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DEVASTATING QUAKE WAKE

BY IP ADHIKARI

Sept, Kathmandu

The devastating earthquake of 6.3 Richter scale on September 21 and several aftershocks have not only caused a huge physical destruction but also terrorized general public and exposed the national caliber to tackle natural disaster.

Even after two weeks of the disaster, the government is yet to make a full account of the loss and damages. And what government is preparing for adjusting with possible future disasters is unclear.

Relief supports are not well managed and people still are forced to take shelter in sheds. Thousands of the people in the eastern districts are still living outside their homes. The windstorm, torrent rainfall and the aftershocks are triggering more damages, causing obstacles to little efforts made for relief support to victims. According to the statistics made available by the government on October 5, at least 4,595 houses, 184 government buildings and institutions, 748 cultural properties were damaged and 47 people injured.

Of these, 1446 houses, 17 government



Nature's Power: A building collapsed by earthquake that hit major eastern districts in Bhutan on September 21 (First Photo). Quake wounded victim getting treatment in the hospital in Thimphu (Second Photo).

buildings, 187 cultural properties were non-repairable. The figures are likely to grow as rescue teams enter deep into rural areas.

In Mongar district alone 1991 houses have been damaged, followed by Trashigang 1571 and Trashiyangtse 573 houses. Most schools and Basic Health Units (BHU) of Trashigang have been damaged. The government said it cannot estimate the cost of damages.

Government officials say, how can it be possible to value damage to stone and mortar structures, built by the villagers themselves, with one wall smashed and a deep crack running right through the other? Even more difficult to value is the damage to old monasteries and lhakhangs and sacred kus and ngangtens (inner relics). Many of them are priceless.

The donation drive for relief support

continues to pour in. The office of the Gyalpoi Zimpon has received about Nu 3 million in cash from Bhutanese people and agencies, as well as a few foreigners so far. Of this, Nu 300,000 was donated by Hindu community in Thimphu. The association of graduates, Youth Voluntary, donated Nu 500,000.

Bhutan Chamber of Commerce and Industries and government employees are making arrangement for more donations. Thimphu residents have organized dance parties to raise funds. Several districts are planning cultural shows to collect cash and kind. Royal Bhutan Army, Royal Bhutan Police and members of the Sherubtse college's social service unit (SSU) have been mobilized across the districts to carry out relief activities. Questions have been raised whether Bhutan has the resources to start rebuilding. Earthquake damages are addition to damages of infrastructure caused by heavy rainfall in May and July.

Dashain in Bhutan

Kuensel

29 September, 2009 – It's the time of Dashain and so a time for Lhotsampa communities to get together.

In this festival to commemorate the victory of good over evil, family members, wherever they are, make it a point to come home to apply tika, made of uncooked rice and curd, on the forehead and receive blessings for a good and long life from their elders.

In Tsirang, people have come from Phuentsholing and Samdrupjongkhar to celebrate. A housewife in Tsimasham, Tika Pradhan, 43, travelled all the way to Suntaley, Tsirang, along with her husband and daughter. "We make it a point to come home every year on this festival," she said. "Receiving

blessings from family and elders is important for our daily life."

According to a private company employee, M B Subba, who took leave to attend the ceremony, faith, hope, inspiration and blessings are an integral part of the ceremony. "I never missed it ever since I got into job," he said.

The person, who puts tika, also gives money. "It is a note of appreciation," said Nar Bahadur, 89, from Manidangra. Nar Bahadur applied tika to 21 people in his family, who had come all the way from Wangduephodrang and Thimphu to receive his blessings. He gave a Nu 20 note to everyone.



Volunteers of Bhutanese Refugee Women Forum, Camp Management Committee, Social Workers and Media Persons with Children of Care Center, Beldangi-I. Photo: Indra Timshina/BNS

Best Wishes

We wish the most colourful Dipawali 2066 to all the Bhutanese citizens in exile.

Publisher & TBR Family

Attraction towards journalism continues

September 30

At a time when exiled Bhutanese journalists have complained about fragile security for reporting from refugee camps in Jhapa Nepal, a 5-day 'basics journalism training' was launched during Dashain.

The camp-based 'Prabashi Aankha'-meaning exile eye- a group of youths that organized the training, stated that the program was aimed at creating awareness among refugee

youths towards journalism. The group blogs social issues at

Exileye.blogspot.com.

According to Lok Bahadur Mahara, co-ordinator of the group, as many as 30 refugee youths including teens participated in the training program.



Notion & Motion of Unionism

Disintegration of unionism and collective bargaining is one of those features that make democracy charming and adorable. Unionism not only delivers bargaining calibers to workers but helps germinate affection, friendship and joint work. Collective effort is the final decider to make things happen.

The limitation of unionism bestowed by king-made constitution has been further kept right rein by the private sector of the country. The constitution provides for only one union per company, be it private or public, and this basic norm has been denied by the private companies.

Workers who wished to form associations as per the labor law have been told they will have to leave the company at immediate effect if they dare doing so. Bhutan Employment and Labour Act, 2007 has made it mandatory that there should be associations in any company with more than 12 permanent employees. Section 176 of the Act states that workers of an enterprise of 12 or more workers employed under contract of employment as per Chapter V, may form a workers' association to represent their interests.

Similarly, Section 177 of the Act says that no managerial employee shall be elected to a workers' association and the association shall not represent the interest of a managerial employee.

The need of a union to fight for the right of workers have been felt, though one has to live at the mercy of owners in the past years. An attempt to form such union in Bhutan Telecom was foiled by the government itself last year.

Thirty-eight regular and 34 muster roll employees of Bhutan Chemical and Carbide Ltd (BCCCL) have been sacked at a time and they could do nothing to raise voice against illegal act of the employer. Only option for them was to appeal the Minister of Labor and Human Resources, with no prospects of getting any justice for the government functions in the interest of the business coterie. In fact, the political and business circles are formed of the people coming from same sources, who only appear for different role at different times.

The increasing conflicts between the owners and the workers are taking toll with owners stubborn to keep all associations out of their business territory. It was intentionally been discouraged for any associations of the workers fearing collective bargaining to raise salaries and other benefits. Functionally, this is one example showcasing how had been the workers under lawless Bhutan. The owners thought it otherwise that owner-worker conflict can be solved through dialogue had there been trade unions.

Had it been permissible, the business tycoons might have already branded these attempts of forming trade unions as 'terrorist groups' or those intending to fracture tranquility of their earning. To note, government has little strength to force the big companies to implement labor act since these companies have direct link with palace, now coordinated under Druk Holdings and Investments.

But, we (workers) shall overcome some day...

From Bhutan to e-Bhutan



By Vidhyapati Mishra

The tiny Himalayan kingdom Bhutan, which is sandwiched between two Asian giants, India and China, was glad to get some computers connected with the internet facilities on June 2, 1999. With grant assistance from the United Nations Development Programme and International Development Research Center, the only Internet Service Provider (ISP) in Bhutan, Druknet started its service from Thimphu just a decade back. Now, the ISP has expanded its service to major districts in the country. The internet subscriptions have gone up by over 500 percent since its introduction in 1999, the same year when Bhutan introduced the television.

Digitalization

Though the exact date of entry of the first computer in Bhutan remains unknown, those having long experience in the Bhutanese bureaucracy claim that Bhutan started using computers only from early 80s. The Department of Information Technology under the Ministry of Information in 2003 figured out just 5,000 computers in the country, of which 50 percent in the government offices. According to Digital Review of Asia Pacific 2003-2004, only 1,130 computers were connected to the internet with 221 professionals managing them until 2004.

With telecommunications' signals getting digitalized bidding farewell to traditional analogue system, number of computer users in Bhutan is roaring up with more than 1,000 computer sales each year. Before the digital telecommunications signals, there was no direct international exchange link since transmission of signals was made through the Indian operators. In recent years, Bhutan Telecom cut down tariff rates for both national and international calls, and now the consumers pay 50 percent less as compared to what they used to do in the past. This has also made dial-up internet cheaper; Bhutan is yet to get broadband. The internet charge until 2001 was Ngultrum 1,500 for a nominal package of 15 hours, equivalent to Nepali rupees 160 per hour. Now, this has come down by almost 50 percent.

Clients of Bhutan Mobile launched in 2003 are expecting to set their cell phones connected to internet in the forthcoming days. Bhutan Telecom (BT) is working hard to connect all remote places with towns and cities through telecommunications services. According to BT annual report, the most remote places like Laya and Sakten now have access to telephone. Geographically, one needs to walk 12

days and 7 days from the nearest road to reach Laya and Sakten respectively, and are located at altitude of 5,000 metres. All towns and district headquarters have telecommunications services, and more than 60 percent offices, both private and government, have computers and internet services. Most of the documents including citizenship cards are digitalized and public services are computer-based.

Vision for Commitment

Recent surveys sponsored by International Development Research Center showed that business people in Bhutan use the internet for longer hours but less frequently, while students use it more frequently but for shorter periods. To standardize the internet quality, the country's ISP under the supervision of Bhutan Telecommunications Authority has increased its bandwidth and modem system replacing 16-port modem with 96-port dial-up modem in Thimphu and 32-port modem in Phuentsholing. These are the two districts in Bhutan with maximum internet browsers with separate internet account.

Until 2004, Bhutan was using a font application designed by Indian professionals to type Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan which has its origin from Tibetan literature and characters. With the introduction of Dzongkha compatible Unicode in 2004, developed jointly by Dzongkha Development Commission and Microsoft, Bhutan has own programming, applications and database in the national language. College of Science and Technology, Sherubtse College and Royal Institute of Management have very high enrollments of students wishing to pursue higher education in computer science and information technology.

Priority

Each year, the government of Bhutan earmarks special budget to promote IT sector. It is working to provide computers with access to the internet facilities to all schools and colleges. Around two dozens cyber cafes in Thimphu and visible numbers in Phuentsholing are providing email, internet facilities to visitors, mostly tourists and college students. Druknet, which hosts more than 150 websites, most of them developed and registered in the United Kingdom, is planning to update its capacity to meet high demands for space and bandwidth.

Prioritizing exploitation of feasible rivers to generate electricity for Indian market as a major economic icebreaker, Bhutan is emerging as a flying goose in the region having its per capita income almost doubled in less than five years. With improved economic status of the Bhutanese citizens, Bhutan will set an example in both economic progress and information technology in the coming decade when the country accomplishes the current target of generating 10,000 MW of hydroelectricity by 2020.

Nepal-Bhutan Talk on The Card

For the first time in two years the democratically elected government of Bhutan is opening its mouth on the refugee issue, for long labeled as the issue of the "people in the camps in Nepal". There has been sequence of heavy pressures on the new government from various sides.

The pressure started with the start of resettlement of 'people from camps' to different first world countries and visit to Bhutan by the Senator John McCain's delegation, last year. The high level US delegation had given an assignment to the then recently elected government in Bhutan. The assignment included three major and six minor deeds Bhutan was expected to carry out within a given time frame. They were preparation for the repatriation of the people in camp who are willing to return to Bhutan, establishment of the US Embassy in Bhutan, transparency in the use of grants from the donors, improvement in the diplomatic relation with Nepal to solve the refugee crisis bilaterally, guarantee of freedom and security of the people in the opposition, change in the law to accommodate all section of the population, no more eviction on whatever reasons, etc.

Last month Foreign Minister Ugyen Tshering traveled to Washington to hand over the assignment which carried the bulk but a little content. The long report had one thing half positive. That was willingness of Bhutan to open an educational and cultural consulate in Thimphu instead of a full fledged US embassy. The shy FM met with Senator John Mc Cain and requested him to forward the assignment to White House. It was refused. The ultimatum must have been renewed or extended, or even warning must have been issued, Ugyen delegation returned with heat strong enough to make the leaders go rest less.

They sought help of south block in Delhi, India, to crack new ideas to fool US and prolong the tact. Indian Home Minister P. Chidambaram had to rush to assist Bhutan's ministers in the new chase move. On his way to Bhutan he used the transit time in Tribhuvan International Airport in Kathmandu by calling an emergency meeting with Nepal's Home Minister Bhim Rawal and cautioning him to prepare for an immediate bilateral talk with Bhutan on the issue of the exiled Bhutanese. This unusual meeting of two home ministers during the usual transit of Druk Air in TIA was sufficient indicator of heat in the rulers.



By Govinda Rizal
Kyoto Japan

Not a coincidence Prime Minister Jigme Y Thinley rushed to Japan to meet Sadako Ogata, one of the former heads of UNHCR. During her leadership in the refugee organization, Jigme Thinley as a minister under the former Monarch Jigme Singye Wangchuck had developed a warm rapport with her. She was even invited to Bhutan to strengthen the intimacy. Now she is one of the most powerful figures who can be a right third person to suggest and influence on the issue of exiled Bhutanese and possible say to the pressurizing parties what Bhutan rulers want to say.

It is noteworthy to recall that immediately after her visit to Bhutan; she visited the refugees in camps in Nepal and assured them that she would see all the refugees back in Bhutan during her tenure.

What next? Now, out of many strategic moves designed, one would be to call for a positive dialogue with Nepal on the issue of exiled Bhutanese. The government in Nepal is right for the Bhutan to deal with, as Nepalese Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal is as good a friend of Bhutan's rulers as Sher Bahadur Deuba who had agreed for Bhutan's proposal to categorize exiled Bhutanese into four groups.

If anything is possible, bendable, melt-able and strike-able, it is now. So let's expect Bhutan and Nepal will sit for a new round of talk and give pretext to the world to say that the work is going on for repatriation of the citizens expelled two decades back. However, for the exiled Bhutanese, there is not much to get excited right now.

Democratic movement in Bhutan is inevitable: Bastola

Not a single Bhutanese refugee has been repatriated to Bhutan despite 15 rounds of bilateral talks between Nepal and Bhutan. The joint verification process conducted in 2001 yielded no fruitful results. Bhutan has not been cooperating since then. Chakra Prasad Bastola, former foreign minister of Nepal and a senior Nepali Congress-affiliated leader represented Nepali delegation during bilateral talks between these two countries. While talking to BNS-run Saranartha Sarokar in Kathmandu, Mr. Bastola highlighted some untold facts about the bilateral talks, and also possibility of forming Non-Resident Bhutanese (NRB) network. Excerpts:

How do you evaluate the Bhutanese refugee issue?

The Bhutanese refugee issue can be better understood if we analyse it from two view points: one is about the politicians or the political movement, and the other is about the Bhutanese refugees—their settlement, management and living. Although both seem political issues, conspicuously one is political movement and the other is the untold story of the refugees. I feel the condition has arrived that we take the issue on complete different ground. Owing to unsuccessful bilateral talks with Bhutan and fake support from international levels and the neighbouring countries, the Bhutanese movement and the refugee issue have become entirely two different things. It is on the same ground that a mass of Bhutanese people has been resettled in the USA, including other different countries. But it cannot be concluded that the Bhutanese political movement has ended only because the resettlement has occurred.

You had played a significant role from the Nepalese desk on the bilateral talks. Still, they ended up in vain.. Who do you blame for this?

It is not a question about who was not able to do something special. The only thing is the talks couldn't be fruitful. No government can compel another government to act on the former's will. Your concern on who had not been able to work specifically is meaningless here.

On which background was that made and how did it become unsuccessful?

It is not my part to comment on which background it was done; it has become more a subject of history. The verification occurred and more than 70% people were proved to be Bhutanese. And on this ground, I feel the verification process proved Bhutan wrong on its thought that the refugees are non Bhutanese. When this claim went wrong, Bhutan neglected to make the dialogues fruitful and conclusive. And not only this, on the pretext of the incident that occurred in the camp in Nepal, the Bhutanese verification team went back and the talks formally ended. After that Nepal could not revivify the talks.

When the verification concluded that a four or five year old born in the refugee camp was a national criminal, many analyses revealed that there were the weaknesses of Nepalese team also.

I have no knowledge about that.

What do you think—should the dead-lock be broken and the talks continue?

That should be the matter of the present government, and the present foreign ministry.

Foreign minister is from your party.

One will not be able to take all the responsibilities of foreign affairs only because he had once been foreign minister. He is not in charge of the past, present and the future. I said that the efforts from the government for further dialogues after the verification process were not carried out wisely. This issue has been certainly overshadowed. I would say that this grave issue should not have been neglected today despite several efforts made by the government in the past.

Often it comes to the media that the Nepalese team goes for the talks with good home works for putting an end to the long run refugee imbroglio but the Bhutanese team tries to get side-lined. What will it do? Is there any significance if it is so?

How had Bhutanese team been in the talks with the Nepalese team?

When refugee issue is considered with respect to Bhutan, it is a highly placed national policy. They had done this with a view to balancing population. So they made this a national interest and they tried their level best to make their policy effective—may it be with being in bilateral talks, without speaking or keeping themselves away from the talks. With regard to this, there had been indifference on their part.

Not a single person has returned home till date and the third countries have been working for the resettlement of these people. More than 20000 people have already been resettled. How do you take this?

I have understood it quite well. I take it positively. They have gone there on their own will. They are not compelled. And obviously it is better to get resettled than living a life of refugee. Nepal was not able to solve this problem. Bhutan did not take interest. And the Bhutanese refugees and their leaders were not able to take strong initiatives for the same. Living a life of refugee for indefinite time is not appropriate from any sense. So at least being free from all sorts of circumstances, the Bhutanese refugees have reached to a place and situation to start a new life.

Being in Nepal seem more possible in launching democratic movement inside Bhutan. Will resettlement hinder this?

No. the movement is something different. It is more a logical thing and I don't believe that geographical boundaries play any role for that. The movement inside Bhutan is inevitable.

It is heard that Non-Resident Nepali Organisations have been trying to get the Bhutanese accommodated on them. Is this attempt good? What do you think?

I said that the resettlement of the Bhutanese people in third countries is positive. The Bhutanese should remain as united refugees. Trying to bring them to the category of Non-Resident Nepali is absolutely wrong.

It is also learnt that the Bhutanese have been working towards forming NRB network. If they seek the support from the Nepalese political parties, what role

will Nepali Congress play for this?

There is the role of Bhutanese politicians more than Nepali Congress. I have been telling this to them for sometimes. It is the matter to be known to the political activists about their role, the directions they are walking to and the political ideologies. What I think is that they are living a new life and this is not the end of the situation. This is just an intermediate situation and they need to always make decisions keeping in mind the motherland and its future. If it happens they will be able to preserve their Bhutanese identity—may it be that they are not in Bhutan or in Nepal or not having direct influence in present Bhutanese politics. It will help strengthen the democratic future of Bhutan.

तपाईं हाम्रो रेडियो कार्यक्रम
(शरणार्थी सरोकार अव पूवाञ्चलबाट पनि)

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मानवता लुटिएको एउटा कथा
रेडियो कार्यक्रम शरणार्थी सरोकार

Post Resettlement



Family Split and Dashain

Sept 27: It is just few minutes back I am publishing this post from the time when thousands of Nepali-ethnic people inside refugee camps and in Bhutan start decorating their 'foreheads' with red and white teeka along with blessings from their parents and seniors. Let me repeat, I am missing it this time.

One Nepalese friend of mine, Raju Thapa, also president of Human Rights Without Frontiers – Nepal, had a chat with me yesterday who tried asking me how Hindu people inside Bhutan are going to celebrate this festival. Since then I tried contacting various sources inside Bhutan, but to no avail. Media, on the other side, inside Bhutan have been ignoring how Hindu people are observing this great festival. I did not find any reports regarding it in Bhutanese media. This is the other side of the state of press freedom in Bhutan.

I called my parents over telephone in temporary camps in Nepal just few minutes back; mom didn't wished to talk to me for longer time—perhaps she was crying, suggesting me not to leave the 'forehead' vacated but to put teeka from elderly Nepali-ethnic Bhutanese staying near me. I left her my immediate agreement but I know I will have

to get up early in the morning and rush to my office and also I have decided not to put teeka from others, except my own relatives—whom I don't see around, this year to protest agency's and concerned authorities' ongoing practice to split the families in the name of resettlement.

It should not be read here that I do not want the culture and tradition to be preserved in a continual phase. I will leave no stones unturned for the protection and preservation of Hindu culture, particularly those we Nepali-ethnic community practice.

Family split could often lead to greater degree of frustration among oneself during the resettlement process. Let other TPs not get frustrated like him due to split cases in family. I don't know how my next Dashain would go, but inform me if you have similar stories.

I will give a thought to bring them to public light. Yet, I leave you all my best wishes for HAPPY DASHAIN and TIHAR, Jaya Durga mata!

T.P.Mishra
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Waiting for UNHCR's Officials

By Vidhyapati Mishra

"I never heard of my son opposing third country resettlement program," lamented 79-year-old Bal Bahadur Khadka, who is filled with unplumbed agony of losing his son last month. Bal Bahadur Khadka Several in camp have told Bal Bahadur that his son, Karna Bahadur, was murdered since he opposed resettlement program and always advocated for repatriation.

"He did not choose to resettle our family," he said adding, "But, he always encouraged those willing go to America." He could put strong evidence to support his say – my son sent his eldest daughter and the youngest



Bishnu Maya Khadka

brother in America.

Bal Bahadur, who has low hearing capacity, saw a large crowd in his hut in the evening of September 8 when his son, Karna Bahadur, was murdered by two strangers in Beldangi-II camp. However, he never thought that such a brutal slaying had occurred in his own family.

When the family narrated whole the story to him the next morning, he just listened to a few words and went unconscious. "Why don't the UNHCR officials come to our hut to listen to our pain," cried Bal Bahadur.

He had seen the UNHCR's officials many times in the past during emergency in camp. He wanted to ask the UNHCR's Field Assistant and Protection Officer once regarding their silence. "Everyday I see several vehicles of UNHCR and International Organization for Migration coming to this camp," he told. "However, not a single vehicle comes here to console my family."

Khadka expressed that at first he did not believe several fellow-countrymen telling him that his son was killed when he opposed resettlement. "The UNHCR's absence in my family has made me little convincing that my son



Bal Bahadur Khadka

was murdered according to their interest."

According to his neighbors, Bal Bahadur walks alone along the road towards bangay Bazaar even during night, and always needs someone to look at him. They also claim that he was unable to follow his daily routine since the slaying. "My son never did anything wrong. That is why thousands of well-wishers attended his funeral," he uttered.

He was seen enthusiastic to talk to the UNHCR regarding his resettlement process since he was not assured of his security in camp. "We can't stay here anymore. We must go for resettlement to save our lives."

LIVING MEMORY

Brother, bluff calls and verbal warnings are common in camps, said one of my friends Arjun Pradhan, who is practicing journalism in exile.

He expressed his insecurity and fear during reporting. However, in order to inform people, he is not moving aside from danger.

Such information is not new to me but situation has created such moments when a journalist feels insecure even inside his hut.

Sometimes people feel suffocated and even afraid to talk. This is common and there is nothing to doubt upon it. But, I have started asking myself what is happening now-a-days inside camps?

Why man hunts man? This is a question which every alert Bhutanese raises to himself. None of the answers has been discovered so far leaving refugees helpless and insecure.

For someone who wants to know what is going on in the camps, we can answer human hunting is going on.

People blame political leaders and public figures. But, they too are targeted. There was a time when peace prevailed in the camps. Now this has become a mere history in the minds of camp residents.

Slowing such unwanted human hunting started. Refugees witnessed bloody situations a number of times when some were knifed to death or even gunned down.

Simply people are psychologically depressed and always feel threatened. There are elderly citizens in camps who opine that Dago Tshering used to tell Nepali-speaking Bhutanese fight each other and end their history by themselves.'

In fact, killing is not a solution. When someone, be him a leader or laymen, does a mistake, he must be corrected by showing the right path, not with weapons. Other measures are to be applied instead. This will create a sense of humanity in all beings. No rights will be violated. No individual loses his life untimely. Let us all be determined towards this philosophy and stop human hunting.

■ By Jeetan Muskan

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Yet another magazine for Bhutanese

The new media industry of the country gets yet another media outlet, when Bhutan got the first women magazine in last week of September, in less than a week the country received first specialized magazine on business and economy.

The country's first magazine exclusively on feminine content "Yeewong" adds glamour and color to Bhutanese society, which is opening up at nail's pace.

The first issue of 126 glossy paper comes with crown of first Miss Bhutan and the publishers said the issue is dedicated to July 2008 Miss Bhutan beauty pageant.

The bi-annual colorful magazine is priced



The magazine's editorial team comprises young graduates, who have not worked for a magazine before.

at Nu 100 and gives the visualization of fashion magazine. Its target readers are girls and women between 12 to 50 years.

Edited by 22-years young Pema Choden Tenzin, the magazine aims to present itself as a platform for Bhutanese women, to celebrate womanhood and every aspect that makes women unique.

Yeewong in national language means something appealing to the heart.

The magazine will hit the market on every July and December and is published by MPC Bhutan Entertainment headed by Karma Tshering.

सातै शिविरका ताजा खबर

श्रव्य तथा दृष्यसहितका समाचारहरू

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