

NC Reflections



National Council of Bhutan

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FOREWORD

I am delighted to bring out the third issue of NC Reflections during the festive period of the Royal Wedding. The National Council would like to dedicate this issue of the magazine to the Royal Wedding wishing His Majesty the King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck and Her Majesty the Queen Jetsun Pema Wangchuck a very long and happy life together.



Like the two earlier issues, this one also presents articles which provide the readers with insights into the decision making processes of the Parliament in the Democratic system. Some writers have shared their personal experiences and thoughts, which also contribute to engaging into dialogues and discussions beyond the Parliament houses, fulfilling the whole purpose of bringing out this magazine.

The NC Reflections is an annual magazine, wherein articles are published both in Dzongkha and English and this issue has articles in the two languages. This is to give equal importance and to promote both the languages, one as the official language of the kingdom and the other as universally very influential and most popularly accepted language. As mentioned in the earlier issues, we hope there will be guest writers contributing to our magazine in future.

I would further like to commend the writers as well as the editorial board for working to publish this magazine coinciding with the 56th birthday of His Majesty, our beloved Fourth Druk Gyalpo (11/11/11). We join the nation to pledge our unwavering dedication and loyalty in treading the path laid by the Wangchuck Dynasty and in serving the Tsa-wa-sum.

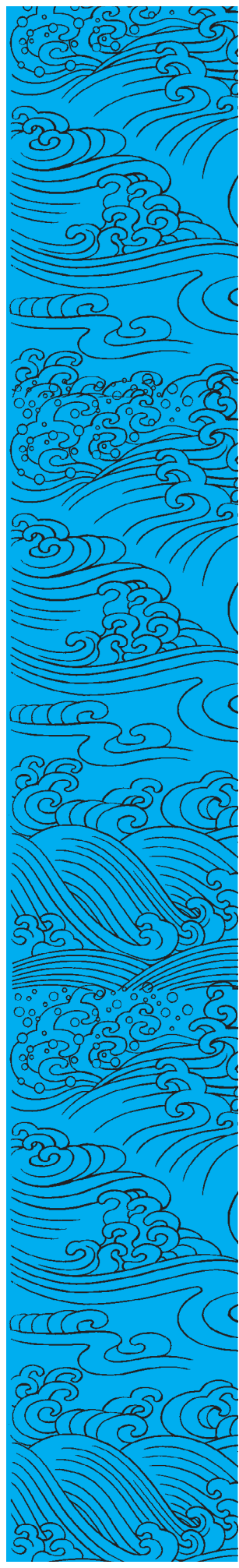
I am sure the readers will enjoy this edition of NC Reflections.

Tashi Delek



(Namgye Penjore)
Chairperson





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༼བཙུན་མོ་ཁྱིམ་དང་འགསོལ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ ལེགས་སྟོན༽

༥ ཨོ་སྙམྲི། སངས་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་པ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་ལྷ་དང་།
ལྷ་དང་སྒྲ་མའི་ལུང་བསྟན་མི་བཞིན་དུ།
ལྷ་སྐལ་ཕྱོན་པ་སྒྲུབ་བརྒྱད་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱན།
དག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དག་ལེགས་སྟོན།

པད་གླིང་གཤུང་གི་ས་བོན་གྲུང་པོ་ལས།
ལེགས་འཁྲུངས་མི་དབང་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སྟོན་བཟང་ཕྱེར།
བསོད་ནམས་ཟུལ་རྒྱ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མོ་ཡི།
ཁྱིམ་དང་འགསོལ་བའི་དུས་སྟོན་སྒྲུབ་དབང་འཛེབས།

དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་མི་མང་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྗེ།
མཁས་བཙུན་བཟང་པོའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དཔལ་མང་འཛིང་།
པདྨའི་མཚན་གྱི་གྲགས་པ་འབར་བ་ལ།
བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདེ་ལེགས་དུང་དཀར་གཡས་འཁྱུང་འབྱུང་།

ཅན་དན་བཀོད་པའི་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཡིད་མཁའ་རུ།
མི་དབང་རྒྱལ་བཙུན་ཉི་མེ་ལུང་དེ་ཤར།
བྱམས་བརྟེན་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཉེས་སུན་རབ་བཙུག་ནས།
དག་མཚན་སྒྲུང་བས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བྱབ་པར་སྟོན།

མི་དབང་རྒྱལ་བཙུན་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་རི་དབང་རྒྱལ།
རྒྱན་དན་བསྐྱལ་མེས་འཆོ་བ་རིང་སྤངས་ནས།
ཕྱིན་ལས་རྣམ་བཞིའི་གཟི་མདངས་འབར་བཞིན་དུ།
ཞིང་འདིའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་བརྟན་གྱུར་ཅིག། ॥

འབྲུག་གི་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོགས་སྡེ།

An Auspicious Prayer for the Royal Wedding

Om Swati! As prophesized by Ugyen Pema, the
second Buddha
And by the gods and lamas,
The pre-destined lord of Drukpa Kagyu -
Ornament of Buddha's Teachings,
Ngawang Namgyal, please bestow the blessings
of good fortunes!

The Supreme Dharma Lord of this realm,
Takes a consort - Her Majesty Azhi Jetsun Pema
Endowed with precious qualities of a Queen
At this royal wedding, we offer our prayers and
devotion!

In the sky-like minds of subjects of this land of
Sandalwood,
Shines the sun and moon - the King and his
Queen,
May the rays of compassion dispel all darkness,
And the light of clear perception envelop this
Kingdom!

The Wangchuck dynasty, fruition of people's
merits,
The royal lineage, like the river endowed with
eight sacred qualities,
So that the thirst of the people are quenched,
May the river of this glorious lineage flow
forever!

From the National Council of this Medicinal Land,
On the occasion of the royal wedding,
We offer this prayer – with pure hearts,
May your happiness abound and may you live
long!

National Council of Bhutan



ཀྲུལ་པའི་ཀྲུལ་བཅུན་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་རྒྱུར་ གསུངས་པའི་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱུ་ཅུང་།

པད་མའི་སྤྱུ་ལུ་དཔལ་འབྱུག་སྤྱན་རློངས་འདིར།
ཆོས་ཀྲུལ་གེ་སར་མཆོན་བཟང་བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱིས།
ལྷགས་མོ་ཡོས་ལོ་སྤྱི་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ནང་།
ཀྲུལ་བཅུན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མའང་གསོལ་མཛད་རྒྱུར་གསུངས།

དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་མི་སྲིད་སྡེ་ཆོགས་ཁང་ནང་།
གཡུ་འབྱུག་སྤྱན་རློངས་བཏེགས་པའི་གསེར་ཁྲི་ནས།
ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་བསྟན་འབངས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལས།
ཀྲུལ་བཅུན་བྱོན་པ་རྗེ་བཅུན་པད་མའོ།

དེ་བཞིན་མི་དབང་ཀྲུལ་པོས་བཀའ་བསྩལ་ཆོ།
རྗེ་བཅུན་མཆོན་ལྷན་པད་མའི་ཟེའུ་འབྱུ་ཉིད།
ཀྲུལ་པའི་བཅུན་མོར་བྱོན་པ་ལེགས་སོ་ཞེས།
གཅེས་པའི་འབངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཆབ་རྣམས་ནས་ལྷ།

གཏམ་སྤྱན་གསེར་སྐྱེ་ཆོགས་ཁང་ནང་ནས་བསྒྲགས།
བྲག་ཆ་ཀྲུལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་བར་འབྱུར།
དགའ་སྤྱོད་ཉིམ་འབངས་ཀྱི་སྤྲིང་ནས་ཤར།
འོད་ཟེར་སྤྲིང་ཀའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ནང་དུ་འཕྲོས།

ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་མི་དབང་ཀྲུལ་པོ་ལ།
ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཀྲུལ་བཅུན་རྗེ་བཅུན་མ།
པད་མའི་གེ་སར་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གཉིས།
སྐྱེ་ཆ་བརྟན་ཤོག་འཕྲིན་ལས་དར་རྒྱས་ཤོག།

A Song of Joy!

At the Proclamation of Royal Engagement

In the Baeyul of the Lotus-Born, Medicinal Land of
Palden Drukpa,
The Boddhisattva Dharma King, with the glorious
name of Khesar,
“In the Eighth Month of the Iron Hare Year,
The Royal Consort will be enthroned,” thus he
commanded!

This command, in the assembly hall of men and
gods,
From the Golden Throne, raised by turquoise
dragons,
“Prophesied by gods and fruition of people’s
merit,
The Royal Consort is Jetsun Pema!”

When the Sovereign Lord thus commanded,
“The Lotus’ nectar, Jetsun – aptly named,
Wondrous that she has come as Royal Consort,”
Thus said those representing the King’s beloved
people!

The golden melody of this pleasant news sounded
in the august hall,
Its echo filled and reverberated throughout the
realm,
The sun of happiness shone in the people’s heart,
Its rays reflected inside the Palace of Lingkana!

Oh glorious, glorious it is, Your Majesty!
Oh glorious, glorious it is, Your Royal Jetsun!
May Pema Khesar, beloved parents of your
people,
Live long and accomplish your undertakings!



བརྒྱད་འཛིན་བསྟན་འཛིན་མུ་རུ་འཁྲུངས་པར་ཤོག།
བསྟན་སྲིད་འབངས་ནམས་སྦྱང་བྱིར་འབྱོན་པར་ཤོག།
ལུགས་གཉིས་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་འབྱོན་པར་ཤོག།
འཁོར་ལོས་ལྷོ་ལྷོངས་རང་དབང་བཅོན་པར་ཤོག།

བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱན་དགའ།
ཁྱིམ་འཛིན་འོག་མ།

May the lineage and Dharma-holder be born soon!

May he come to reign over his people, the dharma patrons!

May he come to turn to the wheel of two traditions!

May this wheel nourish the sovereign Southern Land!

Dr. Sonam Kinga
Deputy Chairperson



ཁྲིམས་བཟའི་ལམ་ལུགས།

༼ཀུན་ལེགས་ཆོ་རིང་༽

དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་གི་ཚུ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་མདོན་
པར་མཐོ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིན་པའི་ཁར་ ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཨམ་ཟེར་རུང་
ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ཡིན།

ཁྲིམས་བཟའི་དབང་ཚད་ཡོངས་ཚྭ་གས་ འབྲུག་གི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལུ་ཡོད་
པའི་ཁར་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནང་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་
ཚོགས་སྡེ་ དེ་ལས་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་སྡེ་ གཙུག་སྡེ་ལག་ཆེ་
དགས་གསུམ་ཚུ་དཔ་ཡིན། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་དང་
ཁྲིམས་གཞན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་མཛའ་སྦྲེའི་བརྟག་
ཞིབ་ཚུ་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་མཐའ་དོན་ ཉེན་སྲུང་འཐབ་ཚུགས་པ་ དེས་
གཏན་བཟོ་མ་ཡིན།

དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛོག་མཛའ་ཐངས།

ཁྲིམས་བཟའི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་གི་ཐང་ཁར་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ ཚོགས་
ཁང་གཉིས་གང་རུང་ནང་ འགོ་ཐོག་བཙུགས་ཆོག་པའི་གུ་ ཉི་ཅུ་དང་
དུལ་ཅིས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་གི་ཐང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་
འདུ་རྒྱུ་མཐུན་ཅིག་ནང་ལུ་ འགོ་ཐོག་བཙུགས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་
ཡང་ཉི་ཅུ་གི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་དང་ དུལ་ཅིས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་ རྒྱལ་
ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ནང་ འགོ་ཐོག་བཙུགས་དགོ་མི་འདི་ འཛིན་སྐྱོང་
ལྷན་སྡེ་གི་འཐུས་མི་ཟེར་རུང་ ལྷན་རྒྱས་གཞུང་ཚོགས་ཟེར་རུང་ དེ་
ཚུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ནང་ འཐུས་མི་སྡེ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་ལས་
བརྟེན་ཡིན།

ཉི་ཅུ་དང་དུལ་ཅིས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཚུ་ འགོ་ཐོག་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་
འདུ་ནང་ བཙུགས་ཞིན་པ་ལས་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ཐངས་ཚུ་ བྱ་སྤྱོད་
ལམ་ལུགས་ དབྱེད་ཡིག་གཞན་ཚུ་དང་ ཅོག་འཐད་པ་ཡིན།

དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ད་ ཚོགས་ཁང་རང་སོའི་ནང་ལུ་ཡིན་པ་ཅིན་
འཐུས་མི་ཡོངས་བསྐོས་པ་ལས་བྱེད་མང་གིས་ རྒྱན་བསྐྱར་དགོ་པ་
དང་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལྷན་བཞུགས་སྐབས་ཡིན་པ་ཅིན་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་
ཆ་རའི་འཐུས་མི་ རྒྱན་བསྐྱར་མིའི་ཚོགས་གཤམ་ལུ་ཡོད་མིའི་ ཡོངས་
བསྐོས་ཀྱི་ གསུམ་དབྱ་གཉིས་ལས་ མ་ཉུང་མ་ཅིག་གིས་ཆ་འཛོག་
འབད་དགོ།

དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛོག་གི་ དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཐང་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཅིག་གིས་
བཙུགས་ཏེ་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་པའི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་གཅིག་ ཆ་འཛོག་གི་
ཆོས་གངས་ལས་ ཉིམ་སུམ་ཅུའི་ནང་འཁོད་ ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་གིས་
ཚོགས་ཁང་གཞན་མི་འདི་ནང་ཐུལ་དགོ་པ་དང་ དབྱེད་ཡིག་འདི་ སྤྱི་
ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཐངས་ལུ་མའི་སྐབས་ ཆ་འཛོག་འབད་མ་ཡིན།
འཆར་དུལ་དང་ འཐུལ་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་ཡིན་པ་ཅིན་ སྤྱི་
ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཐངས་འདི་ནང་རང་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་དགོ་པ་སྡེ་ཡོད།
དེ་ཡང་ འཆར་དུལ་འདི་ནི་ ལོ་བསྟར་བཞིན་དུ་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་བྱ་
ལུ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ གཅི་ཡིན་རུང་ ཉི་ཅུ་གུ་མཐར་ཐུག་དགོ་པ་ལས་བརྟེན་
འཐུལ་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་དབྱེད་ཡིག་འདི་ནི་ ག་ནི་བ་ལག་ཆེ་བའི་གནད་
དོན་ ཐོན་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པ་ལས་ ཚོགས་ཐངས་གཅིག་ནང་རང་
ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་དགོ་མི་འདི་ཡིན།



ཚོགས་ཁང་གཅིག་ལས་ གཞན་མི་ནང་ཕུལ་ཞེས་ལས་ ཚོགས་
 ཁང་གཞན་མི་འདི་གིས་ཡང་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ད་
 པ་ཅིན་ ཆ་འཛོག་གི་ཚེས་གྲངས་ལས་ ཉིན་མ་བཅོ་ལྔ་འཁོད་
 དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་ བཀའ་གྲོལ་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་
 ཞབས་སར་ཕུལ་དགོ། ཚོགས་ཁང་གཞན་མི་འདི་གིས་ དབྱད་ཡིག་
 འདི་ཆ་འཛོག་མ་གྲུབ་ཆེ་ ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་གིས་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འགོ་
 ཐོག་བྱུང་སའི་ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་ལུ་ འཕྲི་སྟོན་ ཡང་ན་ དགག་ཆ་དང་
 སྒྲགས་ཏེ་ བསྐྱར་གྲོལ་གྱི་དོན་ལུ་ འོག་གཏང་དགོ། དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་
 ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ཆེ་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་པའི་ ཚེས་གྲངས་ལས་ ཉིན་མ་བཅོ་
 ལྔ་འཁོད་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་བཀའ་གྲོལ་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ འབྲུག་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ ཞབས་སར་ཕུལ་དགོ།

གལ་སྲིད་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འགོ་ཐོག་བྱུང་སའི་ ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་གིས་
 ཚོགས་ཁང་གཞན་མི་འདི་ལས་འབྱོར་བའི་ འཕྲི་སྟོན་ ཡང་ན་ དགག་
 ཆ་ཚུ་ རོས་ལེན་མ་གྲུབ་ཆེ་ ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་གིས་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་
 འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ ཞབས་སར་ཕུལ་དགོ་པའི་ཁར་ འབྲུག་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་གི་སྟོར་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལྷན་
 བཞུགས་ཐོག་ལས་ གཞུང་གྲོས་གནང་སྟེ་ ཚོགས་རྒྱན་བསྐྱར་དགོ་
 པའི་ བཀའ་རྒྱ་གནང་ནི་ཨིན།

ག་དེ་མ་ཅིག་སྟེ་ དབྱད་ཡིག་བཙུགས་པའི་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཞན་མི་འདི་
 གིས་ ཆ་འཛོག་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ ཡང་ན་ ཚོགས་ཐེངས་ཤལ་མ་ མཐུག་
 བསྐྱབ་འཕྲུལ་ལུ་ འོག་སྟེ་མ་བཏང་ཆེ་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་ ཆ་འཛོག་
 གྲུབ་པའི་བྱུངས་སུ་ བཅི་དགོཔ་དང་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་ འགོ་ཐོག་བྱུང་
 སའི་ ཚོགས་ཁང་འདི་གིས་ ཉིན་མ་བཅོ་ལྔ་འཁོད་ བཀའ་གྲོལ་
 གྱི་དོན་ལུ་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ ཞབས་སར་ཕུལ་དགོཔ་ཨིན།
 འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ ཞབས་ དབྱད་ཡིག་འདི་ལུ་ བཀའི་གནང་
 བ་མ་གྲོལ་ཆེ་ མངའ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ འཕྲི་སྟོན་ ཡང་ན་ འགག་ཆ་དང་
 སྒྲགས་ཏེ་ ལྷན་བཞུགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱར་གྲོལ་དང་ ཚོགས་རྒྱན་བསྐྱར་
 རིའི་དོན་ལུ་ བཀའ་རྒྱ་གནང་ནི་ཡོད།

ཚོགས་ཁང་ལྷན་བཞུགས་ནང་ གྲོས་བསྐྱར་གནང་སྟེ་ དབྱད་ཡིག་
 འདི་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ཞེས་ལས་ བཀའ་གྲོལ་གྱི་དོན་ལུ་ དབྱད་ཡིག་
 འདི་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ ཞབས་སར་འོག་ཕུལ་དགོཔ་དང་ དེ་
 ལུ་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ བཀའི་གནང་བ་གྲོལ་ནི་ཨིན།
 སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ཡོད་པའི་
 དབྱད་ཡིག་ཅིག་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ བཀའི་གནང་བ་གྲོལ་
 ཞེས་ལས་ ཁྲབ་དབང་གི་ཆ་གནས་གྲུབ་ཨིན།
 རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནང་ ཁྲིམས་གཅིར་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་ཅུང་ དཔལ་ལྷན་
 འབྲུག་གི་ ཕ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོངས་དོན་དང་ མ་མཐུན་མི་ཚུ་
 ཅུས་མེད་དང་བདེན་སྟངས་ཨིན། དེ་འབདཻལས་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་
 ཁྲིམས་ ཆ་འཛོག་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐབས་ ཕ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་གཞི་
 བཞག་ཐོག་ལས་ མཛེད་དགོཔ་ག་ནི་བ་གལ་ཆེ།



Public Accounts Committee: A Constitutional Joint Parliamentary Committee

**Jigmi Rinzin
Pema Gatshel**

The introduction of Democratic Constitutional Monarchy through adoption of the Constitution in 2008 completed a full circle of Bhutan's transition towards a parliamentary democratic form of government. Today, Bhutan has a Parliament upon which all legislative powers are vested by the Constitution and comprises three institutions, viz. the *Druk Gyalpo*, the National Council and the National Assembly. The Parliament, besides its legislative functions, has the sacred duty to ensure that the Government safeguards the interests of the nation and fulfils the aspirations of the people through public review of policies, issues and scrutiny of State functions.

The roles and responsibilities of Parliament are carried out mainly through Parliamentary Committees. In fact, such Committees are the extensions of Parliament and often referred to as 'Mini Parliaments' through which parliamentary activities are executed in greater detail. These 'Mini Parliaments' ensure that the parliamentary works are conducted with the required completeness on the issue under review and yet expeditiously so that Parliament's decisions on issues are not delayed beyond reasonable duration. Physical tasks of fact ascertainment of the case, examination of witnesses, gathering and sifting of evidence, etc., occur at the Committee level. The real work of Parliament actually takes place in the Committee level and the actual deliberation and resolution from the House is a final product of the Committees' works. Therefore, in the fitness of things, the significance of a Parliamentary Committee cannot be undervalued as President Woodrow Wilson of the USA had once remarked "Congress

in session is Congress on Exhibition and Congress in Committee is Congress at Work" (Parliament Secretariat, Sri Lanka, 2006).

The power to appoint Committees has been recognized under Article 10.11 of the Constitution of Bhutan (2008: 30). While the National Assembly has the power to appoint Committees as provided under Chapter 25 of the National Assembly Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2008 (The National Assembly, 2008: 53-54), the National Council can appoint Committees as laid down under Chapter IX of the National Council Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2008 (The National Council, 2008: 26-28).

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) is one of the Parliamentary Committees which ensures that the government has utilized the state funds for delivery of public services and for the purposes intended. It is responsible for exercising financial oversight and control of public funds and holding government accountable for prudent and transparent use of public money. This is based on the universally accepted principle of Parliamentary Control of the public purse.

The idea of Public Accounts Committee (PAC) and other Financial Committees is a common feature of Parliaments the world over. With a task to ensure that the Parliament approves government proposals for expenditure in the form of a budget before commencement of a Financial Year, Financial Committees also ensure that the expenditure is incurred in a prudent manner on plans and programmes approved



by the Parliament and the underlying objectives of the plans and programmes are achieved. As for its origin, the first PAC dates back to 1861 in England when the House of Commons at Westminster established a Committee to consider the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General (McGee 2002: 15)

In Bhutan, PAC is a fairly new concept and its origin and parliamentary perspective before 2008 is detailed below.

PAC pre-2008

The first Public Accounts Committee in Bhutanese Parliament was established in 2004 in accordance with the National Assembly Committees Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2004, through election of five members for a term of one year.

The National Assembly Committees Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2004, Section 5 reads as under:

The Public Accounts Committee shall be established by issuing a Standing Order or by Resolution of the National Assembly on the motion raised by the members of the House (The National Assembly, 2004: 4)

In addition, the National Assembly Committees Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan (2004: 4-5) under Section 6 elaborates the responsibility of PAC to assess the integrity, economy, efficiency, transparency and effectiveness of government financial management through examination of:

- a. accounts and expenditure of the government;
- b. various audit reports of the Auditor General;
- c. cases involving losses, nugatory expenditure and financial irregularities;

- d. performances of government owned corporations and agencies with investment of public funds; and
- e. such other accounts as referred to it by the National Assembly.

Further, as prescribed under Section 53 of this Act, the Rules of the Public Accounts Committee, 2006 was formulated and approved by the then Hon'ble Speaker of National Assembly on 7 June 2006.

The Rules of the Public Accounts Committee (2006), Section 3, recognizes three objectives of PAC, as under:

- a. Help the National Assembly to hold the Government and its agencies to account for the lawfulness, efficiency and effectiveness of the utilization of the sums approved by the National Assembly;
- b. Ensure judicious use of Government resources; and
- c. Help enhance public awareness of the financial aspects and its related operations of the Government.
(Rules of the Public Accounts Committee 2006: 1-2)

Therefore, pursuant to the provisions of the National Assembly Committees Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2004 and the objectives required under the Rules of the Public Accounts Committee 2006, the PAC's roles prior to 2008 entailed shouldering multiple functions and duties besides examination of audit reports of the Royal Audit Authority (RAA). In other words, there was a blur between the roles of PAC and the RAA when the PAC's responsibility extended to examination of accounts and expenditures of the government, individual



cases of losses, nugatory expenditure and financial irregularities, and the performances of government owned corporations and agencies with investment of public funds.

In the present scenario, while the PAC's responsibilities do not bar per se from examining the individual accounts, cases of losses, nugatory expenditure and financial irregularities, and performances of government owned corporations and agencies, the PAC should first review the Audit Report to further examine these individual accounts, expenditures, losses, financial irregularities, etc.

A full picture of PAC after 2008 is elaborated below.

PAC post-2008

Today, the Public Accounts Committee is the Constitutional Joint Standing Committee of the Parliament of Bhutan with member representatives from both the Houses of Parliament, as enshrined in Article 25, Section 6, of the Constitution as under:

Parliament shall appoint a five member Public Accounts Committee, comprising members of Parliament who are reputed for their integrity, to review and report on the Annual Audit Reports to Parliament for its consideration or on any other report presented by the Auditor General (The Constitution, 2008: 70)

There are three members from the National Assembly representing both the Ruling and the Opposition parties, and two members from the National Council. The three members from the National Assembly are appointed by the Speaker of the National Assembly and the two

members from National Council are appointed by the Chairperson of the National Council.

The Chairperson of PAC is elected from amongst its five members for a term of one year. Further, the Chairmanship of the Committee is rotated between the two Houses on an yearly basis.

The PAC presents its report to a Joint Sitting of Parliament. Thus, the deliberation on PAC's report would take place only in the Joint Sitting and any matter pertaining to PAC should be resolved in the Joint Sitting. As the Speaker presides over the Joint Sitting of the Parliament, the ultimate authority to report to and seek direction from, in pursuance to Joint Sitting resolutions, rests with the Speaker. In other words, no House in isolation can make any parliamentary decisions affecting the PAC.

Recognizing the role of PAC and its significance as an oversight arm of the Parliament, the 5th Session of Parliament in its Joint Sitting had resolved:

That a separate Committee Secretariat be established under the Speakers Office Order as submitted by the Committee considering the importance of the PAC as a Parliamentary Committee (Proceedings and Resolutions of the National Assembly, May 28 – July 14, 2010: 29)

In pursuant to the above Parliamentary Joint Sitting, a designated Secretariat was established in August 2010.

Accordingly, today, the PAC is supported by a Committee Secretariat specifically designated as PAC Secretariat and it functions under the overall logo of the '**Parliament of Bhutan**'. The PAC is neither a part of National Assembly nor of National Council. The Chairperson of PAC reports to the Speaker of National Assembly



with parallel reporting to, and intervention from, the Chairperson of National Council. However, as the Speaker of National Assembly is also a Speaker of the Parliament during the Joint Sitting and therefore a direct authority above the PAC, and for the sake of operational convenience, the PAC Secretariat personnel are administratively managed and subsumed within the National Assembly Secretariat under the direct managerial responsibility of the National Assembly Secretary General.

Scope of PAC

The scope of PAC is encapsulated in Article 25.6 of the Constitution to review and report on the Annual Audit Reports to Parliament for its consideration or on any other report presented by the Auditor General (The Constitution, 2008: 70).

The role of PAC comes into light after the Royal Audit Authority submits its Annual Audit Reports (AAR) to the Druk Gyalpo, the Prime Minister and the Parliament (The Audit Act, Sec.72: 26) with copies endorsed to the Lhengye Zhungtshog, concerned Head of the audited entity, the Chairperson of the Anti-Corruption Commission and the Chairperson of the Public Accounts Committee (The Audit Act 2006, Sec.73: 26)

Therefore, the scope of PAC is determined by the size, contents and coverage of AAR and other reports submitted by the Auditor General.

Roles and responsibilities of PAC

The basic responsibility of PAC is to assess the integrity, economy, efficiency, transparency and effectiveness of government financial management. Assessment of these principles, however, should be carried out through review of Audit Reports.

While the canons of integrity, economy, efficiency, transparency and effectiveness of government financial management are adequately addressed and tackled by RAA, the function of PAC is to provide supplementary assurance that these findings and recommendations of RAA are heard in Parliament and diligently followed by the agencies concerned. Thus, the role of PAC guarantees that the issues pointed out in Audit reports are brought to logical conclusions by the agencies.

The functions and workings of PAC are carried out in the following manner:

i. Review of reports received from RAA:

The PAC receives three types of reports from RAA.

First, an Annual Audit Report (AAR) which contains separate chapters on regular audits of different agencies, RAA's opinion on the Annual Financial Statements of the Government, issue-based Special Audit Reports of different agencies, Auditors' Report on the audit of Accounts of RAA, and Recommendations to the government on audit findings.

Second, theme based Performance Audit Report on specific areas and for specific organizations. Such audits are carried out by RAA either as part of their normal audit activities or upon special direction from the Druk Gyalpo and/or the Parliament (The Audit Act of Bhutan 2006, Sec.39(i), Sec.40: 15).

Third, Auditor General's Advisory Series and other technical papers. Such reports are occasionally issued by the Auditor General as manifested under the RAA's five year Strategic Plans. Such papers are aimed at offering advisory services to the government.



The PAC reviews the above reports through series of Committee Meetings. This entails gathering and sifting of background information and evidences on cases under review.

ii. Conduct consultations and hearings with concerned agencies:

Following the Committee's reviews on the audit reports, the PAC conducts meetings with relevant agencies. The audit findings are updated and latest unresolved issues are prepared for presentation to the Joint Sitting of Parliament.

iii. Present PAC report to the Joint Sitting of Parliament:

The PAC presents its report to the Joint Sitting of Parliament, generally in its summer session. The presentation dwells on the contents of AAR and submits detailed study and analysis with recommendations on audit observations. The PAC also suggests appropriate policy changes which would incorporate the recommendations of RAA for bringing necessary changes and improvements in the existing policy and systems.

Recommendations of the PAC are deliberated and debated in Parliament and resolutions passed with directions to the PAC for further course of action. Resolutions from Parliament generally resolve that the PAC either conducts detailed hearings with the relevant agencies on specific issues or resolve the issue through the RAA's normal follow-up procedures.

iv. Follow-up on the past years' unresolved audit issues:

The PAC conducts year-round follow-up activities with relevant agencies through RAA. Earlier years' audit issues are resolved in three ways:

First, the agency takes appropriate administrative actions against the official concerned for financial irregularities and lapses and/or administrative lapses.

Second, the incumbent official is asked to pay fixed sum of money to the government as calculated in the audit report in addition to some administrative actions taken by the government for one's financial misconduct and/or administrative lapses.

Third, in the event the unresolved audit issues involving financial irregularities appear to be practically unsolvable under exceptional circumstances, the Minister of Finance may deal with such irregularities through a Committee as stated under Section 178 and 179 of the Public Finance Act of Bhutan 2007 (The Public Finance Act of Bhutan 2007: 62)

v. Ad hoc specific assignments:

The PAC also undertakes specific assignments upon special direction from Parliament in the joint sitting, and/or under joint directions from the Speaker of National Assembly and the Chairperson of National Council. Such assignments, if any, shall assume a focused approach on a particular subject or agency as per the order.

At any stage of the above five forms of PAC's workings, the RAA plays a significant tangential role alongside the PAC. RAA provides expert opinions on issues as and when felt necessary by the PAC. In fact, it is a universal phenomenon that the PAC from Parliament and the Supreme Audit Institution (RAA in our context) always exist in tandem in the nation's quest to promote greater accountability within the government, public and civil society organizations. Thus, these two institutions play a critical role within the overall accountability mechanism of the State.



Composition of PAC

As mandated by the provision of the Constitution, there are five members in the PAC. The incumbent memberships comprise:

- i. Jigmi Rinzin, MP (Pema Gatshel), National Council, as PAC Chair;
- ii. Kesang Wangdi, DPT MP (Khamdang-Ramjar), National Assembly, as Dy. Chair;
- iii. Pema Lhamo, MP (Zhemgang), National Council;
- iv. Damcho Dorji, PDP MP (Goenkhatoe-Laya), National Assembly; and
- v. Sonam Penjore, DPT MP (Kengkhar-Weringla), National Assembly. He was the first PAC Chairperson of the present Parliament. He chaired the PAC till July 2010 (i.e., up to the 5th Session of Parliament).

The two members from the National Council were appointed to the PAC membership by the Hon'ble Chairperson of National Council on 14 Aug. 2008.

Conclusion

Accountability is a critical ingredient of good governance, which leads to better economic outcomes and reduced poverty. The responsibility of Governance is bestowed upon the elected representatives who in turn rely on the executives for implementation of plans and programmes approved by Parliament. Hence, there is a recognized chain of public accountability:

Public Citizens ⇌ **Legislators (elected representatives)**
Executives (bureaucracy)

The public citizens hold legislators accountable as being their elected representatives. The legislators in turn hold the executive accountable.

However, with the dictum of principle of separation of powers among the three arms of state with no encroachment permitted into each other's functions, the elected representatives cannot and shall not directly involve with the bureaucracy. It is here that the RAA comes into the frame, which assesses and reviews the performance of government through conducting audit and submitting audit reports to the Parliament.

Based on the audit reports, the elected representatives hold the executives accountable, who in turn are accountable to the citizens who have elected them. Such mechanism of accountability is a means to ensure that budgeted money approved by Parliament is spent appropriately for the purposes intended. This leads to maximum transparency and brings the executives under rigorous fiduciary oversight. This oversight role is played by the PAC.

Therefore, the PAC should be provided with clearly laid down procedures supported by rational and lucid rules and regulations for effective execution of its oversight responsibility. Currently, the legislations for PAC before 2008 and after 2008 are inconsistent with each other. Hence, the tasks fall upon the current PAC to bring coherence between the pre-2008 legislation and the post-2008 scenario. As detailed earlier in this paper, the legislation affecting PAC prior to 2008 assumed that there was only one House of Parliament. The National Assembly Committees Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2004, as apparent from the title, wholly underscored the notion that the National Assembly was the Parliament in itself. Certain provisions of this Act fully contravene the Constitutional provisions as regards to the establishment of PAC. Further, the responsibility of PAC as detailed under Section 6 of this Act goes far beyond what the PAC can do today as categorically outlined under Article 25.6 of the Constitution.



The effectiveness of PAC would largely depend on how the PAC members conduct their assignments. Further, the performance of PAC can be judged only if there are standards and norms to measure, compare and contrast with each other. In the absence of these, it will be pretty unmanageable as performance cannot

be tracked and measured. Therefore, it is only fitting that the first PAC of democratic Bhutan initiate formulating one comprehensive, practical and Constitution-compliant PAC legislation and PAC bye-laws before embarking on any oversight scrutiny assignments.

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འཆར་དུལ་དང་འཆར་དུལ་དཔྱད་བཞུགས་པའི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛིན་མཛད་ཐངས།

ཀུན་ལེགས་ཆོ་རིང་།

རྒྱུ་ལུངས།

༩ འཆར་དུལ་དང་ འཆར་དུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛིན་མཛད་ཐངས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལས་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེ་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་ མོས་མཐུན་མ་བྱུང་བའི་དོན་ཚན་ རོ་མ་རང་ སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༤ ལྷ་ ༥ པའི་ཆོས་རྒྱུ་ལས་ ལྷ་ ༧ པའི་ཆོས་རྒྱུ་ལས་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འགོ་དང་པ་ ཚོགས་པའི་སྐབས་ འཆར་དུལ་ཆ་འཛིན་འབད་ནིའི་སྐོར་ལས་ བཙོན་བསྡུར་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ ཚོགས་འདུའི་ཁ་ཐུག་ལས་འབད་བཅིན་ ཁོང་གིས་ཆར་གཅིག་འཆར་དུལ་ཆ་འཛིན་ འབད་ཆར་བའི་ཤུལ་ལས་ ལོག་སྟེ་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེ་གིས་ ཆ་འཛིན་འབད་མི་དགོས་སྟེ་ཡིན་པས། ཡིན་ཅུང་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེའི་ཁ་ཐུག་ལས་ དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོངས་དོན་ལྟར་དུ་ འཆར་དུལ་དེ་ཡང་དཔྱད་ཡིག་གཞན་རྣམས་དང་མ་འདྲུཅ་མེད་པ་ལས་ དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛིན་གི་ལམ་ལུགས་ ཅོག་འཐད་པ་སྟེ་དགོས་ཡིན། དམངས་གཙོའི་རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ འགོ་བཙུགས་ཡོད་མི་དང་ མི་དམངས་ཀྱི་མཐའ་དོན། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འཕུལ་ཕྱགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ མཉོན་ལམ་གཏང་སྟེ་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཆར་ལུ་ འོས་འབབ་ཅན་གྱི་མོས་མཐུན་ཐོག་ལས་ དཀའ་ངལ་སེལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ གྲོས་འཆར་ཐུལ་མ་ཡི།

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- རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ ༡༣.༢ པ་ ཏི་རུའི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་དང་ དུལ་ཅིའི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཚུ་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་རྒྱུ་ཆུང་ཅིག་ནང་ འགོ་ཐོག་བཙུག་ནི་ཡིན་ཅུང་ ཁྲིམས་བཟོའི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ གཞན་གྱི་ཐང་ཚོགས་ཁང་གང་ཅུང་ནང་འགོ་ཐོག་བཙུགས་ཆོག། ཟེར་མི་ལུ་ དོན་འགྲེལ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་སྟེ་ཉ་གོ་དགོས་ཡོད།
- རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ ༡༣.༥ པ་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཅིག་གི་གཙུགས་ཏེ་ ཆ་འཛིན་གྲུབ་པའི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཅིག་ ཆ་འཛིན་གི་ཆོས་གྲངས་ལས་ ཉིན་གྲངས་ ༣༠ ཡི་ནང་འཁོད་ ཚོགས་ཁང་དེ་གིས་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཞན་མི་དེ་ནང་བཙུགས་དགོས་དང་ དཔྱད་ཡིག་དེ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཐངས་ བཤུལ་མའི་སྐབས་ལུ་ཡང་ ཆ་འཛིན་ འབད་ཆོག འཆར་དུལ་དང་ འཕུལ་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་ དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཡིན་ཆེ་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚོགས་ཐངས་ འདི་ནང་རང་ ཆ་འཛིན་འགྲུབ་དགོ། ཟེར་མ་ད་ འཆར་དུལ་དང་འཕུལ་མཁོ་ ཅན་གྱི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཟེར་མི་འདི་གི་མིང་ཆོག་ཡིན་མ་ལས་ འཆར་དུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ཟེར་དགོ།
- རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ ༡༤.༢ པ་ ཁྲིམས་ཐོག་ཆེད་དམིགས་དགོས་དོན་ཚུ་ལུ་ གོ་ཀོལ་མ་བཟོ་བའི་ སྤྱི་དུལ་ཆ་མཉམ་ གསལ་འཛིན་འབད་སའི་ཕྱོགས་བསྡུས་མ་དུལ་ཅིག་བཟོ་སྟེ་ རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཟད་གོན་དེ་ནང་ལས་གཏང་དགོ།
- རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ ༡༤.༣ པ་ སྤྱི་དུལ་འདི་ ཁྲིམས་དང་འཁྲིལ་བའི་ དཔྱད་བཟོ་བཟོ་སྟེ་མ་གཏོགས་ ཕྱོགས་བསྡུས་མ་དུལ་ལས་



བཏོན་ནི་མེད། ཁྲིམས་དང་འཁྲིལ་ཟེར་མ་དང་ ཁྲིམས་འདི་སྤྱི་
ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཆ་འཛིག་མཛད་དགོས་ཡིན།

རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་དོན་ཚན་ ༡༡༢ པའི་དགོངས་
དོན་ལྷ་གཟིགས་རུང་ འཆར་དུལ་དང་ འཕུལ་མཁོ་ཅན་གྱི་དབུད་
ཡིག་ཡིན་པ་ཅིན་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེའི་ཚོགས་རིམ་ནང་རང་ཆ་
འཛིག་འབྲུག་དགོ་ཟེར་འཁོད་དེ་ཡོད།

རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་དོན་ཚན་ ༢༣༩ པར་ ལེན་
འདི་ནང་ལོགས་སུ་འཁོད་དེ་ཡོད་ན་མ་གཏོགས་ བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་བྱ་
སྒྲའི་རིམ་པ་ལུ་ དཔྱ་བགོའི་དབུད་ཡིག་དང་ ལྷན་ཐབས་ཀྱི་དཔྱ་
བགོའི་དབུད་ཡིག་ཅིག་ ཚོགས་དཔོན་གྱིས་གཤམ་ཆེ་བར་བརྩི་འཛིག་
འབད་མི་ལྟར་དུ་ དེ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལོགས་བཅོས་འབད་བའི་ སྤྱིར་བཏང་
གི་དབུད་ཡིག་ཚུ་དང་གཅིག་མཚུངས་ཡིན་ཟེར་འཁོད་དེ་ཡོད།

གོང་གསལ་མུ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མེད་དོན་ཚན་ཚུ་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་
སྡེའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ཚུ་
ལས་ གསལ་འཛིག་འབད་སའི་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱེས་མ་དུལ་དེའི་ཁྲིམས་
དང་འཁྲིལ་ཏེ་ དཔྱ་བགོ་བཟོ་སྤྱོད་མ་གཏོགས་སྤྱོད་མ་ཚོགས་ཡིན། དེ་
འབད་མ་དང་ ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ ཆ་འཛིག་འབད་མི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཡིན་མ་
ལས་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཆ་རའི་ནང་ལས་ ཆ་འཛིག་འབད་དགོས་
ཡིན། དེའི་དོན་དག་གཅི་བོ་རང་ འཆར་དུལ་དེ་ ཏི་ཅུའི་དབུད་ཡིག་
ཡིན་མ་ལས་བརྟེན་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ནང་ལས་ འགོ་ཐོག་
བཙུག་དགོས་ཡིན། མུ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མེད་མུ་ཚན་ཚུ་དང་ ཚོགས་ཁང་
གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་ཚུ་ལྟར་དུ་འབད་བཅིན་ འགོ་
ཐོག་མ་དུལ་གྱི་དབུད་ཡིག་བཙུགས་ནི་ལས་ལྷག་སྟེ་ མ་དུལ་གྱི་
དབུད་ཡིག་བཙུགས་ནིའི་ལས་ལྷགས་སོ་སོའི་གྲོས་འདེབས་མེད་པ་

ལས་ དབུད་ཡིག་གཞན་རྣམས་ཅོག་འཐད་པ་སྟེ་ ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་
ཆ་རའི་ནང་ལས་ ཆ་འཛིག་བྲུག་དགོས་ཡིན།

རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་ཁ་བྱག་ས།

རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་དང་འཁྲིལ་བཅིན་ གོང་ལུ་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་
དུལ་དེ་ཚུ་ཚན་ ༡༣.༣པ་ ལྟར་དུ་འབད་བཅིན་ དབུད་ཡིག་སྟེ་ཚུད་
དེ་མེད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ གཤམ་གསལ་གྱི་དོན་ཚན་ལྟར་དུ་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་
ཚོགས་སྡེ་གིས་ཆ་འཛིག་འབད་དགོས་མེད་ཟེར་ཡིན་པས།

- ཚུ་ཚན་ ༡༤.༤ པ་ འདས་པའི་བརྩི་ལོའི་དུལ་ཕྱིས་དང་བཅས་
པའི་ ལོ་བསྟར་གྱི་འཆར་དུལ་སྟན་ཞུ་ཅིག་ དུལ་ཕྱིས་སྒོམ་པོ་
གི་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་ནང་ གསལ་བཤད་ལུ་དགོ།
- ཚུ་ཚན་ ༡༤.༩ པ་ ཕྱིས་ལོ་འགོ་མ་བཙུགས་པའི་ཉེ་མར་ རྒྱལ་
ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལས་ འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་གནང་བ་མ་བྲུག་
པར་ འཆར་དུལ་གསལ་པའི་གནང་བ་མ་གྲོལ་ཚུན་ རྒྱན་སྦྱོང་
གི་ཟད་གོན་ཚུ་ ཉེ་མའི་འཆར་དུལ་ལྟར་དུ་ སྦྱར་འཇུག་འཐབ་
དགོས་ཡིན། འོངས་འབབ་ཚུ་བསྐྱེད་ལེན་འབད་ནི་དང་ བགོ་
བཟུམ་གཏང་ནི་ཚུ་ ཉེ་མའི་ལོ་མཇུག་ཚུན་ ཁྲུག་དབང་ཡོད་པའི་
ཁྲིམས་དང་འཁྲིལ་དགོ། ཡིན་རུང་ འཆར་དུལ་གསལ་པའི་ཆ་
ཤས་ཅིག་ ཡང་ན་ དེ་ལས་ལྷག་པའི་ཆ་ཤས་ཚུ་ གནང་བ་བྲུག་
སྟེ་ཡོད་ཆེ་ དེ་ཚུ་དངོས་སྦྱར་འཐབ་ནི་འགོ་བཙུགས་དགོ།

གོང་གི་ཚུ་ཚན་ཚུ་ལས་ ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་སྟན་ཞུ་དེ་རྒྱུད་མ་
ཅིག་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལུ་སྤུལ་ནི་དང་ འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་གནང་
བ་གནང་མི་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཡིན་མ་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་
ཚོགས་སྡེའི་སྐོར་ལས་ དེ་ནང་མ་ཚུད་པ་ལས་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་
སྡེ་གིས་འཆར་དུལ་ལུ་ གནང་བ་སྤྱོད་དགོ་པའི་འགན་ཁུར་ མེད་པ་
ངེས་བདེན་ཡིན་པས་ཟེར་ཡིན།



མོས་མཐུན་མ་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན།

གོང་གསལ་ཙུ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་རྩ་ཆོན་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལུ་རིགས་མ་བསྐྱེས་པར་གོ་བསོ་སོ་སྤེལ་ན་པའི་རྩ་ཆོན་ཆོག་ལང་གཉིས་ཆར་འབྲེན་ཁྲུངས་བཟང་མི་རྒྱུ་བདེན་པ་ཡོད་པ་བཟུམ་སྤེལ་ཐོང་མ་མས། མོས་མཐུན་མ་བྱུང་བའི་གནད་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་རང་འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་དང་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་ཟེར་བའི་ཆོག་དོན་གཉིས་ལ་གསལ་མེད་ནི་དེ་གིས་ཨིན་པས། ཙུ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་ནང་ལུ་དེ་གི་དོན་དག་འགྲེལ་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་མེད་ཅུང་དེ་གཉིས་དོན་དག་གཅིག་རང་ཨིན་པས། མ་གཞི་ནང་དོན་ལུ་གཞུང་གི་དམིགས་གཏད་ཡོད་པའི་འོངས་འབབ་དང་ཟད་གོན་གྱི་བཅུད་བསྟུས་ཡང་ན་འཆར་གཞི་ཨིན་མི་དེ་འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་དེ་གིས་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་ལུ་བསྟར་ཏེ་ཁྲིམས་སྤེལ་འགྲོམ་མ་གཏོགས་ནང་དོན་ལུ་དེ་རྩ་ཆོན་འདྲམ་ག་ནི་ཡང་མིན་འདྲུག། རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་དེ་ལུ་བརྟེན་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་གྱི་རྩ་ཆོན་ ༡༣ པ་ལྟར་དུ་འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་འབད་ཆ་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཆད་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་འདུ་གིས་འབད་བའི་རྩ་ཆོན་ ༡༥ པ་ལྟར་དུ་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་འབད་ཆ་བཞག་ཅུག།

གོ་དོན་དེ་གཉིས་ག་དེ་སྤེལ་བའི་ནི་ཨིན་ནའི་སྟོན་ལས་ཆོག་ལང་གཉིས་གཅིག་གུ་ཡར་སོང་པའི་རྩ་ཆོན་དོན་དེ་མོས་མཐུན་བྱུང་ནི་ལུ་དགའ་ངལ་མི་འཐོན་ནི་ཨིན་པས། འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་གྲ་སྒྲིའི་ལམ་ལུགས་དེ་རྩ་ཆོན་ ༡༣ པ་ལྟར་དུ་ཆ་བཞག་ནི་དང་དེ་ལས་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་འདུ་གིས་རྩ་ཆོན་ ༡༥ པ་དང་འཁྲིལ་ཏེ་གནད་བ་བྱུང་ཆོག་པ་ཨིན་པས།

ཐབས་ལམ་གྱི་གྲོས་འཆར།

འཆར་དཔལ་གྱི་གནད་བའི་དོན་ལུ་འོས་འབབ་ལྟན་པའི་གྲ་སྒྲིའི་ལམ་ལུགས་གྲོས་འཆར་ཐུལ་ཤ་དང་ཚད་ཅིག་ལས་བསྐྱེལ་མེད་པའི་

རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲུངས་ཆད་འཛིན་འབད་ཚུགས་པའི་ལག་ལེན་ཐོག་ལས་འབད་དགོ། དེ་འབད་ཤ་དང་དེ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་གྱི་གིས་ཡང་མ་འོངས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མི་དམངས་ཉེན་སྲུང་གི་དོན་ལུ་ཆད་གཅིག་ལས་བསྐྱེལ་ཏེ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲུངས་ལུ་འཕྲོ་བསྟུག་སྤེལ་ཡང་མེད་པར་བཅོལ་མི་བཅོལ་བཟུ་ཚུགས་འབད་ནི་དེ་དེས་གཏན་བཟོ་དགོ། གཤམ་གསལ་གྱི་གྲོས་འཆར་དེ་དཔལ་ལྟན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་དགོངས་དོན་རྩ་ཆོན་མེས་ལང་བཞག་སྟེ་ཆོག་ལང་གཉིས་ཆར་ལུ་ཁོ་རྒྱུད་བཅུབ་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་གྱི་སྟེན་གྲོན་ལུ་ཨིན།

འཆར་དཔལ་འདི་འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་དང་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་ཟེར་ལག་གཉིས་སྤེལ་དེ་ཏེ་གོང་ལུ་ཞུ་དོམ་བཟུམ་སྤེལ་ཆོན་སོ་སོ་སྤེལ་བཟོ་སྟེ་ཡོད་ཅུང་མ་གཞི་དེ་གཉིས་གཞི་གཅིག་རང་ཨིན་པས། འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་དེ་དཔུང་ཡིག་གཞན་བཟུམ་སྤེལ་དུས་རྒྱུན་གྱི་གྲ་སྒྲིའི་ལམ་ལུགས་ལྟར་དུ་གྲོས་འདེབས་འབད་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་འདུ་ནང་ལས་འགོ་ཐོག་བཅུགས་ནི་དང་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་འདུ་ནི་ནང་གསལ་བཤད་འབད་དེ་ཆོག་སྤེལ་འདུ་རྒྱུང་མ་ཅིག་གི་གནད་བ་འགྲུབ་ནི་ཨིན། རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོག་སྤེལ་གྱི་དུས་རྒྱུན་དཔུང་ཡིག་ཆ་འཛིན་བྱུང་ནི་འགན་ཁུར་འདི་རང་ལག་ལེན་འཐབ་ནི་མ་གཏོགས་ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དཔལ་ལུ་བསམ་འཆར་ག་ནི་ཡང་ཞུ་དགོཔ་མིན་འདྲུག། འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་དེ་གི་འཐད་གཞུང་གི་ཕྱོགས་བསྟུས་མ་དཔལ་ལས་ཟད་གོན་གྱི་དོན་ལུ་བཞོ་བཟུམ་འབད་ཆོག་པའི་དབང་ཆ་དོན་ཅི་ཡིག་འཛིན་ཅིག་ཨིན། དེ་ནང་ལུ་ཕྱོགས་བསྟུས་མ་དཔལ་གྱི་གནད་སྤྱིན་དང་ཟད་གོན་ཚུ་ག་ར་བཅུག་དགོཔ་སྤེལ་འགྲེལ་བཤད་འབད་ནི་ཨིན། ལ་གསལ་འབད་ཞུ་བའི་རྩ་ཆོན་འཆར་དཔལ་དཔུང་ཡིག་ནང་ལུ་གཤམ་གསལ་གྱི་དོན་ཆོན་ཚུ་ཆད་དགོ།

༡༧ དེ་ཡང་གཞན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལས་ནང་འཁོད་འཐོན་བསྐྱེད་ཡོངས་དང་



ཕྱི་ལོ་འཆད་ ཕྱི་འབྲུན་ ཕྱི་ནང་སྤྱོད་ལེན་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ ཕྱི་
དུལ་གསོག་འཛུགས་ དེ་ལས་མཁོ་སྤྱོད་ཅན་ལ་སོགས་
པའི་འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་སྲིད་བྱུས་

༢༽ འདི་ལོ་འཆར་དུལ་སྤྱི་བསྐྱོམས་འདི་ ནང་འཁོད་ཀྱི་འོང་
འབབ་སྟོན་པའི་འཐོན་ཁུངས་དང་ ཟད་གོན་གྱི་གསལ་
བརྗོད་དང་ གནང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་དང་གསར་སྤྱོད་ཟད་གོན་ དེ་
ལས་འཐོན་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར། སུབ་ཆག། སྤྱིན་འབྲུལ་ལ་
སོགས་པ།

༣༽ འཐོན་ཁུངས་བཞོ་སྐལ་འཆར་བཞོད།

༤༽ ལས་སྡེ་ལྟེ་བ་དང་ རྫོང་ཁག་དང་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་གི་དོན་ལུ་ ཟད་
གོན་འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་ལས་འཆར་ འདི་ནང་ལུ་ སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་དང་
གསར་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་པའི་ཟད་གོན་བསྐྱོམས་ཚུད་དགོ།

༥༽ དམིགས་བསལ་ཟད་གོན་གཙོ་དོན་ཡོད་པ་ཅིན།

འཆར་དུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ནང་ལུ་ དེ་བཞུགས་པའི་བསྐྱོམས་གུ་ ཟད་
གོན་ཁ་སྐོང་དགོས་མཁོ་བྱུང་སྟེ་ སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནང་བ་འབྲུབ་དགོ་
པ་ཅིན་ འཆར་དུལ་ལྷན་ཐབས་ཐོག་ལས་ དུལ་ཕྱིས་ལྷན་ཁག་
གིས་ཁྱད་དགོ།

ལོ་བསྟར་འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་རེས་ཚོགས་འདི་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་གཙོ་རིམ་ཅན་
གྱི་ གཞུང་གི་བབ་ཁུངས་དང་ཟད་གོན་ བཏོན་པའི་འཆར་གཞི་འབད་
འབྲུལ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཅིན། འདི་ནང་ལུ་བཞུགས་ལུ་འཁོད་ཡོད་པའི་
གནད་དོན་ཚུ་ཚུད་པ་ཅིན།

༡༽ གོང་གསལ་ཚུངས་མ།

༢༽ ཟད་གོན་དང་འཐོན་ཁུངས། གནང་སྤྱོད། ལུ་ལོན། ཕྱི་ལོ་འཆད་
ལྷན་ཐབས་ཚུ་བཏོན་ཏེ་ འདས་པའི་ལོ་འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་
གསལ་བརྗོད།

༣༽ འཆར་དུལ་ལྷན་ཐབས་ཚུད་པའི་འཐོན་ལོ་འཆར་དུལ་

བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་འབད་བའི་ཚོད་ཕྱིས།

༤༽ འདི་ལོ་འཆར་དུལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་འཆར་དུལ་བཞོ་བཞུགས་འདི་ནང་
ལུ་ ལས་དོན་སོ་སོ་འཆར་དུལ་ཁ་གསལ་སྟེ་ དེ་བཞུགས་
སྟེ་ཚུད་དགོ།

༥༽ བཞུགས་ལོ་ཚུ་གི་ དུལ་ཕྱིས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཕྱིས།

༦༽ རྫོང་གཞུང་དུལ་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་བདག་དབང་འབད་
བའི་ཚོང་ལས།

འཆར་དུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་གསལ་བཞུགས་འབད་བའི་སྐབས་ལུ་ ལོ་
བསྟར་འཆར་དུལ་ཡང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེ་ནང་གསལ་བཞུགས་
འབད་དགོ་ དེ་འབད་མ་དང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེ་འདི་དབང་ཚད་དེ་
འཆར་དུལ་གྱི་དཔྱད་ཡིག་གུ་རྒྱུ་མ་ཅིག་རང་ཅིན།

ཐབས་ཤེས་གཞན།

གོས་གཞི་འདི་ལུ་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་སྡེ་གིས་མོས་མཐུན་མཛུགས་
དགོ་ ཚོགས་སྡེ་གི་མོས་མཐུན་ཐོག་ལས་ ཆ་འཛིན་གྲུབ་པ་ཅིན་
རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ནང་ ལྷན་སྤྱོད་ལུ་བཞུགས་ གནད་དོན་
ཁག་གཉིས་སྟེ་འབྱོར་འོང་།

༡༽ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་གིས་ གནང་བ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་
ཡངན་ ཆ་ཤས་ཅིག་གྲུབ་པ་ཅིན་ གསུང་གོས་ ཡང་བསྐྱར་
གནང་དགོས་དང་ དེ་ལུ་ཚོགས་སྡེ་ལས་མོས་མཐུན་མཛུགས་
དགོ། ཚོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཆ་རང་ལས་ གནང་བ་གྲུབ་པའི་
ལུ་ལས་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ གནང་བ་གོས་ཞི་
དོན་ལུ་ལུ་དགོ།

༢༽ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་གིས་ གོས་གཞི་རོས་ལེན་མ་
མཛུགས་དང་ ཡངན་ ཚོགས་སྡེ་གིས་རོས་ལེན་མཛུགས་
ཚོགས་པར་ རྒྱུ་བཅོས་འབད་དེ་མོས་མཐུན་མཛུགས་འབྱོར་འོང་



༡ དེ་སྤྱི་ཡར་སོང་པ་ཅིན་ གནད་དོན་དེ་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་
གི་ཞབས་སར་ཕུལ་བའི་སྐབས་ལུ་ མངའ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ བར་
བཞུགས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལུ་ མངོན་མཐོ་ཁྲིམས་འདུན་ལུ་གནང་ནི་
དང་ ཡངན་ རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོའི་རྩ་ཆེན་ ༢.༡༤ རྩ་
པ་ དང་འབྲེལ་ཏེ་ འོས་འདེམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་གནང་འོང་།

གོས་གཞི་འདི་ཆ་འཛོག་འབྲུག་ནི་དང་ ཡངན་ འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཆོག་
གིས་ ལོག་བཀའ་རྒྱ་གནང་པ་ཅིན་ འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ མི་
དམངས་དངོས་རྩིས་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ ༢༠༠༧ ཅན་མ་དེ་འབྲི་སྟོན་
འབད་དགོ།

བཀྲིན་ཆེ།

གོས་འཆར།

འཆར་དདུལ་དང་འཆར་དདུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་གཉིས་ཁག་དབྱེ་ཐོག་ལས་
འཆར་དདུལ་དཔྱད་ཡིག་དེ་ དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་
མོའི་རྩ་ཆེན་ ༡༢ པའི་དགོངས་དོན་ལྟར་ སྤྱིར་བཏང་དཔྱད་ཡིག་ ཆ་
འཛོག་གྲུབ་པའི་ བྱ་སྤྱོད་ལམ་ལུགས་དང་འབྲེལ་ ཆོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་
ཆ་རང་ ལས་ཆ་འཛོག་མཛད་དགོཔ་སྤྱི་ཞུ་ནི་དང་ འཆར་དདུལ་གྱི་ཐད་
ཆོགས་ཁང་གཉིས་ཆ་རང་ལུ་ སྤྲན་ཞུ་ཕུལ་དགོ་ཅུང་ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་
ཆོགས་འདུ་གིས་ཆ་འཛོག་གནང་པ་མ་འབྲས་པ་མེད་ཟེར་ཞུ་ནི་ཨིན།



Linking the Civil Service and service delivery

SANGAY KHANDU

Gasa

This paper tries to explain the importance of managing performance in the public service in order to fix individual responsibility and accountability in the delivery of public services. Although institutional accountability has come to the centre stage of discussion on fixing accountability today, it is imperative that we understand and accept that it is the aggregation of individual accountability that arises to institutional level of accountability.

The Bhutanese civil service is all too familiar with words like meritocracy and professionalism and it is understandable. They have come to the fore especially since the introduction of the Position Classification System (PCS) which was aimed at ushering in a new era of civil service and public service delivery. Of course the efficacy of such a change in the system still remains largely questionable albeit the best of intentions. Changes in organizational values and culture are not the simplest of things to achieve and understandably, bureaucracy is a strong culture. To expect immediate change may be being a little too optimistic and naïve too if I may say so (with my little experience in the human resource field).

The Bhutanese bureaucracy, I would think, went through three main stages of development. The earliest known public servants were the officials serving at the Royal Courts. The Royal Edict by the fourth Druk Gyalpo in 1982 for the establishment of a Royal Civil Service Commission marked the second stage, which saw the beginning of a civil service that would eventually become the elite governance class

and lead the country in a democratic Bhutan. Today the civil service is expected to function under a wider political guidance from their elected leaders (this may very well be considered the third stage) representing another change in its existence. But what has remained consistent has been the function of public service delivery, each change facilitating a better civil service with growing through increased investment in the human resource of the country.

Global changes have a fair share of impact on our civil service and the most notable one is probably the use of modern communication technology. Computers and the Internet have become an essential work tool at all levels and with increasing inclination towards governance policy of reliance on evidence based decision making, information is becoming even more crucial, highlighting the pervasiveness of computers and technology in our society which is here to stay. Equipped with modern education, our civil service took on the challenge of delivering public services that only seems to be getting complex and wider along with the number of civil servants. Today we may have a fairly good ratio of public service provider vis-à-vis the public that is less exposed but with increased needs for efficient service delivery. The planning and monitoring system (PlaMs) developed by the Gross National Happiness Commission (GNHC) allows for tracking of development works in the country. Information fed into the system from administrative units (agencies, Dzongkhags, Gewogs, etc.) allow for disaggregation and analysis.



With all these efforts today we have a civil service that is held in an even higher esteem and it clearly remains the most coveted job in the country. Our civil servants have some of the best opportunities in terms of studies and trainings. To help them do their work better, computers and resources are at their disposal. With the system of monitoring the development work in place, would it not be logical to expect more of the civil service today?

In many instances we come across the word *accountability* when we discuss development. It is catching on very fast taking a centre stage at many discussions today, perhaps at the heart of development and democracy. We are more often than not inundated by questions of accountability at the institutional level that we forget it at individual levels except when it comes to acts of crime and corruption. Although it is a welcome sign, it is still quite different from the kind of accountability we are referring to when we are talking about a civil servant's efficiency in the sphere of governance. Accountability as we all know is crucial especially when we talk of democracy. An institutional arrangement of accountability is only as good as the people in the institutions. Therefore the focus should be equal, if not more, on ensuring individual accountability within the system. The various state functionaries are there to deliver services to the people. Although we choose to say these institutions deliver services, it is actually the people working in these institutions and in this case the civil servants. It is very easy to get distracted by looking at the size of the civil service in our own context but in reality, the measure of the delivery of these institutions is logically the aggregation of the delivery of services by its staff. What could be hindering the civil service then?

Managing performance is critical to managing any human aspect of an organization and an organization dependent on the human capital to that extent needs to recognize this without failure. The civil service needs to be motivated to deliver at its best. Rewarding the right people for the right job is not only a cliché but doubly relevant. The performance appraisal system currently in use in our civil service tries to introduce an individualistic accountability mechanism as compared to the PlaMs which focuses more on the agency level accountability. It is logical to think that only when an individual delivers can an agency deliver. This is because the aggregation of individuals in an agency makes up the result of delivery of the agency in question. I have noticed that there is disconnectedness in our case and therefore, in the stand-alone systems that we have invested in and continue to invest in even today. We may have failed at linking performance of heads of agencies and the performance of individuals in an agency and in turn the agencies. Therefore the performance of an agency is reflective of the performance of the Head of the agency. It maybe appropriate here to take an example for a better understanding.

The example taken is purely for academic discussion and not intended to discredit any one. A Dzongda's performance should be reflective of the delivery of a Dzongkhag Administration and therefore similarly a Director's performance should reflect the delivery of a Department and so on and so forth. This not only allows heads to be accounted for the outcome of their efforts but clearly establishes a system where there is also room for taking into consideration team spirit and organizational effort. Without an objective appraisal system, we may be failing at enhancing performance in that sense.



Objective and not subjective performance appraisal, tied to rewards in the civil service will help motivate the civil service bringing about enhanced overall performance. Promotions (early, fast-track and normal) are clearly rewards and other similar rewards could be tied to performance of individuals, agencies and hence, heads. I am sure the Royal Civil Service Commission with its pool of experts can design incentives, not necessarily directly financial (bonus, etc.) as is practiced in the corporate sector but reward nonetheless. This is all possible with huge investments already made in hardware (computers, servers, etc), software (PLaMs, Zhiyog, etc) and human resource. It is only a question of integration. The Chiphen Rigphel project is already the beginning of such a natural progression of moving onto such an integrated system. We must realize that the under pinning reasons for investment and development towards such platform in bringing about a culture of evidence based decision making is concurrent with the general change occurring in the country. Therefore, the human resource factor which in turn influences greatly the efficiency of other factors of production needs such a transparent and efficient system equally if not more.

Three clauses in particular from Article 26 of our Constitution highlight features of the civil service and key words that I have taken the liberty of presenting in bold, more than desire such integration:

1. There shall be a Royal Civil Service Commission, which shall promote and ensure an independent and apolitical civil service that will discharge its public duties in an **efficient, transparent and accountable manner.**
4. The Commission shall endeavour to ensure that civil servants render **professional service**, guided by the **highest standards of ethics and integrity to promote good governance and social justice**, in implementing the policies and programmes of the Government.
5. The Commission shall, in the interest of **promoting merit, productivity and equity**, ensure that uniform rules and regulations on recruitment, appointment, staffing, training, transfers **and promotion prevail throughout the civil service.**

Conclusion

In conclusion our civil service plays a crucial role in the development of our country. It also influences our societal values as it is in this pool that we see the intellectual elites in the country. Therefore, it is from here that a democratic, a progressive and a socially just psyche can grow and flourish, permeating all lives in our country. Thus playing impetus to building and advocating a national character we can all be proud of today and for all times to come.



The One Hundred Peg Tent

Ugyen Tshering,
Paro

While walking in the mountains, you may be surprised to find yourself happening upon a black, patched tent, the likes of which you have never seen before. Count yourself lucky, for you have just chanced upon a *bja*, the seasonal home of the *Bjob* people. The *Bjobs* or *Brokpas* are people who live in the mountains herding yaks and shifting places for greener pasture for their yaks. They have lived in this way for hundreds of years since they learnt to tame the yaks and make a living off them. Since they had to move with the animals as seasons changed they soon learnt to weave tents out of Yak hair which had to be made as good as their houses. Such tents are locally called *bjas* and are quickly falling out of favour with the *Bjobs*, so you are indeed lucky you have had the opportunity to see one. It will not be very long before the *bja* is just another item of memory from a different time long since past.

The *Bjobs* live in their *bjas* six months in a year, so the importance of a *bja* is very much akin to the importance of the role homes play in the lives of both rural and urban people. It is no small task to build this home, or to be more accurate, weave a *bja*, as the *Bjobs* have been doing since their forefathers first tamed the wild yaks.



The first step in weaving a *bja* is of course the gathering of the wool from the yaks. In order to weave a *bja*, 160 sang (53.3kg) of black hair must be collected. Once sufficient amount of wool has been collected, it is the decision of the *tsib* or the astrologer to set a date on which to commence the weaving of the wool. Just as breaking ground at a new site to construct a house is an important occasion, the right day must be chosen for the weaving of a *bja* to begin.

It is not only the day that is important, but the materials as well. In order to weave wool into felt that will provide for a sturdy and long lasting *bja*, it is important that the longest and most coarse hairs of the yak are used, and it is imperative that they be black. Only that fur found on the backs of the older and larger male yaks is suitable for the task. The hair collected from the remaining part of the yak's body is too soft and weak to withstand the rigors of weather and travel that the *bja* will encounter during its lifespan. It is said that if even a single white hair finds its way into the weaving of the felt, the *bja* will be weakened and the life of it shortened as a result of the flaw. The *Bjobs* spend the long winter nights twisting the hair into the yarn that will be used to weave the *bja*.

Like more conventional houses, *bjas* come in a variety of sizes. For example, a small *bja* can accommodate six people while a larger one can house up to fifteen people. The Bhutanese carpenter who is called *Zow* is both the architect and engineer without whom a house cannot be built. The same terminology is used for the builders of *Bjas* meaning the *zow*, who will



determine the size of the *bja* and also the design to be employed, at which point three or four weavers, under the supervision of the *zow*, will begin the weaving. The *zow* can be of either gender. A *zow* with four weavers under his or her watchful eye can complete the weaving of a medium sized *bja* in fifteen days.

Once completed, the *bja* should be structurally sound and fully functional for twenty-five years or so, provided no white hairs have found their way into the felt. The *bja* readily lends itself to mending and patching, which is important considering the harshness of the environment in which it will serve its occupants over the duration of its employment. Not only must it withstand the full force of the weather in all its varying forms, but it also must travel well.

So it is then that the *bja* is designed to be split into two sections, which enables two yaks to share the heavy weight. Upon arrival at its destination, pitching the *bja* is no easy task. It requires 100 pegs and the combined efforts of up to four people who will require roughly thirty minutes to complete the task. The *bja* can be pitched by a single man or woman, but the time and effort required rises accordingly in the absence of extra hands.

Today, the traditional *bja* is rapidly being replaced by plastic sheets and tarpaulin. Tents made of plastic sheets are easily portable and cost nothing compared to *bjas*. However, nothing comes without its price, as plastic is easily torn and hard to effectively mend once it is torn. It is cheap but noisy and an eyesore, offering none of the comfort and beauty of a sturdy and well designed *bja*. Rain falling on the roof of a plastic tent can be deafening, rendering sleep near impossible, until it rips, at which point it is just wet and cold, making all hopes for sleep quickly sunk. The nearly impenetrable roof and walls of the *bja* offer dependable shelter in even the heaviest rains and the howling winds which can sometime drive them mad. The problem of plastic is not limited to the quality of the shelter it provides. It extends to the yaks as well, which are driven to distraction by the noise, thus making it difficult to milk them. It is even found to be affecting the quality of their milk.

So, if you should ever be walking through the mountains and happen upon a black patch tent made of yak wool held fast by 100 pegs, do yourself a favour and stop for a look. It might well be the first and the last time you ever have the chance. Looking at the tent, you will see where we have been, and maybe it will make you pause and think of where we are going.



Commentary on the Water Bill 2010

Tashi Wangmo

Background

In the wake of many parts of the world facing water scarcity, initiating legislation for water resource management in Bhutan is indeed welcome. Needless to say, the importance of water is not only limited to just mere survival of humans, but also extends to social well-being and economic growth. Two of the most important facts about water are: that water resources are finite; and that unlike other commodities, there is no substitute for water. Despite these hard facts, rapid socio-economic development, world's growing population and phenomenal effect of climate change on this planet are posing severe threat to future security of the water resources. The future demand for water is expected to only increase in every sector and analysis by the experts suggests that the world will face a 40% global shortfall between forecast demand and available supply by 2030. By its own right, water now has become a global issue. Many countries have indeed taken steps to address the challenges either through the enactment of water laws or by drawing up comprehensive water policies.

The Royal Government of Bhutan having recognized the importance of judicious management of its finite water resources, Water Policy 2003 was endorsed as developed by the Bhutan Water Partnership. The policy document ascertains that Bhutan is endowed with rich water resources. The average flow of water across the whole area of land is estimated as 1,600m³/s and the per-capita availability of water per annum is estimated at 75,000m³, which is the highest in the region. The topographical nature of the country complemented with four major

rivers flowing through it presents great potential for hydropower generation.

However, this rosy picture tells only one side of the story: the country is confronted with its own challenges including localized and seasonal water shortages for drinking and agricultural purposes, rising fluctuation of flows between lean and monsoon seasons, and increasing sediment load in rivers adversely affecting the economic life of the hydropower plants. In addition, just as it is the case at the global level, pressure on the water resources in Bhutan is mounting due to competing demands from different users/sectors. The fast pace of socio-economic development also poses a challenge to watershed conservation efforts. The growing size of the population is yet another factor posing serious challenge to a sustainable management of water resources.

The Water Policy 2003 document also articulates the Vision of Water for Bhutan as **“Water will continue to be available in abundance to pursue socio-economic development in Bhutan. Present and future generations of Bhutanese people will have assured access to adequate, safe and affordable water to maintain and enhance the quality of their lives.”** The Vision statement summarizes the desired state of the Kingdom on the water resources front.

Review process of the Water Bill 2010 Assigning it to the Committee

The Water Bill 2010 originated in the National Assembly during its 5th Session and the National



Council deliberated on it during its 6th Session. In the National Council, the task of reviewing the Bill prior to deliberation during the formal sitting of the House was assigned to the Natural Resources and Environment Committee. Logically, the Bill must attempt to address some or all of the challenges (both immediate and long term) that the country is posed with. Therefore, the Committee while reviewing the Bill used Water Policy 2003 as the main basis.

Stakeholders' consultation

Because water is a highly sensitive and complex issue, the committee held consultative meetings with several major stakeholders including Ministry of Health, Bhutan Electricity Authority, Druk Green Power Corporation, Thimphu City Corporation, Department of Agriculture, Watershed Management Division, Dzongkhag officials and DYT members, and National Environment Commission. Besides, the members of the National Council had solicited views and comments from the people of their respective Dzongkhags. The outcome of the consultative meetings can be summarized as follows:

- The Department of Agriculture did not have any pertinent issues but rather expressed their consent to the draft Bill.
- The Thimphu City Corporation highlighted on few of the practical difficulties faced at the implementation level – for example, lack of drinking water quality standards and its monitoring system; lack of coordination with the upstream settlers where the sources of water that is used by the urban dwellers are located; lack of human capacity to meet the demand for water services from the residents, etc.
- Watershed Management Division raised the issue on the lack of coordination among the water users to effectively address water related problems.

- Major concern was raised by the Druk Green Power Corporation and Bhutan Energy Authority on the overriding provisions the Water Bill has over the Bhutan Electricity Act 2001 and its potential ramifications on the hydropower sector.
- Officials of Paro and Wangduephodrang Dzongkhags shared their concern over the customary rights on water still being practiced in some of the communities.
- National Environment Commission as the proponent of the Bill was consulted mainly to present the Bill and to clarify some of the provisions wherever needed.

The feedbacks and comments of the stakeholders were taken into account while reviewing the Bill clause by clause. Besides, the Committee referred water related materials including policies and legal frameworks of other countries, and their best practices.

Commentary on major topics of the Bill

The original draft of the Bill in general failed to establish any distinct characteristic a Bill ought to have particularly in terms of specific problems it is trying to address. While principles on water resource management were clearly spelled out, the provisions covering institutional framework to implement those principles were inadequate. The 17 chaptered Water Bill was looked at taking into account the following:

- That the Bill must address or at least attempt to address both short term and long term problems/challenges faced by the country as spelled out in the Water Policy 2003 document;
- Rather than inscribing mere policy intents, the Bill must contain provisions that will put those policy intents into action; and



- That the Bill must not create any potential conflict with the existing laws on water.

The following paragraphs provide commentaries on selected topics of the Bill.

On the Preamble

The Preamble forms an important part of an Act as it provides the background situation and sets the tone for the need for a particular Act. The original draft of the Water Bill had not adequately reflected the situation of water related problems (both existing and future) faced by the Country. Therefore, the Preamble had to be strengthened by incorporating the major challenges highlighted in the Water Policy 2003.

On the functions and powers of the Competent Authorities

Chapter III of the Bill prescribes powers and functions of the National Environment Commission as the highest decision making body on water related matters, and the line ministries and agencies as competent agencies to implement specific responsibilities regarding water resource management.

Except for the National Environment Commission being designated as the new overall coordinating body for water related matters, with regard to responsibilities of the competent authorities, it is business as usual. In other words, these functions are already being assigned to the competent authorities anyway even without the Water Act in place. So, what is it that this Act is looking for? For example, given the current situation of City Corporation not being able to adequately address the problem of water scarcity in the urban areas, just by continuing with business as it is, is it good enough? Or are we supposed to look for something new to add onto already

existing responsibilities? As I thought along that line, there were more questions than answers. The only consolation was that, now that these functions are being laid down in a legal document such as the Water Act, it might help provide legal teeth to the implementing agencies to act in full force.

Keeping in mind the issue pertaining to drinking water standard management, specific provisions have been incorporated requiring the Commission to develop and from time to time review water quality standards and effluent discharge standards in consultation with the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Works and Human Settlement. It also requires other competent authorities to give effect to these standards in exercising their powers and functions.

On the Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) Plan

The Bill recognizes National IWRM plan as the overall water resource management strategy for the country (See Chapter V). The IWRM is the term given to what is now considered best practice of water management. It is a process which promotes the coordinated development and management of water, land and related resources, in order to maximize the resultant economic and social welfare in an equitable manner without compromising the sustainability of vital ecosystems.

IWRM is not an end in itself but a means of achieving three key strategic objectives:

- economic efficiency in water use;
- equity, in the allocation of water across different social and economic groups;
- environmental sustainability, to protect the water resources base and associated ecosystems.



Adopting IWRM approach will address the current problem of multiple agencies dealing with water resource management in an uncoordinated manner. For example the issue pertaining to downstream water users' lack of control over protection and conservation of water catchment areas located in another administrative jurisdiction can be easily resolved through this integrated approach. Similarly even those issues that stem from competing demand for water from various sectors can be addressed since the National IWRM plan would provide essential guiding principles for sustainable utilization and equitable distribution of water resources in the country.

According to experiences of other countries where IWRM approach has been adopted, it is mandatory to have in place two components to ensure IWRM approach a success: i) development of the River Basin Management (RBM) plan for each river basin; and ii) establishment of comprehensive administrative mechanisms at all levels (viz: macro, meso, and micro) to implement IWRM principles. Drawing lessons from these experiences and in the interest of ensuring an effective management of our water resources, the formulation of RBM plan and formation of River Basin (RB) Committee have thus been made mandatory in the Bill. It is important to note that RBM plan is the basic administrative unit for implementation of IWRM principles, and that the main objective of the RB Committee is to provide a platform for representatives from various water users to come together on a regular basis to discuss cross sectoral issues/problems and collectively find ways to resolve them.

Furthermore, the Bill had originally foreseen only the RB committee and the water users associations taking care of water related issues at macro and micro levels only leaving vacuum

at the meso level. Just as the RB committee will be established to deal with issues at river basin level which will include multiple Dzongkhags, it is important for each Dzongkhag to establish a similar body to address issues at Dzongkhag level. Therefore, a new provision has been inserted establishing Dzongkhag Water Management Committee that will comprise of the same members as the existing Dzongkhag Environment Committee. The Dzongkhag Water Management Committee shall ensure effective and sustainable management of water resources at the Dzongkhag level through the coordination of all activities related to water resources.

On the Powers and functions

The Bill assumes that the powers and functions of the river basin committees and water users association will be drawn in the regulation. One of the important components of legislation is prescribing set of powers and functions of an entity so that it carries out its duties within that permissible scope. It is not only important to ensure that that given entity does not wield undue powers beyond permissible limit but also to ensure effective enforcement of provisions of the legislation through clear cut roles and responsibilities. In addition, generally it is only the procedural matters that can be drawn in the regulation. In view of this, the functions of the RBM Committee, Water Users Association and Dzongkhag Water Management Committee have been incorporated in the Bill yet leaving room for incorporation of any additional functions in the future if the Commission so desires.

On the Environmental Clearance versus the Permit for abstraction and use of water

One additional feature the National Council had initially incorporated in the Bill was the requirement to obtain a permit for abstraction



and use of water with Environmental Clearance as the pre-requisite document as opposed to the original draft of the Bill which required only an Environmental Clearance for purposes other than domestic use.

The intent of the permit was to ensure two things:

- i) that country's finite water resources is managed in a sustainable and judicious manner through a proper control on allocation of water for commercial purposes; and
- ii) that since water is a state resources, it belongs to every Bhutanese. If any individual intends to make money out of it through commercial activities, it is only fair that that individual must pay fee for abstraction and utilization of this free natural resource.

The second point reinforces the users' pay principle as the Bill clearly spells out at the beginning of the Chapter. In addition, through a permit system it attaches economic value to water resources, which could ultimately be one of the ways to control and manage the water resources effectively.

While requiring just an Environmental Clearance may ease an administrative burden both on the Commission and the applicant by not having to obtain the permit, the question is how will the two intended objectives of the permit be met? The normal Environmental Clearance the National Environment Commission today issues for projects is governed by the Environment Assessment Act 2000 and its associated regulations which mainly look at the adverse impact of the project on natural, social and cultural environment. The Clearance sets terms and conditions on the mitigation work or protective measures that are needed to be carried out in order to either minimize the impact or to address the problem totally.

After studying both pros and cons of the two choices, we finally settled with the requirement of just an Environmental Clearance. However, in order to ensure that the same purpose of the permit is being served, additional set of criteria, which are over and above those in the Environment Assessment Act 2000 have been incorporated. Although this arrangement adequately covers only the first objective of the permit, the second objective was taken care of under Chapter III, where the Commission is given the power to charge fees for abstraction and use of water.

On the customary rights

Customary rights over water are still being practiced in pockets of communities in few Dzongkhags. While some customary practices have been acknowledged to be a good system for effective management of water resources in the community, some have created much social disharmony. In order to take care of both the scenarios of good and bad, the Water Bill has a provision that is flexible enough to uphold those good customary practices on one hand, and on the other hand, to straighten out those unfair customary practices.

Implication on the existing water related law

The only existing Law that the Water Bill may have an impact on is the Electricity Act of Bhutan (EAB) 2001. The EAB 2001 is a comprehensive law governing the electricity sector that encompasses activities ranging from generation to transmission and distribution of electricity. The hydropower being the main source of electricity generation in the country, the Act has provisions related to water. Cross comparison of the relevant provisions of both the Act and the Bill, and the likely implications are illustrated below:



Power on Water Right

According to Section 17.1 (xi) of the EAB 2001, the Minister for Economic Affairs has the power to grant Licensees permissions for compulsory acquisition of ownership or rights to land and water necessary for implementation and operation of licensed activities. This power is further reinforced in Section 58 wherein the Minister is given the authority to declare any lake, river or waterway or any part thereof to be source of water for the purposes of licensed generator. However, Section 11(h) of the Water Bill 2010 confers the same power to the National Environment Commission (hereafter referred to as the Commission). Direct implication of this will be that the Ministry of Economic Affairs will have lost its sole right over water, and that electricity generation project will have to go through the decision process of the Commission instead of BEA alone. While it might slightly lengthen bureaucratic process, it may be offset by the collective wisdom of Commission members in deciding to allocate water resources for electricity generation. Perhaps this is a necessary evil!

Permit for survey

Section 21 of the EAB 2001 allows Bhutan Electricity Authority to issue a permit to a person or entity intending to apply for a license for electricity generation to carry out feasibility studies. Since hydropower generation works involve use of water resources, it is automatic that the water component forms an integral part of the whole feasibility studies. Section 25 of the Water Bill 2010 stipulates that the Commission shall issue approval to a person intending to abstract water, to carry out the feasibility studies. Again, the direct implication will be -- the permit to conduct feasibility studies for hydropower generation project will need to be

separated into two: approval for water related activities, and permit for non-water related activities. This would mean an approval from the Commission will be a pre-requisite for obtaining permit from the BEA.

The anomalies highlighted above are mainly to do with additional bureaucratic procedures that the Water Bill 2010 may bring about. Despite that, in the interest of effective management of water resources we have accepted to go by it for the lack of better alternative to offer at this point in time. However, the fact that the control over the water resources has been handed over to the National Environment Commission, whose main interest would be to protect and conserve natural environment, caution has to be exercised that, in the interest of socio-economic advancement of the country, the growth of hydropower sector would not be unnecessarily hindered.

Conclusion

Several new provisions have been incorporated in the Bill such as: water related challenges and opportunities have been added in the Preamble, institutional framework for implementation of National Integrated Water Resource Management plan have been clearly laid down with clear delineation of functions and powers of various institutions, traditional water rights have been taken care of in a manner that best serves the community as well as maintains the essence of traditional practices, additional criteria for the issuance of Environmental Clearance specific to water abstraction have been prescribed over and above that of in the Environment Assessment Act 2000, and the Commission's powers and functions have been made more specific, etc. All these provisions are incorporated with an aim to make the Water Bill 2010 a comprehensive



one that will enable us to realize our Vision for Water that states: **“Water will continue to be available in abundance to pursue socio-economic development in Bhutan. Present and future generations of Bhutanese people will have assured access to adequate, safe and**

affordable water to maintain and enhance the quality of their lives.” However, no matter what the intent of the Bill may be, much will ultimately depend on the responsiveness and dynamism of the implementers/enforcers of this Bill once enacted as Law!

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The Tobacco Spat

Dr. Jagar Dorji
Trongsa

Introduction

The Tantric Tradition of Buddhism practiced in Bhutan had held its ground against the use of Tobacco for many centuries. Tobacco is neither a thirst quenching liquid nor a solid food item that satisfies hunger. On the contrary, it is believed to desecrate the sanctity of the deities that manifest the very Buddha nature in all human beings. Scientifically, it enhances the deterioration of health conditions of the users. In 1651, the clergy had initiated a law in Bhutan that prohibited the use of tobacco in the monasteries. The spiritual argument continued to stand its ground till today. From here onward, perhaps, science and reasons should continue to put forward theirs. This paper is not intended to refute the arguments that had appeared in the media in recent months, but to present my personal views on the issue. It is also not the view of the National Council.

Campaigns and Initiatives

In the 1970s, the scientists, backed up by the international bodies, mainly the World Health Organisation (WHO), had started to campaign against tobacco as one of the causes of death of thousands. Today, tobacco is blamed for 500,000 deaths each year, caused not only by the nicotine it contains, but also the numerous chemicals applied in it for maximum effect.

By the year 1984, medical personnel, led by Dr. Sonam Dukpa, in Thimphu began a campaign against smoking every year on the occasion of World No Tobacco Day on 31 May. Simultaneously, most of the Dzongkhags in Bhutan began to ban smoking, with Bumthang taking the lead in 1989. By 2003, these

Dzongkhags went one step further to ban the sale of tobacco in their areas. In 2004, Bhutan ratified the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) as it suited the campaign that had already begun in the country. The FCTC goal was to “protect present and future generations from the devastating health, social, environmental and economic consequences of tobacco consumption and exposure to tobacco smoke” (ITC, May 2011).

The ratification followed a resolution in the National Assembly in December 2004, by which sale of tobacco was banned in the entire country, but smokers were allowed to bring what they needed by paying 200 percent tax for their personal consumption. However, the resolution did not suggest any legal mechanisms to enforce the ban effectively. At best, it resulted in seizure of the contraband and cancellation of trade licenses as appropriate, but many of the smugglers were non licensed traders. Soon, smuggling tobacco was seen as a lucrative venture, a fact revealed by a taxi driver in Bumthang saying if he was caught five times, he would make up for all the losses incurred if he succeeded in his sixth attempt.

The Law

The Tobacco Control Act 2010 was Bhutan’s way of responding to the ITC convention which was ratified by the National Assembly in 2004. It was also a final step towards strengthening the ban that was beginning to be used as a booming black market. As always, few individuals were quick to locate the loose ends in the law. The prospect of fast money triggered their insatiable



minds to jump at the opportunity, notwithstanding the many precious lives they cause to suffer and the obvious legal consequences. The purpose of the law was to prevent our citizens from the vices of tobacco and tobacco products in the country and not to imprison them as few had suspected. The strongest reasons that had helped in the decisions leading to the enactment of this law was the total absence of tobacco industries in the country and the deprivation of livelihood that might result from such a move if there existed such an industry.

The Surveys

In 2008 and 2009, the Tobacco Atlas, Center for Bhutan Studies and the Global Youth Tobacco Survey (GYTS) conducted a study which revealed that around 10 percent of Bhutanese were using tobacco. It was also mentioned that 19% of the users were in the 13-15 age cohorts of whom about 8% were beginners.

In another survey report presented by Professor Geoffrey T. Fong of the University of Waterloo, Canada, on 6th May, 2011, several interesting issues were mentioned in relation to the Tobacco situation in Bhutan. Carried out under the auspices of the International Tobacco Control Policy Evaluation Project, the survey was an attempt to assess Bhutan's performances in controlling the use of tobacco between 2004 and 2009.

It must be noted that the ITC survey of tobacco users in Bhutan focused on the period preceding the Tobacco Act which came into effect only in January 2011. The survey collected its data using about 120 questionnaires from 1,806 persons sampled from four Dzongkhags in an attempt to maintain a regional balance. The following section discusses only those issues relevant to this paper.

The Findings

Of 1,806 persons 11.1 percent emerged as regular users of tobacco while 83.9 percent never used tobacco in life, which puts Bhutan in the lead of 14 ITC countries. Among the smokers 25-34 age groups made up about 15 percent. Despite arguing against smoking for many years, there was no significant difference in the percentage of smokers between Buddhist and other religious groups. Between 2004 and 2009, despite having banned the sale of tobacco, 91 percent of the users of tobacco revealed that they purchased the item from shops inside Bhutan, suggesting that supply side was vibrant in the country.

Society, in general, disapproves of smoking in Bhutan, again putting us on top of 14 ITC countries so far. But only 58 percent attempting to quit smoking had pushed our position almost to the bottom. In 2009, 88 percent supports the ban of smoking while 83 percent said they were aware of the law banning the use of tobacco. The survey also indicated that smoking is an urban phenomenon. That is why today it is the people in the country side who support the Tobacco Act. In spite of the many odds, it is pointed out that it is mainly due to the law that the number of smokers is low in Bhutan. Without this, there would have been more smokers added to the list each year. The study also suggests that with just 16 percent of the sample being aware of the harmful effects of second hand smoke, Bhutan sinks to the bottom of the 16 ITC countries. It means one smoker may be unknowingly affecting few others around him or her.

The Analysis

The fact that 91 percent of the sample claiming tobacco is available in shops inside Bhutan and that 97 percent said government should do more



than just banning reveals a great deal about why the law had to be stringent. It is difficult to correlate one's idea of bringing in a contraband concealed and the claim of ignorance of the law. This perhaps speaks a great deal about our own nature, too. If anyone is prepared to breach the law he/she must have also considered the outcome of such actions.

Ban on sale of tobacco has concurrently increased the sales tax on this commodity by 200 percent. This means for those wanting to use tobacco, the cost has escalated through the roof. While this was aimed at discouraging tobacco users, it had also encouraged smugglers, who in the name of selling the substance at cheaper prices, actually increase their own profit. This is an opportunity that they are prepared to risk, yet we hear that the felony of fourth degree is draconian. There have been arguments that smuggling is punishable by imposing a fine equal to the value of the contraband. An import of tobacco worth around Nu 1,000 would be easily affordable, in fact it is more encouraging and promising to smugglers.

Professor Fong said that Bhutan is today at the leading edge of many countries wanting to impose such laws. Therefore, the success of Bhutan is being closely observed by countries that have ratified ITC protocols. There have been attempts to discourage use of tobacco from printing health warnings on the products to banning its use in public places, but could not enact laws. Having come this far, he said, Bhutan is likely to face more challenges than have been envisaged. Elimination of tobacco is not in the interest of tobacco industries that could use anything in their power to ensure we fail in our action. The availability of tobacco from shops inside the country and reactions to

the law since January 2011 strongly suggest that having a stringent law does not necessarily deter smuggling and black marketing. The established idea that demand creates supply has also been reversed in the case of tobacco in which case supply can create or more appropriately lure demand.

The reactions that have surfaced since the first case of tobacco went to the court of law, however, have led to some positive outcomes in that both law makers and consumers of law are getting sensitized and educated on the myriads of strings attached to such matters. These strings are so intricately interconnected that trying to adjust one will give rise to more questions than answers. We have also learnt the need to study all the pros and cons equally before giving in to emotions to react to a situation. Our rights and duties must be invoked through good reasoning both for present and future benefits.

Low level of awareness on the harmful effects of second hand smoke is a sign that we have done poorly in educating our public. Cessation in the use of tobacco by the addicts is an important step towards success, but it requires resources and skills. We need to realize that any pro-tobacco actions will pull down GNH ideals and a cause for the loss of innocent lives. Opinions that appeared on the Kuensel Online deserve some pondering. It says, "What is so draconian about the law when all it wants is to prevent our children from being addicted to tobacco." Another opinion said that one would not hesitate to grant his children the liberty to smoke if they so wished. Such dissenting opinions from our literate members provide good breeding ground for anarchy. Democracy encourages building consensus in order to facilitate collective welfare, not the freedom to choose killing habits.



In a raw data provided to the Council, it showed that out of 89 passengers, 75 percent are non-Bhutanese who declared tobacco at the Paro Airport between January and April 2011. Understandably, they have been complaining on having to pay duties on tobacco products bought for their own consumption. No rules or law will find easy acceptance anywhere. But the good news is soon, this will also become normal for visitors. In fact, visiting Bhutan should be a period of respite from the harmful habit for many.

Conclusion

A standard had been set prior to 2009 in Bhutan. It is with due respect to the fundamental rights of tobacco consumers who find it hard to give up their habits that provisions to import certain quantities are inserted in the law. The law is only intended to deter others from getting into the same difficulty. Already, few tobacco addicts have expressed their acceptance of this flexibility while others say this has helped them to quit the habit at last. As indicated by the study, initiatives to quit the use of tobacco have been high since 2004, which would not have been possible without the ban in place.

As long as there are producers, there will be consumers and between them the black market

is likely to thrive. Despite having the advantage compared to most countries in the world, Bhutan will continue to face the challenge, triggered by selfish desire to make quick profit, coupled with ignorance of many. Few are pressing the Parliament to change the law but on the other hand, many also want to maintain the status quo. Being a house of representatives, Parliament must listen to the people and change the law, if it is absolutely necessary. But a less stringent law does not mean more law abiding. Law is made to discourage bad actions; not to punish people. It is for a collective welfare rather than benefiting the few.

In the ultimate analysis, it is not about losing or winning the debate, or about majority or minority, but about whether we listen to our own mind or listen to others, whether we respect each other as a peaceful society or be stubbornly egoistic. This choice will largely depend upon how we draw our consensus, from what angle our media will choose to inform their readers, and how we can accommodate conflicting interests.

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SOUNDS OF SOKSHING¹

Re-visiting contested provisions of Land Act 2007 that revert private woodlots as government forests
(A discussion paper)

Dr. Sonam Kinga
Tashigang

The Issue

In July 2007, the former National Assembly passed the Land Act, which amongst others provided for deletion of records of *sokshing* (woodlots) and *tsamdro* (pastures) from private and community land registers called *lagthrams*. These *lagthrams* are records of categories and sizes of landholdings owned by Bhutanese families or communities. Records of *sokshing* and *tsamdro* owned by peasants are also reflected in these *lagthrams*. The state's position is that both the land on which the *sokshing* grow as well as the *sokshing* trees belonged to the state although they were reflected in private *lagthrams*. *Lagthram*-holders were only granted the 'right' to collect leaf litter for use as organic manure in agricultural fields. That is why the state argues that peasants were not required to pay taxes for *sokshing* whereas they pay taxes for other categories of their landholdings. They were also not allowed to cut down trees. The state's argument for deleting *sokshing* records from private *lagthrams* and transferring it to a state land register called *Chhazhag Thram* seems to be that it is taking over what always belonged to it. The records of *sokshing* would however, be retained by the National Land Commission in the *Chhazhag Thram*. It would have records of all the acreage of *sokshing* and their previous 'right-holders'. Thereafter, the previous 'right-holders' would be given priority to opt for leasing *sokshing* for not less than thirty years. The lease

period can be extended. Besides, *sokshing* can also be inherited within the terms and conditions of the lease. But it cannot be sub-leased or transacted. Nor can permanent infrastructure be established on *sokshing* lands. Those individuals who agree to lease *sokshing* from the state must do so according to a management plan that has to be prepared among the leaseholder, Department of Forest and Department of Agriculture. The objective of preparing such a plan is to improve the vegetation and land of *sokshing*. Even with the management plan, the only purpose for leasing *sokshing* shall be for collecting leaf litter, not for cultivating the land or felling down trees. In other words, the state would be giving previous 'right-holders' the option to lease *sokshing* again for 'rights' to collect leaf-litter. The lease would be annulled if *sokshing* is sub-leased, not managed according to the plan or if lease-holders no longer own agricultural lands.

The state's position on *sokshing* as articulated in the Land Act has however, been contested by peasants and is not well-received in rural communities. In their perspective, *sokshing* is a category of land, which they 'own' and not a 'right' that the state granted them. That is why, they argue, that *sokshing* records are reflected in private *lagthrams* just as other categories of their landholdings and not in

1 I would like to thank the Members of National Council and its Natural Resource and Environment Committee for kindly commenting on the arguments of this paper and for the suggestions they made while the issue of *sokshing* and *tsamdro* were discussed in two sessions of the National Council.



state's land register. They understand that the state's conservation policy did not allow them to cut down *sokshing* trees. On the other hand, they have supported this policy by managing *sokshing*, planting and nurturing the growth of young saplings and protecting the trees since the time of their forefathers. They insist that it is due to such care and protection that there is well-protected *sokshing* in many communities. When the trees have grown and *sokshing* has matured, it is unthinkable for them that the state decides to delete 'ownership' records from their private *lagthrams*. Besides, the state has never justified why *sokshing* records are being deleted. Therefore, rural peasants aspire to have the *sokshing* rights reinstated in their *lagthrams*.

Nearly four years after the passage of Land Act, its provisions concerning *sokshing* 'rights' remain only partially implemented as rural people contest the state's position, and state agencies are constrained from fully implementing the law. Meanwhile, it has led to many problems in local communities (see below for details). The issue has been raised in National Council, one of the two houses of Parliament although any concrete outcome would have to await the amendment of the Land Act, which the National Assembly resolved to initiate in its seventh session in summer 2011. This is a preliminary discussion paper that could help inform debates in Parliament and in the society. It will seek to elaborate issues concerning *sokshing* although some arguments would equally apply for *tsamdro* rights. It will highlight problems of enforcing the provision of the Land Act concerning *sokshing* and provide recommendations for possible consideration in addressing the issue.

Resolutions of the previous National Assembly on *sokshing*

It must not be assumed that the issue concerning *sokshing* and *tsamdro* is recent. The former

National Assembly had discussed it several times. This section will briefly recall these discussions and resolutions in order to provide an understanding of the historical basis for this issue. Again, it needs to be mentioned that the National Assembly's discussions also took place on *tsamdro* issue although the present focus is only on *sokshing*.

As I have mentioned above, one argument cited by the state to justify its ownership of *sokshing* is that peasants do not pay taxes for *sokshing* whereas they do so for other categories of landholdings. An assumption underlying this argument is that peasants never paid taxes for *sokshing*. However, the decision not to levy taxes on *sokshing* was a result of discussion in the 16th session of the National Assembly held on 9th July 1961. It was resolved that no taxes would be levied on 'Sokshing and trees located in and around the vicinity in keeping with the government's forest conservation policy.'² What this suggests is that taxes may have been levied before although this suggestion needs to be confirmed. If taxes were levied earlier, the suggestion that *sokshing* never belonged to the state would need to be re-examined. The idea that the state always owned *sokshing* may be a later development. The idea and practice of owning *sokshing* must definitely precede modern legislation. Take for example the resolution of the 43rd session held in 1975. The National Assembly resolved then that the government would demarcate all government and public forest to develop forest resources. Recognizing that some private *sokshing* and *tsamdro* rights would fall within the demarcated areas, the National Assembly also resolved to allow the owners to collect leaf litter and retain *sokshing* 'rights' in their names. They could also fell trees if they obtain permits from the Department

2 NAS 1, p.54.



of Forests.³ This resolution clearly implies that *sokshing* was not considered as 'government and public forest' as the National Assembly was mindful of them falling within areas demarcated as 'government and public forest.' The idea that *sokshing* and *tsamdro* 'rights' are private is suggested in this resolution. Since collection of leaf-litter would continue and felling of trees would be regulated, the resolution also implies that leaf-litter collection and felling trees in *sokshing* were unregulated before as they were privately owned. Felling of trees in *sokshing* was prohibited by a resolution of the 45th session held in 1976. "In view of the problem thus created, the 45th National Assembly session decided that as *sokshings* were mainly preserved for their leaves for manure, felling of trees within *sokshing* would henceforth be prohibited."⁴ This provides room for re-thinking contemporary argument that *sokshing* was always meant for leaf-litter collection and not for felling trees for fuel wood. As I will show below, the usage of *sokshing* for fuel wood collection is even prevalent today.

It appears that some peasants had started by then to convert *sokshing* into cultivable land. Why would they do that? A plausible explanation is that they sought to derive maximum value from *sokshing*-land since felling down of trees was prohibited by National Assembly resolutions. The 46th session resolved to prohibit the conversion. "Though the people who had already done would be excused in future and all would have to abide by resolution No.3 of the 45th session of the National Assembly."⁵

In the 52nd session held in 1980, some representatives proposed levying taxes on *sokshing* and *tsamdro*. But the Land Act which had been passed only the previous year (in

1979) did not require taxes to be paid. His Majesty King Jigmi Dorji Wangchuck had commanded that it was not desirable to amend the Land Act soon after its adoption. Hence the National Assembly resolved that taxes would not be levied. But the issue of taxation resurfaced during the 58th session in 1983. The representative of Tashigang Dzongkhag reported that there were two kinds of *sokshing*, 'one for the purpose of manure and the other for firewood.' He proposed that the *sokshing* be registered accordingly and taxed. Referring to the Land Act, the Director of Forests stated that *sokshing* are meant to be used only for manure, and that those *sokshing* which are 'not fit for the purpose of manure must be confiscated by the Royal Government even if it is registered in the Thram.'⁶

An important question that arises is why did people's representatives propose levying taxes on *sokshing* and *tsamdro*? A plausible explanation is that paying taxes confirms private ownership of *sokshing* and *tsamdro* just as peasants pay taxes for owning other categories of landholdings. Hence, it would have been a strategic move to regain ownership that translates not only to rights for leaf-litter collection but for felling trees and conversion to cultivable lands. It is also evident that there were two categories of *sokshing*, (one for leaf-litter collection and one for fuel wood-collection purposes) which modern law does not recognize. During one of my visits to Tashigang, I found out in some gewogs that people use *sokshing* not for leaf-litter collection but to meet fuel wood requirements.

These resolutions allow us to revisit the argument that it is the state which always owned *sokshing*. If *sokshing* 'rights' were 'private' and if peasants paid taxes, collected leaf-litter, felled trees and converted to cultivable lands, it does not seem impossible that it was the peasants who

3 NAS 2, p.157.

4 NAS 2, p.168.

5 NAS 2, pp. 173-174.

6 NAS 4, pp. 98-99.



‘owned’ *sokshing* although modern legislation and conservation policies gradually brought *sokshing* under state ownership and regulation.

Provisions of the Land Act 2007

The provision to delete *sokshing* records from private *lagthrams* is stated in Chapter 11 of the Land Act 2007. This Chapter outlines how *sokshing* records will be retained by the state and how *sokshing* provided on lease would be managed hereafter. The following are the main provisions of Chapter 11.

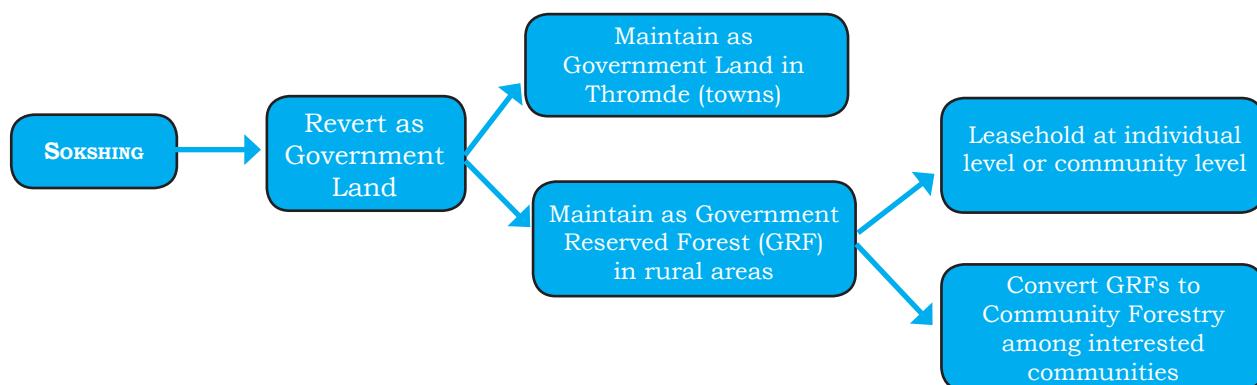
All *sokshing* rights will be deleted from the *lagthrams*.⁷ *Sokshing* in towns (*thromde*) will revert as government land. In rural areas, *sokshing* will be maintained as government reserved forest land (GRF). However, *sokshing* reverted as GRF in rural areas can be converted to leasehold at the individual and community levels. In converting to leasehold, the previous right holders will be given preference. But there are two important exceptions. One, those lands categorized as *sokshing* but do not have trees growing on them will not be given on lease. This means that even if a household has been cultivating the land reflected as *sokshing* in his/her previous *lagthram*, he/she can no longer cultivate it since it will revert as GRF. Two, a household that owned *sokshing* but does not own

any agricultural land cannot hold it on lease. The justification for this appears to be related to the state’s perception of the utility of *sokshing* as source of leaf litter for use as manure in the fields. Hence the argument that if a household has no agricultural lands, there is no need for leaf litter, and hence no need for *sokshing*.

The following flow chart shows what will happen after the deletion of *sokshing* records from *lagthram*.

Objective of deleting *sokshing* records

Why did the state decide to delete records of *sokshing* from *lagthrams* of the people? The Land Act does not answer this question. The rationale that circulates in the officialdom is that it is a strategy to redistribute *sokshing* to people who need them by taking over from those who do not need them. How that redistribution would be done is not explicit although it appears that the primary means is to lease out *sokshing* from ‘right-holders’ who no longer own agricultural lands. Inherent in this assumption is also the concern that a handful of people own huge areas of *sokshing* compared to a large number of people who own far less. It also assumes that *sokshing* endowment and unequal distribution is true for all *dzongkhags* and regions.



7 It is important to mention that in peasants’ perception what is being deleted is not *sokshing* rights but *sokshing* ownership records.



Statistical evidence from the National Land Commission does indicate certain disparity in *sokshing* ownership but it is not as vast as those of *tsamdro*. The total area of *sokshing* in the country is 21234.1 acres owned by 16,141 *lagthram*-holders. The highest acreage of *sokshing* is recorded in Tashigang Dzongkhag with a total area of 3,523.28 acres constituting 16.59% of

the country's total *sokshing*. The lowest acreage is recorded in Sarpang Dzongkhag with an acreage of 0.15 acres only. Table 1 shows that while 96.39% of the *lagthram*-holders own less than 5 acres of *sokshing* in the country, only 0.12% (20 people) own more than 100 acres. In other words, 0.12% of *lagthram*-holders own 17.79% of *sokshing* whereas 96% owns only 59.31%.

Table 1: Sokshing ownership and distribution in the dzongkhag

<i>Dzongkhag</i>	Acres of <i>sokshing</i>				No. of <i>lagthram</i> -holders	Total area of <i>Sokshing</i>	Percent of <i>Sokshing</i> distribution in each <i>dzongkhag</i>
	0-5	5-50	50-100	Above 100			
Bumthang	318	31	0	3	352	1567.43	7.38
Chhukha	196	11	0	1	208	507.60	2.39
Dagana	227	4	1	1	233	425.03	2.00
Gasa	142	2	0	1	145	398.17	1.88
Haa	174	56	1	3	234	1585.72	7.47
Lhuntse	1217	81	1	0	1299	1870.56	8.81
Mongar	2701	22	1	0	2724	1752.26	8.25
Paro	105	127	0	0	232	378.76	1.78
Pema Gatshel	1474	4	1	0	1479	858.13	4.04
Punakha	592	29	3	1	625	1553.61	7.32
Samdrup Jongkhar	347	1	0	0	348	201.70	0.95
Samtse	6	0	0	0	6	8.31	0.04
Sarpang	1	0	0	0	1	0.15	0.00
Thimphu	383	24	1	2	410	507.6	2.39
Tashigang	3297	59	3	0	3359	3523.28	16.59
Trongsa	475	14	0	1	490	962.51	4.53
Tsirang	394	2	0	0	396	233.54	1.10
Wangdue Phodrang	928	70	4	7	1009	3247.46	15.29
Tashi Yangtse	2308	8	0	0	1316	1448.96	6.82
Zhemgang	273	2	0	0	275	203.32	0.96
Total	15558	547	16	20	16141	21234.1	100.00
<i>Number of Thramholders</i>	96.39%	3.39%	0.10%	0.12%	100%		

Table 2: Average sokshing ownership in the country

	ACRES OF <i>SOKSHING</i>	NO. OF <i>LAGTHRAM</i> -HOLDERS	ACRES OF <i>SOKSHING</i> OWNED	AVERAGE ACRES OWNED PER PERSON
	Above 100 acres	20 (0.12%)	3778.52 (17.79%)	188.9
	Between 0-5 acres	15558 (96.39%)	12594.36 (59.31 %)	0.809
	Between 5-100 acres	563 (3.48%)	4861.12 (22.90 %)	8.634
Total		16,141 (100%)	21,234.10 (100%)	1.315



What Table 2 shows is that 96.39% of *sokshing lagthram*-holders in the country own far less than the national average of 1.315 acres for every *lagthram*-holder. If redistribution of *sokshing* were to be done, it would have to be done largely from those 20 *lagthram*-holders who own more than 100 acres, and partially from those who own between 5-100 acres. If this were so, Zhemgang, Tashi Yangtse, Tsirang, Samdrup Jongkhar, Dagana, Samtse, Sarpang and Gasa would not be affected much since most *lagthram*-holders in these *dzongkhags* own less than five acres. Bumthang, Chukha, Haa, Lhuntse, Mongar, Tashigang, Punakha, Thimphu, Trongsa and Wangdue Phodrang would see major redistribution. Paro would experience the most important redistribution since those *lagthram*-holders who own over five acres outnumber those who own less than that. However, this could be tricky in view of the fact that a land category called *changra*, which is unique to Paro, must have been written off as *sokshing* in official records. On the other hand, *changra* is a traditional category of land, where people plant trees as demarcation of land boundary or as protection against swelling rivers during rainy season. Peasants had also paid taxes for *changra* like other categories of landholdings. The Land Act does not recognize this traditional land category of *changra*.⁸ If *changra* were separated from *sokshing*, then the number of *lagthram*-holders in Paro who own less than five acres of *sokshing* would increase.

If re-distribution were indeed the objective of deleting *sokshing* records from private *lagthrams*, there are difficulties as indicated both by the statistics given above and due to uneven regional endowment of *sokshing* resources. First, it is not realistic to suggest that *sokshing* in Tashigang be

distributed to those in Sarpang, who do not own *sokshing*. Similarly, it is unrealistic to suggest that *sokshing* from Shongphu Gewog in Tashigang be distributed to those in Merak Gewog, which do not have any *sokshing*. Second, more than 96% of *lagthram*-owners own less *sokshing* than the national average of 1.315 acres. Redistribution would be feasible only if a large number of *lagthram*-owners owned far more *sokshing* than the national average. Therefore, re-distribution may be possible only from those twenty *lagthram*-holders who own over 100 acres. Since these twenty *lagthram*-holders constitute less than 1% of *sokshing*-owners in the country, it may not be a strong justification to delete *sokshing* records from more than 99% of other *lagthram*-holders who own less *sokshing* than the national average.

Problems relating to implementation of Land Act

1.1 Partial implementation

The fact that new *lagthrams* of peasants in *dzongkhag* where the cadastral re-surveys have been completed would not include *sokshing* records suggest that section 255 of the Land Act that provides for deleting these records is being implemented. On the other hand, these peasants have neither applied for nor been given the opportunity to apply for leasehold of *sokshing*. Hence, section 256 that provides for converting *sokshing* to leasehold has not been implemented. According to the Land Act, all *sokshing* in rural areas would now be considered as GRFs. They would no longer be regarded as *sokshing*. As GRFs, cutting down trees, converting to community forests (CFs) and other activities have caused frictions in local communities. Nevertheless, peasants continue to collect leaf litter which is legally permissible only from *sokshing* that are given on lease. Again, people could then be legally construed as collecting leaf

⁸ The idea and issue of *changra* was raised by Thuemi Ugyen Tshering, Hon'ble Member representing Paro Dzongkhag in the National Council.



litter from GRF, and not from *sokshing*. What we see then is not only the partial implementation of the Land Act but the problems created by partial implementation.

1.2 *Sokshing not provided on leasehold*

Even as *sokshing* records are being deleted, there has not been a simultaneous initiative by the concerned state agency to enable people to apply for leasehold. What could have happened is that the making of new *lagthrams* without *sokshing* records could have been accompanied by distribution of application forms to apply for leaseholds. Since this has not happened, some peasants have assumed that the *sokshing* of their neighbours are legally converted to GRF by the provision of the Land Act. Therefore, they have made attempts to harvest trees from these *sokshing*-turned-GRF with or without permits from forestry officials. In some cases, forestry officials have allegedly marked trees in these *sokshing* for felling and extraction by contractors. Yet again, this would be legally permissible because it would constitute an act of marking and harvesting timber from GRF and not from *sokshing*. The Department of Forest has however, issued notification to withhold marking of trees in *sokshing* till further notice. Even without the leasehold though, peasants continue to perceive *sokshing* as *sokshing* and not GRF. Former owners continue to exercise their rights not only to collect leaf litter but also to protect the trees. In quite a few instances, peasants went on indiscriminate felling of their own *sokshing*. They were concerned that soon there could be other claimants to the very trees they have nurtured and protected thus far.

1.3 *Confusion between local people and state agencies*

In one gewog, a health clinic was to be constructed as part of its tenth five-year plan activity in a

location, where there is still *sokshing*. Since the local administration now legally deems *sokshing* as GRF, they wanted to start constructing the clinic after the local forestry office gives permit to cut trees in the *sokshing*-turned-GRF. But the forestry official asked the gewog administration to first seek approval and clearance of the *sokshing* owner before trees are felled. Meanwhile, the *sokshing*-owner refused to give the approval and the construction of health clinic is delayed. This shows that the gewog administration is implementing the Land Act provision by considering the *sokshing* as GRF. But the *sokshing*-owner still holds on to his rights as he exercised before the passing of Land Act. On the other hand, the forestry office, which is the local state agency, is uncertain about the exact legal status of *sokshing*.

In another instance, a *gup* (elected community leader) had given permission to cut down *sokshing* in order to build a farm road. The alignment of the road passed through the *sokshing* owned by a peasant. The peasant's complaint to the *gup* was dismissed on the ground that the Land Act 2007 does not recognize private ownership of *sokshing*. It did not concern that *gup* that had the state given this peasant the opportunity to apply for leasehold in the first instance as provided for in the Land Act, that peasant would still have priority of ownership as long as he had agricultural lands.

In some cases, *dzongkhag* officials have converted *sokshing* to community forestry (see below for details on community forestry). Community forests are carved out from GRFs. Since *sokshing* are deemed to be GRF, *dzongkhag* officials have converted *sokshing* to CFs in quite a few instances. But in a few cases, these CFs were handed over to communities who would not have initially owned the *sokshing*. As a result, there are lots of inter-community grievances.



1.4 Prime Minister's Executive Order

On 4 March 2009, the Prime Minister issued an executive order instructing temporary suspension of *thram* transfer concerning *sokshing* and *tsamdros*. It stated that the decision to do so was taken in the 31st meeting of the cabinet. The suspension of *thram* transfers would continue till the Parliament approves the review of the Land Act. The order clearly mentioned that the Land Act would be submitted for review in the following session of the Parliament. Besides, it also instructed the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Land Commission to consult each other and consider alternative means to protect forest lands in accordance with the Land Act. This was because the people were cutting down mature trees that had grown on agricultural lands left uncultivated for a long time. Felling trees was widespread in preparation for the nation-wide cadastral survey.

The Prime Minister's order reflects the concern over *sokshing* and *tsamdros* issues, and the widespread felling of trees in private lands. But what the order did was momentarily suspend the implementation of the Land Act. Without implementation, peasants do not consider *sokshing* (and *tsamdros*) as GRF. Peasants' hope to have *sokshing* records reinstated in their *lagthram* has been reinforced by the executive order. Meanwhile, the anxiety on what could happen to *sokshing* issue has deepened since the Land Act was not tabled for review in either the third, fourth, fifth and sixth sessions of Parliament. The National Council discussed the issue related to *sokshing* and *tsamdros* in two of its sessions. It has passed a resolution in its third session highlighting the issue of *sokshing* and *tsamdros*, and called upon the government to initiate the review. The National Assembly decided in its sixth session to begin amendment of the Land Act in the seventh session this summer. It cannot be presumed at the moment that the

sokshing records would be reinstated in private *lagthram*.

1.5 Transactions and inheritance issues

There are instances where people have sold and bought *sokshing* either by itself or along with land and houses. In the state's perspective, the buyer or seller would have bought or sold only the 'right' to collect leaf litter from that *sokshing*. On the other hand, both the buyer and seller in rural areas consider *sokshing* as well as the land on which it grows as part of the transaction. In their view, they did not engage in transaction of 'right to collect leaf litter'. It was the *sokshing* that was the primary object of transaction.

Sokshing were also inherited along with other agricultural lands. Until lately, the system of property inheritance was largely determined by customary practices. When parents bequeathed agricultural lands to their children, the size of landholdings given to each would often be determined based on the category of land as well as their fertility and productivity. Sometimes, those children who inherit landholdings that are comparatively less fertile would be given larger acreage of *sokshing* as compensation. This is logical because larger areas of *sokshing* suggest access to more leaf litter to be used as manure and thus enhance productivity of the less fertile land they have inherited.

The provision of Land Act to delete *sokshing* records may not have considered the complexity of customary property transaction, inheritance and distribution. It had isolated *sokshing* and treated it as if the norms of inheritance had no relation to it whatsoever. For example, it did not ask the question of why some families own *sokshing* while some do not. Local communities consider *sokshing* as part of their landed property, not as rights. Deleting *sokshing* records, and having them reverted as GRF in



some instance could have a bearing on the scale and nature of landed property distribution in local communities.

Converting *sokshing* to community forestry: the challenges

A major argument that has developed in relation to deletion of *sokshing* records and conversion to community forestry is that communities can harvest trees and meet their timber requirement from CFs which is not possible from *sokshing*.⁹ Therefore, communities have been encouraged to surrender their *sokshing* so that it can eventually be converted to CFs. The Department of Forest considers it legally problematic to convert *sokshing* to community forestry since the Land Act states that *sokshing* will be leased out either to individual or communities. However, those *sokshing* that were not taken on lease would be categorized as GRF. Once it is categorized as GRF, it is legally possible to convert to CFs. In other words, *sokshing* cannot be converted to CFs directly but it can be done indirectly once it is identified as GRF. There are quite a few instances where *sokshing* have already been considered as GRF and given to some communities as CFs. But no CFs can be leased out to peasants as *sokshing* unless the government decides to remove it from the list of CFs that it maintains. If a CF were removed from the list, the communities would be provided compensations.¹⁰

An important issue arises from a clause of the Land Rules 2007 which states that the authorities

may lease any part of GRF land including reverted *tsamdro* and *sokshing* to juristic person for sustainable operations including *private forest*. This means that *sokshing* taken over from peasants or communities and reverted as GRF may be leased to juristic persons such as corporations. This is an important issue that merits consideration.

Among many difference between *sokshing* and CFs, three stand out. One, *sokshing* can be legally taken on lease either at the individual or community level. But leasehold at community level will be far less than those at individual levels. *Sokshing* leasehold will therefore be predominantly at the individual level. CFs however, can only be at the community level. CFs are government forests given to communities. At the individual level, there can be private forests, which consist of trees grown on private agricultural lands that were left uncultivated. Two, only leaf litter can be collected from *sokshing* whereas other forest products particularly timber can also be harvested from CFs. There is however, a ceiling called the Annual Allowable Cut, which is a restriction on the quantity of trees that can be cut in CFs. Three, access to *sokshing* resource, i.e. leaf litter, will only be to the lease-holder whereas *sokshing* converted to CF can be accessed by any member of CFs. For example, trees from a *sokshing* earlier owned by person A can now be harvested by person B or C once it is converted to CF after obtaining the permits from the community's committee that manages the particular CF. Although CF management is determined by its own set of rules, there are many instances of difficulties faced when CFs are handed over to communities and the implementation begins. In relation to the present discussion on *sokshing*, some important observations merit consideration.

9 The Forest and Nature Conservation Act of Bhutan 1995 provided the legal basis for establishing community forestry which is defined as 'any area of Government Reserved Forest designated for management by a local community in accordance with the Rules issues under this Act.' The first CF was established in Dozam community under Drametse Gewog in Mongar. Today there are 200 CFs covering 24, 996 acres.

10 Letter from Land Commission Secretariat (NLCS/PPD/ (06)/09/318 dated 6th February 2009) changes incorporated in Land Rules and Regulation 2007 – Annexure 3



1. Some peasants still refuse to have their *sokshing* converted to CFs. If the Land Act were invoked, all *sokshing* not taken or given on lease would by now be categorized as GRF. The question of refusing to convert *sokshing* to CFs should not actually arise in the first place since it is the state and not the community, who legally owns GRF. If communities are interested in forming CFs, the state hands over some portion of GRF based on certain terms and plans. It must be however, pointed out that peasants have not yet been given the opportunity to apply for leasing the *sokshing* as provided for in the Land Act. So it cannot be assumed that they are not interested in leasing *sokshing*, which makes conversion to GRF problematic.
2. Despite their refusal to convert *sokshing* to CFs, some peasants still enroll as members of CFs. As long as there is a minimum of ten households, CFs can be established by allocating 2.5 hectares of GRF for every household. This area ceiling is currently being reviewed. Refusal to surrender *sokshing* and yet enrolling as members of CFs are tactical moves. They hope to enjoy the benefits of CFs and also the traditional rights over *sokshing*. Quite often, *sokshing* are closer to village communities whereas CFs can be further away. In the process of creating CFs, people have realized that CFs benefit them when they are closer to it. Thus, some peasants have either withdrawn or suggested withdrawal from CFs which are far away from their villages.
3. Once communities enroll as members of CFs, they are expected to meet their timber requirement from the CFs. The Territorial Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests with its mandate of conservation

does not give permits for timber harvest from GRFs to members of CFs. It must be mentioned that permits to harvest timber from CFs by members can be obtained from the CF's committee. On the other hand, non-CF members and other users such as government institutions must obtain permits from the Territorial Division to harvest timber from GRFs since they cannot harvest timber from CFs. They can also buy timber from CFs if the annual needs of the members are met. Problems would arise for non-CF members of the same community if CF members refuse to sell for various reasons. Access to other GRFs becomes a problem since those GRFs in and around village communities are converted to CFs. They have to meet timber requirement from GRFs much further away, which is expensive and difficult. Thus, there is a certain element of circumstantial compulsion for people to either become members of CFs or have their *sokshing* converted to CFs. This problem may be addressed if people are allowed to harvest timber from *sokshing* and yet reinstate the records in their *lagthram* (see section 5 below for justifications).

4. Many people have thus agreed to have their *sokshing* converted to CFs. Whereas only leaf litter can be collected from *sokshing*, timber can also be harvested from *sokshing*-turned-CFs except that all members are entitled to the same resources. The process of obtaining permits for marking and felling trees has also been drastically shortened. The basis for people's consent to convert *sokshing* to CFs however, is not that of the CFs' perceived benefits alone. It is due to the fact that the Land Act would anyway delete *sokshing* from their *lagthrams*. Consent was thus a strategic bargain to obtain the best deal out of perceived loss of *sokshing* to the



state's *Chhazhag Thram*. This consent would certainly be questionable if *sokshing* records were not to be deleted from people's *lagthrams*.

5. There is no doubt that the major benefit from CFs' to their members is access to timber which is not possible from *sokshing*. Of course the Forest and Nature Conservation Act of Bhutan 1995 (FNC Act) permits transfer of ownership of forest produce that includes boulders, stone, sand, gravel, rocks, peat and surface soil in CFs to the people. However, the Forest Rules 2006 (section 36.7) as well as the Land Act state that such resources found in any registered lands shall belong to the state. Article 1.12 of the Constitution has also given the state the rights over mineral resources, rivers, lakes and forests. The state would regulate the use of these resources by law. The provisions of the FNC Act and Land Act conflict. The Constitution however, supports the provision of the Land Act. Thus, CF members' major benefit is really the access to timber. But the primary purpose of disallowing timber harvest from *sokshing* was to protect and conserve forests. This objective is compromised as timber can anyway be harvested now from *sokshing* converted to GRFs and CFs. What the Land Act then does is transfer the registration of *sokshing* from private *lagthrams* to the state's *Chhazhag Thram*. Cutting down trees from *sokshing* was not permissible when it was registered in private *lagthrams*. However, it is possible when it is registered in the state's *Chhazhag Thram*. If harvesting of timber is to be permitted from the same woodlot (i.e. the *sokshing*) under different names and categories such as CFs and GRFs, transferring of *sokshing* records also may not be necessary since the state claims to own

sokshing like any other GRF. One possibility then is to reinstate *sokshing* records in private *lagthram* and allow timber harvest besides leaf-litter collection under similar plans of CFs' sustainable management. This will have the positive effect of being an incentive to people to protect and manage *sokshing* with a sense of ownership. Meanwhile, the objective of conservation and sustainable resource use, which is inbuilt in GRFs and CFs, will also be met.

6. A major argument and criticism against this suggestion is that those people who do not own *sokshing* will not be benefited. Instead, they may land up paying for timber and also leaf-litter from those who own *sokshing*. The cost of timber and leaf litter would depend on the owner of *sokshing*. This argument would hold true if the state insists that *sokshing* would be the only source of meeting rural timber requirements. However, timber requirements are being met from GRFs and CFs. On the other hand, it is important to note that most CFs are not necessarily created from existing *sokshing*. Rather, they are also largely carved out from GRFs. This implies that the state is willing to hand over government land and forest to communities. Following the same logic then, the government can provide GRFs to those people who do not have *sokshing*. Those GRFs could then be maintained as *sokshing*.

Recommendations

In order to address serious concerns of rural peasants pertaining to the deletion of *sokshing* records from private *lagthrams*, the following recommendations are being proposed in the context of above discussions. Some of these recommendations need to be taken up while reviewing the Land Act 2007 while others would be the prerogative of His Majesty the King.



1. In relation to issues of *sokshing*, the Land Act review could consider if *sokshing* rights and records could be reinstated in peasants' *lagthrams*.
2. If reinstatement of *sokshing* records is found to be justifiable, Parliament could fix a ceiling for the maximum acreage of *sokshing* a *lagthram*-holder can have registered in his/her *lagthram*. The ceiling must consider the size of the person's agricultural landholdings so that he/she can collect enough leaf-litter and also meet minimal timber requirements if *sokshings* are to be converted to private forest (see section 6 below).
3. The state may take over those *sokshing* whose acreage exceed the ceiling as well as those *sokshing* whose owners do not have agricultural lands. They could be redistributed to those landholders who either do not own any *sokshing* or own very less *sokshing*. However, *sokshing* may not be provided to those landholders who have left their lands fallow and uncultivated for a long time. Those *lagthram*-holders in the community who have less *sokshing* may be permitted to collect leaf litter from these *sokshing* belonging to peasants who no longer cultivate their fields. On the other hand, *sokshing* could be provided to those landholders if they resume cultivation of fallow lands.
4. In those communities where there is not enough *sokshing* for redistribution, the state may identify certain areas from nearby GRFs and provide them as *sokshing* to needy peasants. The land records of those GRFs would then need to be transferred in the people's *lagthram* as *sokshing* instead of GRFs. If the understanding is that the state would still own the land and trees, transfer of GRFs to private *lagthrams* can be legally done by Parliament. However, if the understanding is that the people would own even the *sokshing* land and trees, it would be His Majesty's prerogative to grant GRFs as *kidu sokshing*.
5. The Land Act states that those *sokshing* lands which have been cultivated since there are no trees growing on it shall not be leased. This means that even if the land has been under cultivation, it will revert as GRF. Technically, these will be forests without trees. But it would be illogical to call a *sokshing* bereft of trees as forests (GRF). Again it is His Majesty's prerogative to grant such cultivated land as *kidu*.
6. Many peasants hope that the state will enable them to convert *sokshing* to private forests (*gerde nagtshel*). The government has allowed people to retain uncultivated agricultural lands overgrown with trees as private forests. The lands belong to the people. However, the state considers *sokshing* lands as state lands. Thus, converting *sokshing* to private forests would involve privatizing state land since private forests can only be on private lands, not government lands. In this case, the prerogative to grant *sokshing* land to peasants for conversion to private forests will be that of His Majesty the King.
7. If the law (by way of amending the Land Act) makes it permissible for *sokshing* to be converted to private forestry, it will be possible to harvest timber from these *sokshing*. The state is anyway not averse to permitting felling of trees from *sokshing*, if they are reverted as GRFs. Those peasants who do not own *sokshing* could meet their timber requirement from CFs. The amendment could also consider permitting only leaf litter



collection from *sokshing* even if the records are reinstated in their *lagthram*. This would mean that communities would have to meet their timber and other forest produce requirement from CFs and GRFs. However, every community member must be a member of CF to ensure equitable access to forest resource. Thus the CF rules that require a minimum of ten households to establish a CF may need to be amended. Every community irrespective of the number of households must be permitted to establish a CF.

Both these suggestions have equitable benefits. In one way or other, both ensure access to leaf litter as well as timber requirements and yet address conservation concerns. If timber harvesting is permitted from *sokshing*, trees in GRFs need not be harvested. Otherwise, timber has to be harvested from GRF.

8. Review of the Land Act may consider other issues besides *sokshing*. For example, the legal requirement of a minimum plot size of ten decimals has created lots of difficulties in the process of *lagthram* transfers. The review of the Economic Development Plan and Foreign Direct Investment policy 2010 has also pointed out the need to review the Land Act. Equally pertinent to the issue of *sokshing* is that of *tsamdro* for highland communities depending on livestock.

Conclusion

The concern generated by deletion of *sokshing* records from peasants' *lagthram* is an important issue. Reinstating these records and considering the above recommendations could achieve

the same objective that was initially intended by deleting *sokshing* records from private *lagthrams*.

Since leaf litter collection is an important source of organic manure, it makes sense to encourage it in the light of government's policy to promote organic agriculture. This is even more relevant when smaller sizes of good breeds of livestock are promoted in place of traditional breeds. This will mean diminished supply of livestock droppings. So people will have to apply alternative organic manure like leaf litter.

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༣༡ །མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་སྡེ་གོང་འཕེལ།

༥་རེ་ཏྲིག་ཅི་ཟེར་རུང་རྒྱ་འདི་ལྷགས་རང་ཡིན།

རྒྱ་གར་དོན། གྲོང་གསལ་༥

དེ་སྤྱོད།

ལཱ་སྒོ། ང་བཅས་ར་མི་ཁྲོམ་འཛོམས་སའི་སྤྱག་ལུ་རྩྱུ་མ་རྩྱུགས་མི་དང་ གཞུང་གིས་གནང་མིའི་གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་ཞབས་ཏྲིག་ མཐུན་རྒྱུ་རྩྱུ་མ་གཞན་དང་འདྲ་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་ཐོབ་མ་རྩྱུགས་མི་རྩྱུ་གཞུང་གི་སྤྱོད་ཆོད་སྤྱོད་ མཐུན་རྒྱུ་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་གཞན་ཞིའི་དོན་ལུ་ བསྐྱོས་གནང་ཡོད་པའི་འགོ་དཔོན་རྩྱུ་གིས་ཡང་ལྷོད་པར་དཀའ་བའི་ས་གནས་རྩྱུ་ གྲིས་རྩྱུ་མ་འདི་གི་དོན་ལུ་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་ གཡུས་དང་དེ་ཁར་སྤྱོད་མི་རྩྱུ་ མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་སེར་ཟེར་གོ་བ་ལེན་དགོ་ནི་ཡིན་མས།

གཞུང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ རྩྱུ་མ་ལོ་ལྷའི་མཆར་གཞི་འགོ་གཞུགས་པའི་བསྐྱར་ལས་མཐའ་དབྱས་ཟེར་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་པར་གོང་འཕེལ་འདྲ་མཉམ་གནང་ནིའི་སྤྱོད་རྩྱུ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཆད་ཕྱག་ལུ་ཡང་འདི་དང་རྩྱུ་མས་སྤྱོད་གནང་དང་གནང་ཞིན་དུ་ཡོད། ཡིན་རུང་ཕྱག་ལུ་གང་དྲག་གནང་བའི་རྩྱུ་ཡང་ མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་གཡུས་ཆོད་རྩྱུ་ནང་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་ མི་སྡེའི་གོང་འཕེལ་རྩྱུ་འདྲ་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་འགྲོ་མ་དུ་བའི་དེ་འདི་གཅི་ལས་བརྟེན་ཡིན་ན་ རང་གིས་ཤེས་པ་མཐོང་མ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མེད་རུང་འདི་མས་ཁོངས་བཟུང་བཤུ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྐབས་མཐོང་ཡོད་མི་དང་ཉམས་ཚུངས་ཐོབ་ཐོག་ལས་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བརྟག་དབྱེད་འབད་ཡོད་མི་འདི་མཐུན་རྩྱུ་ཡོངས་ལུ་བསམ་མཆར་དང་འདྲ་མཉམ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།

དེ་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་དང་ མཐུན་རྩྱུ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱགས་ཁར་ ལྷན་འཁོར་ལས་དང་ སྤྱོད་མེ་དང་ཆོང་བེལ་ ཡང་ན་གཞན་སྤྱོད་བཏང་ལུ་ དགོ་པའི་མཐུན་རྩྱུ་གི་གཞི་རྩྱུ་ཡོད་པ་དང་མེད་པའི་བྱུང་པར་ལས་མཐོན་ཡིན་མ་སྤྱོད་བཅུ་འོང་། འདི་རྩྱུ་ཡང་བདེན། ཡིན་རུང་ འདི་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གནད་དོན་གཞན་ཡང་འདུག།

གནད་དོན་གཞན་གཅི་ར་ཡིན་ན་?

༡༽ ཐོས་པ་རྒྱུང་བའི་དཀའ་ངལ།

འབྱུང་བ་གི་ཞིབ་ཆོལ་མཁས་པ་རྩྱུ་གིས་འབད་བཅིན་ འབྱུང་བ་འདི་གར་ལུ་དགོ་པ་ཡོད་རུང་ འདི་གི་སྤྱོད་ལས་གོ་བ་རྩྱུ་གཏིང་ཟབ་ཏྲིག་ཏྲི་སྤྱོད་ལེན་ནི་ལུ་ ཡུན་རིང་མ་སྤྱོད་འགོར་ནི་ཡིན་མས། འདི་མ་ཆད་འབྱུང་བ་འདི་གཅི་གི་འཐད་ལས་འབད་རུང་ ཉམས་སུ་སྤྱོད་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ རྩྱུ་མ་ལས་ཤུམ་རྩྱུ་ཆོད་ཆར་བའི་ལས་ལུགས་རྩྱུ་ཡང་འབྱུང་བཅོས་འབད་ནི་ལུ་ཁས་ལེན་འབད་དགོ་ནི་ཡིན་མས། འདི་འབད་མ་དང་ འབྱུང་བ་ལུ་འགག་ཆའབད་མི་ཡང་འོང་སྤྱོད། གཅི་སྤྱོད་ཟེར་བཅིན་ རྩྱུ་མ་ལས་ལང་ཤོར་རྩྱུ་མ་ཆད་ འབྱུང་བ་ལས་བརྟེན་ལེ་རྒྱུད་མ་བདུབ་བཅིན་ རོས་ལེན་མི་འབད་ནི་འདི་ཀུན་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་ཅིག་ཡིན། དཔེར་ན་ སའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་(༢༠༠༢)ཅན་མའི་ནང་ལྷ་འབྲོག་གཞུང་ཞེས་མཛད་དགོ་མི་འདི་གིས་ མི་དམངས་ལུ་པན་ཐོགས་ནི་ཡིན་རུང་དང་ཕུ་ལས་རྩྱུ་འབྲོག་བཟུང་ཡོད་མིའི་སྤྱོད་བདག་རྩྱུ་ལུ་མ་བདུབ་ལས་ ཁོང་གིས་སྤྱག་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱབ་འོང་།



སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༠ ལུ་འབྲུལ་ཆས་གསར་པ་གིས་སྤྱི་ རྒྱུ་ལ་འཇལ་བའི་སྐབས་ ས་འཇལ་འགོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་གིས་མི་སེར་ལུ་ བཀོད་རྒྱ་སོ་སོ་སྤྱི་བྱིན་ཅུག། རྒྱུ་ལ་འགོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་གིས་ས་ ལྷག་གི་མ་དདུལ་འདི་ ཞག་དུས་བཟོ་ཡོད་མིའི་ནང་ འཁོད་ལུ་འབྲུལ་ མ་ཚུགས་པ་ཅིན་ས་ལྷག་འདི་གཞུང་བཞེས་ཨིན་ཟེར་ མི་སེར་ཚུ་ནང་ དོག་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ནི་འདུག། རྒྱུ་ལ་འགོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་ དཔོན་ གིས་ས་ལྷག་ཡོད་མི་ཚུ་ལུ་ རིན་གོང་འདི་དུས་ཚོད་ལེན་ཏེ་ཕུལ་རུང་ བཏུབ་ཟེར་སྐབས་ཅུག།

ལས་ཁུངས་གཅིག་གི་ལས་བྱེད་པ་འབད་རུང་ གཞུང་གི་བཀོད་རྒྱ་ ལེགས་ཤོམ་སྤྱི་ཉ་མ་གོ་བ་ཅིན་འདི་ཟུམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཏབ་མ་བདེམ་མཐོན་ བྱིན་ཨིན་མས། འདི་ལུ་ལྷ་ཏེ་འབད་རུང་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་སེར་ཚུ་གིས་ ཚར་གཅིག་སྐབས་དང་ ཉ་གོ་ཚུགས་ཟེར་བའི་བསམ་འཆར་འདི་ནོར་ བ་འོང་སྤི། སྤིན་ཟུམ་བཟོ་མི་ཚུ་གིས་ཕ་ཞིང་ཕ་བ་སྤྱི་ལ་གོ་ཚུགས་ མི་འདི་ ཁོང་གིས་གནད་དོན་འདི་གུ་ཡང་ལས་ཡང་ དུ་གྲོས་བསྐྱར་ གནང་མ་ལས་བརྟེན་ཨིན། འདི་གི་ཤུལ་ལས་གཞན་ལུ་ཚར་གཅིག་ བཤད་པ་དང་ ཉ་གོ་མི་ཚུགས། ལྷག་པར་དུ་མི་སེར་མཉམ་ཆུང་ཚུ་ ལུ་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་ ཉམས་མྱོང་དང་ཐོས་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་མི་འོང་། མི་ སེར་ལུ་ཞབས་ཏོག་སྤྱི་མིའི་འགོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་གིས་འདི་ཟུམ་གྱི་གནས་ ལྷངས་ཁ་གོ་ནི་འདི་ཉ་ཅང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཆ།

གཞུང་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་མི་ལས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་མཐའ་ཟུར་མེད་པར་སྤོབ་ གྲུ་གཅུགས་གནང་ཡོད་མི་འདི་ཨ་ལོ་ཚུ་མ་འོངས་པ་ལུ་མི་སྤྱི་ནང་ རང་ལུ་ཕོག་པའི་འགན་ཁུར་འབག་དགོ་པའི་དུས་ལུ་ ཐོས་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ ཏོག་ཏོ་སྤྱི་ཡོད་པ་ཅིན་ གཅི་འབད་རུང་ཚེ་ཁ་ཚུད་པ་མ་ཚད་ ཡོན་ ཏན་གྱི་གཞི་འདི་གིས་འབད་གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་ལས་ལུགས་དང་འབྲེལ་ བའི་ཉམས་མྱོང་ཡང་ཐོབ་ཚུགས་པའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཡོད་པ་ཀྱན་གིས་ མཆེན།

༢། ཡངས་ཆ་མེད་པའི་ལས་ལུགས།

རྒྱལ་གཞུང་གིས་སྤྱི་མེད་དང་ཁོ་ཆས་གསར་སྐབས་གནང་ནིའི་དོན་ལུ་ ལས་ལུགས་བཟོ་བཞག་མི་ཚུ་ རན་ལྷན་ལས་བཀག་ནི་གི་ བན་ ཐབས་ལུ་དམིན་ཏེ་བཟོ་གནང་ཡོད་རུང་ ལག་ལེན་འཐབ་པའི་སྐབས་ གནས་སྤངས་དང་འཁྲིལ་འགྱུར་བཅོས་འབད་ནི་མེད་པར་ ཨིན་ཅིག་ མིན་ཅིག་འདི་ལུ་རང་གནས་དགོས་དང་ མ་དདུལ་ཉུང་ཤོས་གྱི་གསར་ སྐབས་གང་མང་གཏང་ཚུགས་པའི་ཐུགས་བཞེས་ གནང་ཏེ་གོང་ཚད་ ཉུང་ཤོས་འབད་མི་ལུ་བྱིན་དགོ་པའི་ལས་ལུགས་གྱི་སྤྱི་གསར་སྐབས་ འབདམ་དང་ བཀའ་ངལ་སྤོམ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུང་དོ། མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་ས་གནས་ ཚུ་ནང་ཅལ་ཚུ་ཡང་ དུས་ཚོད་ཁར་ཐོབ་མ་ཚུགས་པའི་ཁར་ ལས་ རིང་ས་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ཁར་འབག་དགོས་ལས་ གོང་ཚད་ཡང་ལས་ཤ་གི་ ཡར་སེང་འགྱུ་བྱུ་ཨིན་མས།

འདི་འབདམ་ལས་བརྟེན་ཁེ་ཏོག་ཏོ་ཟེར་མི་འདི་ ཅལ་གི་སྤྱི་ཚད་ ལུ་གནོད་ནི་ཨིན་མ་ཚད་ འགོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་གིས་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་འབད་བར་ མ་སྤྱོད་ཆོ་ ཅལ་དང་ལཱ་གི་སྤྱི་ཚད་ལུ་ཡང་ དོགས་པ་འོང་མ་ཨིན་ མས། ལས་འགུལ་འཛུགས་བསྐྱུལ་དང་ གསར་སྐབས་འབད་ཚར་མི་འདི་ ཁྱིམ་འབད་རུང་ ལས་འབད་རུང་ རྒྱལ་ཡུར་འབད་རུང་ བསྐྱུལ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ཡང་མ་ལང་མ་ལས་ཉམས་བཅོས་འབད་ དགོས་འཐོན་མ་ཨིན་མས། དཔེར་ན་རྒྱ་པོའི་ཡིག་ཚང་གཅིག་རྒྱུ་པའི་སྐབས་ སའི་དབྱིབས་ དང་གནས་སྤངས་ཚུ་ དབྱེ་ཞིབ་ མ་འབད་བར་རྒྱུ་ཏེ་ལོ་༢།༡།ཤུལ་ ལས་ས་འབབ་རྒྱུ་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལས་ཡིག་ཚང་འདི་ནང་ལཱ་འབད་མ་ བཏུབ། དེ་མ་ཚད་ཡིག་ཚང་གི་སྤོམ་རྒྱུ་ཡང་རྒྱ་པོའི་གི་མི་སྤོམ་ དང་རྒྱ་ཚད་དང་འཁྲིལ་ཏེ་མིན་པར་ ཆེ་རུ་རུང་ ཐིམ་ཕུ་ལས་བཟོ་ བཀོད་གནང་མི་ འདི་གི་ཚད་ལས་མ་འགལ་བར་ ཅཆས་ཡང་འདི་ རང་ག་ཚུད་ཏེ་ཡོད་མི་འདི་ར་བརྒྱུ་དགོས་ཡོད་པ་འོང་ནི་མས།



འཆར་གཞི་ ༡༠ པའི་བར་མཚམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་གནང་བའི་སྐབས་ མི་ཕྱོད་ཆེན་གྱིས་ བཟོ་གྲག་ལམ་ལུགས་ཡང་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་ གནས་སྤངས་དང་འཁྲིལ་འབྱུང་བཅོས་འབད་བ་ལུ་ཕན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་གནོད་པ་མེད་པའི་བཀོད་རྒྱ་གནང་མི་འདི་ལུ་ དབྱེ་བ་བཅད་དེ་ བཟོ་བཅིན་སྤྲིད་བྱས་ལུ་མ་བརྟལ་མིན་པར་ ལས་བྱེད་པ་ཚུ་གིས་ཉེན་ཁ་འབག་ཚུགས་དང་མི་ཚུགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ལས་བཅེན་ཨིན་མེད་ཅི་མས། དོ་རུང་ ང་བཅས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཁར་བཞག་དགོཔ་གཅིག་པའི་ གཤམ་སྤྲིད་འགོ་དཔོན་ རེ་གཉིས་མ་གྱིས་འབྱུང་བཅོས་འབད་རུང་ ཁོ་ཡང་ན་ མོ་ལུ་ཉེན་ཁ་དང་འགན་འཁུ་སྤྱོད་པོ་ག་ནི་ཨིན་མས། དཔེར་ན་དགོ་ལེགས་ཕུག་ལུ་ ཨིན་ཏེ་སྤྲུག་ཅུང་དང་ ཅི་ས་གི་ཤུལ་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་ཅིག་རྒྱབ་པ་ཅིན་ བུམ་ཐང་དུར་ཤུལ་འོག་ལུ་ཡང་འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་བཟོ་བཀོད་འདི་ ཅི་ས་དང་ཨིན་ཏེ་ སྤྲུག་ཅུང་གི་རྒྱབ་ནི་མིན་པར་དེ་ཁར་རྒྱ་ཆས་ག་ཡོད་མི་འདི་གི་རྒྱབ་དགོ་ནི་ཨིན་མས། བཟོ་གྲག་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་བཟོ་བའི་སྐབས་ཡང་ འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་གནས་སྐབས་ཚུ་ཐུགས་བཞེད་གནང་དགོ་ནི་ཨིན་མས།

༣༧ མཐའ་བྱར་ཟེར་མི་ལུ་དང་དོད་རྒྱུད་བའི་དགོན།

དེང་སང་ གཞུང་གི་བཀའ་ལས་གོང་འཕེལ་འགྱོ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་བཅེན་ན་གཞོན་ཚུ་ དང་པ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ནང་འགྱོ་བའི་འབྲེལ་མཐུན་ཐབ་ཏེ་ཁྲོམ་ཁ་ལུ་འགྱོམ་ཨིན་མས། སོ་ནམ་གྱི་ལུ་འབད་མ་དང་གཞུགས་བརྟལ་དགོ་ནི་འདི་དང་ ཆར་རྒྱུས་ལུ་མ་འབབ་པ་དང་ འོ་ཐོག་ འདི་རི་དྲགས་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁ་ལས་ཐོབ་ནི་ལུ་དཀའ་ཐུབ་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་ འབད་མ་ཚུགས་པའི་ཁར་སེམས་ཁར་ཡང་མ་འབབས། ཁྲོམ་ཁ་ལུ་འབད་བཅིན་བཟོ་སྐྱེན་ གསར་སྐྱབ་གཅིག་ཀྱི་འཐད་ལས་འབད་རུང་ཁ་འབག་གིས་རྒྱབ་དགོཔ་དང་ མཐའ་བྱར་གྱི་ འཐད་ཁར་ལྟོད་ཆོ་ སྤྲུག་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཡང་ན་ཉུང་མི་ཉུ་སྟེ་ མི་སེར་ཁོང་རང་གིས་ཉུང་ལ་ཐོན་ཏེ་རྒྱབ་དགོཔ་ལས་ ན་གཞོན་ཚུ་པ་ཁྱིམ་བཟུང་ཏེ་སྤྲོད་ནི་ལུ་སྐུལ་མ་ཉུང་མ་ཨིན་མས། སིད་བྱས་འདི་དེ་ནང་པ་འབྱུང་བཅོས་

འབད་ཏེ་ཡོད་རུང་ན་གཞོན་ཚུ་རང་སའི་ཕ་གཞིར་ བདག་འཛིན་འབད་ནི་གི་སྒོ་བ་ལུ་ཕན་པ་ཐོག།

མཐའ་བྱར་ལུ་ལས་འབྲལ་རེ་ཐོབ་རུང་ ལུ་འབད་མི་ལོ་ན་རྒྱས་སི་ཁུ་ཚུ་གི་སྐྱུག་ལུ་ཡང་ ན་གཞོན་ཚུ་བག་ཆགས་མི་ཚུགས་པས། མཐའ་བྱར་ཟེར་མི་འདི་གཞུང་ལས་ཐག་རིང་མ་ འགོ་དཔོན་ལས་ཡང་ཐག་རིང་མ་འབད་མ་ལས་ རང་ས་ལུ་ཕོག་པའི་ལུ་ལུ་ བཙོན་ཕུག་སྐྱེས་རུང་ཁོད་དྲག་ཟེར་སྐབ་མི་མེད་ མ་འབད་རུང་དབའ་ཡེ་ཁྱོད་ཟེར་རྒྱབ་ལུ་འཕག་མི་མེད། མི་སེར་ཚུ་གིས་ རྒྱ་བ་ཐུལ་རུང་འདི་ལུ་དེས་པ་ཟེར་མ་གཅིག་ཡང་མེད། འདི་འབད་མ་ལས་མཐའ་བྱར་གྱི་ས་གནས་ཚུ་ནང་ལས་འབྲལ་སྟེ་རུང་ གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་ལུ་སྟེ་རུང་ འདི་ཚུ་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་དུས་ཚོ་ནང་བསྐྱབ་མི་ཚུགས་ནི་དང་ བསྐྱབ་ཚུགས་ཏེ་འབད་རུང་ ང་སྤྱོད་ཆོད་མེད་པ་འོང་མ་ཨིན་མས།

༣༨ གསར་སྐྱབ་ཡོད་མི་འི་སྤྱོད་ཆོད།

འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་ནང་ ནང་གི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་འོང་འབབ་ལུ་ལྟ་བཅིན་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གི་ཟད་འགོ་ཡང་མཐུན་མ་མཐུན་སྟེ་འདུག། ཨིན་རུང་ མི་དབང་མངའ་ཞབས་མཆོག་གིས་མི་སེར་ལུ་ ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བཙེ་བ་དང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མཐུན་ལམ་དམ་ཟབ་བཟོ་གནང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁར་ དེ་ནང་པ་བཅོག་ཐུ་ལས་སྐབ་པའི་གཞུང་གིས་འབད་རུང་འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་ཕྱག་ལུ་ཚུ་ཕོ་རྒྱན་མ་ཆད་པར་གནང་མ་ལས་བཅེན་ སྟོགས་རམ་གྱི་མ་དདུལ་ཐོབ་ཏེ་ སྐྱབ་གནང་མ་ཨིན། འདི་འབད་རུང་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་ཚུ་གསར་པ་བཟོ་ཆར་ཏེ་ལོ་མ་ལང་མ་ལས་ ཉམས་བཅོས་འབད་དགོཔ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་སྤངས་ཡང་བྱུང་མ་ཨིན་མས། འདི་གི་འབད་སྐྱབ་ཆར་བའི་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་ཚུ་གི་ ཉམས་བཅོས་ལུ་ཡེངས་ཏེ་ མཐའ་བྱར་ལུ་གསར་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་མ་ཚུགས་པར་ དང་པ་ མ་དདུལ་མ་ལང་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ མ་དདུལ་ཡོད་རུང་བཟོ་གྲག་གི་མཁས་མཆོག་དགོན་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ འདི་ལས་ སེམས་ཕུགས་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་འབད་མི་ཉུང་བའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་རབ་ཅིག་འདུག།



གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་མཐུན་ཀློན་གསར་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་དོན་ལུ་ གོང་ཚད་འདྲན་
བསྐྱར་འབདཱ་དང་ཁ་འབག་ཚུ་གིས་ལཱ་ཐོབ་ནི་གི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ལུ་
གོང་ཚད་ཕབ་སྟེ་བཙུག་པ་ཨིན་མས། འདི་ལས་ཁོང་གིས་ལཱ་ཐོབ་
ཞིན་ན་ ལཱ་འདི་འབད་བའི་སྐབས་ཁོང་རའི་གོང་ཚད་ཉུང་སོང་པ་ལས་
ཁོ་སང་མི་ཐོབ་ནི་ཨིན་མ་ཉ་གོ་སྟེ་ དཀའ་མ་བཅད་པར་ལཱ་འདི་
གཞན་ཅིག་ལུ་ སྤྲོད་བཞག་པ་འདྲཱ་དུ་ཚོད་ཁར་མ་ཚུད་པ་འདྲཱ་
འདི་གི་ཤུལ་ལས་སྤྱི་ཚད་དང་མ་ལྡན་མི་འཐུན་ཀློན་ཅིག་སྐྱབ་སྟེ་
གཞུང་དང་མི་སེར་གྱི་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུགས་དོན་ཡོད་མི་འི་ མཐུན་ཀློན་
འདི་གནས་སྐབས་ཅིག་གི་མཐུན་ཀློན་བཟུམ་ཅིག་སྟེ་སྐབས་ཞག་ ལོ་
གཅིག་དང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཁྱོད་ཉམས་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ཟད་ འགྲོ་འཁོར་ཆེ་
ཏྲིག་ཏྲི་སྟེ་གནད་དགོཔ་ཡང་བྱུང་མ་ཨིན་མས། འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་སྐྱུ་གྲོང་
ལས་བརྟེན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་གོམ་པ་མདུན་ལུ་ སྤོ་མ་ཚུགས་པར་ཤུལ་
གཅིག་ནང་རང་ལུ་མི་གི་ཉན་ཁག་ཡང་ཡོད།

༥། ས་ཆ་མེད་མི་དང་སྤྱོད་བཟེད་མི་

སྤུ་འཁོར་ལམ་ཁར་ལས་ཚུ་ཚོད་ཕྱེད་ལམ་འགྲོ་དགོ་སའི་གཡུས་
རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་ཅིག་ནང་ཁྱིམ་གྲང་པ་བདུན་ཡོད་མི་ནང་ལས་གྲང་པ་གཉིས་
ཟེར་མི་ལུ་རང་དབང་གི་ས་ཟེར་མི་འདི་རྒྱུ་མ་བཙུག་སའི་ས་ཡང་མིན་
འདུག། ད་ལྟོ་ཁོང་རང་གིས་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་མི་འདི་ ཡང་
གཞན་གྱི་ཁྲམ་ནང་ཡོད་པའི་ས་ཞིང་ཨིན་མས། ད་ལྟོ་ཚུན་ཚོད་ཁོང་གི་
མཐུན་མོང་སྟེ་ཞིང་ལཱ་འབད་སྤྱོད་ཅུག། ད་སའི་བདག་པོ་གིས་ཐོན་འགྲོ་
དགོ་ཟེར་སྐབས་ཐོན་འོང་མ་དེ་ཁོང་ག་ཏི་འགྲོ་ནི་ཨིན་ན་མ་ཤེས་པར་རྒྱུ་
རྟེན་ལང་ཅུག། གཡུས་ཚན་གཅིག་གི་ ནང་པད་དཀར་ལེགས་ཤོམ་
འོང་ནི་འདི་གི་ པད་སྤུ་བཅོར་ནི་གི་འཕྲུལ་ཆས་ཉོ་སྟོལ་མ་ཁར་ལྟོད་
དེ་ རྒྱུ་གསུམ་འགྲོ་རུང་ ས་གནས་ལུ་ལྟོད་མ་ཚུགས་པར་ལུད་པ་
ཨིན་མས། འདི་མ་གཞི་མི་སེར་ཁོང་རང་ལས་བརྟེན་ཤུག་དཀོན་པའི་
དཔེ་གཅིག་ཡང་བཏུབ་པས། ད་རུང་གཡུས་ཚན་གཅིག་ནང་ གྲང་པ་
པོད་ས་ལས་ ཁོང་རང་ལུ་རང་དབང་གི་ས་ཆ་གྲང་དོར་གཅིག་དང་

གཉིས་ཡོད་མི་ གྲང་པ་ ༣ འདུག། གཞན་ཚུ་ག་རམི་གཞན་གྱི་ས་
ཆ་ནང་ལཱ་འབད་དེ་སྤྱོད་མི་ཨིན་མས། ཁོང་ཚུ་ས་གཞན་ཁ་
ལས་ད་ཅི་ནང་པ་འོང་ཏེ་སྤྱོད་མི་ཡང་མེན་པར་སྤོན་མ་ལས་ཁོང་རང་ལུ་
བདག་དབང་མེད་པའི་ས་གཞི་ནང་གཞུང་ལུ་ཁྲལ་ཤུལ་མ་དགོ་པར་
སྤྱོད་ཡོད་པ་འོང་ནི་ཨིན་མས། ད་ཅེ་ཁོང་གིས་ སའི་སྤྱོན་བདག་ལས་
ཡང་ས་ཆ་གཅིག་གི་རེ་ཆ་སྤྱོད་ཏེ་ སའི་ནང་སྤོན་མ་བཟུམ་སྟེ་ལཱ་འབད་
མ་ཚུགས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་རེ་བཤད་པ་དང་ སྤྱོན་བདག་གིས་དོང་ས་ལེན་
ལེགས་ཤོམ་སྟེ་མ་འབད་དེ་ཡོད་པ་ཨིན་མས། ས་གནས་གཞུང་གིས་
འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་བཀའ་བླུ་ཡོད་མི་ཚུ་ངོས་འཛིན་འབད་གཞུང་ལུ་སྟན་ཏུ་
འཕུལ་དགོཔ་འདི་ངེས་པར་དུ་དགོཔ་འདུག།

༦། གོ་སྐབས་ཐོབ་ནི་ལུ་བྱུང་པར་

ཁ་འབག་ཀྱི་ལཱ་ ཚོང་ལས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིད་བྱུས་ བཟོ་བྲལ་བཙུག་ནི་འདི་སྤྱིད་བྱུས་
དང་གོ་སྐབས་ འདི་དང་བསྐྱུན་པའི་མ་ཕུ་ཐོབ་ནི་འདི་གནས་སྐབས་ཚུ་
ག་ར་གིས་འདྲ་མཉམ་སྟེ་ཐོབ་མི་ཚུགས། འདི་གཞུང་གི་སྤྱིད་བྱུས་ཀྱི་
གཡོ་མིན་པར་ རང་བཞིན་གྱི་གནས་སྤངས་ཅིག་ཨིན། སྤྱིད་བྱུས་བཟོ་
མི་ཚུ་གིས་སྤྱོད་ལེགས་ཁར་ཡོད་མི་དང་ རྒྱལ་ས་ལྟེ་བ་ལུ་སྤྱོད་མི་དང་
མཐའ་ ཟུར་ལུ་སྤྱོད་མི་འབར་ན་ རང་ལས་མ་ཕུ་འཐོར་ནི་ཡོད་མི་དང་
མེད་མི་ཚུ་གི་བར་ན་ བྱུང་པར་སྤོམ་རང་འོང་ནི་ཨིན་མས། འདི་བཟུམ་
གྱི་གནས་སྤངས་ལུ་ བཟུ་བཅིན་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་སེར་ཚུ་གི་ དཔལ་
འབྱོར་གོང་འཕེལ་ལེགས་ཤོམ་འགྲོ་ནི་གི་དོན་ལུ་ གཞུང་ཁ་བྱག་ལས་
བརྟེན་ཤུགས་ ཐེབས་ར་གནད་དགོ་ནི་ཨིན་མས། དཔེར་ན་ཐིམ་ཕུག་
གི་དཔལ་ཁང་གཅིག་ལས་མ་ཕུ་གོ་བཤག་རྩོད་ནི་ཨིན་མི་འདི་ཡོད་མི་
གིས་ལས་ཤུང་མེད་མི་གིས་མ་ཐོབ་ནི་མིན་པར་ ཐོ་ཤོས་ཚད་གཅིག་
འབད་ཉོད་གོ་པའི་སྤྱིད་བྱུས་བཟོ་གནད་པ་ཅིན་ གོ་བཤག་འདི་མི་ཉམ་
རྒྱུད་དང་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་ཚུ་གིས་ཡང་ཐོབ་ཚུགས་ནི་ཨིན་མས། དེ་མིན་
པ་ཅིན་ཚུ་ཡོད་སར་ཆར་པ་དང་བྱེམ་ཐང་ནང་ཉམ་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་བུམ་སྟེ་
ཡོད་མི་དང་མེད་མི་འབར་ནང་ས་སྤོང་བྱུང་གྱུ་བཟོ་ནི་འདི་མི་ལམ་ནང་གི་

ཅེ་བ་ཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་ མི་འོང་ནི་ཡིན་མས། དཔེར་ན་ གཞུང་གིས་
བཞེས་ཡོད་པའི་སའི་ཆབ་ཅིག་ཡིན་ཅུང་ གཞུང་གི་སྲིད་བྱུས་ཉ་གོ་
མི་ཡིན་པ་ཅིན་ས་ཐོབ་ནི་དང་ཁྲམ་སྲོ་ཤུལ་ འབད་ནི་ལུ་དུས་ཡུན་མ་
འགོར་བར་ཉུག་ཉེག་ཅིག་ནང་འབད་ཚུད་པ་ཡིན་པས། མི་སེར་ཉམ་
ཚུང་ཅིག་ཡིན་ཆོ་ ཡང་ལས་ ཡང་དུ་བཅར་ཏེ་འབད་རུང་དང་པ་ས་
ཆོབ་ཐོབ་མི་ཚུགས་པས། གལ་སྲིད་ས་ཆོབ་ཐོབ་ཅུང་ཁྲམ་སྲོ་ཤུལ་
འབད་ནི་ལུ་ཡུན་རིང་མ་སྤེ་ འགོར་མ་མས་ ཟེར་སྐབ་མི་འོང་མ་ལས་
འདི་ཚུ་ག་ར་ག་དེན་པ་འོང་མ་སྲིད་ནི་མས་ཟེར་བའི་བསམ་ཆར་ཡང་
བྱུང་ཡིན།

མདོར་བསྟུས་པ་ཅིན་ཅེ་

འཛེལ་བ་འདི་ག་ར་གཞུང་གི་སྲིད་བྱུས་དང་ཕྱག་ཁྲུ་མི་ཚུ་ལུ་ཡང་
མེད། མི་སེར་ཚུ་གིས་ཡིན་ཅུང་ རང་གི་ཁྱིམ་ཚུ་བ་གི་གཡུང་བ་
ཅིག་ཡང་གཞུང་གིས་འབྱུག་གནང་འོང་ཟེར་བའི་རེ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡིན་
མས། འདི་བཟུམ་སྤེ་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་ཚུ་ཡང་དཔེ་བཟུ་ས་གཞན་ག་
ཏེ་ཡང་མེད་པར་ སྦྱིད་སྐྱུག་ག་ར་གཞུང་གིས་ཉིལ་བུ་སྤེ་གནང་འོང་
ཟེར་རེ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡིན་མས། རང་ས་ལུ་ དགོས་མཁོ་ཡོད་མི་
ཚུ་ གཞུང་གིས་གནང་བའི་སྐྱབས་ཆོ་དེར་བཏོན་ཏེ་ སྐབ་ནི་གི་དཔའ་
བཅའ་པ་ཅིན་ ཁོང་རང་ལུ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ནི་ཡིན་ཅུང་ འདི་ཉ་ མ་
གོ་མ་ལས་བརྟེན་ ཡང་ན་མི་གཅིག་དང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དྲེད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལུ་ཉན་
ཏི་སྲོད་པའི་བར་ན་ དུས་ཡུན་ཆོང་ཏེ་ཐོབ་ལམ་ཚུ་འབྱིད་འབྱོམ་ཡིན་
མས། འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནང་སྤྱོད་མ་སྤྱོད་གྲུ་འོ་སྤྱོད་དཔོན་འབད་བའི་
སྐབས་ལས་འདི་བ་ཟུམ་གྱི་ས་གནས་ནང་མི་སྤེ་ལུ་ཕྱག་ཁྲུ་ནི་གི་གོ་
སྐབས་ཐོབ་ཅི། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༠ལོ་ན་གྲངས་ལུ་འབད་བཅིན་ རྫོང་ཞི་དང་
གཡུས་ཆོན་ཟེར་མ་གཏོགས་ མཐའ་ཟུར་དང་དབུས་ཟེར་ཅུང་ ཁྱད་
པར་ག་ནི་ཡང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་བསྐྱེད་གོང་མ་དཔོན་གཡོག་མེད་པར་
རྩ་ལམ་བདའ་ཏེ་འབྱོན་དགོས་ཡིན་ཅུང་ དེ་རིས་ནངས་པ་ ཡོད་མི་ཚུ་
གནམ་གྱུ་ནང་བྱོན་ཚུགས་ནི་དང་མེད་མི་ཚུ་ཏེ་ཅིག་ཡང་བདའ་ནི་མེད་

པར་རང་གི་རྒྱབ་ཁར་འབག་སྟེ་འབྱོད་གོ་པ་དང་ ལ་ལུ་ཁར་ ཡི་གུ་
ཡང་ལྷག་མ་ཤེས་ཅུང་ ལ་ལུ་ཁར་སྒོག་རིགས་ཡོངས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཐོག་
ལས་ འཛེལ་སྤྱིད་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཚུ་ག་ཏེ་ཡོད་ཅུང་ དལ་ཉིད་ལུ་ཐོབ་
ཚུགས་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཤར་ཏེ་ཡོད།

འདི་གིས་མ་ཆད་ མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་གཡུས་ཚུ་ནང་ ཁག་ཆེ་བའི་ཅན་མ་
ཚུ་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནང་གོང་ཆོད་ཐོ་ཤོས་སྤེ་ཉེ་བཟའ་དགོ་པའི་ གནས་
སྤངས་ཡང་ཡོད། སུམ་ཐིང་ལེན་པ་ལུ་འབད་བཅིན་སྤྱོད་གོངས་ཀྱི་མ་
ཞིང་ཚུ་བདག་འཛིན་ཐབ་ནིའི་ དོན་ལུ་སོ་ནམ་པ་ཚུ་ལུ་གཞུང་གིས་
སྤྱོ་འབྲུག་རེ་ཡང་གནང་དགོ་པའི་དུས་ཆོད་ཁར་སྤྱོད་དེ་འདུག། དེ་ཉེ་
འབྲུག་ལུ་འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་དུས་ལུ་སྤྱོད་ཅུང་ བ་ཞིང་ཚུ་སྤྱོད་མ་སྤེ་
ལུས་ནི་འགོ་བཙུག་དུག། གཡུས་མི་ཚུ་རང་སའི་མ་ཞིང་བསྐྱེད་སྟེ་
བཞག་ དགོ་པ་ཅིན་སྲིད་བྱུས་ག་དེ་སྤེ་བཙུམ་དགོ་ག་ སྐགས་བཞེད་
གནང་ནིའི་དུས་ཆོད་རན་ཆིན་ཅུག།

དམངས་གཙོའི་ལམ་ལུགས་འདི་འགོ་བཙུགས་གནང་མི་འདི་ཡང་
འདི་བཟུམ་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་འོང་མི་བཙུག་ནི་གི་སྐྱུགས་བཞེད་ཡོད་པ་
ཡིན་མ་ག་ར་གིས་མ་མཁྱེན་མི་འོང་། འདི་ཡིན་མ་དང་ འབྲུག་གི་
མི་རོ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ཚུ་དང་རྒྱ་མོར་ཡོད་མི་ཚུ་ དེ་ལས་དབང་ཆོད་ཅན་ཚུ་
ག་ར་གིས་སྐྱུགས་བཞེད་གནང་པ་ཅིན་ སྤྱོ་བ་མི་དང་མཉམ་ཅུང་བསོད་
ནམས་མི་དང་མ་མཉམ་ ཟེར་མི་ འབྲུག་གི་དོ་རོགས་ཚུ་ལུ་བྱུང་སྟེ་
འདུག། རང་ལུ་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་ རྒྱ་མོར་དང་དབང་ཆོད་ཡོད་མི་ཚུ་ཁོང་ལུ་
ཡང་ཡོད་པ་བཟོ་ནིའི་ གོ་སྐབས་ལེན་སའི་དུས་ཆོད་འདི་དེས་ཡིན་
མས། དེ་སྤེ་འབད་ཚུགས་པ་ཅིན་ འདི་ལས་ལྷག་པའི་ཆོགས་བསམ་ག་
ནི་དང་དགོ་བ་བསྐྱེད་ནི་ དག་འབྱེད་དཔལ་འཛེམས་ བསྐྱེད་ནི་གི་གོ་
སྐབས་ གཞན་མི་འོང་། མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མི་སེར་ཟེར་ཅུང་ རྒྱལ་ས་ཉེ་
བ་བཞུགས་མི་འབད་ཅུང་ ག་ར་འབྲུག་མངའ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ མཆོག་
གི་འབངས་མི་སེར་རང་ཡིན། དེ་ཉེ་འབད་ན་ ཏེ་ཏེ་ག་ཅོ་ཟེར་ཅུང་རྒྱ་
འདི་ལྷགས་རང་ཡིན་ ཟེར་སྐབ་དོ་བཟུམ། ། ། དགེ་འོ།



BRIEFS OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

February 11, 2010:	Australian Ambassador to Bhutan made a courtesy call on to Hon'ble Chairperson and met members of parliamentary delegation who had been to Australia.
March 23, 2010:	A 9-Member delegation led by Deputy Chairperson left for parliamentary visit to Malaysia and Thailand.
April 1, 2010:	Hon'ble Michael Lavarch, Dean of Law Faculty, Queensland University of Technology, Australia made a courtesy call on to the Hon'ble Chairperson.
April 7, 2010:	Hon'ble Kimmo Kiljunen, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Parliament of Finland made a courtesy call on to Hon'ble Chairperson
June 3, 2010:	Officers of the National Council received an audience with His Majesty the King at Lingkana
June 4, 2010:	Ambassador of France called on to Hon'ble Chairperson
July 13, 2010:	A 9-Member delegation from Australian Parliament led by Senator Annette Hurley called on to Hon'ble Chairperson and witnessed the NC session.
August 04, 2010:	The National Council members led by Hon'ble Chairperson attended a half-day presentation on the plans and programmes of the Dzongkha Development Commission (DDC).
August 16, 2010:	Hon'ble Yasutoshi Nishimura, MP, Parliament of Japan and Deputy Chairman, Policy Research Council, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) called on to Hon'ble Chairperson.
September 1, 2010:	The National Council members led by Deputy Chairperson visited the tertiary educational institutions under the University of Bhutan to brief the lecturers and students on the functions of Parliament and mandate of the National Council.
September 15, 2010:	Conducted three days workshop on Good Governance to commemorate the 3 rd International Democracy Day.



- October 21, 2010: A high level delegation led by HE Prof. Prasobsook Boondech, President of the Senate of Thailand visits Bhutan as guests of the National Council from 21-25 October 2010.
- November 3, 2010: A 5-Member delegation from the National Council of Bhutan led by Hon'ble Chairperson left for Sri Lanka on the invitation of Parliament of Sri Lanka. The delegation called on to H.E Chamal Rajapaksa, Speaker of the Parliament of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka.
- December 13, 2010: Ms Margareta Wahlstrom, UN Special Representative of the Secretary General for Disaster Risk Reduction called on to Hon'ble Chairperson. She had come to attend the "International Conference on Disaster Management and Cultural Heritage"
- December 2, 2010: Hon'ble Chairperson left for Thailand to visit local government in Pattaya on invitation of the President of the Thai Senate
- March 8, 2011: Hon'ble Chairperson attended the 2nd Annual Nomads Festival at Nangsiphel, Chhokhor in Bumthang as the Chief Guest.
- July 4, 2011: Hon'ble Rosana Tositrakul, Chairwoman & delegates from Senate of Thailand called on to Hon'ble Chairperson. This was followed by a talk on GNH and fight against corruption.
- July 9, 2011: Deputy Chairperson accompanied Hon'ble Speaker of the National Assembly to New Delhi to attend the SAARC Speakers' Conference
- July 11, 2011: Ms Pauline Tamesis and Mr Simon Alexis Finley, UNDP Asia-Pacific Regional Centre called on to Hon'ble Chairperson. They were on UNDP Mission to review and identify options for Democratic Governance priorities and strategies in Bhutan.



STANDING COMMITTEES OF NATIONAL COUNCIL

A. House Committee

Hon'ble Dr. Sonam Kinga (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Kuenlay Tshering
Hon'ble Tashi Wangyal
Hon'ble Sonam Yangchen
Hon'ble Ugyen Tshering
Hon'ble Sangay Khandu
Hon'ble Pema Lhamo

Committee Secretary:

Mr. Kinley, Language Development Officer

B. Legislative Committee

Hon'ble Kuenlay Tshering (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Karma Yezer Raydi
Hon'ble Karma Damcho Nidup
Hon'ble Sangay Zam
Hon'ble Karma Donnen Wangdi

Committee Secretary:

Mr. Tendel Gyeltshen, Legislative Officer.

C. Economic Affairs Committee

Hon'ble Tashi Wangyal (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Naichu
Hon'ble Rinzin Rinzin
Hon'ble Jigmi Rinzin
Hon'ble Jigme Wangchuk

Committee Secretary:

Mr. Kinley Tenzin, Sr. Legal Officer

D. Social & Cultural Affairs Committee

Hon'ble Sonam Yangchen (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Dr. Jagar Dorji

Hon'ble Tshewang Jurmi
Hon'ble Tshewang Lhamo
Hon'ble Kesang Namgyal

Committee Secretary:

Mr. Sonam Tobgye, ICT Officer.

E. Natural Resources and Environment Committee

Hon'ble Ugyen Tshering (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Sonam Dorji
Hon'ble Tshering Dorji
Hon'ble Dr. Mani Kumar Rai

Committee Secretary:

Ms. Tshering Wangmo, Information & Media Officer

F. Good Governance Committee

Hon'ble Sangay Khandu (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Dr. Sonam Kinga
Hon'ble Tashi Wangmo
Hon'ble Justin Gurung
Hon'ble Pema Lhamo

Committee Secretary:

Mrs. Changa Lhamo, Research Officer.

Joint Committee:

G. Public Accounts Committee

Hon'ble Kesang Wangdi (NA) (Chairperson)
Hon'ble Pema Lhamo (NC) Deputy Chairperson)
Hon'ble Damcho Dorji (NA)
Hon'ble Sonam Penjore (NA)
Hon'ble Jigmi Rinzin (NC)

Committee Secretary:

Mr. Sonam Wangchuk, Research Officer (NA)



NEW APPOINTMENTS IN THE SECRETARIAT

1. Mr. Tshewang Norbu joined the National Council Secretariat in July 2011. He was appointed as Legal Assistant by the Royal Civil Service Commission upon completion of his two-year Diploma Course in National Law from the Royal Institute of Management, Thimphu.

He comes from Drametse under Mongar Dzongkhag.

2. Mr. Geyser Dorji joined the National Council Secretariat in November 2011 as Audio-visual Technician. He graduated from Kuruthang Vocational Training Institute in 2007 and holds a Certificate in Electrical & Electronics Engineering.

He hails from Khebisa under Dagana Dzongkhag.

STAFF ON TRAINING

1. Mr. Pelden Dorji, Asst. Planning Officer is pursuing his Master's Degree in Project Management at Curtin University of Technology, Australia. It is a two-year course under the Endeavour Scholarship, Australia. He is due to complete his study in June 2012.
2. Mr. Karma Dorji, Asst. Human Resource Officer is doing his Master's Degree in Public Policy at Australian National University, Australia. It is a two-year course under AusAid Scholarship, Australia. He is due to complete his studies in June 2013.
3. Mr. Lhaja Wangchuk, PA to Secretary General is pursuing his Bachelor's Degree at Acharya Institute of Graduate Studies, Bangalore, India with major in Journalism. He is due to complete his studies in June 2013 under self-funding scheme.

