Jurwa 2

Changing Times

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Democracy is not just about voting every five years. Democracy is our daily thoughts and actions. Democracy is dealing with change.

Bhutan's transition to democracy might have been smooth and peaceful, but it hasn't come without adversities. Democratic politics even in Bhutan has been laden with conflicts and division in the families and communities.

Bhutan's experience with process of democratisation has also proven as challenging as in other democracies, though not in the same degree. But these are the tensions of change that needs to be understood and overcome in the process of political maturity and growth of democracy. That is why it is exciting and, ultimately, fulfilling to be able to make a difference to Bhutan's system of governance at this time.

As the Bhutanese can vote at the age of 18, every teenager should take interest in discussions to be able to make informed decisions and understand the role of a citizen in democracy.

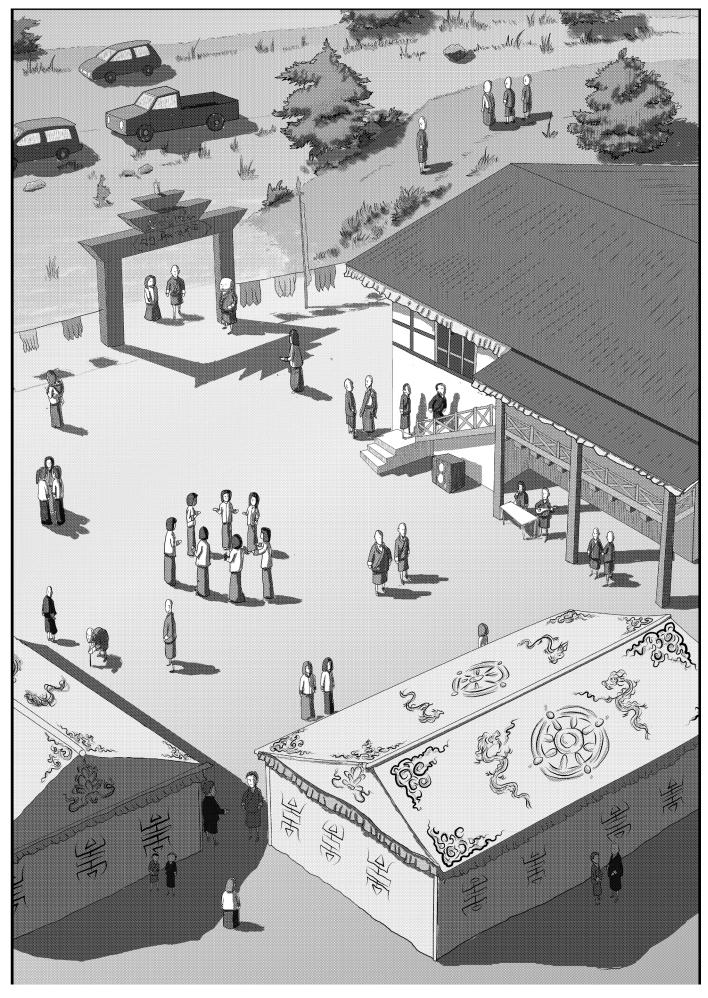
Jurwa: Changing Times in Gakithang - is a graphic novel based on a radio soap series that BCMD created to reflect the stories of a cross section of people who were at the cusp of democratic change. BCMD worked with political candidates, government officials, youth, and citizens who shared their experiences, concerns, and aspirations from Bhutan's evolving system of governance.

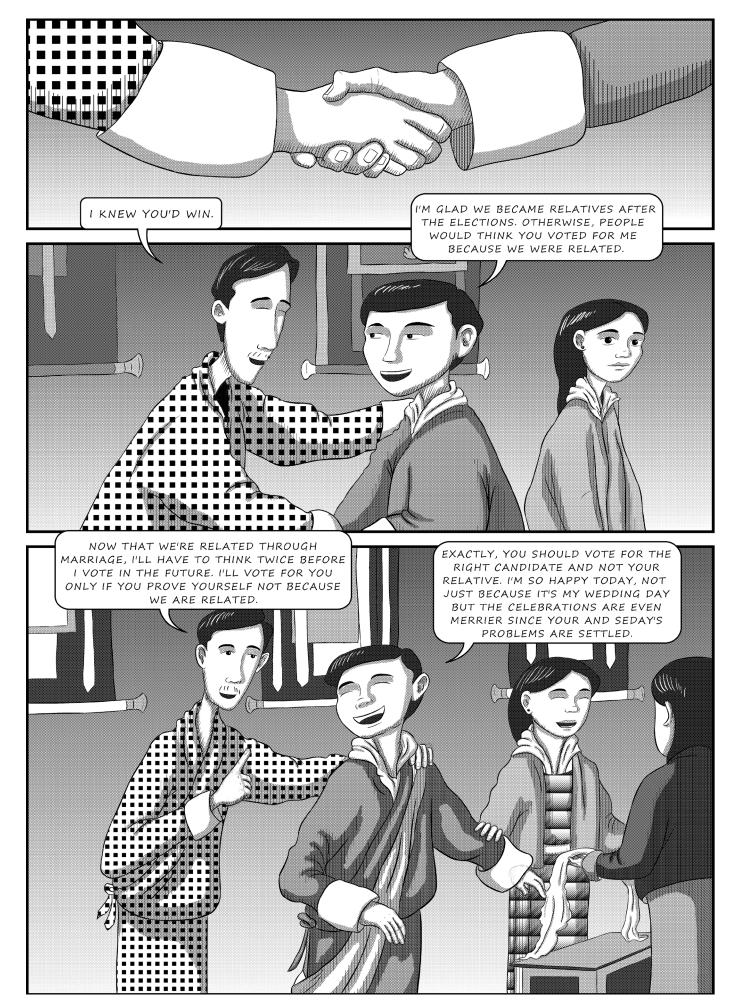
This is the story of Bhutan, in contemporary times. As responsible citizens, we want to ensure the success of this path that we have chosen, towards good governance. We urge you to continue discussing our transition to democracy and your feedback is welcomed.

Reach us at bcmd@bcmd.bt/facebook/twitter.









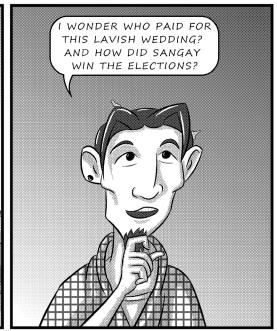




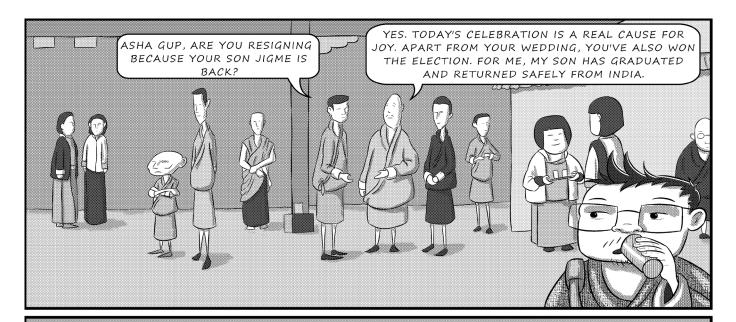






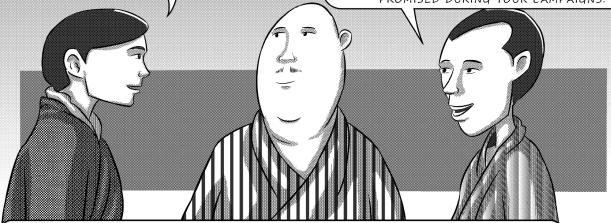






WELL, ASHA GUP, DURING THE CAMPAIGN,
YOUR SON'S KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
REALLY HELPED ME. OUR COUNTRY NEEDS MORE
PEOPLE WITH AN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
LIKE HIS SINCE WE'RE A NEW DEMOCRACY.

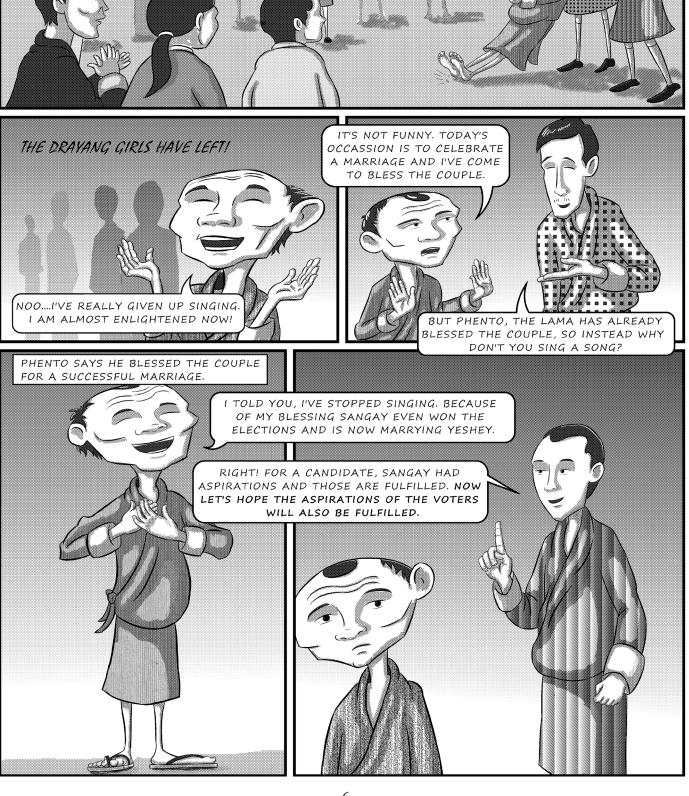
WHAT YOU SAID IS RIGHT, DASHO SANGAY. IT'S
IMPORTANT FOR EVERYONE TO UNDERSTAND THE
CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY, AND, IT'S MORE IMPORTANT
TO BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY AND TO WANT TO MAKE
IT WORK. AND DASHO, NOW THAT YOU'VE WON THE
ELECTION, YOU'LL HAVE TO FULFIL WHAT YOU
PROMISED DURING YOUR CAMPAIGNS.

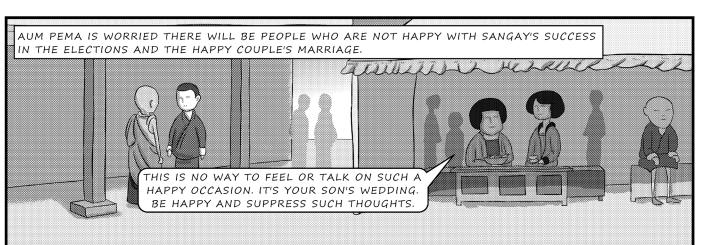


I KNOW I'VE YOUR SUPPORT, JIGME. I HOPE YOU'LL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT ME BY GIVING CONSTRUCTIVE FEEDBACK, AND REMINDING ME IF I FAIL IN FULFILLING THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS CONSTITUENCY. IF YOU FAIL TO SHARE FEEDBACK, QUESTION OUR DECISIONS, OR ENGAGE WITH US, YOU FAIL AS A RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN, TOO. AS A YOUTH, YOU SHOULD REMIND US TO DO OUR WORK BETTER.











I HEAR YESHEY IS INTERESTED IN RUNNING FOR THE LOCAL ELECTIONS? THOSE WHO ARE UNHAPPY WILL BE MORE UNHAPPY.



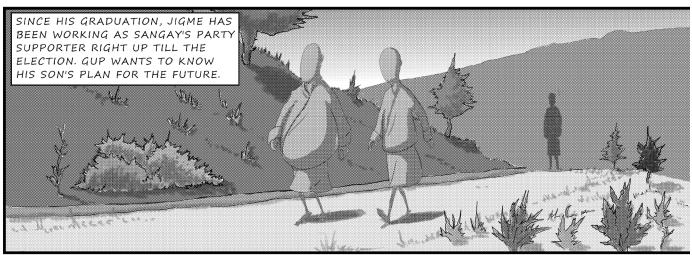
WANGCHUK, WHAT A GRAND WEDDING! WE HAVE MANY PRETTY GIRLS WITH GOOD VOICES IN THE VILLAGE, YET THEY GOT SINGERS AND DANCERS FROM THE DRAYANG, ALL THE WAY FROM THIMPHU. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME SUCH BIG WEDDING IS TAKING PLACE IN THIS VILLAGE.

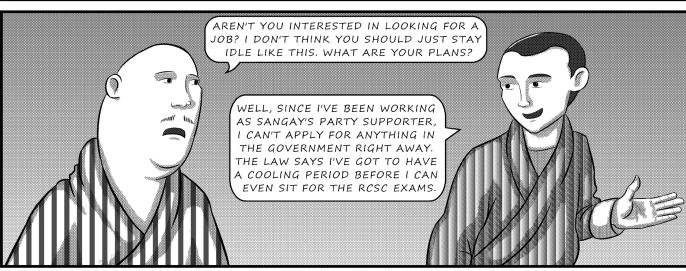
SANGAY'S GRAND WEDDING IS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BEING THE NEW MP. KINCHO THINKS SANGAY WON THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE OF HIS WEALTH.

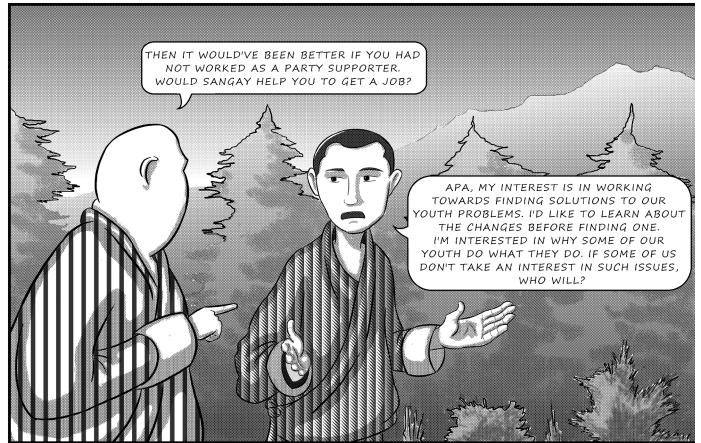
SANGAY SPENT A LOT OF MONEY DURING THE CAMPAIGNS AND ALSO BRIBED PEOPLE TO ENSURE HIS WIN. THERE WAS NO WAY HE WOULD WIN AGAINST ME. BUT THE PEOPLE VOTED HIM IN AND ALL THE MONEY HE SPENT IS NOW ALL REPAID, RIGHT?



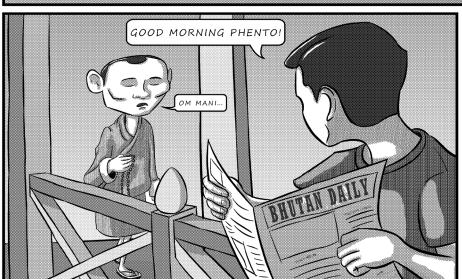
SANGAY WON IN THE END BECAUSE HE BRIBED PEOPLE.







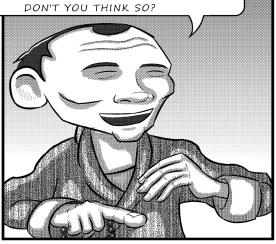










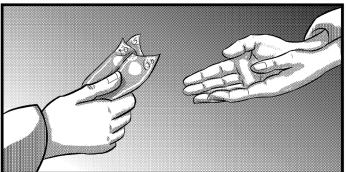




IF I HADN'T MADE THOSE ASPIRATIONS FOR SANGAY AND YESHEY, THEY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN MARRIED.

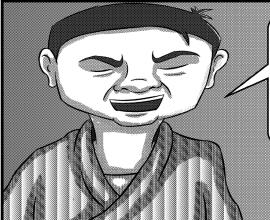
WELL, YES, IF YOU SAY SO. HERE'S SOMETHING TO GET YOURSELF SOME TEA FOR YOUR GOOD ASPIRATIONS AND BLESSINGS.





PHENTO IS NOT HAPPY WITH THE AMOUNT OF MONEY AP DOLEY GAVE HIM AND WONDERS IF THE DRAYANG GIRLS GOT THE SAME AMOUNT.

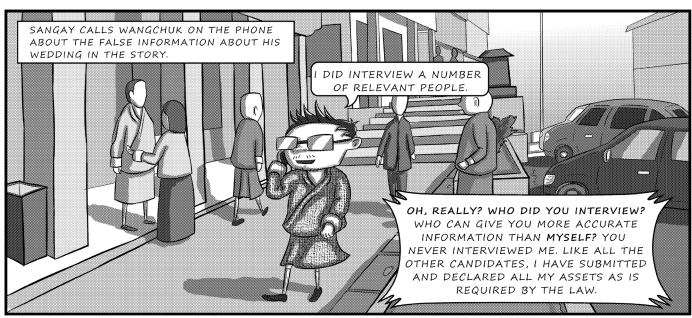


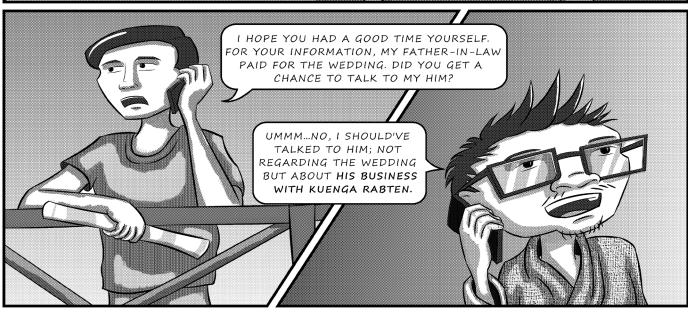


YOU WERE GOING TO FOLLOW THE SPIRITUAL PATH. YOU SAID YOU'RE ALMOST ENLIGHTENED. NOW YOU ARE SHAMELESSLY

COMPLAINING ABOUT NOT BEING PAID BETTER THAN THE DRAYANG GIRLS?

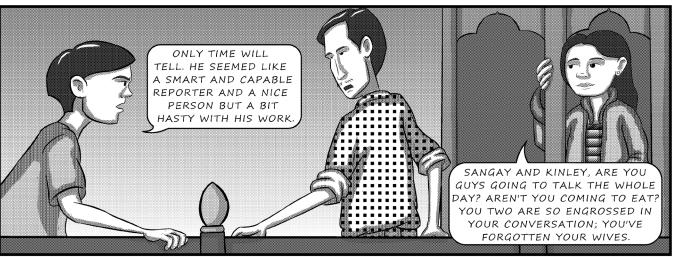
MY ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR FUTURE GOT THE TWO MARRIED. THERE'S A WAY TO BE HAPPY! AND SUCH PRAYERS AND ASPIRATIONS SHOULD BE WELL COMPENSATED!

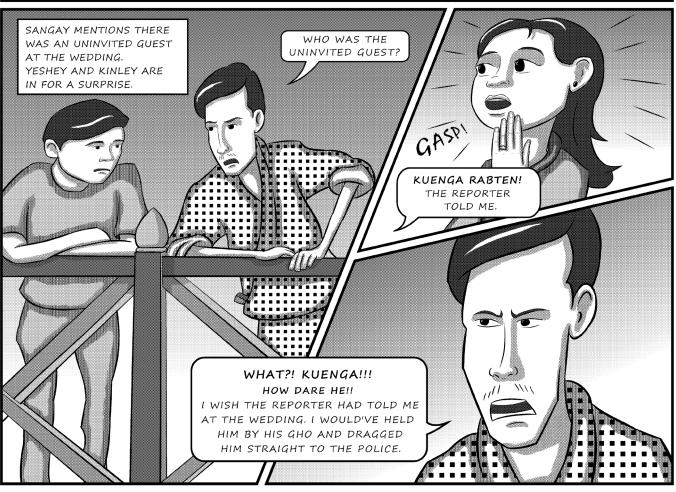


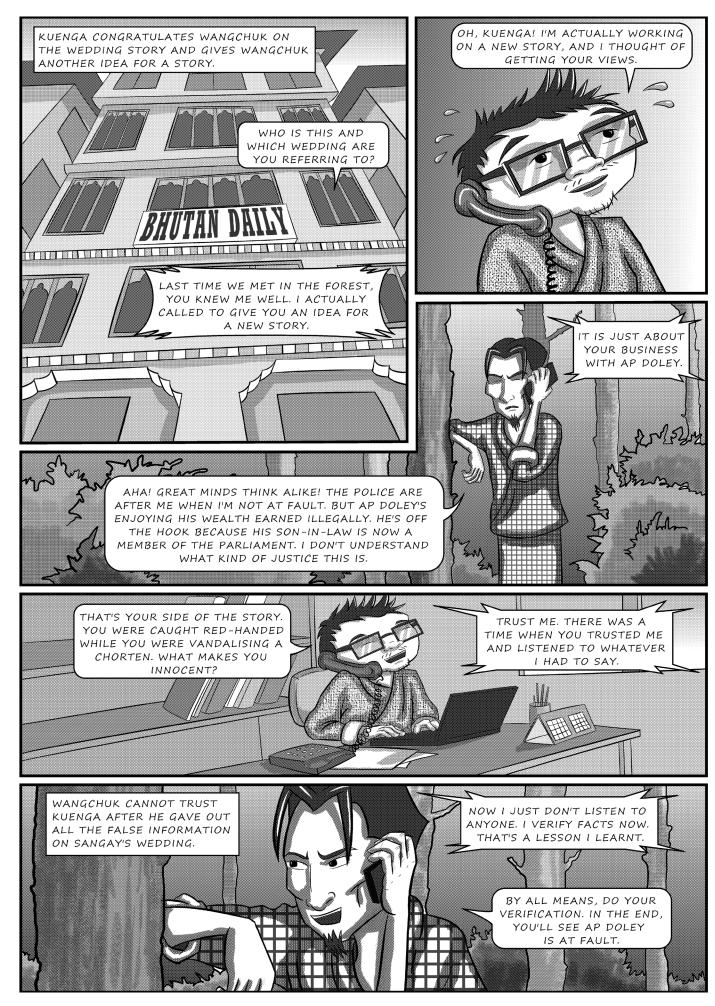


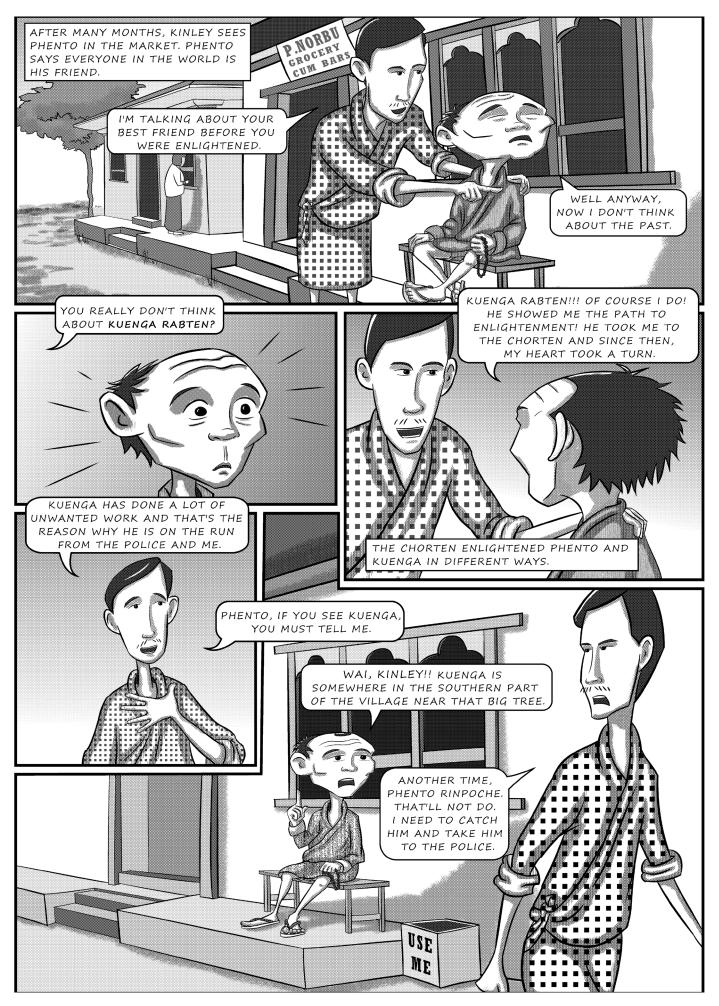


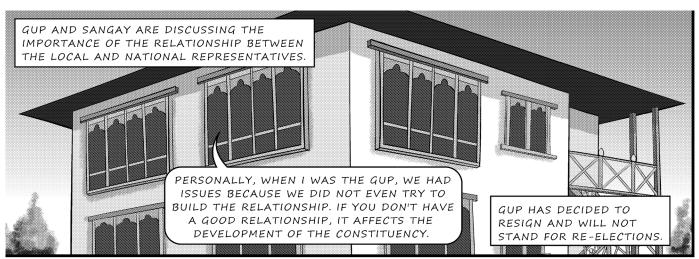


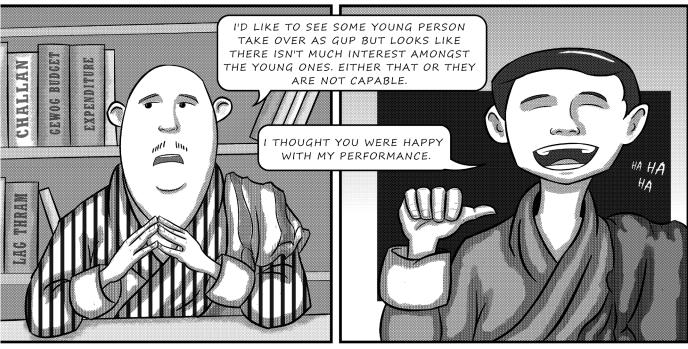


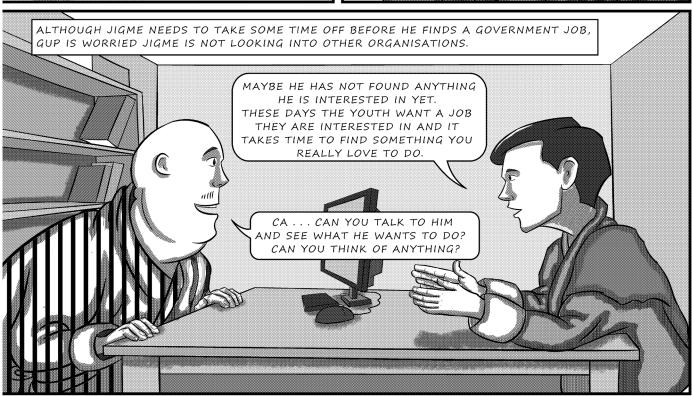




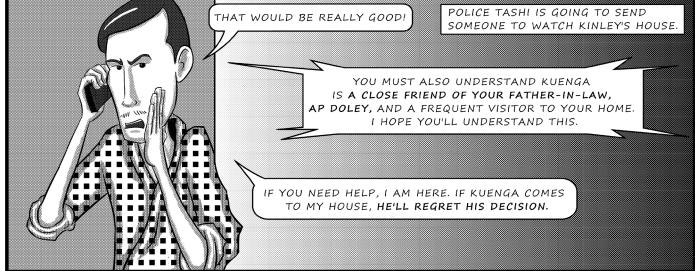


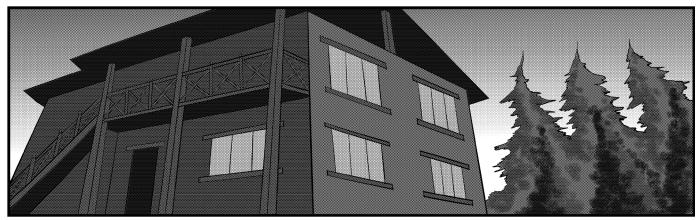


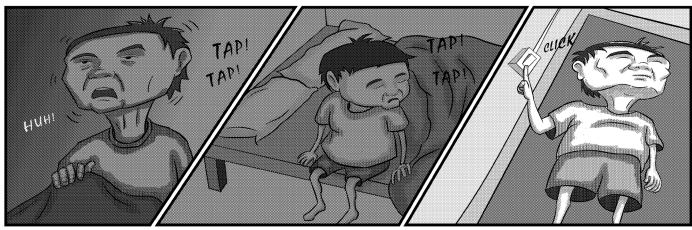


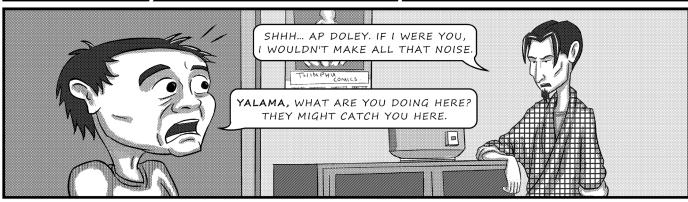


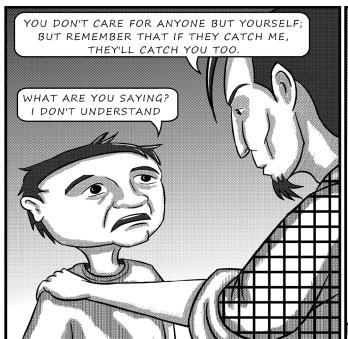






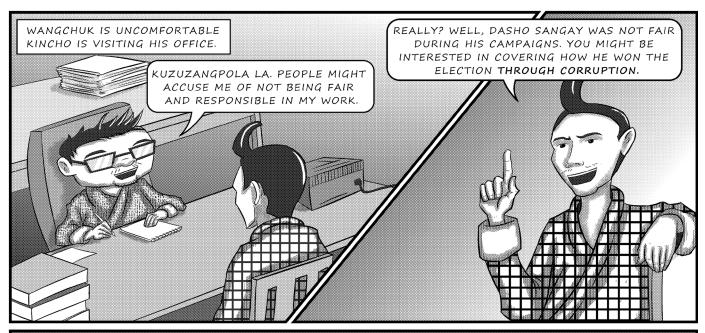














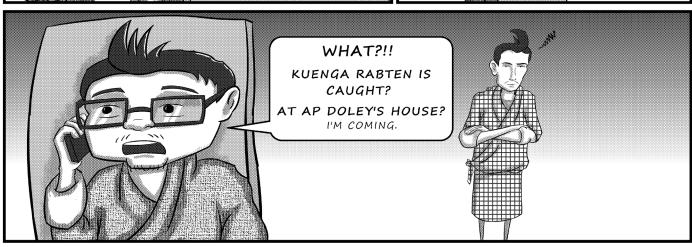
I CANNOT WRITE A STORY WITHOUT CHECKING THE FACTS FIRST. IF I DO THAT STORY, I WOULD HAVE A LOT OF WORK TO DO BY TALKING TO OTHER PEOPLE AND VERIFYING WHAT YOU ARE SAYING. REPORTING SANGAY'S WEDDING WAS NOT RIGHT; I FAILED MY PROFESSION BY FAILING TO TELL PEOPLE THE TRUTH. I DO NOT LET PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS AND BIAS INFLUENCE MY WORK. THE STORY SHOULD BENEFIT THE MAJORITY AND NOT SERVE FEW PEOPLE TO ENACT REVENGE ON SOMEONE.

WHAT BENEFITS THE MAJORITY? OUR REPRESENTATIVES

ARE TAKING PART IN CORRUPT ACTIVITIES.

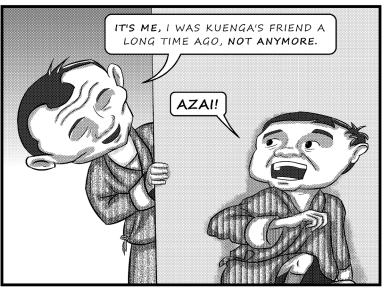
WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT?

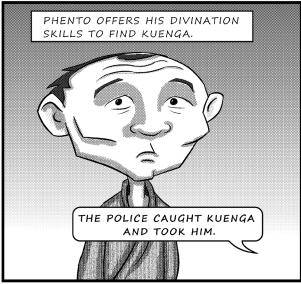


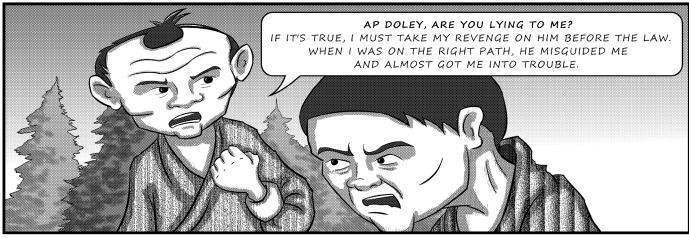




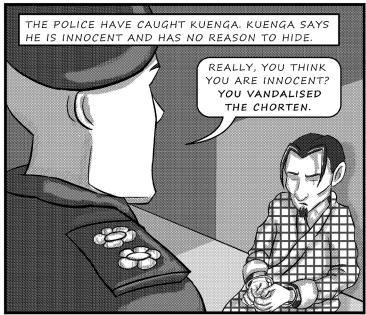


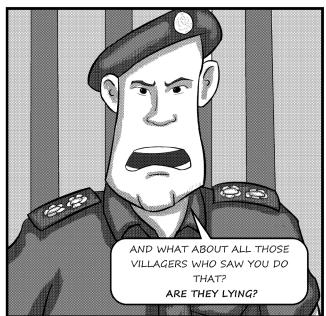








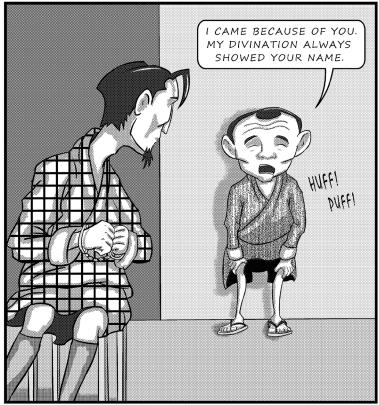


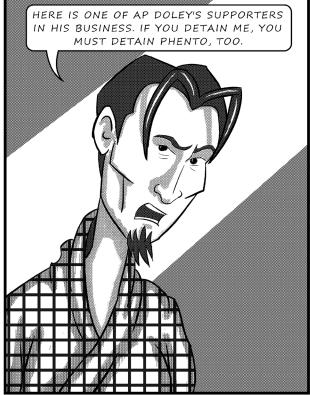


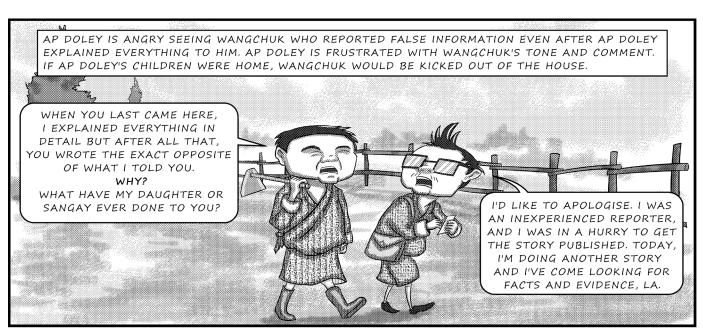
WHATEVER YOU SAY, ALL I'VE BEEN DOING
IS FOLLOWING AP DOLEY'S ORDERS.
WHAT ABOUT AP DOLEY'S PUNISHMENT?
YOU ARE NOT TOUCHING HIM JUST BECAUSE
HE IS DASHO SANGAY'S FATHER-IN-LAW?
HOW CAN THERE BE DIFFERENT LAWS
FOR DIFFERENT PEOPLE?
IS THAT FAIR AND JUST?

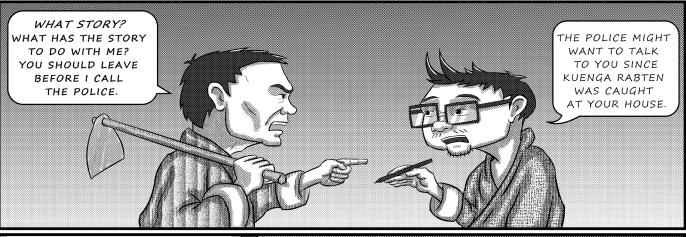


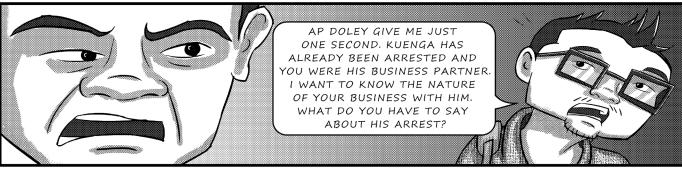
YES, IT'S NOT FAIR!





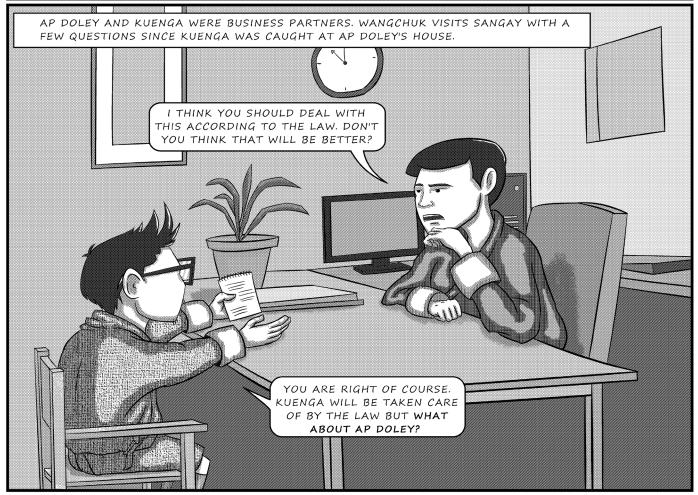






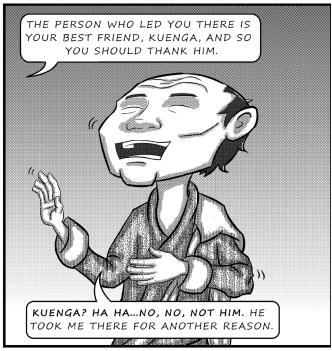


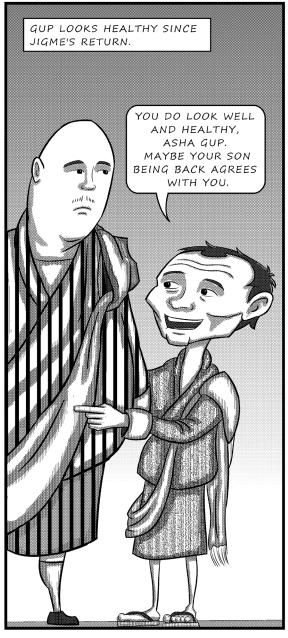




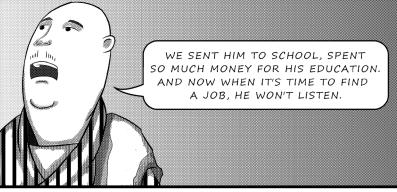
















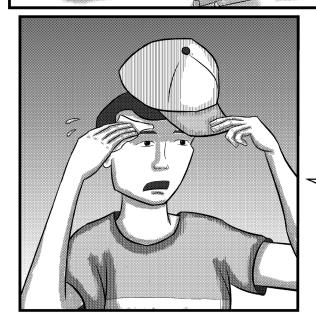




YOU WERE MY BIGGEST SUPPORTER AND NOT YOUR FATHER.
YOUR FATHER IS A CIVIL SERVANT AND I'M A MEMBER OF
PARLIAMENT. ALTHOUGH THE LOCAL AND THE NATIONAL
REPRESENTATIVES WORK TOGETHER, I DON'T THINK
HE'LL UNNECESSARILY MEDDLE WITH MY WORK.

SANGAY PRAISES JIGME ON HANDELING EVERY TASK EFFICIENTLY DURING SANGAY'S CAMPAIGN AND CONTINUES TO GIVE HIM ADVISE.





YES, I ENJOYED WORKING WITH YOU. I WAS ABLE TO GET A GLIMPSE OF PROBLEMS OUR YOUTH FACE. OUR YOUTH ARE OFTEN PORTRAYED NEGATIVELY BY THE MEDIA AND EVERYONE. I FEEL THAT WHILE POLICIES ARE NECESSARY, INDIVIDUALS CAN ALSO PLAY A PART IN TRYING TO UNDERSTAND AND SOLVE SOME OF THESE ISSUES.

BOTH ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND VOTERS HAVE EQUAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

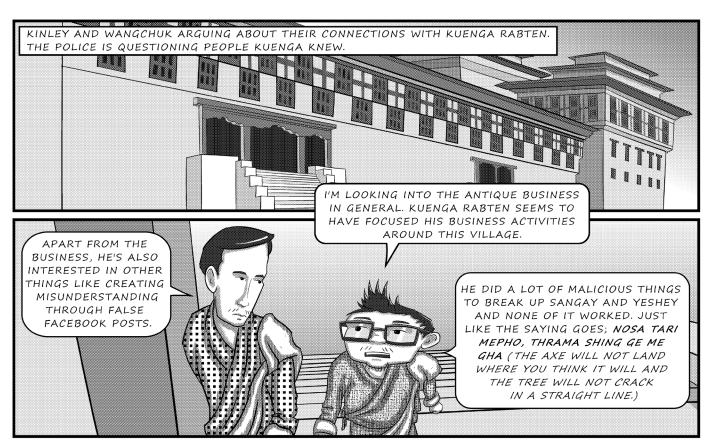
I AM TRYING TO UNDERSTAND AND FIND WAYS TO SOLVE THEM WITH THE COMMITTEE THAT LOOKS AFTER YOUTH ISSUES.

I'M GLAD YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU SHOW AN INTEREST IN SUCH ISSUES.

SADLY, OUR VOTERS SEEM TO THINK THAT JUST BECAUSE THEY HAVE ELECTED SOMEONE, THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY TO TACKLE PROBLEMS LIES WITH THAT PERSON.

JUST AS WE NEED TWO HANDS TO CLAP, WE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER TO BRING CHANGE IN BHUTAN.

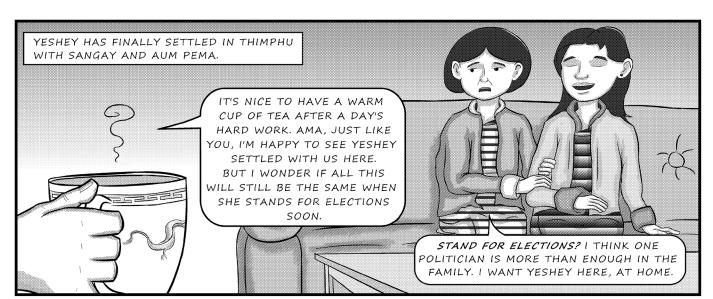






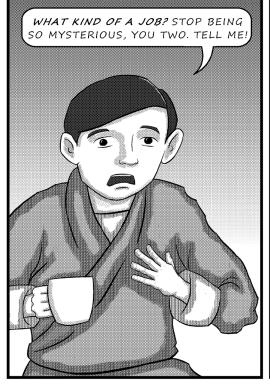








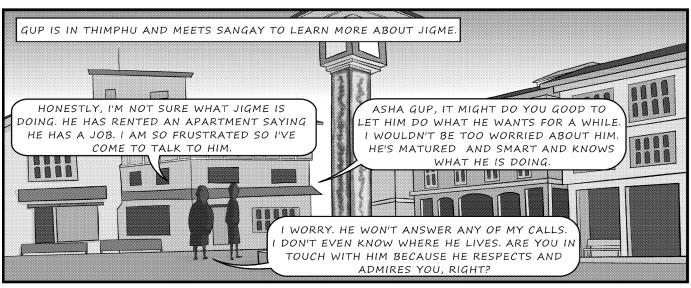


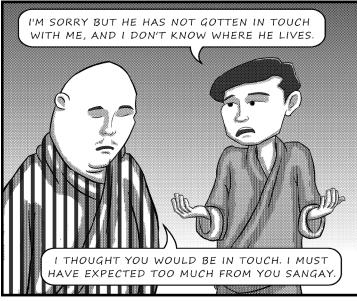


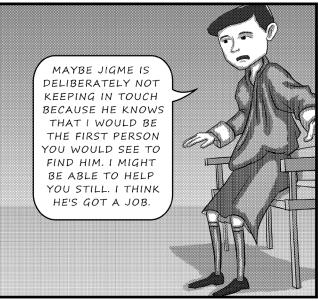


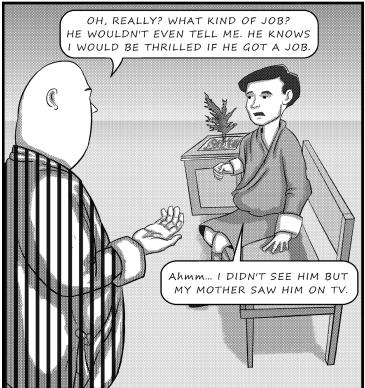


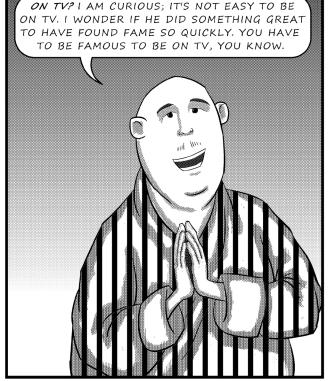


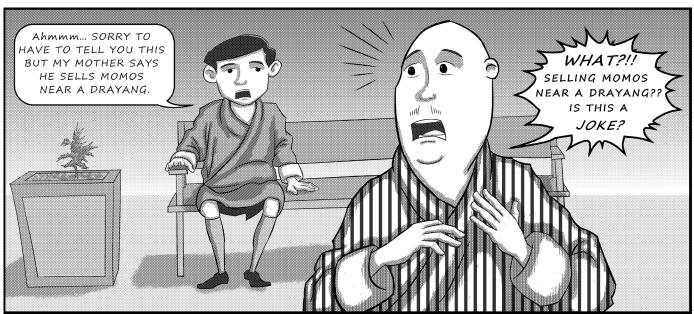


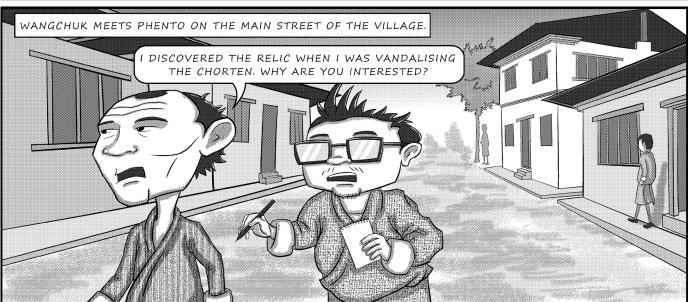


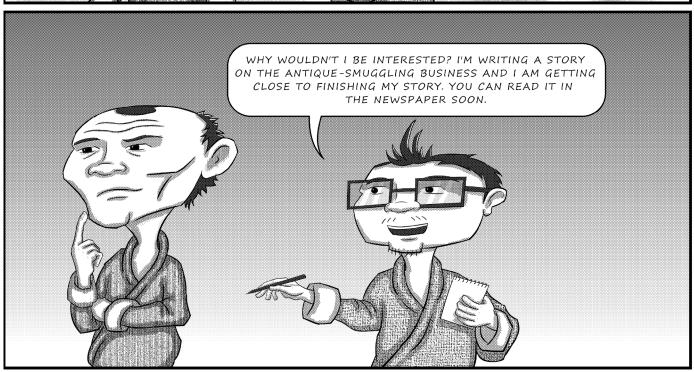


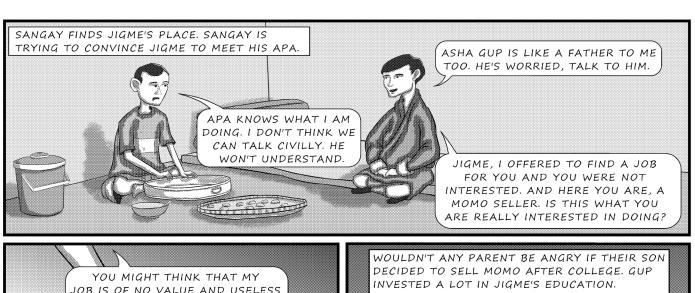






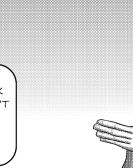








NO, I DON'T. BUT PUT YOURSELF IN YOUR FATHER'S SHOES. YOU'VE ALWAYS BEEN A GOOD STUDENT. NATURALLY, HE HAD EXPECTATIONS FROM YOU. YOU CAN'T REALLY BLAME HIM FOR THAT.



YOU'RE RIGHT, LA. BUT WHAT I AM DOING NOW IS

NOT WHAT I'LL BE DOING MY WHOLE LIFE. MY WORK
RIGHT NOW GIVES ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO INTERACT
WITH FELLOW YOUTH. I GET TO UNDERSTAND OUR
ISSUES AND WHY THEY DO WHAT THEY DO. I EARN
ENOUGH FOR MYSELF AND DON'T HAVE TO DEPEND

SO MUCH ON APA.





WILL YOU PROMISE TO SHARE YOUR FINDINGS WITH ME?

I AM A COMMITTEE MEMBER DEALING WITH YOUTH ISSUES

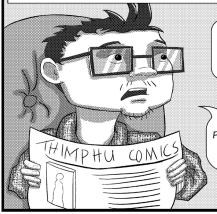
AND IT WOULD REALLY HELP ME IN MY WORK.

YOU MEAN, REPORT TO YOU? WOULD THAT BE IMPORTANT TO YOUR WORK?

I CAN USE YOUR FEEDBACK TO FRAME YOUTH POLICIES. WHAT'S
THE POINT OF YOUR FINDINGS IF YOU CANNOT INFLUENCE POLICIES?
IF PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES WORK TOGETHER, WE CAN
ACCOMPLISH THINGS EASILY. VERY OFTEN WE HAVE TO WORK BASED
ON OUR OWN KNOWLEDGE BECAUSE WE DON'T GET FEEDBACK
FROM THE PEOPLE. BUT YOU CAN SHARE YOUR LEARNINGS.



WANGCHUK IS WORKING ON STORIES BASED ON FACTS BUT KINCHO'S VISITS COULD DAMAGE WANGCHUK'S RELIABILITY AND CREDIBILITY.



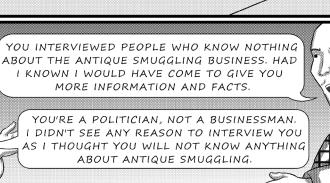
THERE ARE MISSING INFORMATION IN YOUR STORY

DESPITE THE RELEVANT SOURCES YOU SPOKE TO.

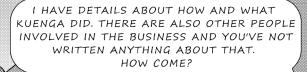
AS A CITIZEN, I HAVE THE RIGHT TO KNOW THE

WHOLE TRUTH. I DON'T HAVE OTHER AGENDAS.

THANK YOU. I WILL KEEP THAT IN MIND FOR THE FUTURE STORIES. FOR NOW, I'VE ALREADY STARTED ON A NEW STORY. MY STORY ON ANTIQUE SMUGGLING
IS CLOSED FOR NOW.



WANGCHUK'S STORY ON THE SMUGGLING BUSINESS SEEMS TO BE MISSING IMPORTANT SOURCES.



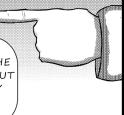
I'VE CHECKED ALL MY SOURCES AND THE INFORMATION
I GOT. BESIDES YOURSELF, IS THERE ANYONE, ACCORDING
TO YOU, WHOM I MIGHT HAVE MISSED OUT?



REPORTERS DON'T WRITE NEWS STORIES BASED ON ALLEGATIONS AND RUMOURS.

YOU LEFT OUT THE MASTERMIND BEHIND THE BUSINESS; AP DOLEY, KUENGA WAS JUST ACTING ON HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND GUIDANCE.

I DID CHECK ON AP DOLEY'S INVOLVEMENT
AND DIDN'T FIND ANY EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE
ALLEGATIONS. THERE IS NO NEED TO WRITE ABOUT
SOMEONE WHO IS NOT INVOLVED. IT IS NOT MY
JOB TO WRITE STORIES BASED ON HEAR
SAYS AND RUMOURS.



AP DOLEY HAS MP AS A SON-IN-LAW AND SO HE IS FREE; BUT KUENGA RABTEN IS BEHIND THE BARS.

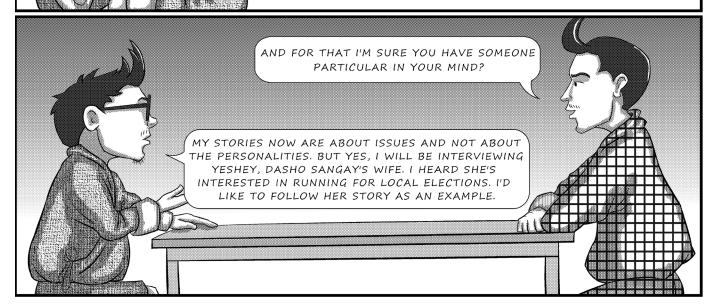
ALL THESE ALLEGATIONS ARE TRUE. I HOPE YOU ARE NOT INFLUENCED BY SANGAY AND THAT IS WHY YOU HAVE NOT MENTIONED AP DOLEY'S INVOLVEMENT!

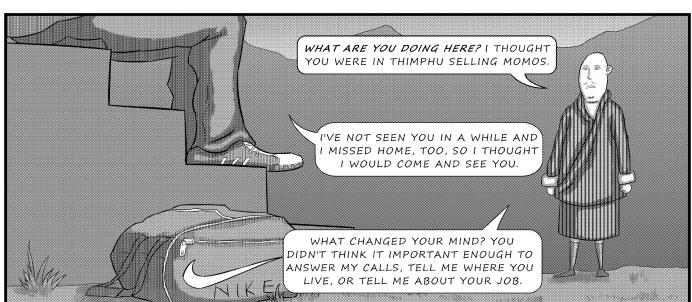
I KNOW HOW TO DO MY JOB, BUT I APPRECIATE YOUR CONCERN ANYWAY

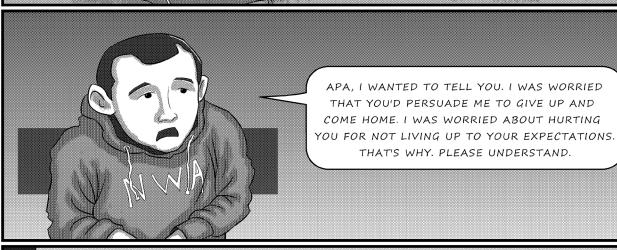


MAYBE I DIDN'T WIN THE ELECTION BECAUSE I AM TOO HONEST.
ANYWAY, WHAT NEW STORY ARE YOU WORKING ON?

I'M DOING A STORY ON WHY THERE ARE VERY FEW WOMEN IN POLITICS. BE IT LOCAL GOVERNMENT OR THE PARLIAMENT, THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IS VERY SMALL. MY HOPE IS THAT THROUGH MY STORY, I'LL AT LEAST BE ABLE TO BRING UP THIS ISSUE, AND THE RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS WILL DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. WE NEED EQUALITY OF VIEWS AND GENDER BALANCE IS IMPORTANT IN ELECTED OFFICES.





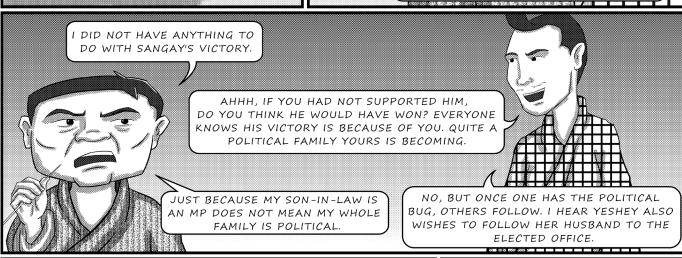


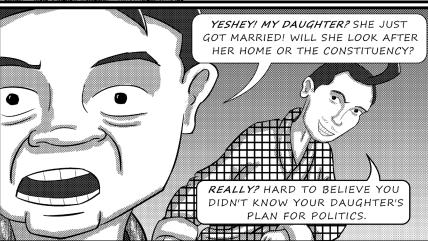


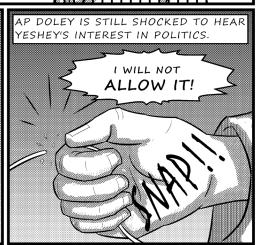












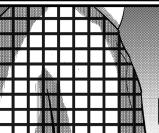




THESE DAYS, THE TALK OF THE VILLAGE IS ABOUT WOMEN JOINING POLITICS. YOU CAN STOP THIS TREND OF WOMEN GOING INTO POLITICS. THEY BELONG IN THE KITCHEN.



WOMEN GOING INTO POLITICS?



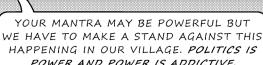
MEN GOING INTO POLITICS ARE BAD ENOUGH!

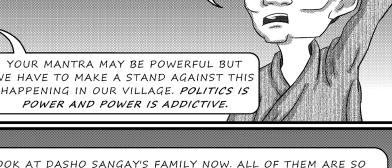


YES, BUT IT IS GOOD FOR MEN TO GO INTO POLITICS TO STOP WOMEN, DON'T YOU THINK?



I'LL STOP THIS BAD TREND RIGHT AWAY.







LOOK AT DASHO SANGAY'S FAMILY NOW. ALL OF THEM ARE SO ADDICTED TO POWER AND GLORY FOR THEMSELVES. THEY DON'T CARE ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CONSTITUENCY AS LONG AS THEY ARE ALL ENJOYING THE POWER THEMSELVES.

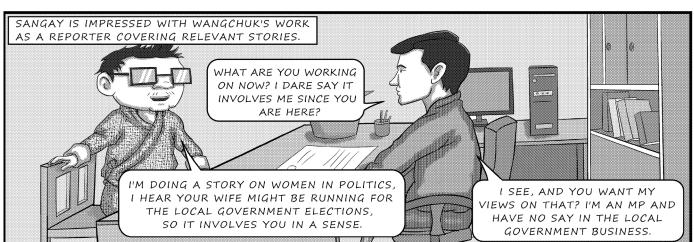
BUT ONLY DASHO SANGAY IS IN POWER, MENA? WHY DO YOU BLAME THE WHOLE FAMILY?

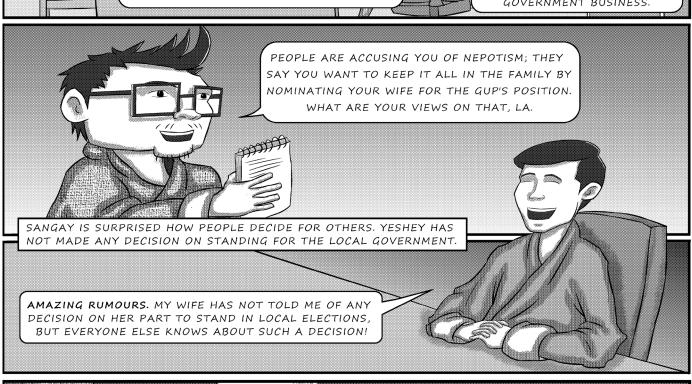


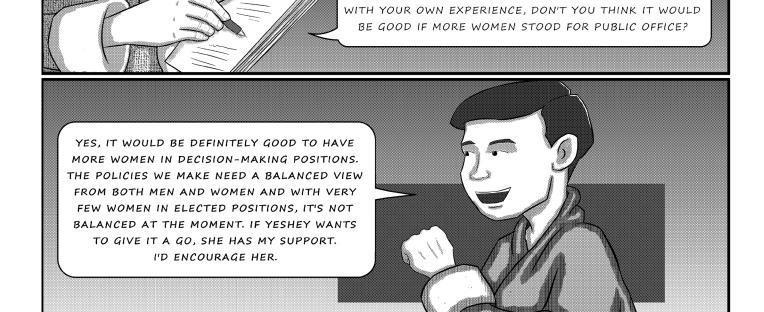
GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS! THE GREED OF POLITICIANS! YOU ARE A PROMINENT FIGURE IN OUR VILLAGE, PHENTO. YOU SHOULD BE NOMINATED. YOU SHOULD NOT WASTE YOUR TIME RECITING MANTRA.

RECITING MANTRA IS NOT WASTING TIME BUT YOU'RE RIGHT. THAT'S A VERY GOOD IDEA. I'M ENLIGHTENED BUT THAT'S NOT ENOUGH, I HAVE TO BECOME AN ELECTED LEADER TO HELP OTHERS.





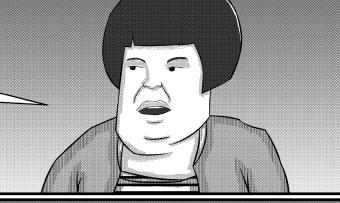






AP DOLEY, ARE YOU GOING MAD NOW?

YOUR FAMILY STANDS BY YOU AND YOU
CRITICISE THEM FOR HARASSING YOU.
WE ARE ALL HAPPY YESHEY MARRIED SUCH
A SENSIBLE YOUNG MAN. WHAT HAVE THEY
DONE TO GET YOU SO WORKED UP LIKE THIS?



AP DOLEY FEELS SANGAY IS INFLUENCING YESHEY TO GO INTO POLITICS.



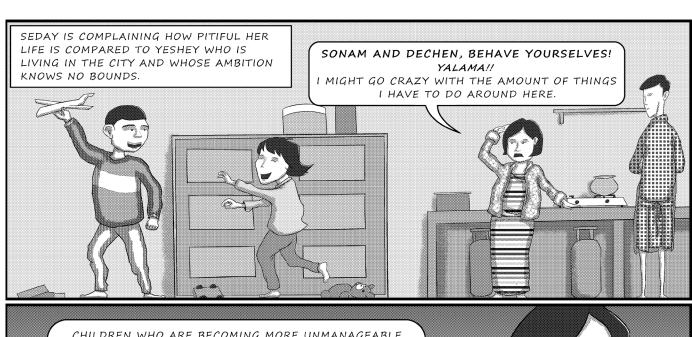
SANGAY IS PERSUADING YESHEY TO CONTEST THE GUP'S SEAT IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS. HAVEN'T YOU HEARD OR ARE YOU HIDING THAT FACT FROM ME?

I'VE NOT HEARD ANYTHING FROM YESHEY ABOUT THIS. WHO TOLD YOU?





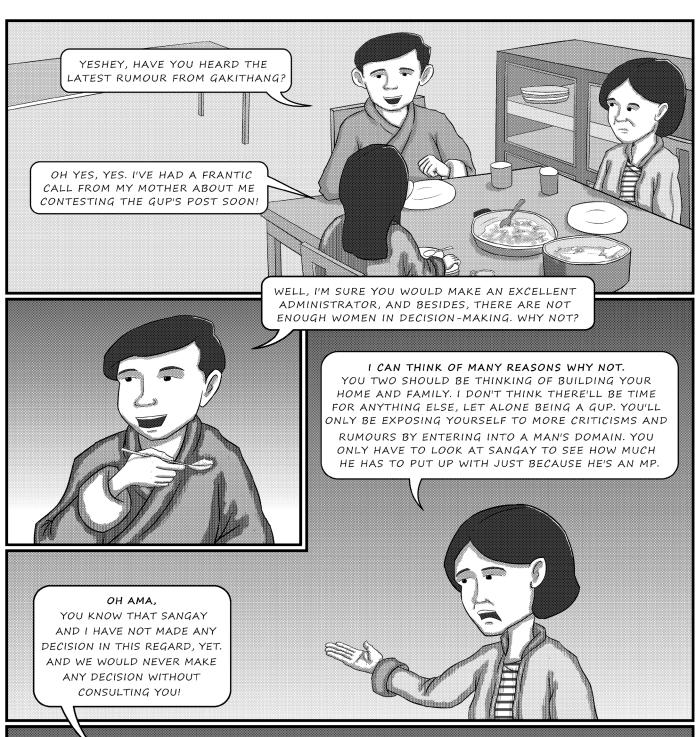
KINCHO WAS WONDERING IF I WAS GOING TO SUPPORT HIM OR MY OWN DAUGHTER FOR THE NEXT GUP ELECTION. WHO HAS EVER HEARD OF A WOMAN STANDING FOR SUCH A POSITION, LET ALONE MY OWN DAUGHTER!



CHILDREN WHO ARE BECOMING MORE UNMANAGEABLE BY THE DAY, AND NEVER ENDING HOUSEHOLD WORK AND ANIMAL CARE- IT'S ENDLESS! I'M SO UNLUCKY. LOOK AT YESHEY LIVING IN THE CITY WITH NOTHING TO DO THE WHOLE DAY. SHE SHOULD BE HERE TO HELP WITH SOME THINGS AROUND. SHE'S ALWAYS THE PAMPERED ONE, AND IT'S ANNOYING THAT SHE DOESN'T EVEN COME TO HELP. AND DID YOU HEAR SHE'S GOING TO STAND FOR THE GUP ELECTIONS!



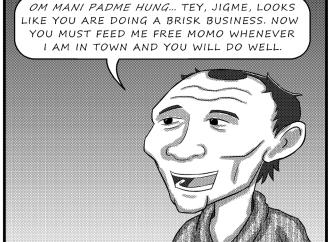




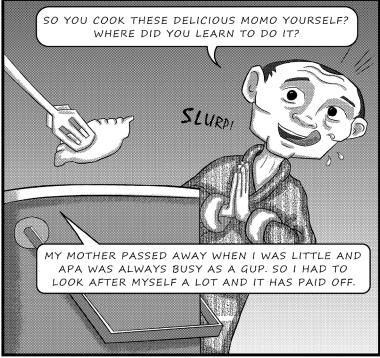










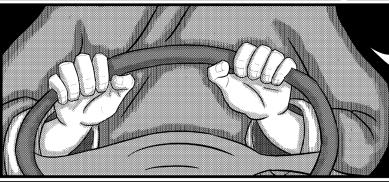












YOUR FEELING IS UNDERSTANDABLE.

AFTER ALL, YOU SENT HIM TO GET ALL THAT EDUCATION HOPING A DECENT JOB FOR HIM. BUT YOU MUST ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT HE'S DOING SOMETHING THAT MATTERS TO HIM. HE TOLD ME HE WILL NOT BE A MOMO SELLER HIS WHOLE LIFE. SO GIVE HIM TIME. HE'LL BE FINE AND HE'S DOING A GOOD JOB SERVING THE TSA-WA-SUM.

HOW IS JIGME GOING TO SERVE THE TSA-WA-SUM SELLING MOMO?

THAT'S THE PATH HE'S CHOSEN, AND HIS AIM IS NOT TO JUST

MAKE MONEY. SELLING MOMO IS JUST A WAY TO SUPPORT HIMSELF

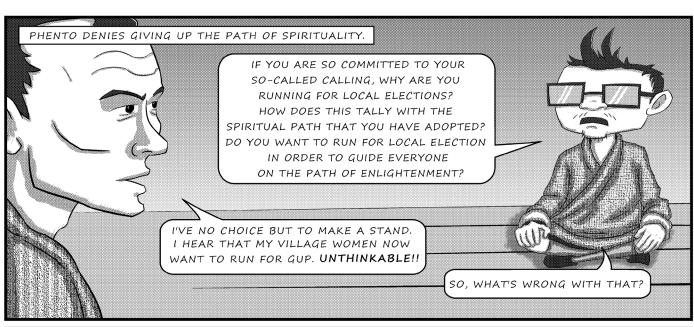
WHILE HE DOES SOMETHING MORE IMPORTANT. HE'S PASSIONATE

ABOUT FINDING OUT YOUTHS' CONCERNS FROM THE YOUTH ON

THE STREET. HE'S A PUBLIC SERVANT AT HEART, LIKE YOU, ASHA GUP.

YOU HAVE DONE A GREAT JOB INSTILLING THAT IN HIM.

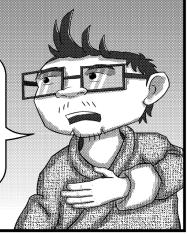




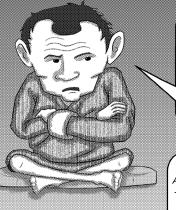


EVERYTHING IS WRONG! THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, IT'S MEN WHO HAVE RULED AND WOMEN HAVE BEEN AT HOME. I'M RUNNING TO MAINTAIN OUR TRADITION. IF A WOMAN BECOMES GUP, WE WILL HAVE DROUGHTS AND FAMINES IN OUR GEWOG.

THAT WAS A LONG TIME AGO. THESE ARE
NEW TIMES NOW. WOMEN ARE EDUCATED TOO
AND TAKE UP JOBS. MOREOVER WE NOW HAVE
DEMOCRACY. AND IN A DEMOCRACY, SURELY
BOTH WOMEN AND MEN SHOULD BE EQUAL.
IT WILL BE UP TO THE PEOPLE WHETHER THEY
VOTE FOR A WOMAN OR NOT. WE ALREADY
HAVE A LADY GUP AND NOTHING'S
HAPPENED TO THAT GEWOG.



PHENTO DOESN'T BELIEVE IN WOMEN IN POLITICS. WOMEN BELONG IN THE KITCHEN AND THEY SHOULD LEAVE THE POLITICS TO THE MEN.

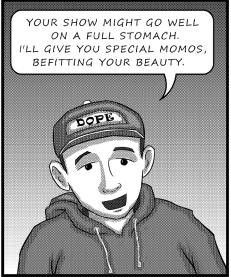


AH, I FEEL SORRY FOR THAT GEWOG WITH THE LADY GUP. IT'S RIDICULOUS! I DON'T BELIEVE IN THIS NEW DEMOCRACY. THE WOMEN MIGHT BE EDUCATED, BUT THEY DON'T HAVE TO STAND FOR ELECTIONS. EDUCATION IS NO EXCUSE TO CHANGE OUR CULTURE AND TRADITION.

YOU DON'T BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY BUT YOU
ARE REGULARLY STANDING IN ELECTIONS, WHENEVER
THERE IS ONE. IF YOU WERE TO BE ELECTED, THEN I
SUPPOSE YOU WOULD CONSIDER DEMOCRACY TO BE
OKAY! IF WOMEN WANT TO STAND FOR ELECTIONS,
LET THEM. THERE ARE SOME OF US WHO WELCOME
THE BALANCE IN OUR LEADERSHIP.



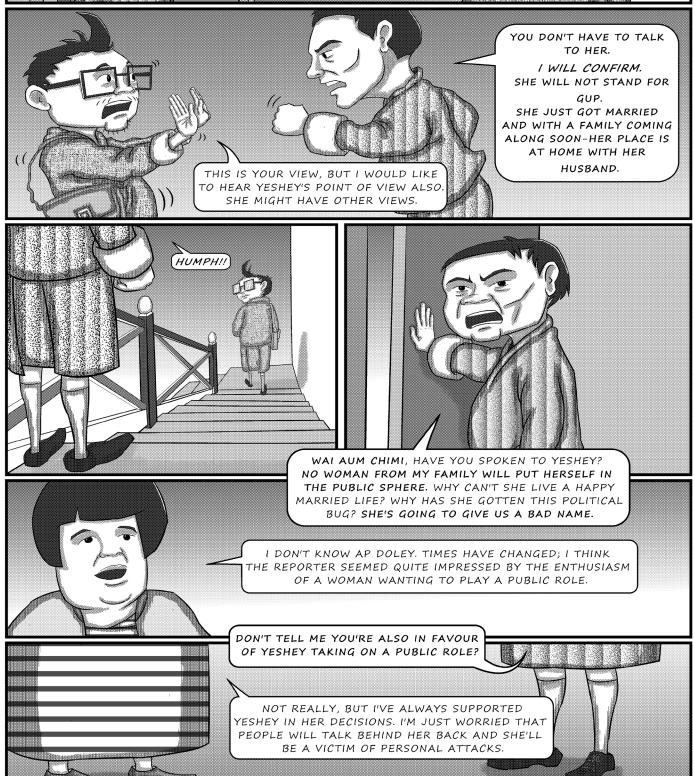


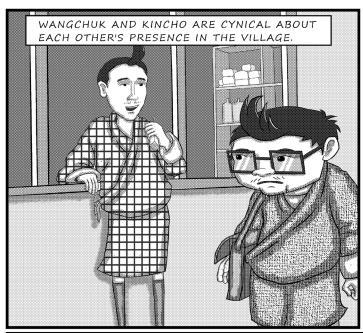




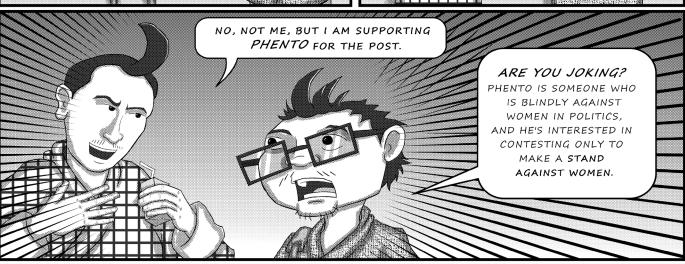
















THE NEWSPAPER REPORTER CAME TO FIND
OUT IF YESHEY WILL STAND FOR GUP ELECTIONS.
LOOK AT MY LITTLE SISTER. SHE HAS ALWAYS
BEEN DRIVEN AND AMBITIOUS IN LIFE.

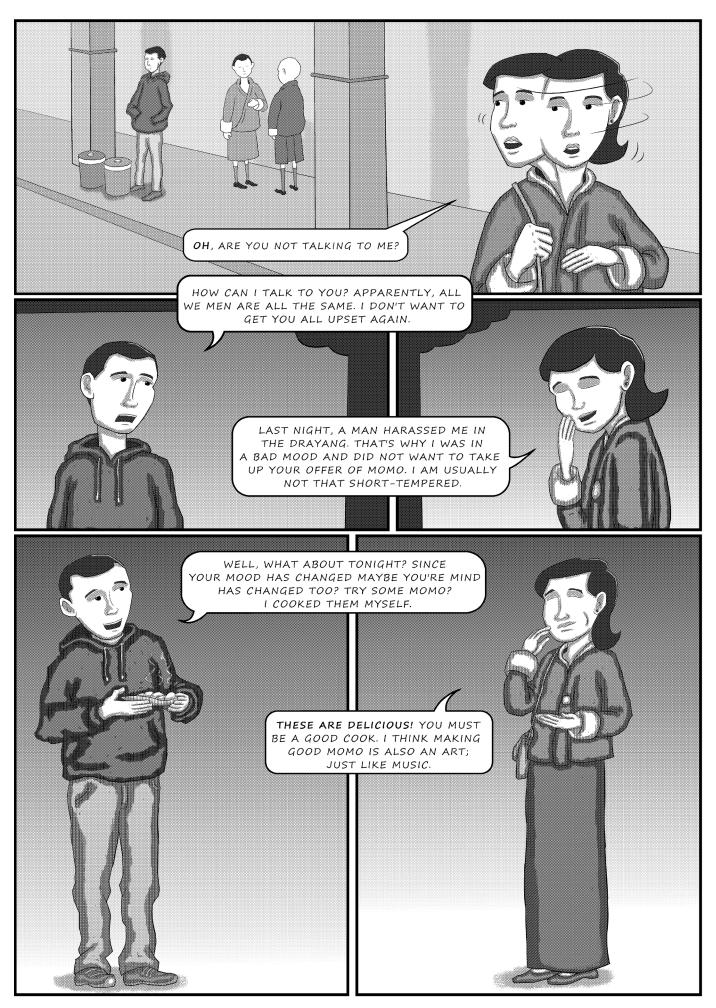
SINCE KINLEY AND SEDAY HAVE NOT HEARD ANYTHING FROM YESHEY, THEY THINK IT'S A RUMOUR.



BUT MAYBE MORE WOMEN SHOULD STAND FOR ELECTIONS. THERE ARE FEW WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT AND IN DECISION-MAKING BODIES TODAY. IMAGINE, ONLY ONE WOMAN GUP, ONE WOMAN DZONGDA, AND ONE FEMALE MINISTER IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

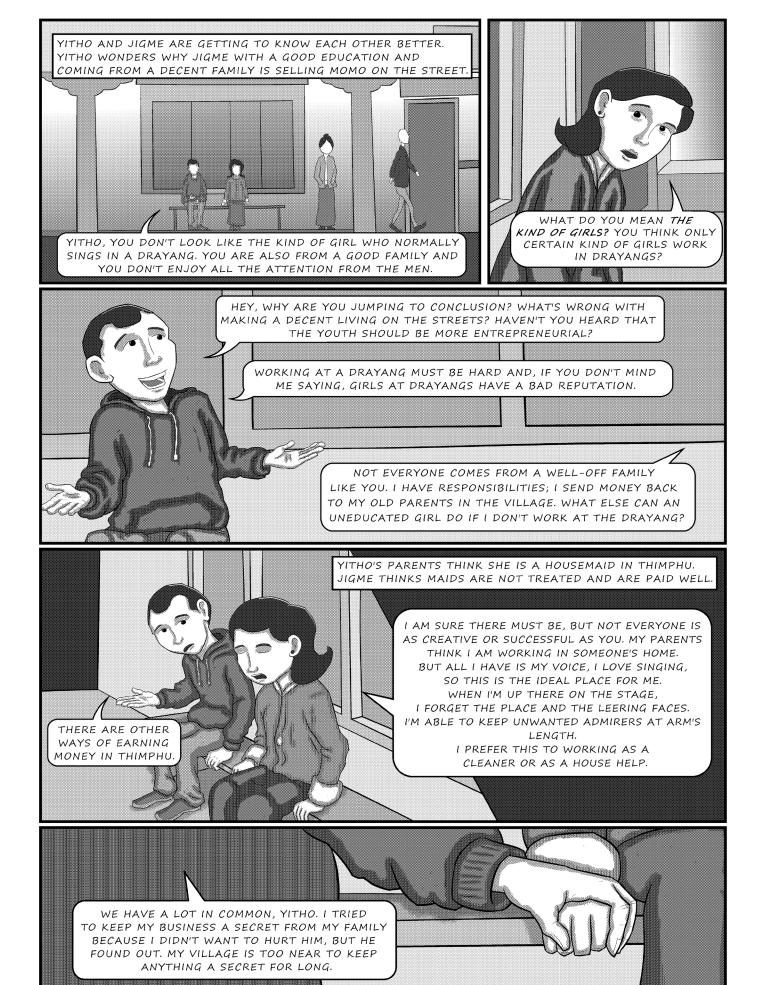
IF IT'S A GOOD THING FOR WOMEN TO STAND, WHAT ABOUT ME? OUR CHILDREN ARE GOING TO SCHOOL NOW; I COULD STAND INSTEAD OF YESHEY! SHE SHOULD START HER FAMILY AND NOT BE SO AMBITIOUS.







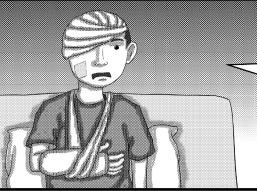






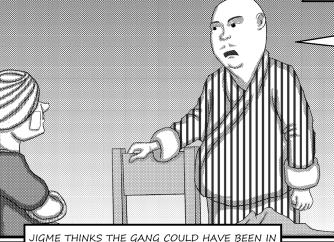






NO, APA! I'M BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND WHY OUR YOUTH
ARE BECOMING A NUISANCE TO THE SOCIETY. TRYING TO FIND THAT
WAS THE WHOLE REASON FOR SELLING MOMO. AFTER BEING AWAY
FROM MY STUDIES I CAME BACK TO A WHOLE DIFFERENT SOCIETY.
I WANTED TO FIND OUT WHY SOME YOUTH DO WHAT THEY DO SO
THAT I MAY BE ABLE TO HELP. AS A CITIZEN, WE MUST ALL PLAY
OUR PART FOR THE BETTERMENT OF BHUTAN.

GUP CAN'T UNDERSTAND HOW BEING AWAY FOR A FEW YEARS DISCONNECTS ONE FROM HOME.

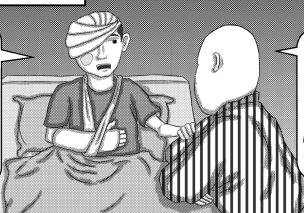


YOU WERE BORN AND RAISED IN THIS COUNTRY.

I CAN'T UNDERTSAND HOW BEING AWAY IN COLLEGE FOR A FEW YEARS DISCONNECTS YOU FROM YOUR HOME. WE KNOW YOUNG PEOPLE WANT JOBS WITH A DECENT SALARY AND THEY DON'T WANT TO WORK ON THE LAND. WE MAY HAVE A COUNTRY OF YOUNG PEOPLE, BUT ONLY THE ELDERS ARE LEFT IN THE VILLAGES. IF YOU'RE GOING TO BE SELLING MOMO, YOU MIGHT AS WELL COME HOME AND WORK WITH ME ON THE LAND FOR A DECENT LIVING.

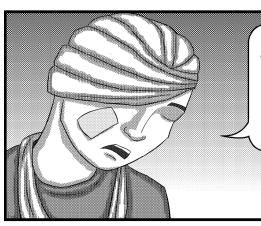
JIGME THINKS THE GANG COULD HAVE BEEN IN NEED FOR MONEY TO HAVE ACTED THAT WAY.

APA. I'M TRYING TO BE SELFRELIANT AND IT'S AN HONEST
LIVING. IT GIVES ME THE CHANCE
TO BE WITH YOUNG PEOPLE AND
TO UNDERSTAND OUR URBAN
CHALLENGES. IN OUR TOWNS,
WE SEE SUCH A DISPARITY
BETWEEN THE RICH
AND POOR.



OTHERS AND HURT PEOPLE.
THEY CAN RETURN TO THEIR
OWN VILLAGES AND WORK ON
THE LAND.
WHAT'S THE SHAME IN THAT?
IT IS A DIGNIFIED WAY OF LIVING
EVEN IF YOU HAVE TO WORK
HARD PHYSICALLY.

THEY DON'T HAVE TO ROB



THAT'S TRUE, OUR SOCIETY IS TO BLAME FOR SUCH AN ATTITUDE
ON THE YOUTH. AFTER YEARS OF STUDYING, YOU RETURN TO YOUR FARM
TO WORK, PEOPLE CALL YOU A FAILURE AND SAY YOU'VE WASTED YOUR
TIME STUDYING. BUT YOU'RE SAYING SELLING MOMO IS DEGRADING.
THERE'S SO MUCH PRESSURE ON YOUNG PEOPLE THESE DAYS TO GET A
DECENT JOB, BUT BHUTAN IS SMALL, HOW DO YOU SUPPOSE THE
GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR CAN TAKE IN EVERYONE?

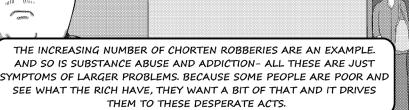
JIGME, WHY ARE YOU GETTING SO UPSET?

WE MUST TRY TO FIND OUR OWN MEANS OF SURVIVAL.
YOUTH FROM ALL OVER BHUTAN COME TO THIMPHU HOPING
TO FIND A JOB BUT EVERYTHING IS EXPENSIVE HERE. HOW DO
YOU SUPPOSE THE YOUTH SURVIVE WITHOUT MONEY? INSTEAD
OF GOING BACK HOME WHERE THEIR PARENTS WILL FEEL
ASHAMED, THEY FORM GANGS AND ADOPT BAD HABITS.

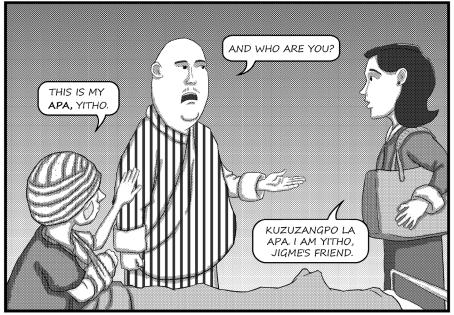








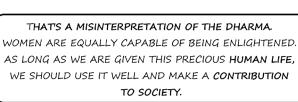








THE ROLE OF A WOMAN IS TO LOOK AFTER THE HOME,
NOT THE COUNTRY! LEAVE THAT TO MEN, NOT WOMEN WHO
CAN'T EVEN ENTER GOENKHANGS. THEY ARE INFERIOR
BECAUSE IT TAKES SEVERAL LIFETIMES BEFORE THEY CAN
HOPE TO BE REBORN AS MEN.





UNDERSTANDING OF OUR NEEDS.

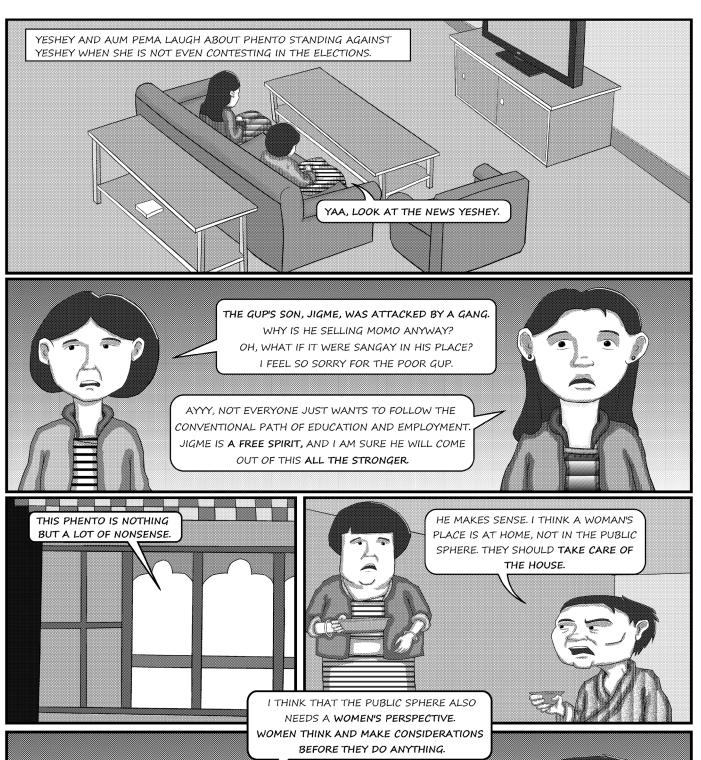


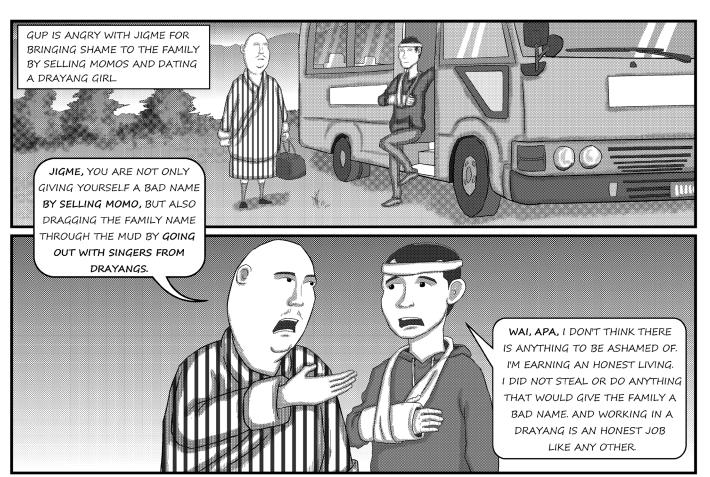
PAA WAI, AUM CHIMI, DON'T YOU THINK WOMEN WILL BE UNABLE TO HANDLE

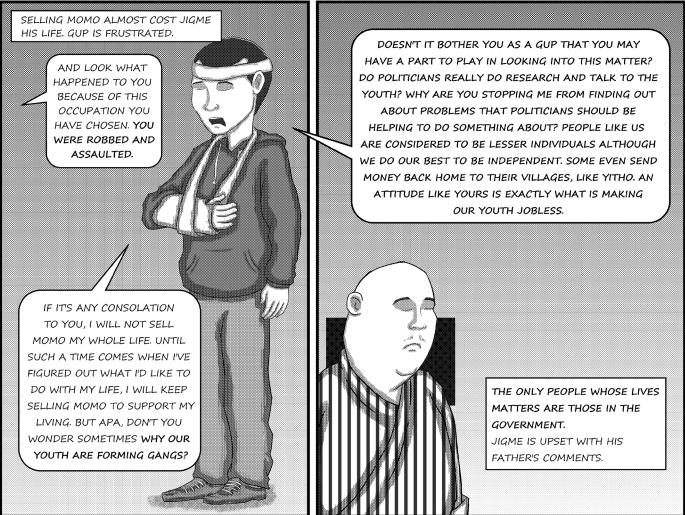
THE JOB OF A GUP ESPECIALLY
WHEN THEY BECOME MOTHERS?

I BELIEVE THAT WOMEN SHOULD
COME INTO THE PUBLIC SPHERE.
WOMEN WHO GO INTO PUBLIC OFFICE
DO THINGS WITH A VERY DIFFERENT
APPROACH, AND WITH A DEEPER







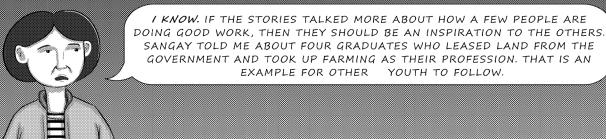


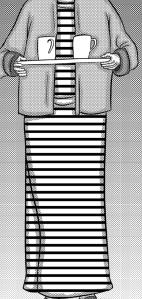


THE MOTHERS ARE RELIEVED YESHEY DENIED ALL THE RUMOURS. BUT THEY ARE NOW WORRIED ABOUT THE NEWS REPORTERS AND THEIR STORIES.

OUR REPORTERS SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT ISSUES THAT ARE AFFECTING THE COUNTRY. LAST YEAR THE PAPERS REPORTED ON THE RUPEE CRISIS AND HOW MUCH WE'RE IMPORTING. NOW WHAT'S THE UPDATE ON THAT? WHY DON'T THEY REPORT ON HOW MUCH THE FARMERS ARE ALL NOW TRYING TO GROW MORE VEGETABLES TO REDUCE IMPORTS?

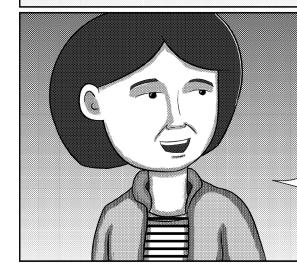






IF ALL WE HEAR IN THE NEWS
IS CORRUPTION AND FAILURES, OUR
GRANDCHILDREN WILL ONLY THINK THAT
EVERYONE IS CORRUPT. I HOPE THE
PARLIAMENT CAN DO SOMETHING TO
REMIND US THAT THERE IS MUCH THAT
IS GOING RIGHT IN BHUTAN AND THERE
ARE PEOPLE SERVING THE NEEDS OF
THE COUNTRY WELL.





SINCE YOU'RE WORRIED THAT YESHEY MIGHT

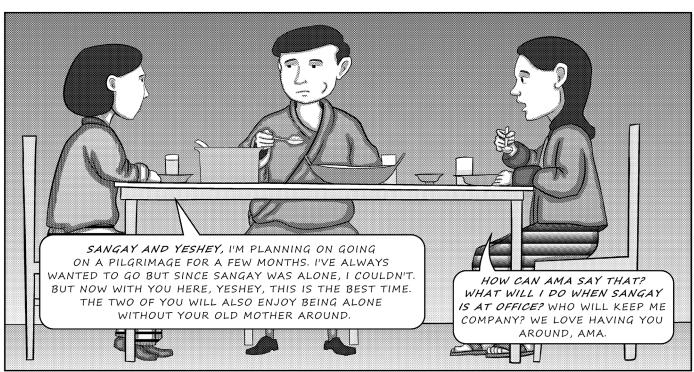
CHANGE HER MIND, "VE A PLAN TO PREVENT THAT.

IF I WENT ON PILGRIMAGE SOON, THE YOUNG COUPLE

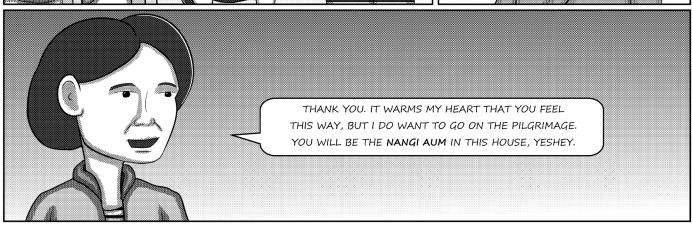
CAN HAVE THIS FLAT TO THEMSELVES FOR A WHILE.

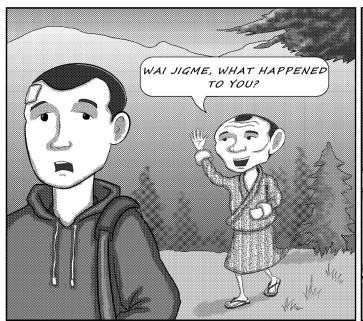
THAT SHOULD KEEP HER BUSY AND AT HOME!

HOW ABOUT YOU COME ALONG, AUM CHIMI?











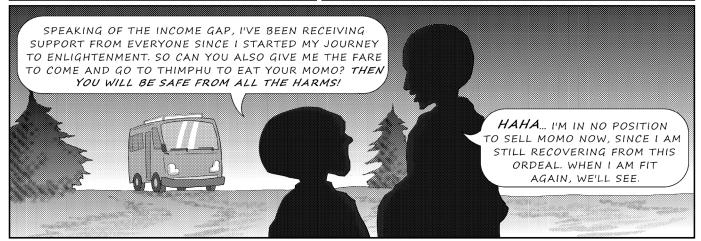
NO I WAS ASSULTED BY A GANG.
YES, COULD BE, THAT YOU, LAMA RIMPOCHE
WASN'T THERE. BUT THE YOUTH ARE NOT
ENTIRELY TO BLAME. THERE ARE NO
RECREATIONAL FACILITIES FOR OUR YOUTH.
THERE'S NOTHING MUCH THAT ENGAGES
THEM PRODUCTIVELY AND KEEPS
THEM OFF OF THE STREETS.

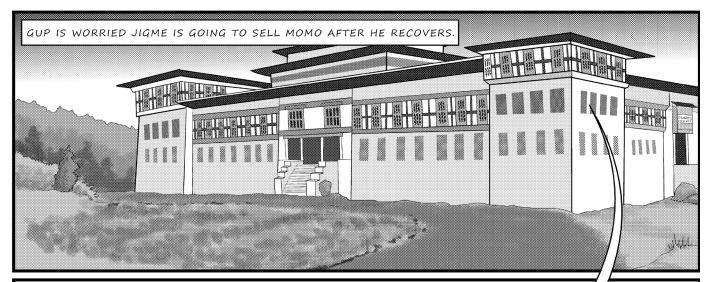


THEY ARE YOUNG PEOPLE WITH ENERGY BUT HAS NO SPACE TO RELEASE THEIR ENERGY POSITIVELY.



SO THEY FORM GANGS AND GET ON THE WRONG
SIDE OF SOCIETY. ALMOST ALL THE RECREATIONAL
FACILITIES CHARGE FEES AND ONLY HIGH-INCOME
GROUPS CAN AFFORD THAT. THE YOUTH ON THE
STREETS ARE ALREADY JOBLESS. HOW CAN THEY PAY
TO USE THESE FACILITIES? THE INCOME GAP BETWEEN
THE RICH AND POOR IS INCREASING EVERY DAY.







YOU WILL LEARN TO APPRECIATE WHAT YOUR SON IS DOING ASHA GUP. I CAN SEE HE HAS IDEALS AND HE WANTS TO DO SOMETHING TO BENEFIT THE COUNTRY. I HAVE EVEN ENTERED INTO A PACT WITH YOUR SON.

THAT HE WILL GET A JOB AND SETTLE DOWN?

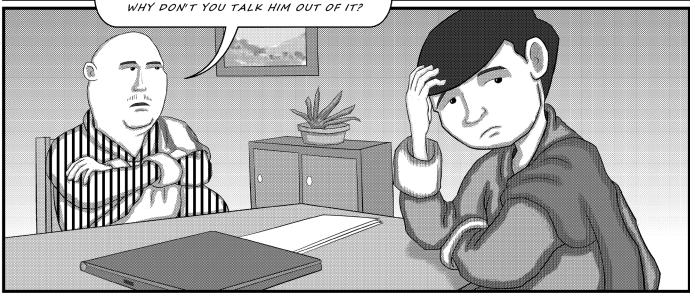
NOT EXACTLY, BUT HE'LL SHARE WHATEVER HE FINDS ON YOUTH PROBLEMS. I, AS CHAIR OF THE YOUTH COMMITTEE, CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

> MEANWHILE, HE WILL GET BEATEN UP AGAIN OR EVEN KILLED;

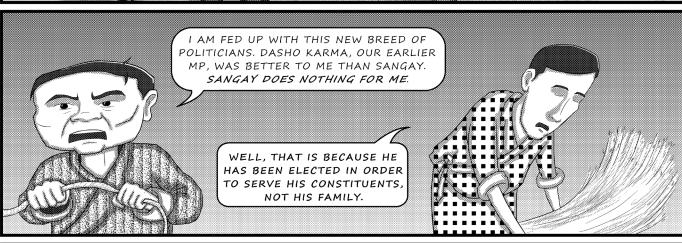
WHO WOULD BELIEVE THIS IS HAPPENING?

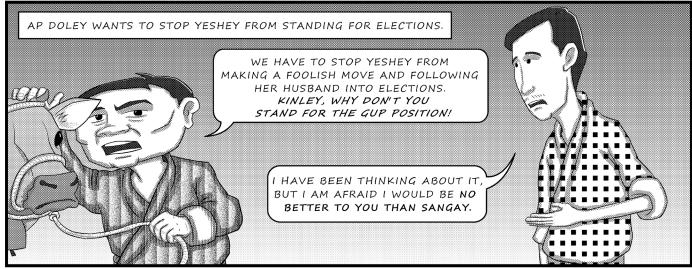
HE LOOKS UP TO YOU, SANGAY.





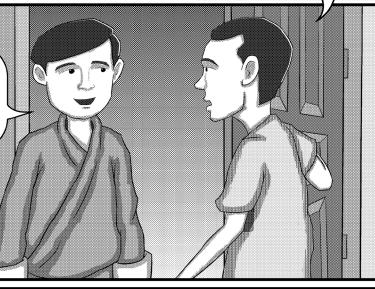








IT COULD BE THE FILMS THAT ARE INSPIRING THEM OR MAYBE THE MISTAKEN NOTION OF HAVING TO FORM GROUPS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES IN WHICH CASE, IS A CLEAR INDICATION OUR SENSE OF COMMUNITY IS BREAKING DOWN.



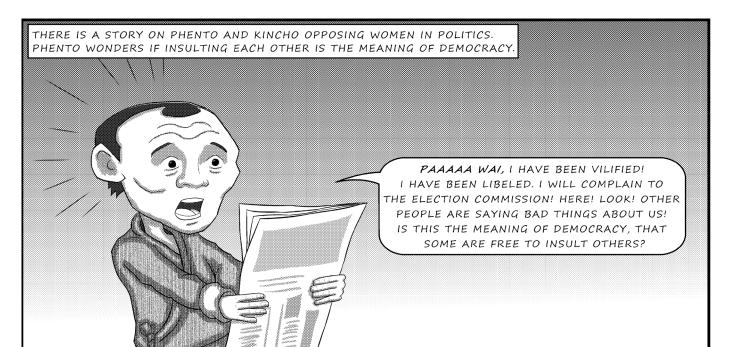
IN TOWN US PERS COMMUN

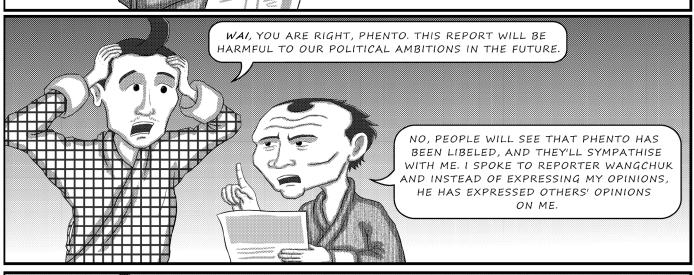
IN TOWN, NO ONE CARES ABOUT ANYTHING UNLESS IT AFFECTS US PERSONALLY. IT'S A SAD DEGENERATION OF THE STRONG COMMUNITY BOND THAT WAS PREVIOUSLY THERE.

WHOSE FAULT IS IT? CREATING A
SENSE OF COMMUNITY IS EVERYONE'S
RESPONSIBILITY. I CAN'T IMAGINE YOUTH
IN THE VILLAGE HAVING TO FORM GROUPS
TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. HOW DID WE ADOPT
THIS 'US VERSUS THEM' ATTITUDE? AREN'T WE
ALL RESIDENTS AND CITIZENS OF ONE LARGER
COMMUNITY? AND THERE'LL ALWAYS BE
DIFFERENCE IN A COMMUNITY, WE JUST
NEED TO LEARN TO LISTEN TO
DIVERSE VIEWS.



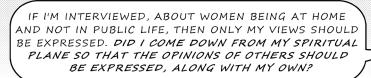




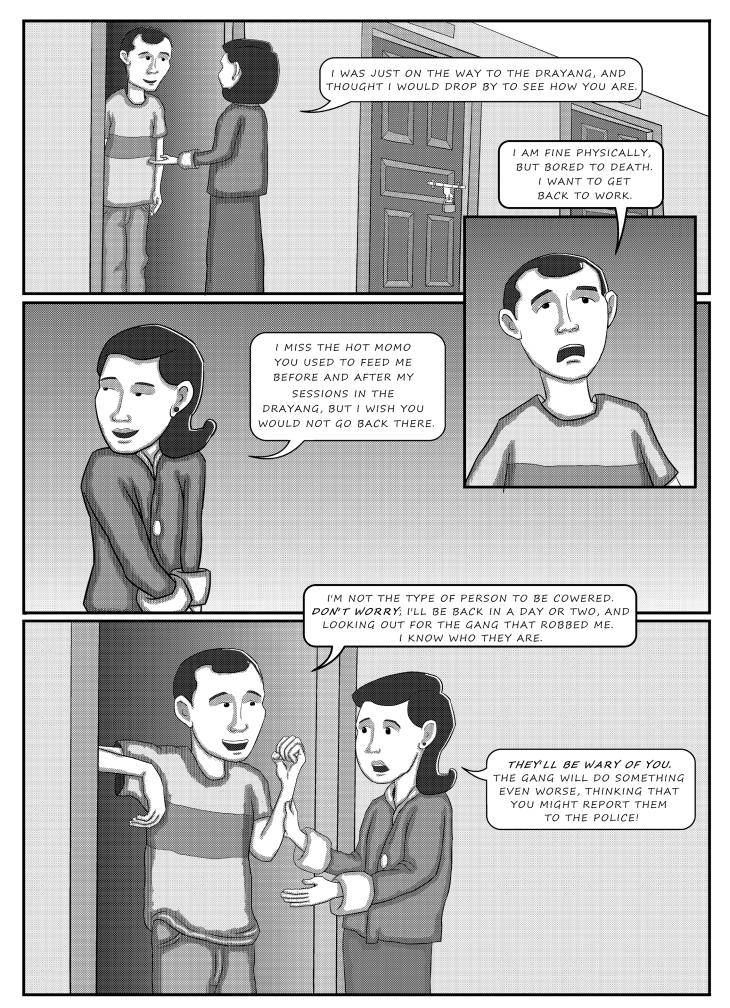




THIS IS WHAT THEY CONSIDER FREE POLITICAL DEBATE NOWADAYS. SOME PEOPLE EXPRESS ONE OPINION, OTHERS ANOTHER; THEN THE LISTENERS, READERS, OR VOTERS MAKE UP THEIR MIND.

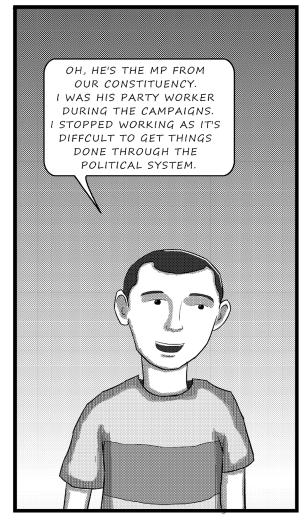


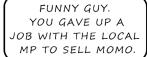




ACTUALLY, I'VE NO INTENTION OF REPORTING THEM ANYWHERE. I JUST WANT TO UNDERSTAND WHY THEY'RE ADOPTING SUCH A GANG CULTURE AND HURTING PEOPLE. I DON'T BELIEVE OUR YOUTH ARE LIKE THAT INSTINCTIVELY. DASHO SANGAY SUPPORTS MY PLAN.







WELL, YOU'RE ALSO FUNNY;
YOU GAVE UP THE CHANCE TO
WORK IN NICE PEOPLE'S HOMES
TO BECOME A SINGER AT A
DRAYANG.

LET'S MAKE A DEAL.

IF YOU GIVE UP SINGING IN

THE DRAYANG,

I WILL GIVE UP SELLING MOMO

OUTSIDE THE DRAYANG,

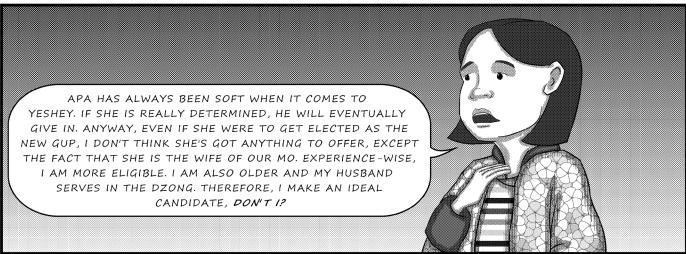
WHERE THERE IS SINGING,

THERE WILL

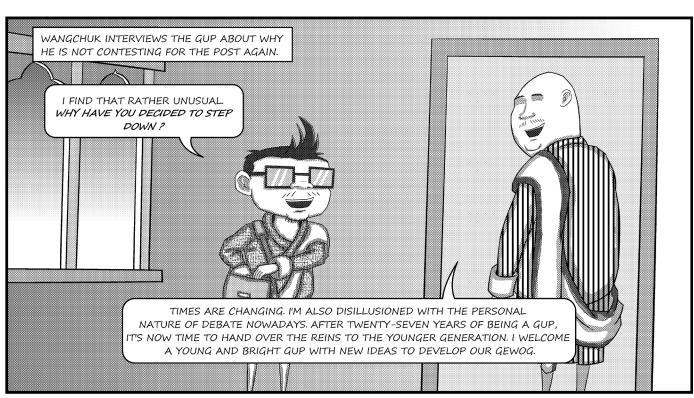
HAVE TO BE MOMO!

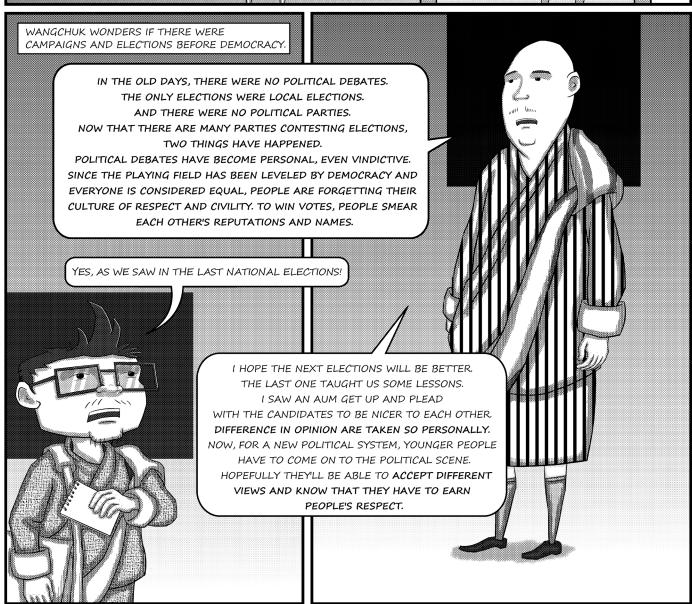




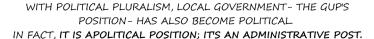


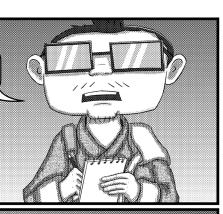






I WISH OTHERS WERE LIKE YOU AND WERE NOT SORE ABOUT LOSING. WHAT OTHER THINGS HAVE HAPPENED BECAUSE OF POLITICAL PLURALISM AND SEVERAL PARTIES COMING ONTO THE SCENE?







SO WHAT IS THE SOLUTION ACCORDING TO YOU?

EDUCATE PEOPLE THAT

GUPS ARE APOLITICAL, AND NO
GUP CAN OPENLY SUPPORT ONE
PARTY MEMBER OR PARTY

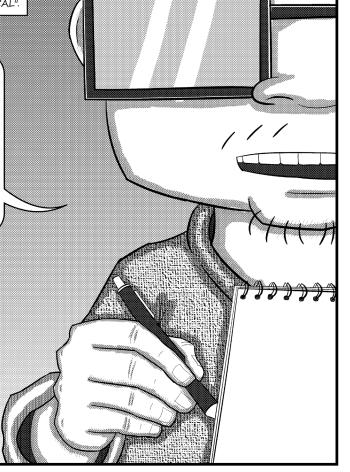
DURING THE ELECTIONS.

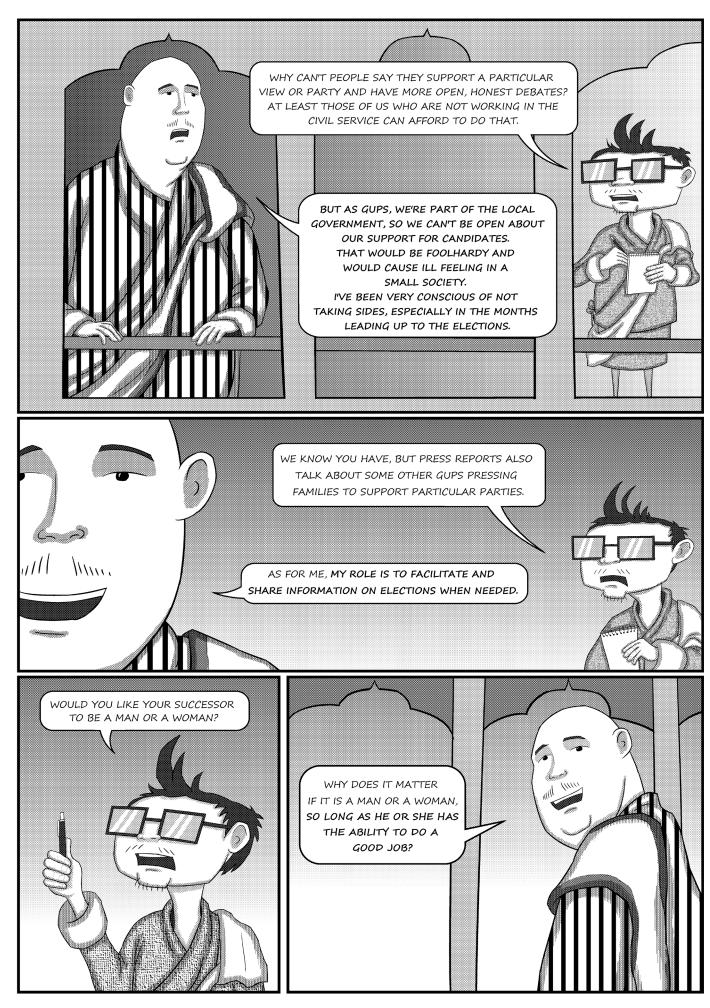


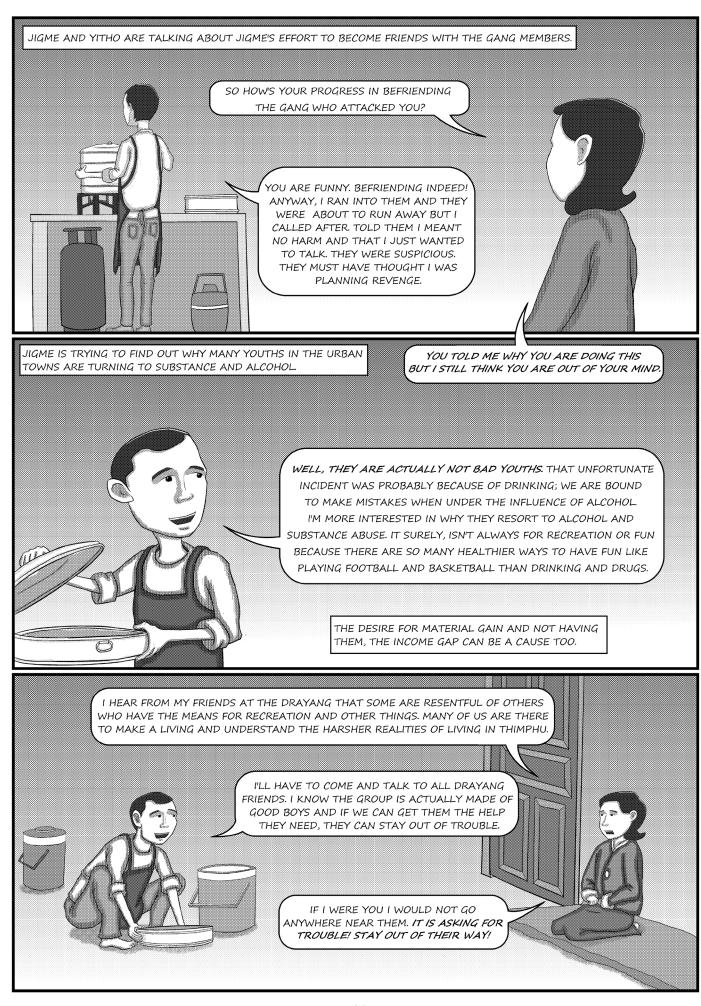
WE KEEP REPORTING ABOUT THE NEED TO BE 'APOLITICAL', REFERRING ONLY TO PEOPLE IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

IF YOU LOOK AT IT ANOTHER WAY,
ALL DECISIONS ARE POLITICAL,
WHETHER THEY'RE ABOUT VOTING,
OR SOMETHING AS SIMPLE AS
WHETHER WE BUY LOCAL PRODUCE OR
SUPPORT OPEN TRADING ALONG
THE BORDER.

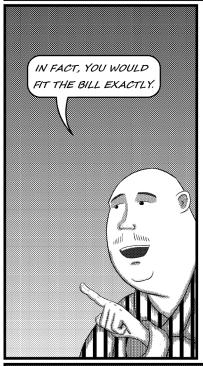
WITH THE EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO BE 'APOLITICAL', PEOPLE HAVE BECOME UNCOMFORTABLE WITH SHARING THEIR VIEWS ON GOVERNANCE AND THAT'S ADDING TO THE TENSION.



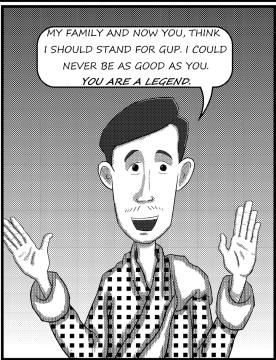


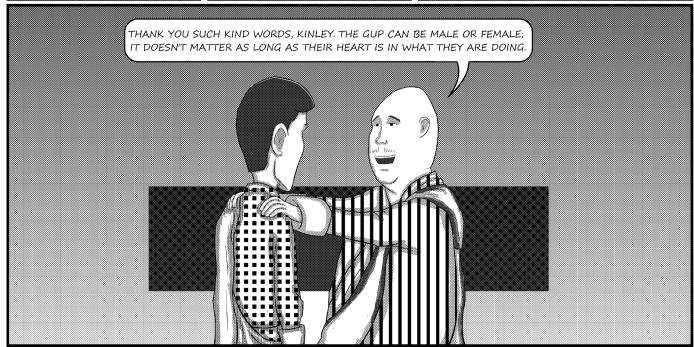


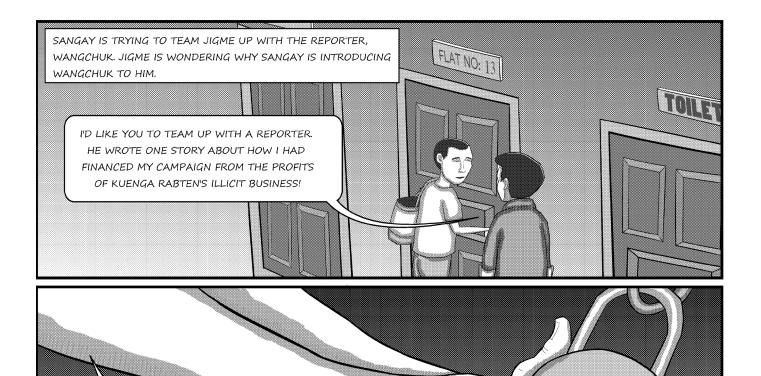




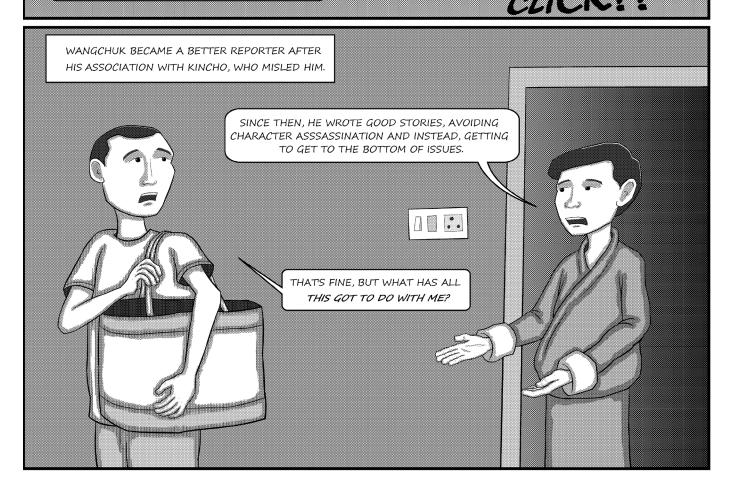


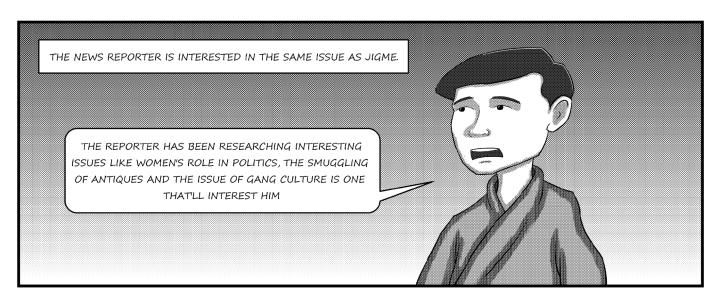


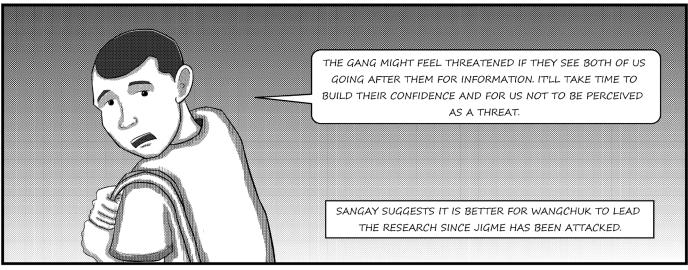


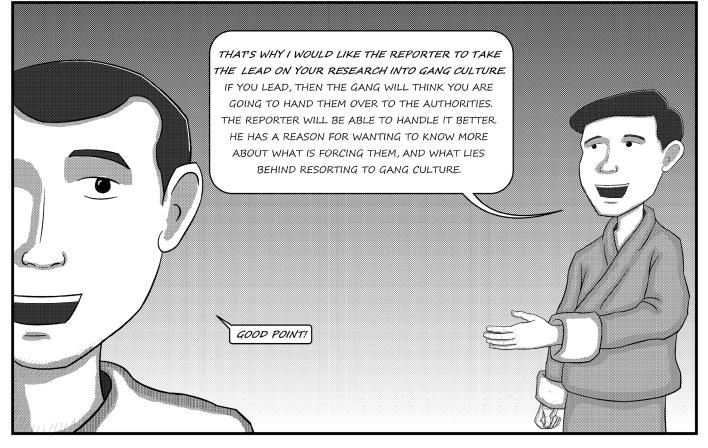


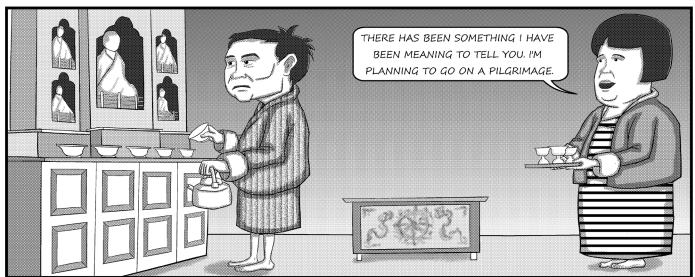
THAT'S FUNNY, I WAS WITH YOU IN THE CAMPAIGN.
YOU DID NOT EVEN HAVE ANY MONEY TO PAY YOUR
PARTY WORKERS! ALTHOUGH WE HAVE THE
FREEDOM OF SPEECH, THE NEWSPAPERS WRITE
WHATEVER THEY WANT WITHOUT ANY VERIFICATION.
I'VE STOPPED READING PAPERS AND MUST HAVE
MISSED YOUR STORY.

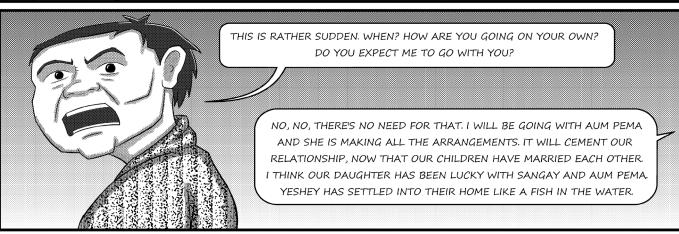


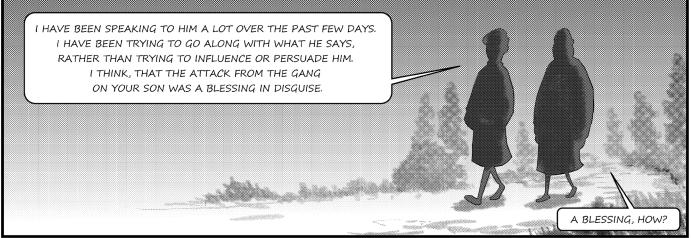


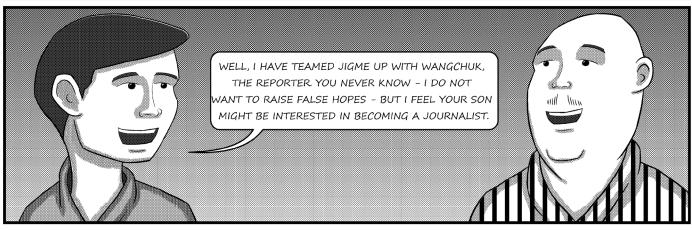


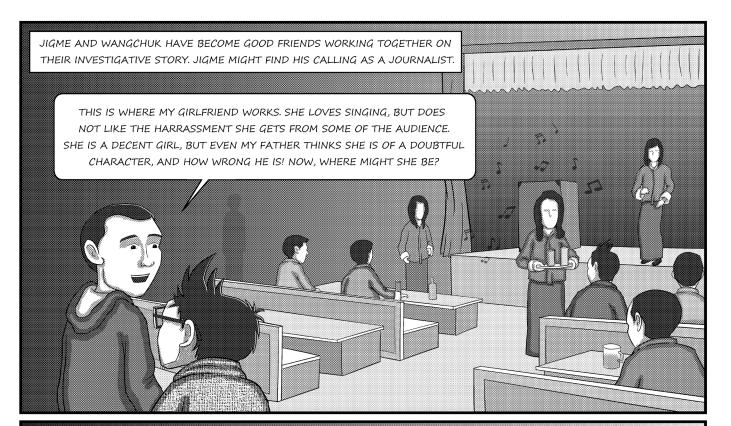




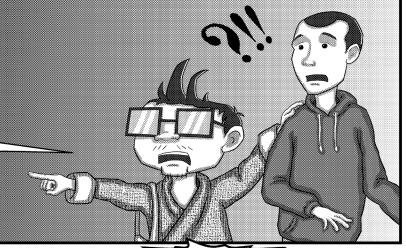


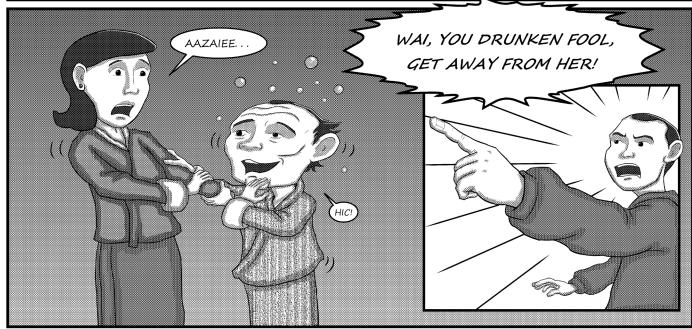






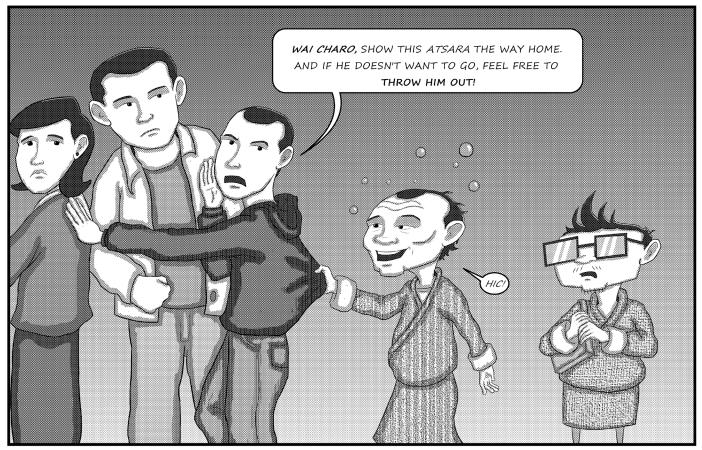
OH, LOOK! PHENTO! HE MADE A
STAND AGAINST WOMEN'S
INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS
OR PUBLIC LIFE. BUT DOES NOT
SEEM TO MIND WOMEN BEING
INVOLVED IN SINGING IN THE DRAYANG!
IN FACT, HE SEEMS TO BE
PESTERING A LADY SINGER.
THAT WOULDN'T BE YOUR GIRL,
WOULD IT?



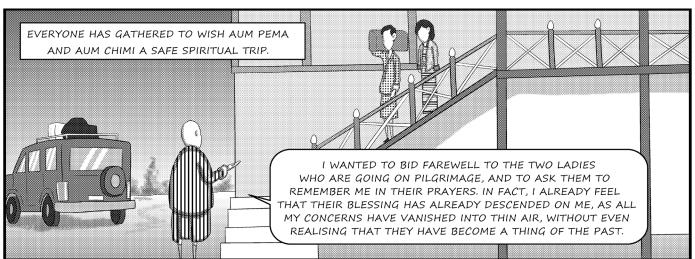




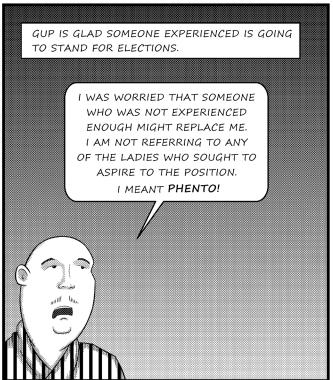




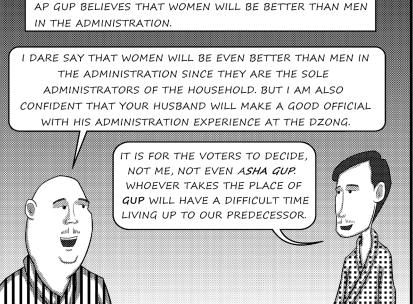




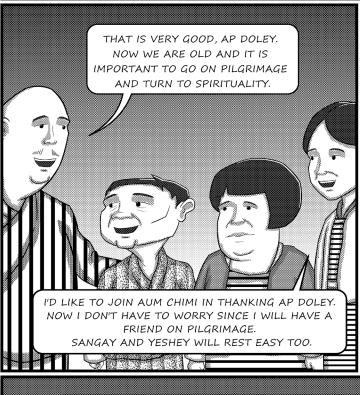




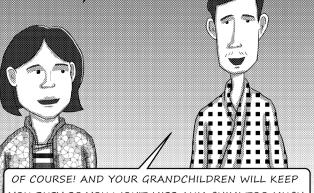








APA, EVEN THOUGH SANGAY AND YESHEY WILL NOW PROBABLY STAY IN EVEN ON WEEKENDS TO LOOK AFTER THEIR FLAT, DON'T WORRY. KINLEY AND I WILL LOOK AFTER YOU WELL AND GIVE YOU A COMPANY.



YOU BUSY SO YOU WON'T MISS AUM CHIMI TOO MUCH.



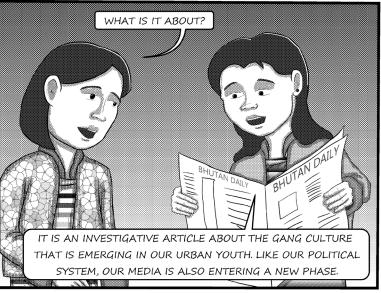
YES, FIRST OF ALL, FOR THE NEW COUPLE, YESHEY AND SANGAY, THEY ARE SYMBOL OF THE NEW GENERATION AND THE NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY.

AS GUP SAID, AS IT IS TIME FOR THE OLD GENERATION TO MAKE WAY FOR THE NEW GENERATION, SO I AM HAPPY TO LEAVE MY HOME TO THIS NEW COUPLE.

YES, AND WE HAVE HAD SO MANY TESTS AND TRIALS OVER THE LAST YEAR OR TWO. BUT WE ARE LUCKY THAT OUR FAMILIES HAVE EMERGED STRONGER FROM IT. WE HAVE TO OFFER OUR THANKS AS WELL AS RECEIVE BLESSINGS ON THIS PILGRIMAGE.

WELL, MY SON JIGME RETURNED FROM HIS STUDIES AND HE HAS BEEN GONE FOR A LONG TIME. ALL MY HOPES ARE INVESTED IN HIM. I HAVE BEEN TRYING EVERYTHING TO PERSUADE HIM TO SETTLE DOWN AND FIND A JOB. I SHOULD ONLY HAVE LEFT THE TASK TO SANGAY.



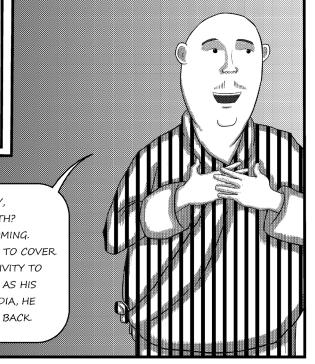


THE RESULT, MY FRIENDS, IS HERE BEFORE US.
HERE IS A FULL-PAGE ARTICLE IN OUR NATIONAL
NEWSPAPER, WRITTEN BY MY SON JIGME AND
WANGCHUK, THE REPORTER.



CONGRATULATIONS! IT LOOKS LIKE AN IMPRESSIVE AND THOROUGHLY RESEARCHED ARTICLE.





I WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF THE OLD SYSTEM. IN OUR DAY,
WHAT OTHER OPTION WAS THERE FOR WELL-EDUCATED YOUTH?
NOW, LIKE OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUR MEDIA IS ALSO BLOSSOMING.
AND THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF NEW ISSUES FOR OUR JOURNALISTS TO COVER.
SANGAY HAD THE INSIGHT TO SEE THAT MY SON HAD THE SENSITIVITY TO
BE ABLE TO COVER THESE ISSUES. THIS WAS SOMETHING THAT I, AS HIS
FATHER, WAS UNABLE TO SEE. WHEN MY SON RETURNED FROM INDIA, HE
WAS ESTRANGED FROM ME. THANKS TO SANGAY, I HAVE MY SON BACK.

