorate even though the word "protectorate" was not mentioned in the treaty. To be sure, the treaty did not make Bhutan a part of the British Empire. All that it did was to enable the British to secure the north-east frontier of India from both external aggression and intrigue.

The Treaty of 1910 frustrated China's designs on Bhutan. Naturally China did not like this development. It saw that its attempt to establish its suzerainty over Bhutan during 1908-10 had only hastened Bhutan's emergence as a British protectorate. Its subsequent attempts to subvert the position acquired by the British by the Treaty of 1910 made the British more implacable than ever before.

Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuk cast in Bhutan's lot with the British for several reasons. First of all, the British success against the Tibetans in the very heart of Tibet in the summer of 1904 had made a strong impression on his mind.

In particular, the success of British arms at Gyantse (RGYAL RTSE) had come to him as a great surprise. He had watched the British storming of the Gyantse Dzong, an impregnable natural fortress built of solid rock on a great height and defended well. He had never doubted the superiority of the British arms, but he had also never expected that the British, who had had no experience of fighting in Tibet at high altitudes, would be able to defeat the Tibetans so easily and so decisively.

Secondly Ugyen Wangchuk wanted protection against Chinese expansionism towards Bhutan. China had already claimed that Bhutan lay within its imperial framework. Ugyen Wangchuk felt that only the British were in a position to deter the Chinese Dragon.

Lastly, Ugyen Wangchuk realized the impossibility of Bhutan's existence as a separate political entity, like his own rise to and stay in power, without the British pleasure. The British were then all powerful — in any case far more powerful than China. The Chinese Empire was on the decline. Thus, the fear of the British and the desirability of keeping on the right side of them were as responsible for the decision to place Bhutan under British tutelage as the fear of Chinese designs.

In 1914, as a consequence of the Treaty of 1910, Ugyen Wangchuk introduced education in Bhutan on Western lines. A few boys who passed the Matriculation Examination in 1924 were trained technically in the mid-1920s. To improve his country and the lot of his people, Ugyen Wangchuk strove to improve the means of communications of Bhutan and develop its trade and economic resources.

In 1917, the Government of Bhutan undertook to remove all liquor shops within a ten-mile zone on the border between Bhutan and the adjacent districts of Assam and Bengal. In return for its co-operation in excise matters, the Government of India started paying it an annual compensation of Rs 1000,000 plus Rs 100,000 as a gesture of friendship in the 1940s.

Ugyen Wangchuk was a truly great man. While he was still young and inexperienced, he generously allowed Tsewang Norbu, one of his father's most bitter enemies, to return from his exile in Kalimpong to his old home near Pimethang and die there in peace, and then allowed his widow and his daughter to live on undisturbed and well protected in that lovely place. He also treated the powerful family of Byakar, who had plotted to murder him, with clemency, but banished the ring leader to a remote valley away from the main centres of life and civilization.

Ugyen Wangchuk was a deeply devout and religious man. He built and renovated several monasteries and temples throughout the country. (One of them, the Guru Lhakhang, contains a very large image of Padmasambhava, the Guru Rimpochhe.) He was well read in the history and legends of his country. He had a genuine desire to improve the condition of his country and his people and a deep sense of responsibility as the founding father of the present Bhutanese nation. He possessed unusual diplomatic skill, which he used to retain the friendship of the powerful British. He not only ensured the independence of Bhutan, but also kept it free from foreign influence.

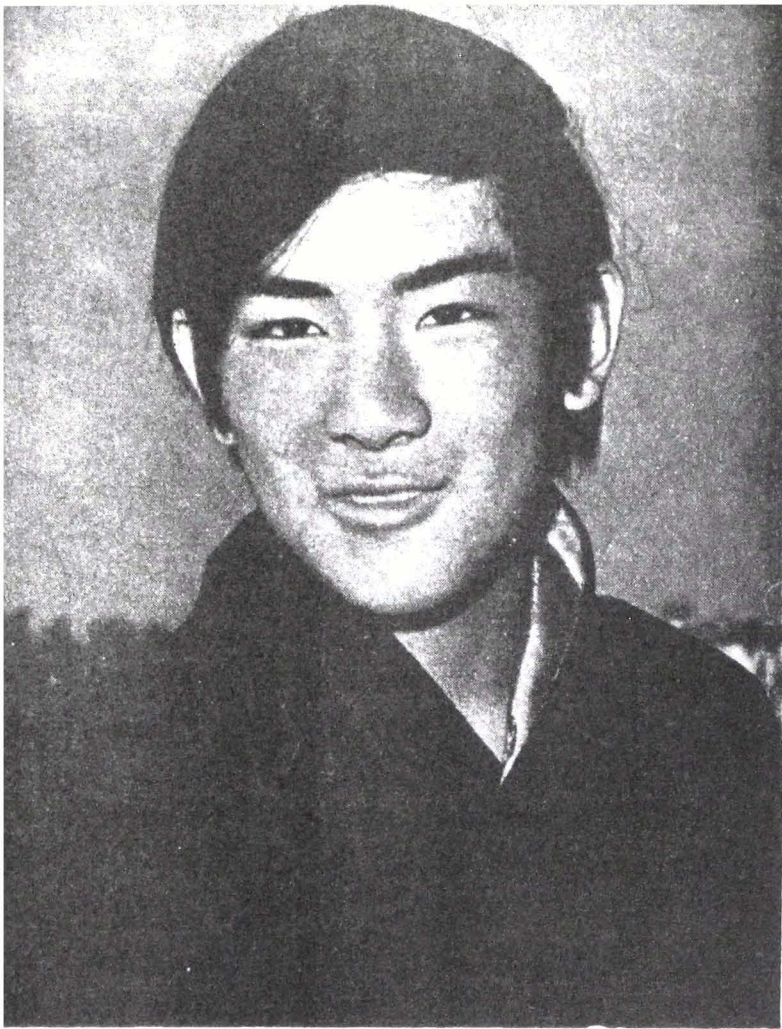
Ugyen Wangchuk died on 21 August 1926. His eldest

son and heir, Gyase Jigme Wangchuk (RGYAL SRAS HJIGS MED DBANG PHYUG, r. 1926-52), succeeded him.

Druk Gyaplo Jigme Wangchuk retained and consolidated power in his own hands. He appointed his own relatives to posts of responsibility as he could depend upon their loyalty. He kept, as a matter of policy, a rigid control over his dzongpons. Most of the present dzongpons in Central Bhutan are his appointees and kinsmen.

In the early 1920s, there had arisen a wrangle between Bhutan and Tawang over certain pasture rights along the border between the two. This became serious in the early 1930s. In 1935, it even led to a scuffle, and Gelong Lobzang (DGE SLONG BLO BZANG) of the Ganden Namgyal Lhatse Monastery of Tawang was shot in the knee by the Nyertsang of the Dzongpon of Tashigang. In 1937, Se Dupo (SRAS DO PO), the then Dzongpon of Tashigang, went to Tawang over the 11,000-foot-high Nyeng Sa La and settled the matter. Bhutan paid, in its own currency, a sum equivalent to about Rs 1,500 to the Ganden Namgyal Lhatse Monastery by way of compensation as well as to cover the expenses of a special ceremonial worship to invoke divine blessings for continued good neighbourliness between the two peoples.

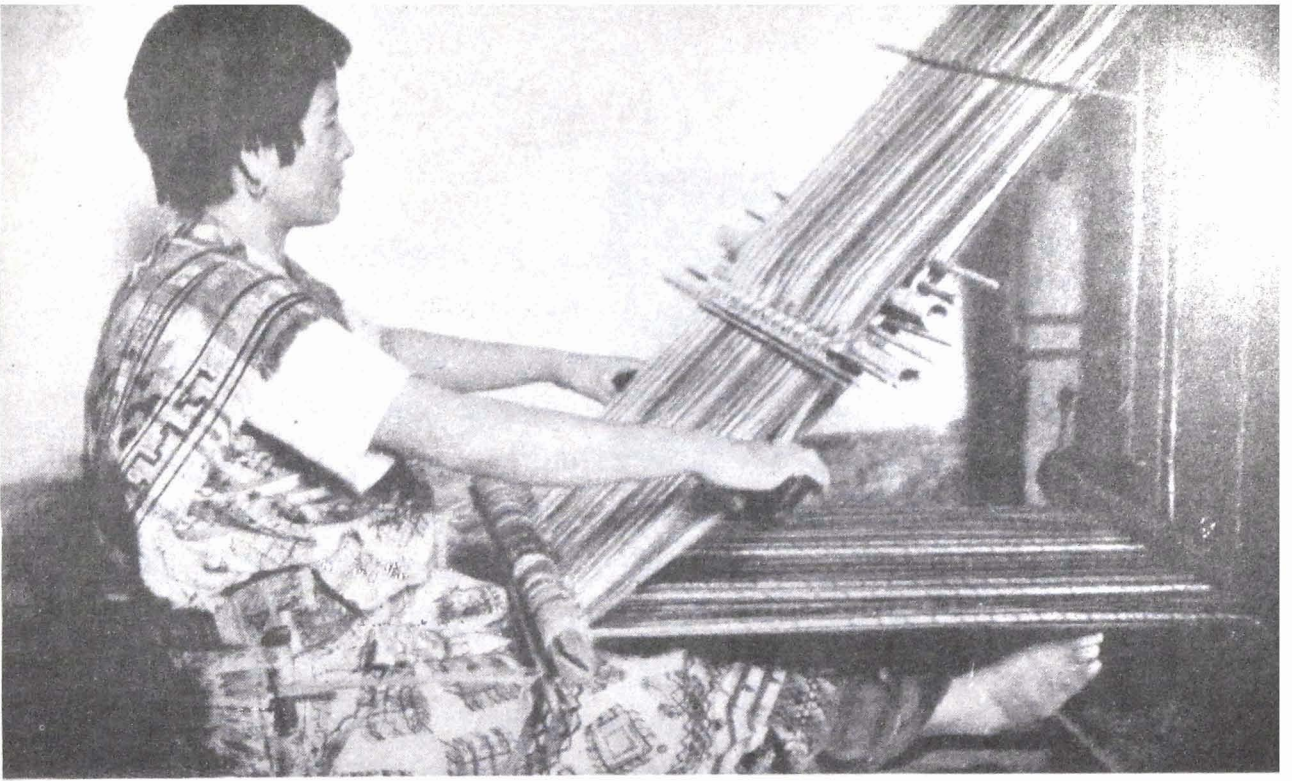
The British pursued a cautious policy towards Bhutan. They took care not to hurt Bhutanese susceptibilities. They even stopped Westerners from visiting Bhutan because they knew that the Bhutanese resented such intrusions. Indeed, they went out of their way to cultivate the Bhutanese authorities. In 1923, the Secretary of State for India defined Bhu-



**Crown Prince Jigme
Senge Wang**

**Young
Bhutanese
Girls**

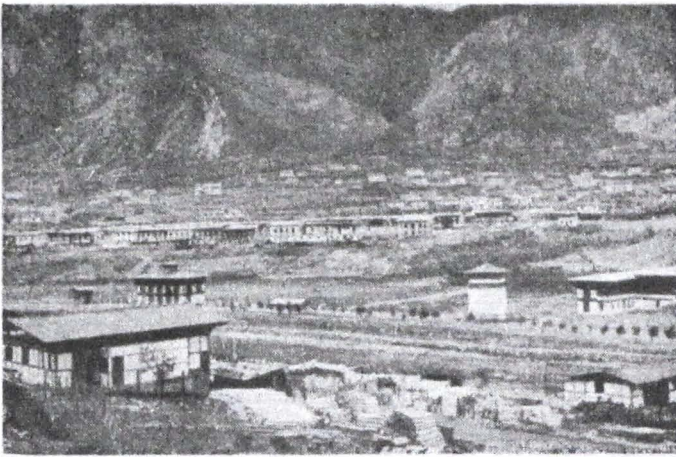




Handloom Weaving

The Bazar





Thimpu Town



The Archers



Paro Valley

Himalaya kingdoms of Sikkim and Bhutan in association with Tibet as a counter-weight to India. Nothing came of this, however, and towards the end of 1948 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Wangchuk, who had watched with interest India's struggle for freedom from British rule, sent a Bhutanese delegation to New Delhi to discuss Bhutan's relations with the Government of independent India. The Government of India agreed to respect Bhutan's autonomy on condition that the Government of Bhutan maintained the same relationship with independent India as it had maintained with British India. It could very well have insisted at this time, if it had so desired, that Bhutan should accede to the Indian Union and become as integral a part of the country as Manipur or Mysore, but it did not. It felt, obviously, that while Bhutan's accession to India might not make any significant difference to India's position or strength, independence even within the framework of heavy dependence on India was important for Bhutan in as much as it could maintain its long-cherished identity. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Wangchuk renewed Bhutan's connexion with the new India by signing a ten-Article treaty in Darjeeling on 8 August 1949, and agreed "to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external affairs" in return for India's pledge not to interfere in Bhutan's internal affairs.

India also agreed to pay to Bhutan a subsidy of Rs 500,000 a year and to return to the Government of Bhutan, within a year from the date of signature of the treaty, thirty-two square miles of territory in the area known as Dewangiri. This was obviously to allay the Bhutanese fear of India's alleged imperialistic designs and hunger for territory and to

prevent Bhutan from looking to the north or elsewhere for friends and allies. The other Articles of the treaty, which bound Bhutan and India in "perpetual peace and friendship", related to free import by Bhutan, with the approval and assistance of the Government of India, and from or through India, arms, ammunition, machinery, and warlike material or stores required for the strength and welfare of Bhutan. The Government of Bhutan on its part undertook not to export those items across the frontier of Bhutan to any other country and also not to allow any private individuals to do so. The treaty neither provided for the Indian control of the foreign policy of Bhutan nor made Indian advice on Bhutan's external affairs binding on Bhutan. Also, it contained no reference to the defence and integrity of Bhutan.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Wangchuk died in 1952. His eldest son and heir, Gyase Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, succeeded him on 28 October 1952. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (r. 1952-), third in the line, assumed full regal dignity and permitted his being referred to as His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo in the summer of 1963.

The Druk Gyalpo established the *Tsongdu* (TSHOGS HDU, Assembly) as the kingdom's legislative body in 1953. Indeed, by establishing the *Tsongdu* he only gave new life to an old institution of the Bhutanese tribes. He based it entirely on the old democratic customs and traditions of the different Bhutanese tribes. In 1956, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk introduced land reforms aimed at ensuring security of tenure and taking the country from a barter stage to a money economy. He also abolished serf-

dom or slavery in the country. He granted full civic rights to the people of Nepalese origin who had settled in the country and who had always been regarded as second-class citizens. He surrendered a considerable portion of his own private lands to the Government. However, as there were not many landlords in the country, the reforms made only a limited impact. Even the retainers on those lands were the King's own kinsmen. Most of the large private landholdings are in Central and Eastern Bhutan and belong to landlords closely related to the Druk Gyalpo.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji visited India in the spring of 1954. In the same year he also reorganized the administrative set-up of the country. He created in particular the office of *Lhotsain Chichap* (LHO MTSHAMS KHYAB, Commissioner of Southern Bhutan) with headquarters at Sarbhang.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India visited Bhutan in the second half of September 1958. In the discussions held between the King of Bhutan and the Prime Minister of India on this occasion, the main topic was the economic development of Bhutan. Nehru especially emphasized the need to develop road communications between Bhutan and India, and within Bhutan itself. He expressed India's readiness to give technical and other assistance required by Bhutan. In a public address in Paro on 23 September 1958, Nehru also ruled out any pressure from India on Bhutan which might impair its independent and sovereign status.

Traditionally the Government of Bhutan followed a policy of isolationism. It was disinclined to seek foreign aid for fear of being swamped by alien cultures and influence.

It gave up this traditional policy of isolationism on account of the developments of 1949-59 beyond the Himalaya and the threat they posed to Bhutan's integrity and security. When the People's Republic of China revised its old territorial claim on Bhutan, the people of Bhutan were greatly upset. They were wholly shaken when they saw the brutal manner in which the great uprising of Lhasa in the spring of 1959 was put down by the Chinese. It was a traumatic experience without a parallel in their entire history. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk and the other authorities of Bhutan now saw that Bhutan could neither defend itself nor achieve progress without international intercourse. The Government of India also sought to persuade the Druk Gyalpo to initiate development programmes and especially to introduce modern means of transport and communication in the country. It also promised to finance fully all the development works of Bhutan.

On 18 September 1959, a Bhutanese delegation headed by Jigme Palden Dorji of Ha visited New Delhi to discuss with the Government of India the development needs of Bhutan. After detailed discussions for ten days, the Government of India agreed to pay the entire expenditure on the construction of all-weather roads in Bhutan. It also undertook to meet the defence needs of Bhutan, including the training and equipment of a Bhutanese militia. In February 1961, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji himself visited New Delhi to discuss Bhutanese-Indian relations in general and Bhutan's defence and economic development in particular.

On 13 September 1961, Bhutan and India signed an agreement on a project for harnessing the Jaldhaka River for the

generation of hydro-electric power. The catchment area of the Jaldhaka reaches up to Gnatong, 12,000 feet above sea level, in Sikkim. The project agreed upon entailed the construction of a two-mile-long diversion tunnel on the border between Bengal and Bhutan. According to the agreement, Bhutan receives daily, free of charge, 3 per cent of the power generated, as well as a royalty of Rs 8 per kw. annually, from the Government of West Bengal for the power it supplies. The Government of Bhutan uses its share of power from the Jaldhaka to run the fruit-preservation, timber, and other industries in the adjacent area.

In 1962, in the face of the Chinese threat, India decided to stand by Bhutan in its ambition to play an active part in world affairs. In the same year, with India as sponsor, Bhutan first appeared as an Observer at the 14th meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan in Melbourne (Australia). Speaking at the meeting the leader of the Bhutanese delegation expressed the hopes and aspirations of the Government and people of Bhutan as follows:

Our Bhutanese are a hard-working people, and our young generation offers much fine material for the future of the country. By our own efforts, coupled with the assistance and encouragement of other friendly countries, we hope to translate our aspirations into reality and take our country forward to progress and prosperity.

This resolve has animated the Bhutanese nation ever since.

Again, with India as sponsor, Bhutan became a full member of the Colombo Plan in 1963; joined the International

Postal Union in 1968; and got its application for the membership of the United Nations recommended by the Security Council early in 1971; and, finally, became a full-fledged Member of the Organization in September 1971.

The main aim of the development programme, inaugurated on 1 July 1961, was to improve internal road communications, without which there can be no appreciable development in any other field. It also sought to create facilities for the training of personnel, to provide such basic amenities of life as would promote efficiency in productive efforts, and to improve agriculture with a view to obtaining an adequate surplus and boosting the economy of the country. The stress was largely on the creation of an infrastructure needed for the building up of Bhutan's revenue resources and eventually of a self-reliant economy essential for the country's economic and social development.

In the early 1960s, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji created the administrative machinery needed for the codification of the customary laws of Bhutan.

The reforms and the innovations made the old guard very unhappy. The old order, which had not changed for centuries, was changing, and changing fast. The disgruntled elements, therefore, decided to act, and they began by assassinating the man most closely identified with the new order—Jigmie Palden Dorji of Ha. The deed was done on 5 April 1964, when the Druk Gyalpo was away in Switzerland undergoing treatment of a recurring intestinal ailment, by an agent of Tsabda (TSHAB MDAH) Bahadur Namgyal, His Majesty's representative on the Royal Bhutan Army and perhaps a remote uncle of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji's. The

aim of the conspirators was to capture power through a *coup d'etat*, but the timely return of the Druk Gyalpo confounded their design. The guilty men were all tried and executed. All this disturbed the internal peace of Bhutan. In December 1964, a group of officials led by Brigadier Ugyen Tyangbi again attempted a *coup d'etat*, but in vain. The Druk Gyalpo, who returned to Bhutan from Switzerland just in time, foiled their plan, and the conspirators fled to Nepal, where they received asylum. Yet another attempt to reverse the march of the country was made. On the night of 31 July 1965, taking advantage of the Druk Gyalpo's visit to the Kyichhu monastery near Paro, some miscreants, acting obviously at the instigation of the reactionary elements, fired on him. The Druk Gyalpo, however, escaped unhurt.

In May 1965, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji established the *Lodoi Tsokde* (BLO GROS I TSHOGS SDE, Royal Advisory Council) to advise him in all matters of national importance. Early in 1968, he transformed the economic system of Bhutan from a barter to a monetary economy by setting up a banking institution for the first time in Bhutan. In that year, he also separated the Judiciary from the Executive and gave a High Court to the country. Above all, to put the system of administration in step with the change that was fast coming over the country, he appointed on 16 May 1968 Bhutan's first Council of Ministers from among the members of the Tsongdu.

At the first session of the Tsongdu in April-May 1968, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji ordered that Bhutan would thenceforth be a constitutional monarchy. He declared the freely

elected Tsongdu to be sovereign and supreme, and invested it with the full authority not only to appoint ministers but also to dismiss the King in the event of his acting against the welfare of the people and the good of the country. At the second session of the Tsongdu in October-November 1968, he announced that he would abdicate whenever 75 per cent of the members of the Tsongdu should pass a vote of no confidence in him. During its first session in 1969, the Tsongdu unanimously decided that the continuance of a monarch's rule should depend on popular approval, and that if the Tsongdu passed a vote of no confidence in the Druk Gyalpo by a two-thirds majority, the Druk Gyalpo must abdicate in favour of a member of the present dynasty next in the line of succession.

This revolutionary move on the part of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji may eventually mark the end of the system of absolute monarchy in Bhutan. The process of democratization may not be limited to the revival or strengthening of the indigenous political institutions and the appointment of Bhutan's first Council of Ministers, for there is an indication that the ban on political parties may also end. The Druk Gyalpo's ultimate objective is to develop Bhutan into a constitutional monarchy, with the people having the final voice in the country's affairs.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji paid a five-day State visit to New Delhi from 7 April to 11 April 1971, especially to express thankfulness to the Government of India for sponsoring Bhutan for the membership of the United Nations. In a Press conference on the occasion, he made it clear that he wanted no change in the Treaty of 1949 with India.

Thus, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji has tried to create a new structure of government, largely by streamlining the old framework, to suit the needs of the new Bhutan. He has gradually modernized the feudal political system of Bhutan.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji is universally loved and respected by the people. He is an enlightened and liberal ruler who has made repeated efforts to secure the participation of the people in the administration of the country and to share his power with them. His continuing and untiring endeavour to secure for Bhutan a fully independent and sovereign status and a rightful place in the comity of the nations of the world and his utter disregard for the office of kingship have made him the greatest of all Bhutanese rulers. Indeed, the Bhutanese call him a saintly king, and he is the theme of numerous popular songs and poems. One of these songs celebrates his greatness as follows:

*Long live the King of Bhutan,
Guardian of law and tradition!
Protector of our Southern Land,*
The land where sandalwood abounds!
May his knowledge increase all the time!
May his deeds teach us peace!
For his power can only bring us good.
May all his people be ever happy!
In this land of the thunder dragon,
May the law of Buddha flourish!
Hunger, sickness, need shall vanish.
Shine, O sun of joy and peace.*

*In literature Bhutan is always referred to as *Lho Yul* ("Southern Land"), as it is situated on the southern slopes of the Himalaya.

The main aim of the kings since the establishment of the present dynasty in 1907 has been to develop Bhutan into a full-fledged modern state owing complete allegiance to the central authority vested in the Druk Gyalpo. Nevertheless, during the reigns of the first two, Bhutan's doors remained closed to the outside world. No foreigners except the British entered the country. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the present King of Bhutan, gave up this policy of aloofness and isolationism on account of the development of the 1950s beyond the Himalaya and the threat they posed to Bhutan's integrity and security. He became convinced that Bhutan could neither defend itself nor achieve progress without international intercourse. He also saw that too great a dependence on other countries, however friendly, would be suicidal. Ever since his accession to the throne, therefore, he has done his best, slowly but resolutely, through comprehensive economic, political, and social reforms, to consolidate the stability of his country without making it dependent on any foreign Power. He has roused his people from their slumber of centuries and has made them take cognizance of the lands around them. In a true sense he has carried out his solemn pledge to put his country on the road to progress and prosperity. The small opening to technology in Bhutan, which the Bhutanese thus reluctantly conceded in the face of the fear of aggression from China in the early 1960s, has initiated the fascinating process of economic development in the country. The building of roads, which was originally undertaken for military reasons, has especially accelerated the pace of the process of modernization, innovation, and change in this country of ancient traditions.

IV

System of Government

TIBET HAS always been the spiritual home of Bhutan, as of Sikkim. Since secular life is a necessary part of the cycle of existence, the ideal Government in Bhutan, as in Tibet, has always been the guardian and patron of Buddhism and has always ruled according to its tenets. The title *Dharma Raja*, as the Shabdung Rimpochhe of Bhutan was known in East India, literally means "King of Righteous Law"—that is, a king who rules according to the tenets of *Dharma* (Righteous Law). Buddhism requires that a king, if he is fond of *Dharma*, should find the path to happiness both in this and in future lives by acting in accordance with its tenets. The subjects will act as the ruler acts, and therefore the ruler should strive to learn *Dharma*. Thus the political history of Bhutan, as of Tibet, is woven round the fortunes of Buddhism there.

Until recently the political and social life of Bhutan was closely bound up with the ownership of land, most of which belonged either to the Government or to the monasteries or to the aristocracy. Ownership of land implied the responsibilities of administration as well as social duties and political

functions. The most important of the social duties was the duty of the landlord to look after the needs of all those who worked for him. Only a small portion of the land belonged to the peasantry. Thus, the landlords, especially the aristocracy and the monasteries, dominated the life and politics of the country.

Head of State

From 1616 to 1907 Bhutan was a theocracy, and there was one supreme authority, the Druk Shabdung Lama (HBRUG SHABS DRUNG BLA MA), as religious and political head of Bhutan. The Shabdung Lama succeeded as an incarnation. Shabdung Lama I, Ngawang Namgyal, organized his system of Government broadly on the lines of the system of Government in Tibet and made changes in his administrative structure and terminology only where it was absolutely necessary for him to do so to suit the conditions and needs of Bhutan. In 1650, he created a State Council, called the *Lhengye Tsok*, composed of the more important of the chief, and the offices of *Deb*, *Chila* and *Dzongpon* and appointed them to administer the country. Later the designation *Chila* changed to *Ponlop* (DPON SLOP, Chief Teacher), a term identical with *Lopon* (SLOB DPON, "Chief in Teaching") and derived from it by writing the syllables in the reverse order. *Lopon* was a purely religious institution. It became a lay institution when the designation changed to *Ponlop*. Of course, the institution or office of *Chila* was much higher than that of *Ponlop*.

Ngawang Namgyal also composed what is called the *Tsa*

Yik (RTSA YIG), a code of duties for the guidance of State officials and functionaries as well as for the proper discharge of their duties towards the country and the people. According to the classical code of political duties, the concerns of a Minister are four: religious services to the sacred images, attending to the domestic affairs of the sovereign, State business, and the welfare of people.

In theory, the Lhengye 'Tsok elected the Deb. In practice, however, he was merely the nominee of whichever of the chiefs happened for the time being to be the most powerful. All official communications of the Government of Bhutan were made in the name of the Deb. In theory, the Deb appointed both the Ponlops and the Dzungpons. The Ponlops of Paro and Tongsa were more powerful than others, and such was their authority that they made the office of Ponlop hereditary in course of time. They even usurped from the Deb the right to appoint dzongpons in their respective regions, and distributed these offices among their followers as they wished.

Like Tibet, Bhutan was a theocracy from 1616 to 1907, but, unlike Tibet, not a total theocracy. Powerful aristocratic families usually dominated political life in the country.

Until 1907, Bhutan, although a distinct political entity, had no Central Government. It was divided into a number of small units on feudalistic lines: every seat of power was subject to a continuous contest between warring chiefs who aspired to dominion. However, in 1907, Ugyen Wangchuk, the Ponlop of Tongsa, the most powerful of the Ponlops, became the hereditary King of Bhutan and the source of all State power in the country.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk is the head of both the State and the Government of Bhutan today. Up to 1968, immediately below him were his representative on the Royal Bhutan Army, the Gyaldon (RGYALPO I MGRO GNYER, Royal Chief Secretary), and the Gyaltsi (RGYALPO I RTSIS DPON, Royal Finance Secretary). The Council of Ministers, which the Druk Gyalpo first established on 16 May 1968, is now the principal executive body of the Royal Government of Bhutan. The Gyaldon now functions as Personal Secretary to the King.

Below the King and above the village headman, there is a whole network of administrators. The rank of an officer in the hierarchy of administrators is marked by the colour of the shawl he wears. The yellow shawl is exclusive to the Druk Gyalpo. He is above *ken* (rank). The Ministers and Deputy Ministers wear shawls of the orange colour. They are first-rank dignitaries. Formerly shawls of the orange colour were worn exclusively by the Paro and Tongsa Ponlops, who were then the first-rank dignitaries in the country. Officials like the Gyaldon, the Gyaltsi, the Zimpon (GZIMS DPON, Chief of Household), and the *Dzongda* (RDZONG BDAG, District Chief) wear red shawls. They are second-rank dignitaries. According to protocol, all officials who wear these colours are entitled to be addressed by the honorific title of *Dasho* (DRAGS SHOS). Till November 1965, all army officers up to the rank of *Deda* (SDE BDAG, 2nd Lieutenant) also used to be addressed by this title. Now they are addressed by the title of *Nangsung* (NANG SRUNG, Inner Protection)—either *Nangsung Chhenpo* or *Nangsung Chhungpo* (*Chhenpo* means “senior” and *Chhungpo*,

“junior”) according to their importance or seniority. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, frontier officials of the rank of *Dungpa* (DRUNG PA)—a third-rank dignitary—like those of the Dewangiri, Baxa, and Daling dzongs in the south and the Lhuntse, Druggyal, and Ha dzongs in the north, were commonly called *Dzongpon* and addressed by the title of *Dasho*. Formerly other officials of a lower rank like the *Tapon* (RTA DPON, Chief of Horses) and the *Gorap* (Gate-Keeper) were also popularly called *Dasho*. The *Gup/Mandal* (Village Headman) holds the lowest rank in the administrative hierarchy of the country. Each *Gup/Mandal* is elected by the people of the village he administers and is nominated as such by the *Druk Gyalpo*. He wears a shawl which has three stripes of equal size—a white stripe in the middle, flanked by two red ones. He is assisted in the discharge of his duties by three or four *Pipons/Karbaris*. A *Pipon/Karbari* does not count in the hierarchy.

The *Shabdung* had many titles. The most common title of address was *Rimpochhe* (RIN PO CHHE, Precious One). The most common titles of the *Deb* and *Ponlops* were *Kusho* (SKU SHOGS) and *Rimpochhe*. The *Ponlops* were addressed by the title of *Rimpochhe* because they had to wear the robes while participating in religious ceremonies in the dzongs. Before 1963, when *Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji* assumed full regal dignity and permitted his being addressed His Majesty the *Druk Gyalpo*, the Government of India used to address him by the honorific *Shri Shri Shri*. Since 1963, it has been addressing him as His Majesty *Shri Shri Shri Shri Shri*. The members of his family addressed him by the title of *Pon* (DPON, Chief).

Formerly there were several other offices like the offices of *Deb Zimpon* (SDE PA GZIMS DPON, Chief of the Deb's Household), *Shung Donyer* (GSHUNG MGRO GNYER, Central Secretary, i.e. Chief Secretary), *Donyer, Nyerchhen* (GNYER CHHEN, Chief Accountant), and *Nyerpa*. The office of *Deb Zimpon*, a first-rank office, lasted up to 1953, when Sonam Tobgyal Dorji of Ha, the last one to hold that high title, passed away. The term *Gyaldon* replayed the term *Shung Donyer*, and the term *Thimpon* (HKHRIMS DPON, Law Chief) replaced the term *Dzongpon* during the re-organization of the administration in the 1950s and 1960s. The offices of *Donyer* and *Nyerchhen* were abolished early in 1971. These were second-rank offices, and those who held them used to wear red shawls and were addressed by the title of *Dasho*. Now there are only two *Zimpons*, one for Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji and the other for His Royal Highness Namgyal Wangchuk, a half-brother of the Druk Gyalpo's.

Formerly the officials of the civil administration of a dzong used to reside in the dzong itself, but this is no longer the practice. The wives of the officials used to live outside the dzong and not with their husbands in the dzong. This was due to the fact that Bhutan was a theocracy. Even now the families cannot live inside the dzong.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Council of State

The *Lhengye Tsok* (LHAN RGYAS TSHOGS), first established by Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal in 1650, consisted of

six members—that is, the Shung Kalon, the Shung Donyer, the Deb Zimpon, the Punakha Dzungpon, the Thimphu Dzungpon, and Wangdi Phodang Dzungpon. The Paro and Tongsa Ponlops also attended the meetings of the Lhengye Tsok by special invitation whenever they happened to be present during its sessions. The *Shung Kalon* (GSHUNG BKAH BLON, Central Minister) was the head of the Lhengye Tsok.

Council of Ministers

The Lhengye Tsok was suspended during the period of the first two kings of the Wangchuk dynasty. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, third in the line, revived it in a way by establishing the *Lodoi Tsokde* (BLO GROS I TSHOGS SDE, Royal Advisory Council) on the advice of the *Tsongdu* in 1965 and by promoting Dasho Tamchi Jagar, his Chief Secretary, to the position of a Minister, the first such to be appointed, on 16 May 1968. Some time later he appointed Dasho Chhogyal, his Finance Secretary, and His Royal Highness Namgyal Wangchuk as member of the Council of Ministers, called *Ponkha Tsok* (DPON KHA TSHOGS, Council of Chief Officials). The *Ponkha Tsok* is now the principal executive body of the Royal Government of Bhutan.

The Royal Advisory Council consists of eight members—five representatives of the people, two representatives of the monasteries, and one representative of the Royal Government of Bhutan. The *Shung Kalon* is the Chairman of the *Lodoi Tsokde*. The first *Shung Kalon* was Tsering Umtepa, who retired in 1968 and is now living in his native village Umte,

near Punakha. The Druk Gyalpo himself chooses the Councillors.

The Royal Advisory Council has developed as a "Council of Elders" and is thus closely connected with the Tsongdu. It also functions as a selection board for all civil appointments. All the eight Councillors are members of the Tsongdu.

Since the appointment of the first Council of Ministers on 16 May 1968, the function of the Royal Advisory Council has been to make its advice available to the Druk Gyalpo and his Council of Ministers on all important matters during the intervals between sessions of the Tsongdu.

The present Council of Ministers consists of six Ministers—His Royal Highness Lonpo Namgyal Wangchuk, Minister for Commerce and Trade; Lonpo Tamchi Jagar, Home Minister; Lonpo Chhogyal, Minister for Finance; Lonpo Dawa Tsering, Minister for Development; Lonpo Sangye Penjore, Minister for Communications; and Pema Wangchuk, Minister without portfolio—and three Deputy Ministers. All of them have visited India, some several times, on official or private business on pilgrimage or for trade.

His Royal Highness Lonpo Namgyal Wangchuk is a young man in his mid thirties. He was educated at first privately at Darjeeling and later at the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie. During 1964-68, he was His Majesty's representative in the Royal Bhutan Army, and was Paro Ponlop concurrently. Before 1964, he was for some time Thimpon of Paro Dzong. He attended the UN General Assembly as an Observer in 1968 and again in 1970. It was on him that Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji conferred the unique

privilege of leading the Bhutanese delegation to the United Nations on the historic occasion of Bhutan's entry into the organization as a full Member in September 1971. His gentle manners, his easy accessibility, and his deep concern for the welfare of his country, together with his dedicated work as a Minister, have made him universally beloved, and the people affectionately call him *Tengye Lonpo* (BSTAN RGYAS BLONPO, Minister of General Welfare).

Tamchi Jagar was Gyaldon from 1965 to 1968. He was Thimpon of Tashigang for some years before, and earlier still a Gup. As Gyaldon, he succeeded Thinle, who was Gyaldon from 1958 to 1965. As the first Gyaldon, Thinle created new civil, military, and police offices and framed their designations. Thinle had been *Dungyik* (DRUNG YIG, Clerk) to the Druk Gyalpo before he was called to this high office. Tamchi Jagar proved to be an able successor to him.

Chhogyal was *Tsipon* (RTSIS DPON, Finance Secretary, literally Finance Chief) of the *Gyaltsi Khalowa* (RGYALPO I RTSIS KHALO BWA, Royal Revenue Office) from 1963 to 1968. Earlier he was a Dapon.

Lonpo Dawa Tsering is also a young man, being in his late thirties. He was educated at Darjeeling and Calcutta. He has travelled extensively as Bhutan's representative for the Colombo Plan. In 1971, as Chairman of the Technical Co-operation Committee of the Colombo Plan, he guided its meetings very ably in Victoria (B.C.), Canada. He is now also assuming charge of Bhutan's Foreign Office. He was Secretary-General of the development wing of the Royal Government of Bhutan from 1965 to 1968.

Sangye Penjore was Deputy Chief Secretary from 1964 to 1968. He accompanied His Royal Highness Namgyal Wangchuk to the United Nations in 1968 and 1970. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji has now appointed him the first Permanent Representative of Bhutan to the United Nations.

Pema Wangchuk, one of Bhutan's most experienced leaders and diplomats, has held the post of Representative of Bhutan in India ever since its creation in the Summer of 1971. He was Commissioner of Southern Bhutan earlier.

OTHER CENTRAL OFFICES

Revenue Office

For putting the finance and revenue position of the country on a sound basis, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji created the *Gyaltsi Khalowa* (RGYAL RTSIS KHALO BA, Revenue Office), in 1963 and appointed Dapon Chhogyal as Tsipon. The *Gyaltsi Khalowa* is the office where all Government accounts of the various districts of Bhutan are rendered and audited. This now functions within the framework of the Ministry of Finance. Chhogyal served as Tsipon until his appointment as Finance Minister in 1968.

Until this year the collection of *khral* (revenue) was the duty of the *Nyerchhen* (GNYER CHHEN, Chief Accountant) of each dzong. The *Nyerchhen* dealt with Government revenue and managed the finances and maintained the accounts of his dzong. The amount of land revenue was almost fixed and was seldom altered from year to year. Formerly people used to pay revenue only in kind—in wheat, rice, barley, peas, meat, butter, oils, cloth, hides and

skins, etc. Even now the nomadic Dokpas pay the revenue due from them in butter only. The Nyerchhen kept the "revenue in kind" in the store-rooms of the dzong. From these store-rooms he supplied food to the lamas, the police, and the army and kept a portion of the revenue collected by him as a remuneration for himself. Since early 1971 the Government of Bhutan has, in accordance with a decision of the Tsongdu, introduced a budget system.

Judiciary

The code of laws drawn up by Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal mainly relates to the conduct of officials, social etiquette, and protocol. Rules of etiquette framed by him laid down, for instance, that a man may not come within a certain distance of a monastery or a palace on horseback, that he may not cover his head within a certain distance of a dzong, that a man (even a soldier) may not enter a dzong without wearing a white sash, that a wife or woman may not reside in a dzong or a monastery, that tobacco shall not be used in any form, and so on. This custom is a reminder of modern Bhutan's monastic origins.

Formerly the Ponlop and Dzungpon had the power of imposing the death penalty. One found guilty of robbery or theft was sold as a slave, and his property confiscated. If a man failed to prove his claim in any legal proceeding, he was fined. The punishment for the offence of killing a man was the cutting off of the offending hand and the severing of the tendons of his legs. Alternatively the criminal was bound to the corpse of the man he had killed. If he escaped after

committing the crime, he was liable to be killed wherever and whenever he was caught. The offspring of a homicide were banished from their home. One found guilty of plotting against the life of the Ponlop or the Dzongpon got the capital punishment.

It all sounds very barbarous, but when we consider the state of the country in those days, it somewhat alters the appearance of things. As there were no goals, the severity of the punishments had the salutary effect of deterring hardened criminals from committing such offences and then absconding. The only goals in the country were the dungeons under the dzongs, in which the authorities confined political offenders.

Dispensation of justice was and is the duty of the *Thimpon* (HKHRIMS DPON, Law Chief, Magistrate). In 1968, Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji established the *Thimkhang Gongma* (HKHRIMS KHANG GONG MA, High Court), the first of its kind to be set up in the country. The chief judge is called *Thimpon Gongma*. The Druk Gyalpo also appointed a *Thimpon* in each district and subdivision in the country. Justice is generally dispensed in accordance with time-honoured social customs and religious laws although in recent years there has been increasing use of the law of evidence.

The absence of crime in Bhutan is remarkable. This is perhaps due to the fact that punishment is rather heavy even for simple crimes. The whip is freely used to bring round those who do not respect the law. According to the recently codified customary civil and criminal laws, there is severe punishment even for any carelessness in reporting a fire

in a forest. There is, besides, a prohibition on angling as well as the extraction of honey from the bee-combs formed in the forests. Buddhism strictly forbids the killing or taking of life, except in self-defence where one is threatened by some highway robber or dangerous wild animal.

Regional Administration

Up to 1952, Bhutan had three administrative regions—Eastern, Central, and Western Bhutan — each under an administrator called Ponlop. The Ponlops headed large dzongs such as Tongsa Dzong in Central Bhutan and Paro Dzong in Western Bhutan, each of which had several small dzongs under it. The Ponlops of Chapcha (KHYAB KMYA), Pime thang, and others were inferior in status. They were only of the status of Dungpa. Such importance as these inferior Ponlops enjoyed was due entirely to the location of the areas they controlled. For instance the Chapcha Ponlop was important because Chapcha commanded the road to Baxa, Koch Bihar, and Rangpur in Bengal. The Pimethang Ponlop also enjoyed a special position as Pimethang was on the junction of the roads from Paro, Punakha, and Thimphu.

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk created the office of *Lhotsam Chichap* with headquarters at Sarbhang for the administration of Southern Bhutan. Like the Ponlops of Eastern and Western Bhutan, the Lhotsam Chihap is now the chief civil authority for Southern Bhutan. He is assisted in his work by two Deputy Commissioners, each with the rank of a *Dzongda* (RDZONG BDAG, District Chief) of interior Bhutan. One of these is stationed at Chirang and

the other at Samchi. They are assisted in their work by several Sub Divisional Officers, each of whom has the rank of a *Ramjam* (RAM HBYAMS) of interior Bhutan.

The administrative terms *Commissioner*, *Deputy Commissioner*, and *Sub Divisional Officer* in Southern Bhutan correspond to those of similar officers in neighbouring Assam and Bengal.

Till the creation of the office of Lhotsam Chichap, Deb Zimpon Sonab Tobgyal Dorji, Bhutanese agent in India until 1953, was responsible for the collection of revenue from the vast tract of Southern Bhutan. The administration was quite nominal. He had a Nepalese headman designated *Sipchhu Kazi* to help him in the collection of revenue. Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuk assigned this vast tract for a nominal sum to Ugyen, Bhutanese agent in India from 1889 to 1917, probably by way of reward for the important role he played in the negotiations which finally resulted in the founding of hereditary monarchy in Bhutan. The people of Ha had their winter pastures in the vast *Sipchhu* tract near Samchi along the foothills. The increasing influx of the Nepalese settlers reduced the area of the grazing lands of *Sipchhu* and this in its turn ate into the chief source of the wealth of the people of Ha—cattle-rearing and dairy produce. Until the 1950s this area was under the administrative control of the Paro Ponlop.

District Administration

Up to 1952 Bhutan was divided into over thirty dzongs (RDZONGS, districts). Now there are only fifteen dis-

tricts—two in the south and thirteen in the north—organized according to the cultural and historical traditions of the country. Each district has its headquarters in the shape of a strongly built fort on a rocky hill or spur. These forts were also known as dzongs. These forts dominate the valleys and the mountain spurs. Their solid structure and architecture are noble and awe inspiring. Each dzong as the civil and religious centre of the area symbolizes the religious and secular life of the people there.

The post of head of the district has always been one of the most prestigious and senior posts in Bhutan. Up to 1955, *Dzongpons* (DZONG DPONS, District Chiefs) and *Dungpas* (DRUNG PAS) appointed by the Deb or the Druk Gyalpo headed the dzongs. Formerly large dzongs like Paro and Tongsa also had *Dzongtsabs* (RDZONG TSHABS, Deputy Dzongpons). However, only Paro has a *Dzongtsab* now. The Dzongpons are under the administrative control of the Ponlops, but the Dzongpons of large dzongs like punakha, Thimphu, and Wangdi Phodang hold independent charge. In rank they stood almost as high as the Ponlops of Paro and Tongsa and were as powerful. The *Dungpas* headed small dzongs consisting of six to eight villages.

The Dzongpons enjoyed civil and quasi-military authority. They collected land revenue and taxes and maintained law and order. They concerned themselves with all the affairs of the dzongs they ruled and especially with three subjects—the land, the people, and the law. Their enormous powers, however, were subject to the requirements of the Tsa Yig.

During 1955-57 the heads of dzongs were designated

Thimpon. Up to 1969, the chiefs of districts (Dzongpon/Thimpon) administered the district organization and acted as magistrates in dealing with legal matters. In 1969, however, a new cadre of posts called *Dzongda* (RDZONG BDAG, District Chief) was created. Since then, in each district, the *Dzongda* has been the only civil administrator. The Dzongpon/Thimpon used to be directly responsible to the King. The *Dzongda* is responsible to the Home Minister, but he is free to submit reports on confidential matters to the Druk Gyalpo when necessary.

Most district chiefs began as personal servants of the Royal Household. They continued to be servants of the Royal Palace till they were appointed *Nyerchhen*.

In each village we have the village headman called the *Gup* (or *Mandal* in the south). The *Gup* functions under the *Dungpa* or *Ramjam* of the area to which his village belongs. One man from every village is appointed by rotation to be on duty in the *dzong*, a responsibility he may hold for a month or more, to act as a messenger between the *dzong* and the village. While on duty he is required to reside in the *dzong*, and whenever the services of the people of his village are called for, he comes down to the village, meets the headman, and gets him to arrange the business of *ulag* (U LAG, compulsory government labour, such as portage and free labour in Government works like the building of bridges and the maintenance of roads). The different families resident in the village take turns in doing Government work assigned to their village and report at the time and place notified to them. In this way the chain of communication from the Government to the people is quick

despite apparent inaccessibility of this mountainous and thickly wooded country.

Military Organization

Bhutan is a land of warriors. The people of Bhutan are stout and sturdy, and have glorious fighting traditions. Historically they have challenged the might of the Ahoms, the Mongols, the Mughals, the Tibetans, and the British. Their old gigantic castles and fortresses bear witness to their military greatness.

Until recently Bhutan never had a strong army despite the frequency of the term *Zing Gyap* (ZING RGYAB, fighting troops) in Bhutanese literature. There were only the *Pao Gyap* (PAO RGYAB, chiefs' private armies) for military duties. On the eve of a war with a neighbouring country, a high civil official, as in Tibet, would be nominated *Dapon* (MDAH DPON, Arrow Chief) and put at the head of the army.* *Deb Shidar* (1768-73) nominated the *Zimpon* of *Thimphu*, a nephew, as general of the eight-thousand strong army which proceeded to *Koch Bihar* in 1772.

The fighting strength of the Bhutanese was 9,950 in the first decade of this century. This force consisted of the private armies of the Bhutanese chiefs. Their arms consisted of shields, spears, matchlocks, bows and arrows of all kinds, and single-edged swords.

The first army of Bhutan, formed in the mid 1950s, was not a voluntary body but a conscript force. Villagers were

* The designation and term *Dapon* has now been dropped from the Bhutanese military vocabulary.

not eager to volunteer themselves for service in the army and were opposed to conscription for the reason that the work on the farms would be left unattended. The present Royal Bhutan Army is 10,000-strong. The Druk Gyalpo is the Supreme Commander of the army. He has a representative on the military establishment. His Royal Highness Namgyal Wangchuk was the Druk Gyalpo's representative from 1965 to 1968. Up to 1964, an officer of the rank and position of *Dozin* (MDO HZIN, Brigadier) commanded the Royal Bhutan Army. In view of certain complications which arose in 1964, the Druk Gyalpo suspended the rank and position of *Dozin* and put the army under Lam Dorji, an officer of the rank and position of *Maksi Ogma* (DMAG SRID OG MA, Lieutenant-Colonel). Lam Dorji has now been promoted to the rank and position of full Colonel, called *Maksi Gongma*. He visited the military centres and establishments in India early in 1971.

Royal Body-Guard

The *Kusung Mami* (SKU SRUNG DMAG MI, the Royal Bodyguard) is the corps d'force of Bhutan. Since 1969, a senior officer of the rank and position of *Maksi Ogma* has commanded the *Kusung Mami*.

Since 1961, an Indian Military Training Team (IMTRAT) has been helping Bhutan in equipping and training the army. Senior officers of the army receive their training in India. However, there are no Indian military formations in Bhutan.

The Assembly

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji established the Tsongdu (TSHOGS HDU, Assembly) as a political institution for the first time in the history of Bhutan in 1953. This institution is based entirely on the old democratic customs of the Bhutanese tribes. The Druk Gyalpo opened the membership of the Tsongdu to eight representatives of the monasteries, twenty nominees of the Government, all the Dzongpons (Thimpons since the mid 1950s) and Gups/Mandals, and a number of representatives of the people indirectly elected by the villagers. Large villages with more than one Gup/Mandal receive representation in the Tsongdu in accordance with the number of the Gups/Mandals. In the absence of a Dzongpon, the Dungpa or Ramjam — Assistant to Dzongpon or Thimpon — attends the Tsongdu as his representative. The Nyerchhens are not eligible for the membership of the Tsongdu. Ramjams of dzongs not attached to any dzong like Tashi Yangste (BKRA SHIS GYANG RTSE), Lingshi (GLING BSII), and Singe in North-Eastern Bhutan also attend the meetings of the Tsongdu in their own right. Since the establishment of the Lodoi Tsokde on the recommendation of the Tsongdu, all the eight Royal Councillors have become eligible for the membership of the Tsongdu.

The normal term of a member of the Tsongdu is five years. Originally there were 130 members in the Tsongdu. About 25 per cent of them were Government officials nominated by the Druk Gyalpo. Now the total membership is 150, including all the Ministers and Deputy Ministers. So

far women have not been members of the Tsongdu. Of course, there is no bar as such on their election to the Tsongdu. They have as much a right to nominate their representatives as men.

Several villages make up a Tsongdu constituency, and the representative is chosen by the village headmen of each constituency, either by agreement among themselves or by election. In turn, each village headman is chosen for a three-year term by an election in which each family has one vote.

The Tsongdu meets twice a year—in the spring and in the autumn—for two or three weeks or more depending on the agenda. An emergency session can be convened at any time. The Tsongdu elects a Speaker from among a panel of three members, each of whom to be nominated as such by the representatives of the people, the monasteries, and the Government of Bhutan. The election of the Speaker is by secret ballot. Voting in the Tsongdu is by show of hands.

The Tsongdu discusses a wide range of issues pertaining to both internal and external affairs, including the appointments of Ministers and Bhutan's diplomatic representatives and the Druk Gyalpo's privy purse.

Up to 1969, the Druk Gyalpo, who participates in the proceedings of the Tsongdu but not as its head, could veto any of its recommendations. That is, no recommendation could become an act without his approval. This is no longer. The Tsongdu is now sovereign.

Development Administration

In order to usher in a self-reliant economy the Druk Gyalpo inaugurated a development programme on 1 July 1961.

This necessitated a restructuring of the existing system of administration as well as the creation of a new administrative infrastructure fit for development administration. The Government of Bhutan went into action immediately by creating the high office of Secretary-General, called *Gyelon Chihap* (RGYAS BLON SPYI KHYAB). The first man to be called to this high office was Tashi Dadul Densapa, former Chief Secretary of the Government of Sikkim. The *Gyelon Chihap* is in charge of the development of agriculture (including animal husbandry), forests, education, health and the postal system.

Bhutan's development, security, and prosperity are dependent upon the rapid growth of transport and the means of communication. The sealing of the border with Tibet, consequent on the great uprising of Lhasa in 1959, had a serious impact on Bhutan's economy. Bhutan used to export to Tibet its surplus agricultural produce—mainly rice—in exchange for salt and wool. It lost this profitable trade. Owing to the absence of adequate means of transportation Bhutan was unable to export this rice to India. Precisely for the same reason, it was unable to exploit its immense forest resources. However, in 1962, when the construction of a 120-mile road from the Bhutanese town of Phuntsoling on the border between Bengal and Bhutan to Paro in Western Bhutan was completed, Bhutan was connected with India directly, and this, as well as a network of other north-south trunk roads constructed subsequently have enabled Bhutan to make up its loss of the pre-1959 trade with Tibet.

The construction of roads has led to an increase in the movement of people and goods within the country as well

as a great increase in the export of timber, potatoes, oranges, minerals, and cardamom. Although in much of Bhutan transport is still confined to the tracks of mules and ponies, the growth of road communication between high, isolated, remote valleys has especially led to the extension of the framework of administration to all parts of the country.

The administration has introduced modern amenities such as telegraph and power supply lines, hospitals, and schools. Prior to 1955 there was no systematic procedure for the transmission of mail to the interior of Bhutan. Mail was sent through casual travellers or by special messengers, depending on its urgency. Now there is a regular postal system in the country.

The administration can also take credit for what we may describe as the beginnings of a modern system of education. In the old days education was almost of the character of a hereditary guild. Though there were, especially among officials, many highly learned and cultured people, their education was not the result of any well-thought out system of education. Nor was it something acquired in a school or academy regularly imparting such learning. It was, by and large, self-education. The monasteries provided a chance of education for the lamas. The lamas could boast of many great scholars in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine and erudite theoreticians of Buddhism.

The administration has created a network of elementary and secondary schools in the country, including a teacher-training institute and two public schools. Those who wish to study agriculture, engineering, forestry, medicine (including nursing), veterinary science, and other technical sub-

jects go to India and elsewhere. The Government has also established a school for the study of the classical Bhutanese language and Buddhism.

The Government sends its students abroad, in accordance with a carefully worked-out plan, on scholarships made available largely by the Government of India and under the Colombo Plan. It had sent out students in the past also, but what distinguishes the present plan is a predetermined approach corresponding to the country's needs. The Government gives priority to the training of administrators and technical specialists. For the first time in the history of Bhutan boys and girls are being transplanted under Government auspices without any transitional stage into entirely different cultural environments and vastly different climatic and living conditions. As such this matter deserves attention and study.

The administration set up a Directorate of Agriculture in 1965. Efforts are being made to improve the primitive methods of cultivation by providing good quality seeds and fertilizers to the farmers. The Directorate has set up orchards-cum-nurseries and cardamom plantations in the subtropical zone of the foothills and the temperate zone of the inner hills. It has also established several sheep-breeding and piggery farms. There is also a plan to develop the tea industry in the southern parts of the country, where the climate is suitable for the purpose. The farmers are becoming increasingly eager to use the facilities provided by the agricultural programme. The administration encourages the farmers to grow a variety of crops and gives opportunities to export their produce in order to improve their standard of

living and earn the foreign exchange needed to finance the country's development programme.

The administration set up a Directorate of Health in 1967. The major goals of this Directorate include the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries, and the intensification of the programmes aimed at the eradication of leprosy and goitre in the country. The administration provides financial encouragement to indigenous medical practitioners as well.

Bhutan has an indigenous system of medicine, better known as the Indo-Tibetan system of medicine.

The system of government in Bhutan, first organized by Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal in the first part of the seventeenth century and based on the system of government in Tibet, remained almost unchanged up to the 1950s. This system had no specific provision for public works, not even the maintenance of roads. However, in the light of the severance of the traditional contacts with Tibet after the historic revolt of March-April 1959 and the emergence of the Chinese threat, King Dorji Wangchuk and other leaders of Bhutan found it, especially the structure of administration, inadequate for meeting the challenge of the developments around the borders of their country. They, therefore, decided to break away from feudalism and introduce certain basic changes in the administration to put it in tune with modern times. They reorganized and strengthened their indigenous political institutions and established new ones in order especially to give the people not only a sense of participation but also a decisive say in the affairs of the country. The process of building up the economic, political, and social infrastructure is now still in progress.

V

Lho Drukpa Buddhism

BHUTAN is the land of Mahayana Buddhism, which is also the State religion. Buddhism spread to Bhutan from Tibet in the eighth century A.D., when Padmasambhava of India came from Tibet. The Bhutanese believe that he has always taken rebirth in Bhutan. According to them, there have so far been twenty-nine incarnations of Guru Padmasambhava.

After the middle of the twelfth century many lamas from Tibet visited Bhutan for missionary work, settled there, and propagated Buddhism. They founded a number of monasteries in the central and western parts of the country between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Gyawa Lhanangpa (Lhapa, for short) of the Nyo lineage, who came to Bhutan in 1153, was perhaps the first great lama from Tibet to visit Bhutan. He was a pupil of Drikungpa Jigten Gompo's. From this teacher originated the Lhapa Kagyu, a sub-sect of the Drikung Kagyu. Phajo Dugom Shigpo and his five companions of the Drukpa Kagyu of Ralung came to Bhutan in the early part of the thirteenth century to seek the support of the chiefs of Bhutan for their sect. Phajo

Dugom Shigpo was a pupil of Wonre Darma Sengge's (1177-1237). Towards the end of the thirteenth century, he built a small dzong on the right side of the upper Wang Chhu and named it Dongon Dzong. Longchhenpa Drime Ozer (1308-63), the great Nyingma teacher, founded several monasteries in Bhutan. Barawa Gyaltzen Pasang (1310-91) came to Bhutan in 1360. He built the Dangye Compa in Paro. He propagated the teachings of the Ngapa school of the Nyingma Sect. Lama Nenyngpa came to Bhutan in 1361. He built Samazingkha in Thimphu, which is even now well preserved, and the Jasak Dzong Gompa in Punakha. He was a Kagyupa, but his followers propagated the teachings of the Geluk Sect. Thinle Rabgye came to Bhutan in 1452. He built four small monasteries—Lankar, Richhok, Sisina, and the Chishi Gompa. Dukthob Thangton Gyalpo (1385-1464) built several monasteries in Bhutan, especially the Jankar Gompa in Paro and Tamche Gang near the confluence of the rivers Paro and Thimphu. He propagated the teachings of the Nigu school of the Kagyu sect. He also built several famous iron-chain bridges in Paro, Dagana, and Tashigang.

Phajo Dugom Shigpo, by his drive and energy, made the Drukpa school of Kagyu Buddhism dominant in Bhutan. The Bhutanese regard him as the forerunner of the present Lho Drukpa school of Kagyu Buddhism in Bhutan.

Lama Ngawang Namgyal came to Bhutan in 1616. Gradually, with the help of his Bhutanese allies led by the Omtso family of Gasa, he was able to force the submission or exile of his chief rivals, the Lhapas and the Nenyngpas, and bring the whole country under his exclusive control. He

did not, however, oust from Bhutan the Nyingma sect, the basis of all the sects of the Buddhism of Tibet, also called Lamaism. He strengthened the Drukpa Kagyu in Bhutan and made himself the supreme religious and political head of Bhutan with the title of Shabdung. He gave the Lho Drukpa its own rituals and mode of worship. He created a hierarchy of offices in 1637, of which the office of *Je Khempo* (RJE MKHAN PO, Lord Abbot) was the highest. He put each monastery in the charge of a high lama, designated *Umze* (DBU MZAD).

Almost all the schools of the Kagyu sect of Buddhism have propagated their teachings in Bhutan, but the rise of Bhutan as a self-contained state that could stand up to Tibet is associated with the hierarchs of the Lho Drukpa school of the Kagyu sect. *Ngawang Namgyal* had several teachers, including *Mipham Chhokyi Gyalpo*, *Khedup Lhawang Lhotu*, and *Yab Tempai Nyima*. *Khedup Lhawang Lhotu* came along with *Ngawang Namgyal* to Bhutan. *Yab Tempai Nyima* was already in residence in Bhutan. Up to now there have been eight *Thuk* (THUGS, mind) incarnations of *Shabdung Ngawang Nimgyal*. The present *Shabdung*, the eighth incarnation, resided in the *Tawang* area under the guardianship of the *Gompatse* (DGON PA RTSE) *Rimpochhe* of *Tsona Dzong* of Tibet up to the time of the Chinese attack on NEFA in 1962. He now lives in *Rowalsar* in the *Mandi District* of *Himachal Pradesh*.

Gyase Tenzin Rabgye, who occupied the *Golden Throne* of Bhutan from 1680 to 1694, organized the monastic order, ritual, and worship. He was a great lama. He is said to have

been an incarnation of Drukpa Kunle. The hierarchical order established by him is like this:

- (1) Je Khempo;
- (2) Dorje Lupon, in charge of Tantric studies;
- (3) Dagpi Lupon, in charge of grammatical studies;
- (4) Yangpi Lupon, in charge of worship; and
- (5) Tshannyi Lupon, in charge of Buddhist metaphysical studies.

The four Lapons are the most important monastic officials after the Je Khempo. All are equal in hierarchical rank. They take precedence of all second-rank officials of the Government of Bhutan. The Dorje Lupon assists the Je Khempo. He is the head of the datsang of Punakha and Thimphu. Before the establishment of the present monarchy in 1907, several of the Lapons held the high office of Deb from time to time. Yet others have played important roles in the conduct of Bhutan's international affairs.

Whenever the office of Je Khempo falls vacant on the death or retirement of the one holding it, the Lama holding the office of Dorje Lupon automatically becomes the Je Khempo.

Pekar Jugne (PAD DKAR HBYUG GNAS), the first Lord Abbot, was Kudon (SKU MGRON) of Chari Gomba, which Shabdung, Ngawang Namgyal established in 1620. Originally the designation of the Lord Abbot was *Khenchhen* (MKHAN CHHEN, Chief Abbot), not Je Khempo.

In the early years all the high lama dignitaries of Bhutan used to be Tibetans. Shabdung Namgyal's first Thuk incar-

nation Ngawang Jigme Dakpa (1724-61), was also Tibetan. The first three Je Khempos were Tibetan. The first Bhutanese lama to hold the high office of Je Khempo was Sonam Ozer, who was also Bhutan's representative in Nepal. He became Je Khempo on his return from Nepal.

The office of Je Khempo is purely religious. It is normally held for three by each incumbent. Formerly there was no such time limit.

So far ninety lamas have held the office of Je Khempo. The most distinguished among them are Tamcho Pekar, Shakya Rinchen, and Tenzin Chhogyal. Je Khempo Tenzin Chhogyal authored the *Lho Chhos Hbyung*, the celebrated history of Buddhism in Bhutan, in 1759. In this he propounded for the first time the multiple aspectual concept of the *Ku Sung Thuk Sum* (SKU GSUNG THUGS GSUM)—body, speech, and mind—manifestations of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal. Chhole Tulgu Yeshe Ngodub held the office of Deb simultaneously with the office of Je Khempo during 1901-5.

Up to 1959, young Bhutanese lamas used to go to Tibet, especially to the Dzokchhen Monastery in Kham in Eastern Tibet, for their religious education. Now they go to the monastical college of Punakha and Thimphu.

There are thousands of lamas and monasteries in the country. Tashichhodzong (BKRA SHIS CHHOS RDZONG, Dzong of Glorious Dharma), the central monastery at Thimphu, has about a thousand lamas who form the main body of venerable monks in Bhutan called Gedunpa (DGE HDUN PA). These monasteries belong to several sects of the Buddhism of Tibet, mainly the Nyingmapa (RNYING MA PA)

and Kagyupa (BKAH RGYUD PA). Most of them were founded between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Taktshang Gumpa (STAG TSHANG DGON PA, Tiger's Nest Monastery) in the Paro region is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in Bhutan. Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal inspired the remarkable edifice of the main shrine.

There are also several nunneries in the country. They are almost inaccessible, each being situated on top of a steep cliff.

The old monasteries are some of the finest structures in Bhutan, and contain some of the oldest and finest specimens of Bhutan's art and architecture.

The administration of the monasteries is a centralized one. The datsangs are subordinate to the central monastery at Thimphu. The central monastic administration ensures maintenance of strict discipline in the monasteries. Important monasteries strictly exclude women. The influence of religion has been so powerful that even today women are not permitted to stay within the precincts of a dzong after a certain hour of the day. The law of the land also forbids any man to remain in the precincts of a nunnery.

Formerly the monasteries were entirely financed by the Government of Bhutan. Even now the Government spends a considerable part of the State revenue on the maintenance of the lamas and their monasteries. It looks after the datsangs, and is especially concerned with the feeding and clothing of the lamas and the maintenance of their monasteries. The Government of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk has built several new datsangs in Central and Eastern Bhutan. There is also a proposal to organize a Department of Religious

Affairs.

The lamas engage themselves in continual worship. They also officiate at rituals such as burning sweet-scented juniper and lighting ceremonial butter-lamps. Besides, they act as doctors, relying largely on the use of herbs and roots and the chanting of sacred hymns for relieving pain and effecting cure. They are supported partly by contribution from the general resources of the country and partly by the agricultural produce of the land which belongs to their monasteries. They are also entertained at feasts got up on the occasion of religious and social ceremonies in which their presence is necessary.

Formerly only the lamas could hold high official posts. Even now they constitute the privileged class, and command much respect from the people. Before 1907, the Bhutanese used to consider the Shabdung Lama as their spiritual guide and respect him as Bodhisattva, or Buddha in the making. The Je Khempo, the head of the monastic establishment of Bhutan, is almost equal in status to the King of Bhutan. The King of Bhutan, though theoretically absolute, cannot arbitrarily override the Je Khempo and other dignitaries of the monastic order of Bhutan. Even their election is beyond his pale.

Bhutanese cultural traditions are deeply embedded in Buddhism. So much so that the Bhutanese way of life is inseparable from the Buddhist way of life. However, Bhutanese Buddhism, while continuing to influence Bhutanese life and culture, may itself change or undergo reform under the impact of the present process of modernization in the country. It is not possible now to foresee the consequences of economic and political development for the position of Buddhism in

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Bhutan. It would, however, be well for the Bhutanese lamas to endeavour as much to secure social justice in the country as to promote the material and spiritual progress of the people of Bhutan.

VI

Relations With Neighbours

NESTLING IN the southern slopes of the Eastern Himalaya, Bhutan has India, Sikkim, and Tibet for its close neighbours. There are other neighbours too, like Burma, China, and Nepal. With them all Bhutan had contacts. It even exercised a political control of sorts over some of them. The former principalities of Bijni and Koch Bihar, now parts of Assam and Bengal, once used to acknowledge Bhutan's supremacy. Bhutan exercised considerable influence in their affairs especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The territory of Bijni covered almost the whole of the present district of Goalpara, and was, in area and size, almost as large as the State of Koch Bihar was from 1774 to 1947. Koch Bihar was half the size of Sikkim.

There is a common tie of cultural heritage binding Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet together. Culturally Bhutan is akin to Tibet, which is the source of its heritage and tradition. Padmasambhava, the patron saint of Bhutan, came to Bhutan from Tibet in the time of King Song Detsen (SRONG LDE BTSAN, r. 755-97), one of the most illustrious political and religious personalities in the early history of Tibet. Even to-

day the Bhutanese aspire to pilgrimage to holy Samye (BSAM YAS), where he founded the first monastery and established the first order of monks in 779. The Bhutanese regard Sikkim as especially holy. Padmasambhava, the patron saint of Sikkim, is also the patron saint of Bhutan.

The Bhutanese regard Nepal also as a holy country. The relations between Bhutan and Nepal were always quite cordial and friendly. Bhutan even stationed a monk representative in Nepal in the first part of the seventeenth century. However, after the Nepalese-Tibetan War of 1854-56, in which Bhutan refused to help Nepal against Tibet, the two countries became cold and formal in their relations with each other. There have been no direct political relations between Bhutan and Nepal since the Anglo-Bhutanese Treaty of 1910, which placed Bhutan's external relations under the supervision of the Government of India. Since 1950, when Nepal became a democratic regime, certain politicians of Nepal have evinced keen interest in the politics of Bhutan. In December 1964, a number of Bhutanese who had attempted a coup d'etat in Bhutan escaped to Nepal. Nepal readily gave them asylum. In the context of the then unfriendly relations between India and Nepal, this action was perhaps intended only to annoy India, but it hurt Bhutanese susceptibilities and has bedevilled the relations between Bhutan and Nepal ever since. It is true that most of the Bhutanese fugitives have now returned to Bhutan after being granted amnesty by Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji, but the bitterness remains. Indeed Bhutan recently went so far as to prohibit entry of goods and merchandise of Nepalese origin.

Of all its neighbours China and India are of the greatest

importance to Bhutan. So much so that even the future of Bhutan as a sovereign state would very much depend on the nature of relations not only between Bhutan and each of these giants but also between China and India.

China

The Chinese claim to be the suzerain of Bhutan is a vague claim lackadaisically advanced from time to time and has no valid basis. In 1793, Li Fan Yuan (Department of Tibet and Mongolia) of the Chinese Government unilaterally charged the Amban in Lhasa with the exclusive conduct of Bhutan's relations, like those of Nepal and Sikkim, with Tibet. During the brief period of its ascendancy in Tibet in 1908-10, China tried to extend its influence to Bhutan. But the Bhutanese boldly resisted all Chinese interference in their internal affairs. In 1910, for instance, the Amban in Lhasa sent a communication to the authorities of Bhutan, asking them to explain why they had allowed the servants of Dalai Lama XIII to pass through their country on the occasion of their flight to India. There was absolutely no response. The Bhutanese did not even care to acknowledge the communication.

Moreover, Bhutan never used any seals from China, nor did it pay any tribute to Tibet or China. Besides, the British control of Bhutan's foreign relations under the Treaty of 1910 made the Chinese claim a dead letter.

After 1912, there were several instances of Chinese intrigue in Bhutan, as in Nepal. Chinese agents of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of the Chinese Govern-

ment tried to establish a connexion between China and Bhutan, as between China and Nepal, in the wake of the establishment of the National Government of China in 1926. Again, in the early 1940s they tried to encourage the Bhutanese to study the Chinese language in China. In 1946, China invited Bhutan overtly, and vainly, to send its representatives to Peking to participate in the UNESCO conference on fundamental education. In 1947, it expressed its reluctance to participate in the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi on a footing of equality with the Bhutanese as well as the Nepalese and the Tibetans.

The Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950-51 shook and exposed Bhutan, as it did Nepal, Sikkim, and the other areas of the Himalaya borderland, to danger from the north. China had long included Bhutan, like Sikkim and Nepal, in its list of "lost" territories to be recovered from the "imperialists". It now made the claim that it was suzerain of Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal, in extension of a similar claim it had made in respect of Tibet. It said that Bhutan and Sikkim were the southern gateways of the Middle Kingdom; that Tibet was as a hand; that NEFA, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and Ladakh were as the five fingers of that hand; that it wanted, along with the hand, the use of the five fingers also; and so on. In 1953, China published a number of maps which showed a sizable area of north-eastern Bhutan as a part of Tibet. This claim included even Punakha, the winter capital of Bhutan up to 1964. During the summer of 1966 Chinese troops and Tibetan graziers intruded at several points on the border into Bhutanese territory, and this naturally caused great concern in the country.

Apart from frontier problems, there have been historical and political difficulties. Bhutan, like the other Himalaya border countries, has, to a greater or lesser extent, been dependent on Tibet and hence on China. It is for this historical reason that China refuses to recognize India's right in Bhutan, as in Sikkim, and insists on conducting bilateral negotiations with Bhutan, as with Sikkim. As the Middle Kingdom of the world, old China had divided countries not under its direct rule into neighbouring territories under local chiefs approved by the Emperor, *t'u-ssu*, and foreign countries, *wei-kuo*. Although China has broken with its past, it is by no means averse to raking up historical facts which could, if manipulated, lead to claims. Bhutan, it is convinced, was a *t'u-ssu*. The Chinese threat to Bhutan, therefore, is very real despite the belief of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji to the contrary.

The Government of Bhutan protested to the Chinese Government regarding these Chinese border maps, but failed to receive any reply. This Bhutanese dialogue over the border with China, and over the head of the Government of India, was in contravention of the Treaty of 1949 between Bhutan and India. Eventually the Government of Bhutan reported the matter to the Government of India, the only competent authority under the Treaty of 1949 to take up with other Governments any matter concerning Bhutan's external relation. When the Government of India protested to the Government of China against the inclusion of Bhutanese territories in the maps, the Chinese said that the maps had been prepared in the days of the Kuomintang regime and that they had not had the time to revise them.

However, Bhutan did not face any Chinese intrusion into its territory up to 1958. After the great uprising of Lhasa in the spring of 1959, China massed its forces on its border with Bhutan. These forces harassed and ill-treated the mail-couriers of Bhutan on their way to Sikkim through the Chhumbi Valley. They also took away the arms of the Bhutanese administrator in the Bhutanese estates in the region of Mount Kailas in Western Tibet.

Besides, China gave asylum to some Bhutanese who wanted to form a parallel Government of Bhutan. It also tried to win to its side a section of the lamas of Bhutan as it had done in Tibet. Bhutan became nervous with these Chinese moves and tactics.

In 1959, China sought to initiate direct negotiations with Bhutan over the head of the Government of India in regard to the alignment of the border between Bhutan and China. The crest of the central ridge of the Eastern Himalaya is regarded as the boundary between Bhutan and Tibet through custom, settlement, and usage. However, China does not recognize it on the ground that it has never been defined scientifically.

The Chinese Government also offered economic aid to Bhutan. Perhaps it also assured the Bhutanese that it would not let non-Bhutanese to infiltrate into their country and that it would give its support for Bhutanese "independence".

China also tried to curb India's influence in Bhutan. It began in the usual way by denouncing India as an imperialist Power. It refused to discuss with India the status of Bhutan's boundary. Premier Chou En-lai, in his reply of 8 September 1959 to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's letters of 14

December 1958 and 22 March 1959 on the Sino-Indian boundary question, said: "The boundaries of Bhutan and Sikkim do not fall within the scope of the present discussion of the Sino-Indian boundary." He further said that China was willing to live together in friendship with Bhutan and Sikkim and on the understanding that there would be no aggression from either side on the other. He also said; "China has always respected the proper relations between them and India." On 29 December 1959, the Chinese Government declared that it had no quarrel with Bhutan. This was a part of China's deliberate policy not to quarrel with any kingdom in the Himalaya in order to isolate India. Actually the Chinese behaviour towards Bhutan, like its behaviour with Nepal and Sikkim, has been cordial throughout. In 1960 Chou questioned the right of the Government of India to protest on behalf of the Government of Bhutan. China does not recognize India's special position in Bhutan as established by the Treaty of 1949. It does not recognize the Treaty of 1949 either.

China also preached its ideology through pamphlets etc. It sent its agents to preach class discrimination and racial hatred. It has been training some Bhutanese in guerrilla warfare. Thus, besides the threat of armed aggression from the north, Bhutan, like the other kingdoms of the Himalaya, is also exposed to Chinese subversive tactics. Despite all this, China may not invade Bhutan in the near future. The present policy of China towards Bhutan seems to be to indulge in infiltration and subversion rather than to touch off direct conflict.

Thus, experience assures Bhutan that the offer of the Chinese to open direct bilateral talks on the border dispute between the two countries and to make economic aid avail-

able and their military build-up on their border with Bhutan are both in conformity with the Chinese methods of duplicity, of making gestures of goodwill on the one hand and striking postures of bellicosity on the other.

India

Bhutan's relations with India are old, deep, and varied. The history of the early relations between Bhutan and India is fascinating. In the early times, most of Bhutan was within the geographical and political boundaries of India. According to tradition, Bhutan was under the tutelage of Kamarupa, ancient Assam, up to the middle of the seventh century A.D. In the eighth century Padmasambhava of India visited Bhutan, meditated in the caves of its mountain-fastnesses and converted the country to Buddhism. The Bhutanese, like the Tibetans, always refer to Padmasambhava most lovingly and reverentially as *Guru Rimpoche* (Precious Spiritual Teacher). Since then the Bhutanese have considered India their spiritual home, and Bhutanese pilgrims have travelled south over high mountain passes and through warm valleys to visit the sacred shrines of Buddhism in India. Many of the Bhutanese hymns and *mantras* are in Sanskrit. Even the Bhutanese script, which is the same as the Tibetan script, is derived from an Indian script.

To this common cultural and religious heritage may be added the traditional ties of commerce and trade. In the past, Bhutan used to buy Indian arecanut and silk, and India was the market for Bhutanese ponies, musk, and lac. Bhutan now goes in for the whole range of Indian goods, and

India gets all of the surplus of Bhutanese agricultural and forest produce.

Cordial and friendly relations have subsisted between Bhutan and India since the Treaty of 1949. Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk visited India in the spring of 1954. Rani Chhoni Wangmo, Lupon Namgyal, and Pema Wangchuk of Bhutan, among others, participated in the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti symposium on the Buddhist contribution to art, letters, and philosophy, held in New Delhi in November 1956. Prime Minister Nehru of India visited Bhutan in September 1958. He declared at Paro: "Some may think that since India is a great and powerful country and Bhutan a small one, the former might wish to exercise pressure on Bhutan. It is, therefore, essential that I make it clear to you that our only wish is that you should remain an independent country, choosing your own way of life and taking the path of progress according to your will...." Nehru was the first head of the Government of India to visit Bhutan.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur of India expressed similar views in respect of the independence and sovereignty of Bhutan. These views have been repeated by Indian leaders again and again, including President V. V. Giri, who visited Bhutan in 1970. President Giri is the first President of India to visit Bhutan.

Relations between Bhutan and India were put to much strain after the Sino-Indian border conflict exposed Chinese designs in the entire Himalaya, not excluding Bhutan. Prime Minister Nehru, realizing the implications of the Chinese stand, stated categorically in the Lok Sabha on 28 August 1959 that the protection of the territorial integrity and bor-

ders of Bhutan was the responsibility of the Government of India and that India would regard any aggression on Bhutan as an aggression on India.

In the summer of 1960, both the Royal Advisory Council and the Bhutanese Assembly resented the manner in which the Bhutanese-Indian boundary had been shown on the maps of the Survey of India, the official geographical department of the Government of India. They demanded that this border between Bhutan and India should be shown as an international boundary and not just as an administrative border. There were also indications, especially in the speeches made in the Council, that Bhutan now wanted to be a fully sovereign state with foreign relations of its own. The Bhutanese legislators asked the Government of Bhutan to assert the sovereignty of their country fully. Perhaps they did so on the strength of the tacit support of the Chinese for Bhutanese independence. (The Chinese had spoken of their support for any move that the Bhutanese might make to win independence when they had put themselves in touch with the Bhutanese in 1959.) Some Bhutanese legislators also demanded the revision of the Treaty of 1949 between Bhutan and India.

After the Chinese aggression of 1962, and especially after the invasion of NEFA on 22 October 1962, Jigmie Palden Dorje made frantic appeals for arms and ammunition from India. He even suggested that India must undertake the defence of Bhutan. This went unheeded. The hesitation on India's part was basically due to the nature of the Treaty of 1949, which established only two things: (1) that India would not interfere in the internal affairs of Bhutan; and

(2) that Bhutan would agree "to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external affairs". The Treaty of 1949 did not provide for the defence of Bhutan.

India's lack of response seems to have antagonized the Bhutanese. The question was not whether the Bhutanese would be able to use those arms without any training. Bhutan wanted arms and ammunition from India. Politics demanded an affirmative answer on India's part of this demand. Despite Nehru's declaration in the Lok Sabha (the Lower House of India's Parliament) on 15 February 1961 respecting India's responsibility for the defence of Bhutan, the Bhutanese lost confidence in India's ability to help. So much so that some Bhutanese even suggested the revision of the Treaty of 1949. Since Bhutan was disappointed in its attempt to get adequate help from India, it thought of joining the United Nations, which it thought, would protect it from any aggression in future. India agreed to sponsor Bhutan for the membership of the United Nations. This decision was an act of perceptive policy, for its membership of the world body would enable Bhutan to put its educated youth in touch with the world outside. Early in 1971, in fulfilment of its promise, India introduced Bhutan to the comity of nations. Not only did this bring the two nations much closer, but gave the quietus to the allegation—often heard in certain Bhutanese circles—that India did not want Bhutan to be truly independent.

Indian politicians interpreted Bhutan's aspiration for the membership of the world body as an attempt to become neutral. However, a six-member Parliamentary delegation led

by Ram Subhag Singh, which visited Bhutan in the summer, declared that there was no misunderstanding between Bhutan and India. Soon after there was a State visit to India by Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji. Jigmie Palden Dorje declared that Bhutan had not responded to the unofficial *demarches* of China and that it looked forward to ever better co-operation with India.

On 13 September 1961, Bhutan and India signed an agreement to harness the Jaldhaka River for the generation of hydroelectric power. The agreement was in every way favourable to Bhutan. The project was completed in 1966. According to the agreement, the Government of Bhutan receives 3 per cent of the hydel power generated, 250 kws daily, free of cost, as well as a royalty of Rs 8 per kw. annually, from the Government of West Bengal for the power it supplies. The Government of Bhutan uses its share of the power to strengthen some of the industries of the surrounding area such as fruit preservation, timber, and other industries. The Central Water and Power Commission of the Government of India has also completed hydel surveys of the rivers Amo Chhu and Wang Chhu. The building of the 120-mile road connecting Paro and Thimphu in Western Bhutan and the Bhutanese town of Phuntsoling on the border between Bhutan and West Bengal in 1962 further broke the isolation between Bhutan and India, and also brought Bhutan closer to the rest of the world. The subsequent development of the means of communication has led to more intimate contacts and better relations with India. It has also resulted in fruitful co-operation in social, economic, and other fields. The primary aim and motivation of

India's economic aid to Bhutan, as of India's economic aid to Sikkim and Nepal, is, quite properly, the promotion of economic viability and political stability of the country.

Bhutan occupies a most important part of the southern glaxis of the Eastern Himalaya. The relations between Bhutan and India should, therefore, be more precise and stronger and specifically provide for the defence of Bhutan by India. The Chinese threat to Bhutan is still persisting. Thus it is in the interest of both Bhutan and India to take measures to contain this threat by developing Bhutan into a strong and economically and politically viable state and by taking adequate measures to strengthen peace and security through constant consultation and co-operation. The threat of China is less when there are two Powers, Bhutan and India, to fight it. If there is aggression against Bhutan from the north and the Government of India has to wait until China has actually committed aggression against Bhutan before sending its troops, there may be a great security risk. Modern wars require promptness. It would certainly be bad strategy for India to wait until an aggression has been committed and a foreign army has entered Bhutan. There is no change in the Chinese bellicose and expansionist policy.

Of the various interesting observations made by the people of the Himalaya on the state of military preparedness in the area during the Chinese invasion of India in 1962, the following observation made by the Apatanis of NEFA is particularly noteworthy for its wit and wisdom: "When a man goes out on a long journey, he takes his umbrella with him in case of rain. He does not wait for the rain to come and then go home to fetch his umbrella." Will those con-

cerned in Bhutan and India pay heed to this crude but wise counsel and benefit from it, while there is time? India should specially take care never to rub Bhutan the wrong way. There should never be any evidence of dictation in India's dealings with Bhutan. It would be most unfortunate if the Indian officials concerned are bureaucratic and unimaginative in their conduct.

The people of Bhutan have many common experiences with the people of the neighbouring countries. Their economies are of the subsistence type. Agriculture and animal husbandry are the main activity and the mainstay of their people. Weaving and carpet-making are their main industries. The people of Eastern Bhutan and Western NEFA, of North-West Bhutan and North-East Sikkim, and Northern Bhutan and Tibet are kinsmen. They belong to cognate ethnological groups. Apart from the geographical and cultural connexion, there are many subjects of common interest to them like pastures, highways, flood control, hydel power, irrigation, and, above all, security. It is essential that the Government and the people of Bhutan know their neighbours well, so that they may profit by their strength, learn from their mistakes, and co-operate with them to mutual advantage.

VII

Prospect

THE NEW State of Bhutan has come into being as a result of the developments of the last two decades. It needs suitable personnel to put its administration on a sound basis, to strengthen it where necessary, and enable it to undertake massive tasks of economic development successfully. It also needs trained men to perform social tasks. Most of the personnel in its service today are those who have received their education partly in the country and partly from schools in India. In addition, there are Indian and Sikkimese citizens who have come over on contract to act as advisers and experts in all branches of the administration. The number of such officers in the civil services of Bhutan, as well as in its hospitals and schools, is rather large, and it is absolutely necessary for the country to make an ever-growing use of its own citizens in dealing with its tremendous administrative, economic, and cultural tasks.

We may here mention some of the basic politico-administrative problems and challenges currently confronting the Bhutanese nation. First of all, the country has to contend with the problems created by extreme centralization and a

top-heavy bureaucracy, for these deaden initiative and adversely affect public morale. Secondly, there are certain weaknesses in the social structure which contribute to the abuse of political power. Thirdly, 95 per cent of the people are illiterate, and as a result they are not adequately effective in the life of the nation. Besides, recent political reforms do not go far enough. Though the village headman and the National Assembly are supposed to constitute the very foundation of the structure being designed to provide for popular representation in the Government, the National Assembly is yet far from being effective in the achievement of the end in view.

Certain aspects of the internal life of Bhutan would need handling with great care and far-sight. So far Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk has been able to keep the lamas in good humour. Increasing welfare activities may leave him with no option but to cut or reduce the present allocations to the monasteries. If he does so, he runs the risk of being accused of interference with the Bhutanese tradition and way of life. This is a grave risk, for Buddhism is a priceless possession for the Bhutanese. It has moulded their civilization and shaped their national outlook, attitudes, and aspirations. Above all, it is the unshakable foundation of the mutual understanding and appreciation between Bhutan and India.

The rate of increase of the population of Bhutan, which now stands approximately at one million, is commensurate neither with the pace of the development of the country nor with the rate of its economic growth. Also, the number of the minority people of Nepalese origin is increasing faster than that of the majority people of Tibetan origin. This

may not be wholly undesirable in relation to the present development needs of Bhutan, but it is bound to accentuate certain unprecedented problems in the country by making the Nepalese minority an important, if not dominant, factor in Bhutanese politics in future.

The Bhutanese have not had much to do with China. They do not have the experience, nor are they fully aware, of the designs of China. They surmise from the way in which the Chinese have treated the people of Tibet since 1951 that these are inclined to change the old order too quickly without due or proper regard for tradition and other values.

India has always wanted Bhutan to be independent. Towards this objective, India has done much since Independence in 1947. It has raised Bhutan's status and has helped in the modernization of its economic, political, and social systems.

Bhutan wants India to support its viability and to secure its stability. India should remember this in planning its aid to Bhutan.

Sino-Indian tensions marked the beginning of Bhutan's emergence into the modern world. India has legitimate security considerations all along its border with China. So has China the right to look to the security of its border with Bhutan and India. So too has Bhutan legitimate aspirations for the fullest sovereignty, security, and stability. Would Bhutan's membership of the United Nations help it to fulfil its aspirations without jeopardizing the Chinese and Indian right to ensure the security of their borders? Bhutan's becoming a Member of the United Nations on 21 Sep-

tember 1971 is largely the manifestation of aspirations created by sudden development. On 25 October 1971, a little over a month after its own admission, it voted, along with its neighbours Burma, India, and Nepal, for the admission of China to the United Nations and for the expulsion of Taiwan from the world body. What further role Bhutan will play in international affairs and what contribution it will make to world peace remains to be seen. We have no doubt that Bhutan can make a solid contribution to peace and security in South Asia if it succeeds in maintaining proper relations with both China and India in avoiding direct involvement in their rivalry for supremacy in Bhutan. It would be an equally solid contribution to peace and security in this part of the world if Bhutan continued to maintain its present position of special relationship with India without compromising its independence, its sovereignty, and its national identity. Will Bhutan be able to free itself from the need to rely on China or India or any other Power and prevent its domination by either of them? Yes, it can, in all but one important field. It can never think of defending itself and of preserving its independence and sovereignty by military power. The Bhutanese army is approximately of brigade strength only. There are no other problems which Bhutan cannot solve alone.

APPENDIXES

I

Chronology

- 1616 Ngawang Namgyal, a scion of the house of Gya of Druk and Ralung and the head of the Druk school of the Kagyupa, arrives in Bhutan
Ngawang Namgyal proclaims Bhutan a theocracy and himself its supreme spiritual head and ruler with the title of Shabdung
- 1617 Dalai Lama V is born
- 1620 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal establishes Chari
- 1623 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal re-establishes Chari
- 1627 Jesuit missionaries Estevao Cacella and Joao Cabral of Goa and Portugal visit Bhutan and Tibet
- 1629 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal establishes Simthoka Dzong
- 1637 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal establishes Punakha Dzong
- 1639 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal defeats the invading army of the Depa Tsangpa of Tibet
- 1641 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal constructs a new dzong on the site of the old Dongon Dzong and names it Tashichho Dzong

- 1641 Phuntsok Namgyal is consecrated first King of Sikkim with the title of *Chhogyal*
- 1642 Tenkyong Wangpo, last Depa Tsangpa, is taken prisoner, imprisoned, and executed by the Mongol troops of Gushri Khan
- Gushri Khan invests Dalai Lama V with power
- 1644 Gushri Khan sends Mongol-Tibetan troops to Bhutan
- 1646 Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal establishes Paro Dzong
- Bhutan and Tibet draw up an agreement which restored the original position in respect of Mon Tawang between them
- 1648 Mongol-Tibetan troops invade Bhutan again
- 1657 Tibet invades Bhutan again
- 1676 Bhutan invades the Chhumbi region of Sikkim
- Bhutan receives estates in Western Tibet from Ladakh
- 1680 Foundation of the Ganden Namgyal Lhatse monastery in Mon Tawang
- 1682 Dalai Lama V passes away
- 1683 Dalai Lama VI is born in Mon Tawang
- 1684 Treaty between Ladakh and Tibet
- 1700 Bhutan invades Sikkim
- Chhagdor Namgyal, Chhogyal of Sikkim, flees to Tibet
- 1708 Chhogyal Chhagdor Namgyal returns to Sikkim
- 1714 Tibet invades Bhutan
- 1728 Office of Manchu Amban is established in Lhasa
- 1730 A civil war arises in Bhutan
- Tibet intervenes in the civil war in Bhutan
- 1733 Bhutan and Tibet sign a peace agreement
- 1735 Bhutan and Koch Bihar become allies

- 1765 The East India Company assumes the *Diwani* (management of revenue) of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa
The British appoint the first Supervisor of Rangpur, an area bordering Koch Bihar on the south
- 1766 Murder of the infant Raja Devendranarayan of Koch Bihar, then under the protection of Bhutan
The Nazir Dev of Balrampur, commander-in-chief of Koch Bihar, seeks the assistance of the East India Company against the Bhutanese
- 1767 Raja Kamdatta Sen of the Vijayapur principality of Morang appeals to the Mughals and the British for help against his enemies who had come up against him with the support of Bhutan
- 1769 Raja Prithvinarayan Shah of Gorkha conquers the Kathmandu Valley
- 1770 Bhutan invades Morang and Sikkim
The British change the designation of Supervisor to Collector
- 1771 Bhutan invades Koch Bihar
Bhutan receives estates in Nepal
- 1772 Bhutan occupies Koch Bihar
- 1773 Nazir Dev again seeks British help
The British win their war with Bhutan
- 1774 Nepal invades Sikkim and seizes the Vijayapur principality of Morang
Warren Hastings concludes peace with Bhutan
Hastings sends George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton to Bhutan and Tibet on a reconnaissance mission

- Hastings orders the construction of a Buddhist monastery at Ghussari on the right bank of the Hugli near Calcutta
- 1775 Alexander Hamilton visits Bhutan in connexion with a border dispute
- 1777 Alexander Hamilton visits Bhutan again
- 1783 Another British mission under Samuel Turner to Bhutan and Tibet
- 1788 Nepal invades Tibet
- 1789 Nepal and Tibet conclude an agreement to cease hostilities
- 1791 Nepal invades Tibet again
- 1792 Chinese military expedition to Nepal
China and Nepal conclude peace
- 1793 China announces reforms for Tibet
Tibet annexes the Chhumbi Valley of Sikkim
- 1815 Kishen Kant Bose visits Bhutan on behalf of the East India Company
The East India Company and Nepal conclude peace
- 1817 Representatives of the East India Company and Sikkim sign an agreement restoring the Morang strip to Sikkim
- 1826 The British annex Lower Assam and parts of Upper Assam
- 1837 The East India Company sends a mission to Bhutan
- 1841 The British annex the Bhutan Duars on the Assam border
- 1855 Nepal invades Tibet
Jang Bahadur annexes the Bhutanese religious estates in Nepal

- 1861 British military expedition to Sikkim
- 1864 Declaration of war between Bhutan and the British
- 1865 Bhutan and British India conclude peace
- 1867 Commencement of the demarcation of the Bhutanese-Indian boundary along the Bengal border
- 1868 Completion of the demarcation of the Bhutanese-Indian boundary along the Bengal border
- 1872 Commencement of the demarcation of the Bhutanese-Indian boundary along the Assam border
- 1873 Completion of the demarcation of the Bhutanese-Indian boundary along the Assam border
- 1875 Kyitselpa, Deb of Bhutan, and Richard Temple, Governor of Bengal, meet at Baxa
- 1876 Dalai Lama XIII is born
J. W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, learns of the Chinese and Tibetan interference in Bhutan during a visit to Sikkim
- 1877 Paro Ponlop, Punakha Dzungpon, and their followers rebel against Deb Kyitselpa, are defeated, escape to India, and receive asylum at Darjeeling
- 1879 Paro Ponlop, Punakha Dzungpon, and their followers return to Bhutan on a change in the political condition of Bhutan
- 1884 The Government of India gives to Bhutan a tract of hill country near Baxa in the Jalpaiguri District
A civil war arises in Bhutan
- 1885 Ugyen Wangchuk, Tongsa Ponlop, emerges victorious from the civil war
Thimphu Dzungpon, along with his followers, flees to Tibet and appeals for help

- The Amban in Lhasa meddles in Bhutanese affairs
- 1886 The British commercial mission to Tibet
- 1887 Tibet opposes the British mission and establishes a check-post on Sikkimese territory
The British abandon the mission
- 1888 The Tibetans request the Bhutanese to join them against the British
The Bhutanese remain neutral in the Anglo-Tibetan conflict
- 1889 British India establishes a political agency in Sikkim
- 1890 Convention between Britain and China respecting Sikkim and Tibet
- 1897 Captain Anderson visits Bhutan to collect botanical and zoological collections
An earthquake destroys Punakha Dzong and with it all the material bearing on the history of Bhutan
- 1899 Lord Curzon assumes the viceroyalty of India
- 1901 Ugyen, the Bhutanese Agent at Kalimpong, takes a letter from Curzon to the Dalai Lama
Ugyen returns from Lhasa with Curzon's letter unopened and its seals intact
- 1902 Tibetan authorities forbid Ugyen to enter Lhasa
- 1903 The British send a mission to Tibet
Provisional transfer of the political control of the State of Bhutan from the Government of Bengal to Colonel F. E. Younghusband, Commissioner for Tibet Frontier Matters acting under the direct control of the Government of India, after the British occupation of the Chhumbi Valley
- 1904 The Bhutanese Council deposes an envoy, the Thim-

phu Dzongpon, to meet Younghusband at Chhumbi

The Thimphu Dzongpon returns to Bhutan

Tongsa Ponlop Ugyen Wangchuk arrives at Phari and offers to mediate Anglo-Tibetan differences

The British decline to accept Ugyen Wangchuk as a mediator

Dalai Lama XIII flees to Mongolia

Convention between the British and Tibet

1906 Convention between Britain and China respecting Tibet

Gyase (Crown Prince) Jigme Wangchuk is born

Tongsa Ponlop Ugyen Wangchuk visits Calcutta on the occasion of the visit to India of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who later reigned as King George V.

Permanent transfer of the political management of the State of Bhutan from the political control of the Government of Bengal to that of the Government of India

1907 The Bhutanese enthrone Ugyen Wangchuk as the first King of Bhutan with the title of *Druk Gyalpo*

Extinction of the office of Shabdung as the supreme head of Bhutan

1909 Dalai Lama XIII returns to Tibet

1910 The Chinese send a military expedition to Tibet
Dalai Lama XIII flees to India

Bhutan and British India sign a treaty of friendship

1911 Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuk visits Delhi for the

Darbar of King George V

Revolution in China

- 1912 Dalai Lama XIII returns to Tibet
Dalai Lama XIII proclaims the independence of Tibet
Chinese soldiers leave Tibet
- 1914 Convention between Britain, China, and Tibet delimiting the international boundary between India and Tibet in the eastern half of the Eastern Himalaya up to the Isu Razi Pass in Burma
Bhutan's offer of help to the British Government during the First World War
- 1921 Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal, visits Bhutan
- 1923 Bhutan acquires autonomous status
- 1926 Druk Gylapo Ugyen Wangchuk passes away
- 1927 Accession of Gyase Jigme Wangchuk to the throne of Bhutan as Druk Gyalpo
- 1928 Gyase Jigme Dorji Wangchuk is born
- 1933 Frank Ludlow and George Sheriff cross Bhutan from west to east
Dalai Lama XIII passes away
- 1934 Ludlow and Sheriff collect plants in Eastern Bhutan
- 1935 Dalai Lama XIV is born
- 1936 Ludlow and Sheriff continue to collect plants in Eastern Bhutan and Tibet
- 1940 Ludlow and Sheriff and Taylor of the British Museum visit Tibet via Bhutan and Tawang
- 1947 Asian Relations Conference in Delhi with Bhutanese participation
India wins independence

- 1948 A Bhutanese delegation visits India to discuss Bhutan's relations with independent India
- 1949 Treaty between Bhutan and India
Establishment of the People's Republic in China
- 1950 India becomes a Republic
People's China announces its intention to "liberate" Tibet
- 1951 The People's Republic of China and Tibet sign an agreement on measures for the peaceful "liberation" of Tibet
- 1952 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Wangchuk passes away
Accession of Gyase Jigme Dorji Wangchuk to the throne as Druk Gyalpo
Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk introduces land reforms
Chhogyal Tashi Namgyal of Sikkim and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India meet and formulate Sikkim's first economic plan
- 1953 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk establishes the Assembly of Bhutan
- 1954 Agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India
Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk visits India
- 1956 Bhutan participates in the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Delhi
Gyase Jigme Senge is born
- 1958 Prime Minister Nehru cancels his proposed visit to Tibet at the suggestion of the People's Republic

of China

Prime Minister Nehru visits Bhutan via Sikkim and the Chhumbi Valley of Tibet

1959 Uprising of Lhasa and the denunciation by Tibet of the 1951 agreement with China

Dalai Lama XIV escapes to India

Bhutan withdraws its agent from Western Tibet and trade representative from Lhasa and seals the border with Tibet

Prime Minister Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) concerning the protection of the borders and territorial integrity of Bhutan

A Bhutanese delegation visits New Delhi to discuss with the Government of India the development needs of Bhutan

1960 India starts building the first road in Bhutan

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk conceives the idea of constructing a new dzong on the site of Tashichho Dzong

1961 Bhutan inaugurates its first development plan

Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk visits New Delhi

Agreement between Bhutan and India to harness the Jaldhaka River for the generation of hydro-electric power

1962 Completion of the first 129-mile road from the Bhutanese town of Phuntsoling on the border between Bengal and Bhutan to Paro in Western Bhutan

- Bhutan attends as an Observer the annual meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee held in Melbourne, Australia
- China invades India
- 1963 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuk assumes full regal dignity and permits his being referred to as His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo
- Bhutan joins the Colombo Plan at the annual meeting of its Consultative Committee held in Bangkok, Thailand
- 1964 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji visits England and Switzerland
- Assassination of Jigme Palden Dorji of Ha
- A number of Bhutanese officers attempt a *coup d'etat* and later escape to Nepal
- 1965 Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji establishes the Royal Advisory Council of Bhutan
- Some miscreants make an attempt on the life of Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji
- 1967 Bhutan appoints a Trade Commissioner in Calcutta
- 1968 India appoints a Special Officer in Thimphu
- Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji proclaims Bhutan a constitutional monarchy
- Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji visits New Delhi
- Bhutan attends the UN General Assembly as an Observer
- Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji appoints Bhutan's first Council of Ministers
- Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji announces his decision to abdicate whenever 75 per cent of the members of

- the Assembly pass a vote of no confidence in him
Bhutan joins the International Postal Union
- 1969 The Assembly unanimously decides that the continu-
ance of a monarch's rule shall depend on popular
approval, and that, if it passes a vote of no con-
fidence in a monarch by a two-thirds majority, the
monarch shall abdicate in favour of the next mem-
ber of the present dynasty in the line of succession
- 1970 President V. V. Giri of India visits Bhutan
Bhutan again attends the UN General Assembly as an
Observer
India sponsors Bhutan's application for the member-
ship of the United Nations
- 1971 The Security Council of the United Nations recom-
mends Bhutan's application to the General As-
sembly
Bhutan establishes a diplomatic mission in New Delhi
Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji visits India
Bhutan appoints its first Representative in New Delhi
Bhutan joins the United Nations as a full Member

II

Rulers and Dignitaries of Bhutan

Druk Shabdung Lama 1616-1907

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Ngawang Namgyal | 1594-1651 |
| 2. Ngawang Jigme Dakpa | 1724-1761 |
| 3. Ngawang Chhokyi Gyaltzen | 1762-88 |
| 4. Ngawang Jigme Dakpa | 1791-1830 |
| 5. Ngawang Jigme Norbu | 1831-1861 |
| 6. Ngawang Jigme Chhogyal | 1862-1903 |

Druk Deb 1651-1905

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Umze Tenzin Druggyal | 1651-1656 |
| 2. Langonpa Tenzin Drukda | 1657-1668 |
| 3. Chhogyal Mingyur Tempa | 1668-1676 |
| 4. Tenzin Rabgye | 1680-1694 |
| 5. Karbi Gedun Chhophel | 1694-1702 |
| 6. Ngawang Tsering | 1702-1704 |
| 7. Penjor | 1704-1708 |
| 8. Druk Rabgye | 1708-1720 |
| 9. Geshe Ngawang Gyatso | 1720-1729 |

MODERN BHUTAN

10. Rimpochhe Mipham Wangpo	1729-1737
11. Kuo Penjor	1738-1739
12. Sachong Ngawang Gyaltzen	1740-1744
13. Chhogyal Sherab Wangchuk	1744-1763
14. Druk Phuntsok	1763-1765
15. Druk Tenzin	1765-1768
16. Sonam Lhendup	1768-1773
17. Tsanlob Kunga Rinchhen	1773-1775
18. Jigme Senge	1776-1789
19. Druk Tenzin	1789-1791
20. Sonam Gyaltzen	1792-1798
21. Umze Chapchapa	1798-1799
22. Druk Namgyal	1799-1803
23. Umze Sonam Gyaltzen	1803-1803
24. Sangye Tenzin	1803-1806
25. Umzepa Dowa and Bopa Choda	1806-1806
26. Shabdung Jigme Dakpa	1808
27. Tsulthim Dakpa	1809
28. Shabdung Jigme Dakpa	1810
29. Chhole Tulku Yeshe Gyaltzen	1811-1815
30. Tsaphu Dorje	1815
31. Miwang Sonam Druggyal	1815-1819
32. Tenzin Drukda	1819-1823
33. Chhokyi Gyatso	1823-1831
34. Dorje Namgyal	1831-1833
35. Atangpa Thinle	1833-1835
36. Chhokyi Gyatso	1835-1838
37. Dorje Norbu	1838-1849
38. Tashi Dorje	1849-1850
39. Wangchuk Gyalpo	1850

40. Shabdung Jigme Norbu	1850
41. Chakpa Sangye	1850-1852
42. Dorlob Parchung	1857-1858
43. Sonam Tobgye	1858-1860
44. Phuntsok Namgyal	1860-1863
45. Tsulthim Yonten	1863
46. Kagyu Wangchuk	1864
47. Tsewang Situp	1864-1865
48. Tsondu Pekar	1865
49. Jigme Namgyal	1870-1874
50. Kyitselpa Dorje Namgyal	1874-1878
51. Chhogyal Zangpo	1878-1881
52. Lama Tsewang	1881-1882
53. Kawa Zangpo	1882-1883
54. Yanglob Sangye Dorje	1883-1901
55. Chhole Tulku Yeshe Ngodub	1901-1905

Druk Gyalpo 1907

1. Ugyen Wangchuk	1907-1926
2. Jigme Wangchuk	1926-1952
3. Jigme Dorje Wangchuk	1952-

Sung Hul Rimpoche 1708

1. Chhole Namgyal
2. Shakya Tenzin
3. Yeshe Gyaltzen
4. Jigme Wangpo
5. Jamyang Gyatso
6. Chhokyi Wangchuk

Je Khempo 1637-1971

1. Pekar Jugne
2. Sonam Ozer
3. Pekar Lhendup
4. Tamcho Pekar
5. Ngawang Gyaltzen
6. Zoba Thinle
7. Ngawang Lhendup
8. Ngawang Thinle
9. Shakya Rinchhen
10. Gyse Tenzin Norbu
11. Tenzin Chhogyal
12. Ngawang Thinle
13. Ngawang Kunga Gyatso
14. Yonten Thaya
15. Tenzin Namgyal
16. Kunzang Gyaltzen
17. Po Sherab Sengge
18. Jamba Yeshe Dorje
19. Jamyang Gyaltzen
20. Ngawang Chhogyal
21. Zambe Dhaba
22. Shakya Gyaltzen
23. Sherab Gyaltzen
24. Yonten Gyatso
25. Pema Zam
26. Rinchhen Zam
27. Jamba Gyatso
28. Yeshe Ngodup
29. Tsulthim Gyaltzen
30. Kunga Penjor
31. Sidup Yeshe
32. Shakya Gyaltzen
33. Yonten Pejang
34. Kunga Sangge
35. Lodoi Gyaltzen
36. Pekar Yeshe
37. Ngawang Tendon
38. Thinle Gyaltzen
39. Tenzin Lhendup
40. Thinle Gyatso
41. Tamcho Gyaltzen
42. Sherab Lhendup
43. Jamyang Rinchhen
44. Rinzin Nyingpo
45. Zambe Shenyen
46. Jamba Tobzang
47. Penden Sengge
48. Yeshe Dawa
49. Mipham Wangpo
50. Ngawang Gyaltzen
51. Yeshe Namgyal
52. Chhole Tulku Yeshe Ngodup
53. Chhogyal Wangchhen
54. Ngawang Thinle

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 55. Samten Gyatso | 59. Yeshe Sengee |
| 56. Yonten Chhendup | 60. Tulku Nang Je |
| 57. Thinle Lhendup | Thinle Lhendup |
| 58. Samten Pejang | |

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TSA YIG OF SHABDUNG
NGAWANG NAMGYAL***

The rulers should encourage religious institutions with a view to promoting knowledge and inculcating religious sentiments. They should see that the lamas are properly trained in the ten pious acts, taught such necessary accomplishments as (a) dancing, (b) drawing, or making mandalas, and (c) hymn-singing, and made to acquire knowledge in the twofold method of meditation. They should also encourage those who wish to excel in other branches of learning, such as rhetoric, poetry, and dialectics, and enforce their progress by periodical examinations in each of these several branches.

An annual circular notice should be issued to those in charge of the Datsangs (monastic colleges maintained by the State), requiring that the monastic properties of value, such as ornaments used in the shrines, treasures, coins, plates, utensils, etc., should not be sold nor given away or misused in any way. Even those lamas who occupy themselves with handicrafts (e.g. painting, sewing, embroidery, carving, modelling, etc.), and those also who are engaged in menial service, should be taught both how to write and how to

*This is a free rendering and is more faithful to the spirit than to the letter.

perform rituals, and they should be thoroughly imbued with ten pious sentiments. The Deb should consider it his daily duty to inquire into the condition of the subjects, to see whether they are happy or unhappy, contented or discontented, and to do his utmost to make them happy.

The officers should put an end to indiscriminate killing, by forbidding cruel sport on the hills and fishing in the rivers. This will effectively strike at the root of numerous ills in the future.

The collection of revenue, the raising of compulsory government labour contribution, and the hearing and trial of causes constitute administrative duties. On the proper discharge of these duties depends the happiness of the nation. Care should be taken to ensure that those who are charged with these duties are not partial to any wrong-doer and do not exempt him from the punishment due to him. Nor should they be allowed to inflict undeserved punishment on anybody through grudge or prejudice.

The officers posted on the frontiers should be constantly reminded of the fact that the peace of the heartland depends upon the conduct of the borderers. If the borderers make lawless raids into others' territories in their vicinity, there will be reprisals, and these will involve the entire nation in the horrors of a war in an unjust cause. The borderers should, therefore, be exhorted to live peaceably.

Briefly, the three ends to be secured are: (1) The contentment of the subjects; (2) the proper influence of, and respect for, officials or authorities; and (3) the maintenance of the Buddhist Order. It is, therefore, very important that the Deb, as the temporal ruler of the people, should be well

versed in the methods of securing these ends.

The most effective and shortest method of securing the first end — namely the happiness of the subjects — is to dispense justice strictly and impartially. If a ruler were to devote himself to the administering of justice impartially, he would make all his subjects happy in a single day. For it was by this means that the ancient kings of Tibet secured happiness for their subjects and won popularity for themselves. . . . The main end of establishing law and justice is to give peace and security to both the ruler and his subjects, and in particular to promulgate the Dharma and to perpetuate the hierarchy of the Buddhist Order, which embodies and represents the *Konchhok Sum* (DKON MCHHOG GSUM, the Three Precious Ones, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Order).

Of late a dangerous laxity has crept into all branches of justice.

Lamas who break their vow of celibacy, and criminals who rob and kill and disturb the public peace, often go unpunished. This not only augurs ill for the future, but endangers present tranquillity, and encourage crime and perfidy. The country will soon be full of vow-breakers and knaves, and public peace will be destroyed. It is said: "The violation of spiritual laws makes the Guardian Deities retreat to the Abode of Passivity, and allows the foul breath of the mischievous Fiends to pervade everywhere. The breach of Social Laws weakens the power of the Gods, and the Demons of Darkness laugh with joy." It is, therefore, very important that the lamas who violate their vows should be made to change their mode of dress and to give up other lama

habits. . . .

If those who are rulers, having the opportunity to make their subjects happy, neglect their duties, where is the difference between them and the Prince of Devils? Not always can one conquer and subdue rude and evil persons by mild means in worldly matters. Sometimes it is unavoidable to use stern measures. So when there are law-breakers or evil-doers, the ruler's duty is to punish them sternly, without any consideration of pity and sympathy. This is how a king on his throne ensures his own salvation.

Although the rulers are responsible for the general prosperity of a nation, it is on the local authorities that the well-being of a region or district depends. The deputies, who are sent out to inquire into a case, and the village headman who reports, are the chief persons on whom the real burden of a fair trial lies. The establishment of a secondgrade deputy, as well as that of a lama who is also a nyerpa, should consist of two sepoy and one groom, and ordinary deputies should have only one sepoy and one groom. Official tours entail too much expense and trouble on the subjects, and so, except when an officer has to proceed to a new place of posting or to take up a new appointment, he should travel as little as possible.

Paddy should not be given for husking by driblets, but in a large quantity at one time; nor should rice be realized over the actual out-turn of the husking. No man should be dispossessed on any pretext of any gold, turquoises, vessels, cattle, or ponies that he might possess. Nor should he be made to pay extortionate rates of interest on the trading capital borrowed by him from the headman of his village.

Village headmen are forbidden to request subscriptions in return for charm threads or cheap clothes. All barter trade should be carried on at the rates considered fair and reasonable at the time of the transaction, not at extortionate and preferential rates. Forced gifts of salt or butter are forbidden. So are gifts of wearing wool. Dzungpons and head lamas of monasteries are warned not to accept any gifts from visiting subjects.

The sale and purchase of slaves (plainsmen) is likewise prohibited. Anyone persisting in it should be reported to the Government authorities. State officers are not entitled to any coolies or rations from the State when they are on a visit to a hot spring or mineral-water spring for their own health; they should carry their own provisions and coolies on such occasions. When they are out on their own account, they are not to present themselves at the dzongs, and if they do, the dzongs will not provide them with the rations to which they are otherwise entitled.

The officers in charge of the dzongs should report to the Government the extent of the enforcement of compulsory labour, the number of coolies supplied, and the number of coolie-loads conveyed, together with such particulars as the names of the persons to whom these loads were conveyed, the names of the officers who ordered the loads to be conveyed, the dates on which the loads were conveyed, and so on. Should any officer at the different stages permit any load to be conveyed free of cost to the owner without reporting, he would be liable to a heavy fine.

A deputy may keep a pony for himself, and he may perhaps be entrusted besides, with the feed of a pony from the

dzong. Apart from this, however, he may not maintain any pony at the expense of the State. Should he do so, he would forfeit the same to the dzong. He may, however, by paying a fee of about a hundred tankas to his dzong, obtain the licence to maintain one more pony. But on no account is he to be allowed to maintain more than three ponies at a time at the cost of the State. Should he desire to give a pony in the place of the annual revenue, he may not send any subject to buy it for him from any market. If a complaint is made to him, he may not receive anything over a measure of millet, not so much as a square bit of silk in kind or a *tanka* in cash. A deputy should report all cases, whether they are petty or important, to his dzong, and by no means should he proceed to decide any himself. At harvest time he may not take the opportunity of visiting the borders of his fields or of going on a rambling visit to his subjects. Nor may he make slight cattle trespasses upon the borders of his fields a pretext for extorting heavy damages from his subjects. Besides, any deputy or responsible officer found guilty of drinking hard or of fornicating or of committing adultery is an enemy to public peace and is liable to be disgraced and dismissed from office.

A deputy should consider and settle at his own place the amount of revenue in kind, such as meat and butter, due to the State from the subjects. In this he may seek the assistance of the elders and the village headman or the assistant village headmen concerned. He should then submit the demand rent-roll to the dzongpon, his immediate and chief superior, for his sanction. Only after obtaining the sanction of the dzongpon may he go ahead with the work of collec-

tion.

Should there be any guests to be provided for, it would not do for the deputy to collect the provisions, or their equivalent in money, from the subjects. He should quarter them in the different houses by rotation. The guests are entitled only to the bare necessities of life and should on no account expect luxuries.

The deputy may not, in consideration of any personal gift received by him, grant any remission of revenue of either category:

The deputy may not accept the first portion of any ceremonial feast, whether it is a feast in honour of the dead or of the living. He may not, besides, demand or accept any present on the occasion of a marriage or of a separation.

The deputy should send an assistant village headman to collect revenue from the subjects. The assistant village headman will be on this occasion a sepoy, a village headman, and an assistant village headman—all in one. This man may not collect anything for himself. Nor may he accept any present from the cattle-keepers. A village headman, or a lama who has been appointed to a post, may not, on his way to the seat of Government, take any subject to accompany him. Nor may he raise any tax for the ostensible purpose of making presents to the Government. An officer or a village headman who has been permitted to retire from service on account of old age, infirmities, etc., may not stay on in the dzong for more than three days after the date of retirement. If a foreigner or stranger is noticed in the country, the deputy should immediately report the matter to his superior in the dzong and produce the man before him. He should

not harbour or receive any stranger. Anybody found harbouring a robber or thief is to be punished as heavily as the criminal himself.

Any slave attempting to escape in an unhappy mood should be detained. If anyone, having harboured such a slave, fails to detain him, he will be required to make good the slave. If, on the other hand, anyone succeeds in restoring to the owner the runaway slave, he would be entitled to a reward. In determining the sum to be paid by way of reward, due consideration should be given to the distance travelled, the time spent, and the expenses incurred in the performance of the enterprise.

Two different subjects cannot combine into one. A holding may be enjoyed either by a son or, if there is no son, by a daughter. A subject who is aged and has neither son nor daughter may, in lieu of revenue, render just such service during his life time as he is able to perform alone; upon his or her decease the holding shall pass to the next of kin, who will thenceforth be expected both to render service and to any revenue in cash and kind. No marriage or permanent connexion should be allowed where the parents do not approve. Sometimes two or three holdings and houses which are liable to pay taxes separately are combined into one with a view to lightening the *ulag* contribution. This is not to be tolerated any more. If there is any heir, man or woman, to the property, he or she is under an obligation to make good the State revenue. If there is no heir, the property shall pass to the next of kin, or to such person as the owner may will as his assignee, and this latter will thenceforth pay the revenue due to the State. Those

who own properties in land and houses, and yet live untaxed in towns, are liable to pay a rent in cash and kind and make an *ulag* contribution proportionate to the value and area of their properties.

The slaughter of animals in connexion with funeral ceremonies is bad both for the deceased and for the living. It is enough if the following simple gifts are made on these occasions: (1) For the Government, in lieu of a head and a limb, the value of half a *tanka*; and (2) for the lama, the price of a piece of cotton cloth. If the bereaved is poor and cannot afford aught except some offerings for the deceased, he may make the gifts mentioned above only to the Government and the lama, and to the assistant lamas he may give rice in lieu of meat. But if an animal has to be slaughtered, on no account should he slay more than one; and he should meet all the demands of the occasion strictly with the meat thus obtained.

The head lama of a monastery shall perform the cremation within one day in summer and within two days in winter. He should not exceed this time-limit on his own responsibility. The number of lamas to attend a funeral, and the fees to be received by them, are the same as in the capital. But if the head lama is delayed in coming or prevented from coming, the layman may have the obsequies partially performed at home, and take such stores with him as he can to have the rest of the ceremonies performed at a monastery.

No freehold grants made to lamas for their support shall be sold. The laymen shall not stop supporting the lamas. If any wealthy or propertied lama dies, his chief supporter

among the laymen or his foremost disciple shall utilize his property in meritorious charity. When any State-supported and retired lama dies, his personal effects, such as books, images, or shrine appurtenances, shall be offered to the State or the Deb during the obsequies, and the rest shall be used to defray the expenses of the funeral ceremonies to the best account. When it becomes necessary to build a cell to serve as a retreat for any lama of a monastery, it shall be within the compound, or in the vicinity, of the monastery or some other religious place and not in the vicinity of a village or on the spur of a hill. If any child is born to a couple as the result of a liaison within the precincts of a monastery, the couple shall be considered to have reverted to the world, and as they must thenceforth live in the villages, they shall be made to fill up any vacancy that may arise among the subjects, and to pay the same taxes and make the same compulsory labour contributions as any other subject.

If any member of a monastery loiters for more than fifteen days in the villages except on some special business assigned to him by the head lama of his monastery or for the usual purpose of begging for alms, he should be forced to make the usual *ulag* contribution by the village headmen concerned. The head lamas of the various monasteries, too, should, except during the periodical congregations for observing religious holidays, always pass their time in their retreats. They should make their utmost effort to put an end to every trace and evidence of black magic or witchcraft. The licensed as well as private singers of "Om mani padme hum" are to enjoy only such offerings as are made voluntarily; there shall be no tax for them.

No one shall harbour any mischievous person who has been banished from a dzong for some roguery. A thief or robber, killed while committing a theft or robbery, dies without any hope of redress. The man who kills a thief in the act of stealing is not liable to any punishment. But otherwise anyone who draws his sword to threaten or to strike is liable to a fine. . . .

Merchants entrusted with the import trade at the different marts should also satisfy themselves that they get good things, and all traders should obey the Government merchant in this matter. If anybody acts in defiance of Government regulations, or is found forging Government letters or altering their meaning, or attempts detention or miscarriage of such orders as are issued from the seat of the Government, he shall be deprived of his sight or of life by decapitation.

From the Shabdung Lama at the head of all the ruling officers, including lamas, ponlops, dzongpons, etc., down to the village headmen, all should act in accordance with the above. If they neglect public prosperity and fail to check their subordinates, or if they suffer karmic laws to be subverted and tolerate the spread of evil without making an effort to remedy it, how can the Spiritual Guardians help them! Thus, in conformity with the text which says that those who offer insults to those who live in Dharma are worthy of being exterminated, they shall surely be offered up as fitting sacrifice at the shrine of the Great and Terrible Mahakala.

If, on the other hand, all observe the above rules—and these are meant to promote the general as well as their individual good—they put their faith in the *Konchhok Sum*

as their God and witness. They should regard the Deb as their human liege lord who has been entrusted with the weal of the nation and the prosperity of the lama hierarchy and serve him unto death most loyally and energetically, just as the celebrated Minister Gar (MGAR KHRI SGRA DSI THUN) of Srong btsan sgampo of Tibet did formerly.

III

Treaties

Treaty of Peace between the Honorable East India Company and Bhutan—1774

1st—That the Honorable Company, wholly from consideration for the distress to which the Bhootans 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 Behar, namely, to the eastward, the lands of Chitchacotta and Pangola-haut, and to the westward, the lands of Kyruntee, Marragat, and Luckypoor.

2nd—That for the possession of the Chitchacotta Province, the Deb Rajah shall pay an annual tribute of five Tangun horses to the Honorable Company which was the acknowledgment paid to the Behar Rajah.

3rd—That the Deb Rajah shall deliver up Dhujinder Narain, Rajah of Cooch Behar, together with his brother the Dewan Deo, who is confined with him.

4th—That the Bhootans, 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 Rungpoor annually.

5th—That the Deb Rajah shall never cause incursions to be made into the country, nor in any respect whatever molest the ryots that have come under the Honorable Company's subjection.

6th—That if any ryot or inhabitant whatever shall desert from the Honorable Company's territories, the Deb Rajah shall cause him to be delivered up immediately upon application being made for him.

7th—That in case the Bhootans, or any one under the government of the Deb Rajah, shall have any demands upon, or disputes with any inhabitant 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.

8th—That whereas the Sunneeyasies are considered by the English as an enemy; the Deb Rajah shall not allow any body of them to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter the Honorable Company's territories, or through any part of his, and if the Bhootans shall not of themselves be able to drive them out, they shall give information to the Resident on the part of the English, in Cooch Behar, and they shall not consider the English troops pursuing the Sunneeyasies into those districts any breach of this Treaty.

9th—That in case the Honorable Company shall have occasion for cutting timber from any part of the woods under the Hills, they shall do it duty free, and the people they

send shall be protected.

10th — That there shall be a mutual release of prisoners.

This Treaty to be signed by the Honorable President and Council of Bengal, etc., and the Honorable Company's seal to be affixed on the one part, and to be signed and sealed by the Deb Rajah on the other part.

Treaty between His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir John Lawrence, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in the East Indies, and Their Highnesses the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs of Bhootan Concluded on the One Part by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Bruce, C.B., by Virtue of Full Powers to That Effect Vested in Him by the Viceroy and Governor-General, and on the Other Part by Sandojey Deb Jimpey and Themseyrensey Doani According to Full Powers Conferred on Them by the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs—1865.

ARTICLE 1

There shall henceforth be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government and the Government of Bhootan.

ARTICLE 2

Whereas in consequence of repeated aggressions of the Bhootan Government and of the refusal of that Government

to afford satisfaction for those aggression, 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 Bhootan and whereas the Bhootan Government has now expressed its regret for past misconduct and a desire for the establishment of friendly relations with the British Government, it is hereby agreed that the whole of the tract known as the Eighteen Doars, bordering on the Districts of Rungpoor, 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 points as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose is ceded by the Bhootan Government to the British Government for ever.

ARTICLE 3

The Bhootan Government hereby agree to surrender all British subjects as well as subjects of the Chiefs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar who are now detained in Bhootan against their will and to place no impediment in the way of the return of all or any of such persons into British territory.

ARTICLE 4

In consideration of the cession by the Bhootan 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 engaged 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 be committed in defiance of their commands, the British Government agree to make an annual allowance to the Government of Bhootan of a sum not exceeding fifty thousand rupees (rupees 50,000) to be paid to officers not below the rank of Jungpen, who shall be deputed by the Government of Bhootan to receive the same. And it is further hereby agreed that the payments shall be made as specified below:

On the fulfilment by the Bhootan Government of the conditions of this Treaty twenty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 25,000).

On the 10th January following the 1st payment, thirty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 35,000).

On the 10th January following forty-five thousand rupees (Rupees 45,000).

On every succeeding 10th January fifty thousand rupees (Rupees 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 Bhootan 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 Bhootan Government, to surrender, under the provisions of Act VII of 1854, of which a copy shall be furnished to the Bhootan Government, all Bhootanese 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, subornation of perjury, embezzlement by public officers or other persons, and being an accessory to any of the above offences.

ARTICLE 7

The Bhootan 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 Bhootan Government, and also any Bhootanese subjects who, after

committing any of the above crimes in British territory, shall flee into Bhootan, 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 Bhootan Government hereby agree to refer to the arbitration of the British Government all disputes with, or causes of complaint against, the Rajahs 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 complaints in such manner as justice may require, and to insist on the observance of the decision by the Rajahs of Sikkim and Cooch Behar.

ARTICLE 9

There shall be free trade and commerce between the two Governments. No duties shall be levied on Bhootanese goods imported into British territories nor shall the Bhootan Government levy any duties on British goods imported into, or transported through, the Bhootan territories. Bhootanese subjects residing in British territories shall have equal justice with British subjects, and British subjects residing in Bhootan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Bhootan Government.

ARTICLE 10

The present Treaty of ten Articles having been concluded at Sinchula on the 11th day of November 1865, corresponding

with the Bhootea 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 Themseyrensey 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 Highnesses the Dhurm and Deb Rajahs shall be mutually delivered within thirty days from this date.

Treaty between His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Gilbert John Elliott-Murray-Kynynmound, P.C., G.M.S.I., G. M. I. E. G. C. M. G., Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, and His Highness Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, K. C. I. E., Maharaja of Bhutan—1910.

Whereas it is desirable to amend Articles IV and VIII of the Treaty concluded at Sinchula on the 11th day of November 1865, corresponding with the Bhootea year Shing Lang, 24th day of the 9th month, between the British Government and the Government of Bhutan, the undermentioned amendments are agreed to on the one part by Mr. C. A. Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim, in virtue of full powers to that effect 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.G. Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other part by his Highness Sir Earl of Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, and on the other part by His Highness Sir

Ugyen 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 the British Government in regard to its external relations. In the event 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 settle 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 eighth 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.

Indo-Bhutanese Friendship Treaty — 1949

The Government of India on the one part, and His Highness the Druk Gyalpo's Government on the other part, equally ani-

mated by the desire to regulate in a friendly manner and upon 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, Sir 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 Jigmic Palden Dorji, representing the Government of His Highness the Druk Gyalpo, Maharaja of Bhutan, who have full powers to agree to the same on behalf of the Government of Bhutan.

ARTICLE I

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Bhutan.

ARTICLE II

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 III

In place of the compensation granted to the Government of Bhutan under Article 4 of the Treaty of Sinchula and en-

hanced by the treaty of the eighth day of January 1910 and the temporary subsidy of Rupees 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 day of January 1950. This payment shall continue so long as this treaty remains in force and its terms are duly observed.

ARTICLE IV

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 territory in the area known as Dewangiri. The Government of India shall appoint a competent officer or officers to mark out the area so returned to the Government of Bhutan.

ARTICLE V

There shall, as heretofore, be free trade and commerce between the territories of the Government of India and of the Government of Bhutan; and the Government of India agrees to grant the Government of Bhutan every facility for the carriage, by land and water, of its produce throughout 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 VI

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, from or through India into Bhutan, whatever arms, ammunition, machinery, warlike material or stores may be required or desired for the strength and welfare of Bhutan, and that this arrangement shall hold good for all time as long as the Government of India is satisfied that the intentions 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, ammunition, etc., **across the frontier of Bhutan either by the Government of Bhutan or by private individuals.**

ARTICLE VII

The Government of India and the Government of Bhutan agree that Bhutanese subjects residing in Indian territories shall have equal justice with Indian subjects, and that Indian subjects residing in Bhutan shall have equal justice with the subjects of the Government of Bhutan.

ARTICLE VIII

(1) The Government of India shall, on demand being duly made in writing by the Government of Bhutan, take proceedings 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 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 a foreign power, whose extradition may be required in pursuance of any agreement or arrangements made by the Government of India with the said power, accused of any of the crimes, specified in the first schedule of 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 in 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 IX

Any differences and disputes arising in the application or interpretation of this treaty shall in the first instance be settled by negotiation. If within three months of the start of negotiations no settlement is arrived at, then the matter shall be referred to the arbitration of 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 of 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 X

This treaty shall continue in force in perpetuity unless terminated or modified by mutual consent.

Done in duplicate at Darjeeling this eighth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty-nine, corresponding with the Bhutanese date the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the Earth-Bull year.

Glossary

- Chila**
(SPYI BLA) Short for **Chichap Lama (SPYI KHYAB BLA MA)**, title of a regional governor in Bhutan.
- Chhoje**
(CHHOS RJE) Literally, Lord Spiritual, a form of address for any descendant of Shabdung Ngawang Namgyal or for a scion of any of the ancient religious families of Bhutan.
- Dapon**
(MDAH DPON) Officer of high military rank next to Magpon (DMAG DPON), General. The word *Dapon* literally means "arrow chief", and refers to an officer of the rank of a colonel in the army.
- Dasho**
(DRAGS SHOS) Term of address and title given to anyone in high office in Bhutan.
- Deb** Like *Depa* (SDE PA) or *Desi* (SDE SRID) of Tibet, *Deb* was the title of the head of the temporal side of the Government of Bhutan up to the establishment of the monarchy in 1907.
- Druk Gyalpo**
(HBRUK RGYAL PO) Title of the King of Bhutan.
- Dzong**
(RDZONG) Castle, fortress. Also the headquarters of a district where the Dzongpon and his staff live. Fortified castle and monastery in Bhutan.

MODERN BHUTAN

Dzongda (RDZONG BDAG PO)	District administrator. <i>Dzongda</i> literally means "Chief of District".
Dzongpon (RDZONG DPON)	Chief of fortress, i.e. official in charge of a fortress and district. The term <i>Dzongpon</i> disappeared from Bhutan's administrative parlance with the acceptance of the term <i>Thimpon</i> in 1954.
Dzongtsab (RDZONG TSHAB)	Deputy of a <i>Dzongpon</i> , i.e. a Deputy <i>Dzongpon</i> .
Gelong (DGE SLONG)	A fully ordained monk.
Geshe (DGE BSHE)	A high scholarly degree in the Lama hierarchy, like the degree of the Doctor of Divinity in the Christian hierarchy.
Gup	A Bhutanese village headman. <i>Gup</i> is the Bhutanese version of <i>Gopa</i> (HGO PA), a village headman in Tibet.
Gya Chila (RGYA SPYI BLA)	Short for <i>Gvagar Chichap Lama</i> (RGYA GAR SPYI KHYAB BLA MA). Title of the Bhutanese agent in Koch Bihar in 1765-73.
Gyaldon (RGYAL MGRON)	Chief Secretary. Short for <i>Gyalpo i Donyer</i> (RGYALPO, King. and Donyer, Secretary).
Gyase (RGYAL SRAS)	Crown Prince. <i>Se</i> (SRAS) literally means "son".
Je Khempo (RJE MKHAN PO)	Lord Abbot. Head of the monastic establishment of the Government of Bhutan, usually elected for three years. <i>Je</i> (RJE) means "lord" and <i>Khempo</i> (MKHAN PO) means "abbot". The word is generally used in its short form <i>Je Khem</i> . The hierarchical

	practice is to address the Je Khempo as <i>Je Khempo Rimpichhe</i> .
Kagyupa (BKAH RGYUD PA)	Semi-reformed sect of the Buddhism of Tibet founded by Marpa (1012-97) and his disciples.
Lama (BLA MA)	Spiritual teacher and guide. The expression lama corresponds to the Sanskrit expression guru. In Bhutan the word is generally abbreviated to <i>Lam</i> especially when it is prefixed as a title to the name of a lama.
Lhengye Tsok (LHAN RGYAS TSHOGS)	State Council.
Lhotsam Chichap (LHO MTSAMS SPYI KHYAB)	Southern Commissioner.
Lho Mon	Short for LHO MON KHA SHI, four southern lowlands. Traditional name for Bhutan.
Lochak (BLO PHYAG)	Embassy from one country to another for the presentation of customary gifts. <i>Druk Lochak</i> (HBRUG BLO PHYAG) carried gifts from Bhutan to Tibet annually.
Lonpo (BLON PO)	Counsellor, minister.
Mandala	A sacred circle formed by gems, grains, powder, etc. and used as a ceremonial offering to deities.
Nutam (DNGUL TAM)	Silver coin. <i>Nul</i> means both "money" and "silver". <i>Tam</i> means "coin" in Classical Tibetan. Bhutan uses Indian currency except for one or two token Bhutanese coins, namely <i>Chhe</i> (PHYE) and <i>Betang</i> (BLE TRANG KA). Barter is still wide-

- spread in Bhutan. Formerly, during 1765-73, when Bhutan was the suzerain of Koch Bihar, the Government of Bhutan transferred the mint of Koch Bihar to Bhutan and minted a silver coin called Ngutam Ghatika for circulation in Koch Bihar.
- Nyingmapa**
(RNYING MA PA) Literally, "the ancients". It denotes the oldest sect of the Buddhism of Tibet widely believed to have been founded by Guru Padmasambhava.
- Ponkha Tsok**
(DPON KHA TSHOGS) Council of Ministers. Literally, Council of Chief Officials.
- Ponlop**
(DPON SLOB) Title of a regional governor in Bhutan.
- Ramjam**
(RAM HBYAMS PA) Title of junior civil official in Bhutan. In Tibet, *Ramjam*, like *Dorampa* (RDO RAMS PA) and *Lharampa* (LHA RAMS PA), is a title for Geshe. It is not a common title.
- Kimpoche**
(RIN PO CHHE) Precious One. An honorific applied to learned lamas and to those high up in the lama hierarchy such as the Shabdung, the Panchhen, and other incarnations.
- Sakyapa**
(SA SKYA PA) Semi-reformed sect of the Buddhism of Tibet. Sakya is a place in Central Tibet. The main monastery of the Sakyapa is there.
- Tangka**
(TRANG KA) Coin. This is a word from Modern Tibetan.
- Tatshang**
(GRA TSHANGS) Monastic colleges maintained by the State.

'Thimpon
(HKHRIMS DPON)

'The word *Thimpon* literally means "law chief", and refers to an officer of the rank and position of a magistrate in the civil administration.

'Tsabda
(TSHAB BDAG)

Brigadier.

'Tsa Yik
(RTSA YIG)

Ordinances.

Tsongdu
(TSHOGS HDU)

Assembly.

Umze
(DBU MZAD)

Head lama of the dzong monastery. A *Lopon Kudon* (BLO DPON SKU MGRON), who has charge of the discipline of the dzong monastery, assists the *Umze*.

Zimpon
(GZIMS DPON)

Chief of Household. Also called *Gongzim* (GONG CZIMS).

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