



Brief Report to the Hon'ble Members of the Bhutanese Parliament and Holders of Constitutional Post

गुबायनस्या यनुगाक्त्यार्धस्या क्र्यायायाः चयाप्ययायायायायायायाच्यायाचेत्राः देन:नुषाः स्टारेदीः पर्विवासिकायन्यः. कुराह्यरविद्यात्राद्यः सुर्ययः र्यरवाद्य्र्रस्टाप्रवात्रायद्यः र्रेन्द्रिग्रान्दा गृति हेर्न्यन्पदार (Fundamental Rights)। विस्रानिया 'भूत'र्केंग्रा'(Judiciary)। जुन्य'यातुर'र्रहेरा'तिय'र्पर'र्दाहेत्'(Royal Audit Authority) ব্র'য়ৢব্'বশাবা'য়ৄ৾য়'য়ৢর'য়ৢ৾বাম'(Anti-Corruption Commission) र्केश खून छी सुरा प्रनानस्था छी स्रेर प्ययासून केंद्र विवास त् वयमः दर्याने अर्द्र प्रसूषा पश्चित्ता क्षेत्रियं १८८८ वे वसायवी प्रमुद् पर्ययामितालूरशाङ्क्याबाता पर्ययामितायातीमितासुपुत्रविरायरू. रेशरशा यद्भिः स्राप्तेश्वश्व वर्षे क्रियानक्ष्त्राणे यत्ति यानक्ष्य पर्वेश्व प्राप्त स्राप्त । क्यर्यायक्र्यास्यविभयास्यः श्रीक्ययर्यस्यातुष्यायाः । न्यन्ययस्यित्ययायः स. मुश्रमाधुवा देशू मासी वार्षी. देशू मासी (Demand) यहूँ देशासूर। वर्षीया श्री.मू.४००५श्री.चे.१४रापु.क्र्याक्ष्यक्षेत्री.क्षेत्र. न्वरसूर्यायः यमन्वयायात्वरःश्रेक्टरः चियाता. क्याल्ट्यार्टेयाष्ट्रये.ब्रह्यात्तराष्ट्र,क्षेत्राः श्रीटाञ्चीचया पर्वीयाक्षितायाध्या. 'यहवासाम्राम्'स्ये देयराध्यां सक्त्वाचीया वास्य सम्प्रम् स्याप्ते स्वापा किर्गाययत्तरः रेयरः क्रेरिंग्रें स्रीयः श्रीतायीः तथात्यात्रात्रा र्यात्रात्रात्रात्रा प्टी श्रिक् ४००१मः पर्वा पर्वे विश्व वाया विदः भैर विशेष्य प्राप्त से से श्रिक् ४००० में छै ज्रूर. श्रु.श्रर.रेशरेश वृङ्क्ष्येश मार्टर. उर्वे विस्थि श्रिशक्क्येश सामिश्र हु. नग्रिनिक्रामा वर्षेयाक्षित्राचनाःभित्र्याः स्थरमायक्ष्युः इरासेयानान्य्या त्रव्यानरत्रेर्द्यीः श्रेन्ट्र्याययान्न द्वायानः धर्मययः धर्वेयोनः सर्हः (Bhutan People's United Party) बेरजदेवर पर्स्वायम्भावा द्वेशगावनवरत्वराद्धशाम्यः क्वानिम्भिष्ववरचयार्द्धेर्धरक्षय्वरूप নত্মীৰা

ही ज्या २००१ ही सा असते स्रेया १८ दे त्या स्यापिता हो स्यापिता हो

क्यं.मी. मुंच् कुर्यमी याचे मानी सुर्या साम सुर्या साम सुर्या स्था सुर्या त्य सुर्या सुर्या त्य सुर्या त्य सुर्या त्य सुर्या त्य सुर्या त्य सुर्या सुर्या सुर्या त्य सुर्या त्य सुर्या सुर्या

नेवयः श्रुवियाव००५श्रुः ज्ञाप्यिते छेषापयः तत्त्वावी श्रुवियायः नर्निया कूर्यायाञ्चरकार्यरताकूर्यायायेका क्री.मू.च०००स्त्री.स.न्तरप्रःष्ट्रयाकरका. स.मुश्रया. मुर्यमुर्याः क्रीक्रूबात्ररत्रात्रव्यत्यत्रेतः वर्ययाम्।सःमित्रवाक्रयःम्वत्याः र्यीय योषट्या त्रुपं योटा । श्रीष्ट्र्याया यी यश्री प्रश्ना वि यो प्राप्तिया वि या य २वृत्यावीयहरेते. सूर्यक्र्यायाम् यायायाम्यायान्यायान्याया जग्रुविषा रियरमवर्ष्ट्रियमार्ग्नेयास्त्रम्रियन्त्रियार्ग्नेस्ता विदिहेत र्वेन'न्नर'न्र' रर'न्नर'(Freedom)शैंन्शनसूर'नर्देश'तुेन्स'झुन'रा'श' क्षेत्रात्रम् ने मूर्यायाचा मुद्रास्य क्षेत्रम् स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य स्वास्य क्रॅबर्पते ज्ञायानु क्रेंबरपते वेचरवा क्षेत्र पर्दर । क्षुर्वे वर्षी ज्ञायानु ने प्ये वेचर बर्थ. क्रुयेशःभिवःस्त्रायस्योगात्रासुद्धयःरेयरःश्रदःगो क्रुयःश्रवःसूर्यःश्रवः रः शुर्व तीयो शुर्व क्री यार्थ ता सेंटरा सी यश्चिम। ही क्रूयोया क्री प्रश्निया शुर्व मा क्यी. इ. पर्ट्र टे. प्षेत्र. योट. त्यट. येट या श्वीय त्यप्त प्राचन व्या क्षित्र हे यो या वे या श्चेळेंबाबादेस र्वेचानेदादवेंबानुदान धेवा

 त्रेव र र । इंगाव गुव अध्यय है तरी त्र श्रम भी विषा सकर तर पहेव प्रमे त्तर. पश्रृक्ष्यायक्यातविष्यं सैचयात्रभाक्ष्र्रात्यायनेत्रमानू प्रयोद्ध्यायक्ष्याः श्रुम्प्रः न्यरमार्वार्व्हर्ष्ट्रवामारादेवरानु तर्वहर्याचामार्जना तर्वावामानुमार्ग्नवास्त्रीयारादे श्चीनतहूर्य. हुई.क्ट्र्याझूर्य.२८.। श्चीनतहूर्य.त्यात्रा. पह्यात्रात्रान्यचनत्त्रात्रीका. गा. रस्क्रीप्रस्य स्टब्स्यावयामा नामा रस्क्रीप्रस्य स्टब्स्यीय नामा नामा स्टब्स्याय स्टब्याय स्टब्स्याय स्टब्स्याय स्टब्स्याय स्टब्स्याय स्टब्स्याय स्टब्य शुःश्रीर न्यान्यायोद्धियायाय न्यान्यायक्ष्यायाचे न्या श्रीत्याय १००० वर्षी ह्या ये याती. क्र्या १३ की र यह र यह त्या त्य दे स्मायमा से यह र यह या विक्रीय यह र यक्षात्वश्चीयात्रमः श्रीरायहूवः ष्ट्रानुराक्ष्यम्भाः पर्यवाद्यात्वश्चरः क्ये. श्रृंद्रकृष्यक्षेत्रसद्यविष्यंत्रीत्रवात्रः श्रृट्यविष्यवरत्तर्ये संश्रेष्युरः श्चीक्र्यायायाद्वेयारादः क्र्यायात्रेरायायायायायात्रायायायात्रायायायाया य. मुर्यामान्यारात्रार्थेरामान्यार्थे स्थान्याराम् स्थान्यान्याः स्थान्यान्याः न्वराद्धरायावरायाधेवावया धरावः श्रीन्यावुराने धिका न्यरकायाँ द्वीरा त्रयाञ्चित्रपतितृत्युं स्थित्यातेषापतिः श्चीत्राचीत्राचित्रप्यास्य स्थानेषातुः र्के. रटा रटा प्रवेता किया विवासी क्षा अपराय अपराय वार्ष हे व स्वाप प्राय इत्। श्रेश्वेतः द्रमण तर्ते द्रशेषा तर्गे व श्रेतः श्रेतः श्रव्यावस्था व श्रेतः यक्रमन्त्रमञ्जन्त्रमञ्जनमञ्जानः श्रीनःस्मानाने वस्त्रमञ्जनस्य स्त र्नेवार्याच्चीयः श्रीयोराद्व्ययायञ्चवायावीदार्योत्।

🕏 विषयविग्रद्धवियाग्रीयूर्य। स्ट.इ.इ. दर्शियाभिग्राधयः विश्वयाद्वियः *ॱ*त्रेयः क्रूयोयाः ५ । यर्चियोत्राः क्रुप्तच्याः स्त्रेयः क्ष्याः स्त्रायः स्त्रेयः स्त्रीयः स्त्रेयः स्त्रीयः स् २८ः यदेवाह्मवाम्पवायग्रेन्ग्रीः इत्विस्रमाविगान्विस्याधिवाग्राहः। नाःक्षेत्रः विषयायदे त्रायाः कुर्यायाः स्वीतः स्वतः स्टान्यनः स्वतः विषयः विषयः विषयः विषयः स्वतः विषयः स्वतः विषयः विषयः यर्हियाया श्री:श्रीर हिसार हिस्सर श्रीत हिसार ग्रीभारेन सुरायार्द राम। स्मग्री स्रीर गुरुप परि पर्देन पर्वाया सुभावातुरः भैनमाग्री नर्द्ध्व स्प्रेन पर्ट रायक नविषा है नर्द्ध्य पाइसमा निर्देश नाम नर्द्ध्य विस्त्रा यगायायवेदाधेत्। दायवाकदवेः स्टारेदेः वर्षुवाक्तियाययाः विस्रवादीयः र्जिय.क्रुवीयायट्र. भ्रा.स्राम.क्षेत्रायाक्षेटा.येटा. येषाट्यावाक्ष्यात्रामा स्रोताता.क्षेत्राचीटा. शह्रे श्रिय तर्तु. रटः रेयर स्थे क्री दिर्धिश्व स्थि क्षेत्र स्थि श्रे हे स्वर्थ स्थे रेयर स्थे रेयर स्थे रेयर न्वेशकुन्ता श्रेन्त्रुयपदेनस्त्र्यस्यस्य ग्रीस्त्यादेन्दरः विस्रयणीयः यस्रैराधेयायिराक्षेत्रवर्स्यास्यायाहेरात्वीयान्त्रयाः श्रीक्र्ययाम्भीत्वस्या यः स्नेद्रवया वेषायदेनवात्ना पीत्।

रट्ट्यट्ट्रेट्ट्रिय्द्र्व्ययक्ष्यं क्रिय्यक्ष्यं स्ट्र्य्यं त्रा क्रियं स्वायक्ष्यं क्रियं व्यव्यक्ष्यं विष्यक्षयं विषयक्षयं विष्यक्षयं विषयं विषयक्षयं विषयं विषयं विषयक्षयं विषयक्षयं विषयं विषयक्षयं विषयक्षयं विषयं विषयक्षयं विषयक्षयं विषयं विषयक्षयं विषयं विष

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श्रीश्वाश्चित्वावायात्त्री ।

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तर्येयास्य्यास्यायदेवस्यं स्थितं विकास्यायं स्थितं विकास्य विकास विकास

१ क्रास्त्रम्यायग्रीक्रे वर्षयाम्यायदे. र्यारच्याम्स्यादे. वर. स्मृथिवी.री.रूपंत्र्यः त्रायाचीयः श्रीयायर्थययात्यः वरतायारवासीयात्यः क्र्यात्रेयः क्रीक्षित्रायन तर्दर्भ द्रीक्षित्र १००१ क्षीक्षरः विनवार्थे र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्त्र अष्ट्र्य. रट.इंट्र. क्रॅं.क्रॅंट्य.शे.ब्रेंच.दे.व्रेच.ब्रेश.चर्चयात्रद्र. पर्वेयाक्षित्रीयय. पर्ने श्वेष्रांग्रिंगर्यर पह्यास्निरःस्याश्वेतिःपद्यस्यासेति।स्यास्याप्त्यास्या ष्ट्रियानेवामान्यामा भ्रान्तर वहवामासन्हें हे न्वर्ध्ववासह्याचीमा पर्यंग्राकित।यय.ट्र. वरतायरथाक्यियत्युःक्र्याकेवःक्रीक्योययात्य्यंत्रप्रीयरः क्रुयम्प्रयायात्रारः यगायः भ्रैराचन्नरायन्यया ध्रियं स्थापारा नियायस्य विद्यायस्य विद्यायस्य लूरमानावियालूर्देरः। हेर्देशः क्रूमान्नेरवरायविधामान्तुक्रमानयावः निवाग्रीयः क्र्यान्तर्भ्यासेनः सक्र्यानीः तुवानबिदः सामिन्तरा यविदः मै क्रमी. इस्मियंत्रम्भियद्भाराष्ट्रभ्यात्रम्भियत्त्र्यम्भियात्रम्भियात्रम्भियात्रम्भियात्रम्भियात्रम् ग्रीयात्रयात्रायात्रीयात्राते। स्यादीस्रयात्रेत्रस्तिः स्याद्वत्यायाः स्रोत्स्त्रार्थाः स्रोत्स्त्रार्थाः

्रित्व्यासदिःश्चार्यरङ्गायुः सर्वे नमसन्दरः नमसन्दर्भः क्रेमायुगसाग्रीः रकार्यरामुद्रियार्यराम् श्रीक्ष्यायुष्क्षित्रहरः वस्त्वस्रुमुष्यः परावः क्रुर यर्भेज.ब्र्य.जम. क्र्य.जीयामायावय.जी.यर्भेर.ट्यू.तपु.वय.यर्भेज.प्यट्ये. बुर्वाकार्रकामहर्दे, ध्रैरमायपुःमै.मार्ट्यकातार्रमायकातार्यप्रयानुर्याः रटा क्षेट्र अद्र द्वेषित क्ष्यीयाया वयाय वर्केट्र तद्व स्थाय स्थाप्य प्राप्त ह्या अक्टेर्नु चर्डेक सेर्प्राया रेप्ट्रिस अर्द्र नुरे अर्द्ध अपरेह्ण पत्राया रेप् न्नरळन्लेन् र्र्युन्(Power Abuse) अन्नद्गन्नरअर्दन्तुःनवरर्धेत्यन्सुर चर्ड्यायाह्र्यंत्रियास्ययायाङ्यात् सुन्दा विद्येष्ट्रीस्य्याम् त्रम्या मिनमार्थय स्वापामिनः वृत्यि मिनस्य स्वाप्ति स्वापानित्से। नगायः क्रैर:बुर:पर्वेय:ब्री:पश्रृत्रभ्वः परेव्रेचे प्रदेश मुश्रुत्ये प्रदेश स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र स्त्र वर्क्नित्री:र्वेव्यःस्थ्रयायः वर्गायःवर्क्नित्री:स्थायःरः। क्रैरःययदेःर्वेव्यः मुर्यामाता. श्रीरामान्यामानामान्यान्यान्त्री याप्तःश्रीरामानान्त्रीः नः येन्यर्षेन चरमार्थेन यान्य यानु याचेन यर मुन्तेन रेमानु सुन्धेन

 ल्टिन्ट्रस्त्रीष्ट्रियस्थायिव सम्मित्र स्ट्रस्त्रम् स्ट्रस्त्री मान्त्रे स्ट्रस्

यवटाई, क्रियश्चर्याईहित्यगत्य्विविष्यः शुर्शरक्ष्यविष्यः व्यद्भ्यत्यः व्यद्भ्यत्यः व्यद्भ्यत्यः व्यद्भ्यत्यः व्यद्भ्यः व्यद्भः क्रियश्चर्यः व्यद्भः क्रियश्चर्यः व्यद्भः व्यद

शक्षेत्राः देशश्चेवःत्राताः देः कॅटत्वयाः क्षेवाः त्राच्याः दृष्याः कृषाः विक्राः विवाः विक्राः विक्

वयः रक्षित्यविरास्त्रियाविरास्त्रिः हुँ।कूर्याराङ्गिः प्रदेशःशः देशराजास्यातास्य। क्षित्राचनः श्रेन्यविराद्यविष्यितः देः दर्दश्वाशः अत्रत्रश्रात्रश्यात्र्यात्र्यं वरः भ भद्यानस्त्रिक्षिष्ये स्त्रित्यः पर्वियाक्षित्राचनः पर्वेत्राक्ष्यः वर्षः पर्वेत्राक्ष्यः पर्वेत्राक्ष्यः वर्षे देलद्वेलयात्रासुरायेवाषासुर्यवाद्वेषायदेशयद्वित्वद्वेत्देवरा से सेराइसम ग्रीकार्स्य योग्नर्ने, पर्यक्ष प्रसिद्धीर तार्ष प्रसिक्ष क्षेत्र प्रमित्र प्रसिक्ष क्षेत्र प्रमित्र प्रसिक्ष व र्टायर सम्बद्धारी अप्राची परिवासियों को स्वाप सम्बद्धार स्वाप स्वाप सम्बद्धार स्वाप स्वाप सम्बद्धार स्वाप स् वयव। श्रुंच-द्रःश्रृंब-द्रेश्य्क्र्यंक्ष्यः प्रथावर्ष्वेदःश्रीवक्ररःन्द्रथःन्द्रवसूत्रः रायः रद्याप्त्रीयदेशका विद्यान्यद्याय्येत्रीयक्रम्यान्वीयद्यान्यायायायाया श्रेवाबाग्रीतवादासुराधेदाग्रारा विश्वकाश्चीतवाद्मवाग्रीतवादबार्यास्थान यक्ष्यात्वश्चरायीयः भ्रष्यात्रस्य हुमात्राद्धरात्वश्चरात्रस्यात्रभ्वत्यात्रस्य स्वत्यात्रस्य स्वत्यात्रस्य स्व र्वे स्नियमार्ल्य देशा प्रत्ये यहे स्वायहे यम् देशा देशा प्रत्ये में स्वायह विषय ने: परवर्ते । स्र की वर्र स्वास्त की या वर्षेत् । व्यस्त स्वापेंट या वर्षेत् ग्राम्ब्रीया देवाराष्ट्रमा म्मवीयर् स्वारे प्यम्येयान्वीया धीववतरः म्म ग्रीयरे र्ज्यायम ख्रेग्यर अस्त्रेर क्षेत्र हो रे यहेर् हो र र हो र हो स्थाप की रोरक्वीरे तर्रे दिने स्टारक्ष्य व. स्टाय स्थान से स्वी प्राय स्टावी पदे र्मयात्तरः रद्यावेषःक्रीयात्र्यीयात्त्र्ययाश्चाराम्यात्त्र्येत् प्राप्ता ब्रैंट्रिन बर में सेसम ग्रीमः दर्स सम्मादर दर परे व ग्रीम वेर्ग व मारी दर्ग मा श्रीत्याद्वरावर्तेत्राद्वरः प्यारम्यानेराचावर्त्त्र सेन्द्राचा स्वीत्राचा स्वीत्राची स्वात्राची स्वीत्राची स्वात्राची स्वीत्राची स्वात्राची स्वीत्राची स्वात्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वीत्राची स्वात्राची स्व क्राचाल्येत्रया विन्द्रीक्र्यायाच्चित्रव्याच्चात्र्यः सार्ययाच्चित्वान्त्री

रोठारा मुद्रीति र र वी देविया। सुरायेग्याय स्वाया मित्र स्वाया मित्र (Five Star Hotel) ५८ । श्चिर्श्चिरणव्यायर (Resort) वैज्ञायन विज्ञायम्। रर.दुरु. पर्वेयाक्रियायय.पट्ट. श.सूरशासराधु.यट्र.दर. रेयाय.क्रीटालूर. वयमास्य देशवामाने स्थायमान्याने वाल्यान्याने वाल्यान्याने व्यापन र्तुर्रम्भेयाम्भा पर्ययाभितात्र्यम्भात्रम्भारम्भ्यम्भारम् यासुस्र ची द्वेता स्वापाय स्वाप ल्रिम्बर्न् व्यवस्थित्र विष्या स्थित्व योधितातार्वकृतिस्थात्रुर्दियन्तरात्त्रियातार्वा द्रदेशाक्ष्यायारः उर्वेवा शै'पीत्रप्रश्रप्रत्वीमुग्रायपाय मुग्रातेत्उत्'(Nationalist) तेवापीत्प्रश त्रव्याक्तिरायन्तर्भे श्रीरक्षेर्न्यत्याक्तुं प्रश्चा स्व्यास्यायात्र्यस्याया ल्रिया स्ट्रिय अस्त्र क्री क्रिया स्त्र क्री क्रिया क्रिया क्रिया स्त्र त्र स्त्र त्र स्त्र त्र स्त्र त्र स्त ता. भैतात्र्याम् भ्रामाना भ्रामाना विद्याने नाम् भ्रामाना भ्रामाना भ्रामाना भ्रामाना भ्रामाना भ्रामाना भ्रामान देवरः। द्रधयः द्रुव्याद्वयः द्रव्यमा द्रवेदः सेद्रद्रवादमस्य सर्वे सुः धीमा हुन्। वनस्कारोद्दासुर्याची । प्रवित्द्वाहोत्वरकार्स्नीद्वेदानस्व। प्यरकामिकार्यःमिकाराष्ट्रामिराकातारी । रितृयं यञ्चरात्रकारयरकातायात्रायुर यहरी विचरम्यचनर्स्न्यन्त्र्यं वास्त्राचित् । विषयः विद्यां माने विद्यां विद्या यमेग्राबन्गायन्त्यात्र्रां अधिषाअयमेग्राबन्दिवर्यन्त्यार्थेग्या बेरः

यक्ष्म भिराययरवाद्यात्रीयात्रीयात्रीयात्रात्रीयात्रात्रीरादरः यहवार्भेरादे द्वीया कुः धेव। स्टाउवाः तत्तुवाः कुवः धेट्या केवायाद्यः द्वीयादेवः (Demand) वार्डः मृत्यदी भित्राचयक्रीयक्षित्रकारी. २४८४४४१६५८८४४४४४४४४४ पर्सैर.पर्र्थ.प्रेर.रेग्र्यात.रेर.। क्या.स्.प्रकृग.स.प्रिष्य.क्य.क्री.क्या.स्र. र्वायार्वात्रेर्त्याष्ट्ररामुनार्द्राचार्वात्राचार्वात्राचारा त्र्वामुनार्यस्या क्र्याबारायुःस्रोन्क्र्याबायप्नैः यसुवायीयस्वायस्याद्भयःक्र्याबाग्रीःवरन्तुःस्रायोदिन्तः न्वींबायान्ता व्याव्यव्यव्याचनायां वित्यान्तान्ता व्याव्याच्याची (Inclusive democracy) वर्बे प्रवेशया श्रेत्तु अप्तरविधाविषयि वर्षे वर्ष क्रमायद्भ्यं मुंजायोष्ट्रात्वं मा तयुवा मुजाया हुन स्टान्यर स्व मी इर मिर्मा भी मिर्द्या में परमा निर्मा मिर्मा मिर्म श्चीत्राय००० श्चीत्राणामाद्रास्याय० वासायाम्यासा वेदाये योगस्या तर्वयाक्तिमार्ल्यस्य स्वायान्त्रस्य स्वायाक्त्रमा तर्वयाक्तिमार्यः विरायने स्व न्त्रा सर्चः र्यराष्ट्रव वृथ् हो। यर्चेया मिता सूर्या सामा सुरा होर यहूवा हरा हैरा रीयाम्यामा हु हु र्राट्यमेया रे. परीयामा पर्मी मिर् भूर. रेषा तीय के कूरी यहिया गुँदिर वेंचित्रविष्(Negotiation) वी वेंचित्रवेंचित्रविद्युष्य पेंद्रिय रक्ष. ब्रिस्सेयःभियायिरकूर्यायात्रीःसूर्यात्रास्यः ही.कूर्यायात्रीःपर्वयात्रा सः

म्रिमका स्वामी में योवका तकर साम समामीका रर देव संघा देवा साम र द्रस्थायमः तर्वयाञ्चलाययायम् वियम् प्रमः नवायःश्चिन्तवरः में वानः रशुर्याया. हे. राष्ट्राक्रां यूरायेया स्वयायाया सामि क्रमाये राष्ट्री त्याय या रामा योवर्रान्त्रेत्रायदे. यचीवा.वी.क्री.क्र्वाना.क्षेत्रं यार्थवाना.क्री.वर्टान्यक्षाना.वे. त्यीवानीनविद्यां त्रीं अधिने ने निर्मे के निर् चर्डुवायान्यायी चे १००१वेर चर्ते पुरा में न हिया सुर की प्रवार में न पर विद्याया यजलीजा मुक्ता या वार्षेय मी. अष्ट्री हेय मिर्ने माने माने प्राप्तीय विद्या ररतियायायायेत्रातुर्ह्मस्त्रारः ररञ्जाल्तायाञ्चयदःष्ट्रयाअल्या वर्षयाः क्यितियारे. अपुरस्यत्रमध्येत्रे र्यः रेयारक्किर्ल्ययपुर्ध्यायर्थे स्वीत्र ग्रीयाम्बर्यायायदेवयायाद्दास्य देवा तत्त्वा सुराष्ट्रियायाया वर्गाः नियायदेग्येग्यायस्यः

ধ্বা

To,

The Honorable Members of the Bhutanese Parliament; National Council and National Assembly, Holders of Constitutional Post; Thimphu, Bhutan.

The Druk National Congress (DNC) would like bring to your attention, some issues related to democracy and other matters affecting our country. The DNC was established on 16th June 1994 and had demanded for a written Constitution and the establishment of Democracy in Bhutan under Constitutional Monarchy.

As per our demand, the Draft Constitution was unveiled on the 26th March 2005. We welcomed the unveiling of the Draft Constitution and had submitted our suggestions for further improvement.

The Fourth King, Jigme Singye Wangchuk, on the occasion of the 98th National Day celebrations at Tashi Yangtse district on 17th December 2005, proclaimed that Bhutan would transform into a Constitutional Monarchy with the adoption of a written Constitution in 2008. Thereafter, several political parties were formed in 2007. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Druk Phuentsum Tshogpa (DPT) were legally registered and permitted to participate in historic democratic process. Political parties in

exile like DNC, who were forbearers of democracy and the foremost campaigners for democracy were denied participation in the political process. Besides, the Election Commission of Bhutan also denied registration to the Bhutan People's United Party (BPUP). During the general elections held on 24th March 2008, DPT won the elections with a landslide victory. Mr. Jigme Thinley became the first "elected" Prime Minister of Bhutan, and formed the DPT government. The first session of First Parliament was convened on 8th May, 2008. The Constitution was promulgated on 18th July 2008 without any significant changes from the Draft. Most of Members of Parliament were former bureaucrats and unable to unshackle themselves from the bureaucratic mindset, thus were unable to adopt or initiate democratic practices. Besides, lay monks and nuns were neither offered equal rights nor the rights as common people. They were denied voting rights and were made ineligible to stand for elected office. Parliamentarians were unable to enact legislations to improve the people's socio-economic status. And finally, its fiveyear term ended.

In 2013, three new political parties were formed namely, Druk Nyamrup Tshogpa(DNP), Bhutan Kuen-Nyam Party(BKP) and Druk Chirwang Tshogpa(DCT). BKP was declared ineligible to participate in the primary elections due to lack of candidates. DNP and DCT were defeated in the primary round, and DPT and PDP were selected to participate in the July 13, 2013 general

election. DNT President, Dorji Choden, and Vice-President, Jigme Zangpo, along with five others deserted their parent party and joined the PDP. They won from their respective constituencies on PDP party tickets. During the general election, PDP won a majority and Mr. Tshering Tobgay became the second 'elected' Prime Minister of Bhutan and formed the PDP government.

Even after the end to the second session of 2nd Parliamentary session, no significant political changes have taken place. Whether the King has denied executive powers to the elected government or the elected government is unable to exercise its rights, no one knows. Therefore, people are hoping and waiting for a genuine party to emerge, which will protect and uphold their rights and usher rapid socio-economic development in Bhutan.

Judiciary

Judiciary should be accessible, and give justice to all citizens, irrespective of race, sex, language, religion, political affiliation or any other status. However, the present Judiciary of Bhutan is biased and favors only the elite and the powerful.

The Judiciary formed under the "democratic" Government, continues to uphold the prison sentences handed out to political prisoners by the absolute Monarchial Government. These cases should be reviewed in the present context of democratic Bhutan and the political prisoners unconditionally released.

Bhutan needs to institute a democratically accepted independent judiciary to protect and uphold the rights of every Bhutanese citizen. We urge the Parliamentarians to ensure the rights of citizens and contribute towards creating an independent judiciary in Bhutan.

Fundamental rights

Fundamental Rights as enshrined in Article 7 of the Constitution exists only on paper so far. It hasn't been recognized and enforced. Whether the Government/Executive is not recognizing the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution or is it the Judiciary/King's inability to uphold the Fundamental Rights of people is mysterious. No one knows which of these two institutions is responsible for the continued curtailment of peoples' rights. People assume that their rights are guaranteed under the Constitution, and when they exercise their rights, the Government restricts their rights and some are even imprisoned. People are in great distress. On 21st July, 2013, a 25-member delegation from DPT had submitted a 15-point protest petition to the King, expressing their dissatisfaction in the run-up to the second general elections. The King is now engaged in interrogating the members of the delegation individually. It is a clear indication of how the right to protest in democratic atmosphere is suppressed from the very top of the State structure. The Government officials during foreign visits assert that democracy and human rights is granted

to people, and human rights is a basic precept of the Gross National Happiness project, and back home, these rights are denied. Isn't it an embarrassment to continue with such lies?

We have stated way back in 2006, that it was only through the establishment of inclusive democracy that all citizens of Bhutan will have the chance to enjoy fundamental rights, freedom and development in every sphere of life and which will ensure peace, happiness, prosperity and communal harmony in the country. Thus, inclusive democracy is the need of the hour.

Religious problem

Ours is a Buddhist State blessed by the Guru Padmasambhava in the 8th Century. In 1616, Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, the founding Father of Bhutan established our unique nation. In 1971, the 3rd King, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck gave recognition to Ka-Nying Zungdrel as a State religion of Bhutan at the United Nation Organization. At the present moment, some of religious personalities of Central Monastic Body are engaged in activities unbecoming of their faith. Article 7, section 4, of the Constitution, under Fundamental Rights, states "A Bhutanese citizen shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. No person shall be compelled to belong to another faith by means of coercion or inducement". The Central Monastic Body headed by Je Khenpo and other followers, keeping only their vested interests in mind,

is violating this Article and abusing their powers. The followers of the Nyingmapa sects are persecuted. Kagyurpa teachers are dispatched to old Nyingmapa monasteries and have deliberately created disharmony between the two sects. Shouldn't the Je Khenpo amend his activities? It is our fervent appeal to Parliamentarians and the Judiciary that steps must be taken to prevent the abuse of power by the Central Monastic Body. Let the Nyingmapa monasteries function independently according to its own tradition and customs. In addition, you must explore how equal benefits can be provided to the Nyingmapa sects.

Corruption

The Anti-Corruption Commission and the Royal Audit Authority are engaged in investigating and prosecuting petty government officials. The powerful and higher-up officials in the government, Security Organizations and Public Companies are untouched. At the present moment, major impacting corruption is at the highest levels. The ACC and RAA should discharge their duties without fear or favour. The misappropriation of public funds needs to be eradicated.

India-Bhutan relation

India is our closest friend and neighbor. We have very good relations with India and this relationship should deepen and

strengthen further. DNC has placed utmost importance on our friendship with India, which should be a recognized part of our country's foreign policy, in our Party's manifesto, way back in 1994.

Conclusion

The Parliament is the main platform where issues related to the peoples' welfare and the nation's security are debated and decided. Members of Parliament have a huge responsibility to ensure the prosperity and happiness of the people, while at the same time, preserve and protect the sovereignty and integrity of our Country. Election is not a game to decide the victors and the vanquished, nor is it a fight for survival or power to rule, it is a competition to serve the people. And when the people are benefited, it benefits all.

This huge responsibility has been entrusted upon you by the people. Their trust, faith and hope are placed on you. You have a sacred responsibility to frame policies that will impact and bring positive difference into the lives of the common citizens. The fair and equal distribution of welfare schemes must be delivered to common people.

Some Parliamentarian say that the five-year term in the Parliament is an opportunity to make the foundation for one's own future, as

uncertainty looms after the end of term. Indeed some are engaged in building five star hotels and exotic resorts. The argument that one can be the loser at the end, if the opportunity is missed does not hold ground. The welfare of self is an automatic consequence if the welfare of the people is ensured. After all, Parliamentarians are elected from among the people, and you are also "the people". The DNC wants to also caution those with vested interests who spread misinformation by interpreting our Party's work as negative. We want to strengthen the sovereignty, democracy, independence and peace in Bhutan, not the contrary. We have respect for the institution of Monarchy. We have clearly stated as a firm part of our policy that democracy in Bhutan must be under Constitutional Monarchy. We however, are also clear in that this democracy must be inclusive.

One important issue is the negotiation process that was initiated on 24th November, 2004, by the Secretary to His Majesty, Dasho Pema Wangchen, at the command of the fourth King, with late President of the Druk National Congress, Rongthong Kunley Dorji, at latter's residence in New Delhi, India. Over two hours of discussions took place. The outcome was inconclusive due to the political stand of the then Royal Government of Bhutan.

The integration of DNC as a political party in Bhutanese democratic political process is vital for the democratic process to

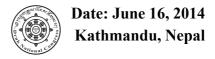
be inclusive. The Parliamentarians and Holders of Constitutional Posts must discuss the resumption of this negotiation process.

To summarize, the Druk National Congress urges:

- 1. Inclusive Democracy;
- 2. Independent and fair Judiciary;
- 3. Unconditional release of political prisoners;
- 4. Registration of DNC as a political party in Bhutan.

We appeal you to consider and deliberate.

On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of DNC's Founding Day, we offer our prayers for a peaceful, stronger democracy, and for the prosperity and Sovereignty of Bhutan and our people.



Appendix

ADDRESS OF RONGTHONG KUNLEY DORJI ON THE OCCASION OF THE 15TH FOUNDATION DAY OF THE DRUK NATIONAL CONGRESS

Dated: 16th June 2009.

Today, on the 15th foundation day of the Druk National Congress, I congratulate and thank the Bhutanese people - the Bhutanese public spread across the villages and towns of Bhutan, Bhutanese exilees working from across the globe, all DNC party members, individuals in the Royal Government, the Army and the Police, and His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk, our 4th Monarch, for his farsightedness and understanding – each and every member of Bhutanese society. On this occasion, I also thank all our friends who have accompanied us and lent their support on our journey towards democracy. I would like to particularly thank the people of India and Nepal and their representatives in their Governments through the years, and organisations, governments and individuals world-wide, who have all been a part of our momentous journey. When the Druk National Congress was established in June of 1994, we vowed to bring about a positive change in Bhutan – to establish Parliamentary Democracy, to secure and guarantee for all our citizens, fundamental rights, including the right to equality, freedom and justice, irrespective of their race, tribe, caste, religion, sex, or ideological conviction, and to declare Bhutan a multiethnic, multilingual, indivisible, independent and democratic, Buddhist Monarchical Kingdom.

The DNC stood firm in its conviction that democratic governance is the only solution to all the problems that Bhutan faces, and is also the only means to ensure that the process of improving the well-being of Bhutan and the Bhutanese people, continues into the future, and that it is this well-being that will ensure not only the stability of Bhutan but also the institution of Monarchy.

15 years ago, while democracy for the Bhutanese seemed a faraway, almost illusionary light at the end of the tunnel, it is finally in our grasp. All our collective efforts have now precipitated a foundation for a promising future for all Bhutanese.

But our work is far from over. While we have succeeded in achieving a legal democracy we must now work to instill a democratic tradition, without which all this effort and achievement will just remain in piece of paper and in a set of bland procedures. Democracy is not a machine that runs by itself once the proper principles and procedures are inserted. A healthy democracy depends a lot on the development of a democratic culture, which is shaped by its citizens who pursue their interests, exercise their rights and take responsibility for their own lives, and for the society at large.

An essential component of good governance and the adoption of beneficial policies, is peoples' participation, wherefrom emanates policy decisions that are an outcome of continuous contribution of unfiltered information coming in from the widest possible spectrum of individual citizens, analysis thereof, and responses drawn therefrom. (It is for this reason that, while the Druk National Congress has been, and is still critical of many policies of the Royal Government of Bhutan, it has been with the sole motive to bridge information inflow gaps, draw policy improvements, and facilitate improvement in the lives of the Bhutanese people). People need to take their own decisions, particularly at the local level, and strong local governments are essential for a healthy democracy. If such an infrastructure and channel does not exist, the fallouts are, inadequacies in planning, formulating and implementing policies and responses. And such inadequacies invariably evolve into the creation of a system that ends up serving the interests of a select few, at the merciless expense of the common citizen. While at the very top of the ladder, there is often abject ignorance of ground level realities and a delusionary sense of security. While this is invariably true for authoritarian systems of governance, it is also very true for democracies without a democratic tradition.

This is why it is so important to develop a democratic culture. A democratic society needs the commitment of its citizens who

accept the inevitability of disagreement, as well as the necessity for tolerance. It is important to recognise that many disagreements in a democratic society are not between "rights" and "wrongs", but between different interpretations of democratic rights and social priorities. And individuals, groups and governments must be willing, at a minimum, to tolerate each other's differences, recognising that the other side may have valid rights and a legitimate point of view, and come together to address issues in the spirit of democracy.

Our legal system and our laws must also be quickly adapted and amended as necessary, to our newly acquired democracy and people's sovereignty. In a democracy, no one is above the law, which is, after all, the creation of the people. The state must have the power to maintain order and punish criminal acts, but the rules and procedures by which a state enforces its laws, must be public and explicit, not secret, arbitrary, or subject to political manipulation by the State. Whether rich or poor, ethnic majority or religious minority, political ally of the state or opponent, all must be entitled to equal protection before the law.

With regard to the Constitution, while we will continue to seek necessary amendments through the Parliamentary process, we lay strong emphasis on the need to bring about immediate crucial amendments to Article 2, 7 and 15.

Amendments to Article 2 should be by a 2/3rds majority vote of the Parliament and not by a national referendum, so as not to precipitate a constitutional crisis (such as that which transpired in Nepal in the aftermath of the Royal massacre incident). Further, the Parliament is the highest body that is representative of the people's opinion and has rightful authority to legislate on behalf of the people. While the current provision is an improvement from the previous draft Constitution, in which it was an unamendable provision, it is still inadequate to effectively protect the Monarch. Vesting the Parliament with powers it can immediately exercise if an untoward situation arises will be the only effective deterrent.

The exercise of Article 2, Sections 16(a), (c), (d) and (e) should be by recommendation by appropriate Parliamentary Committee/s or alternatively by recommendation by any other authorised committee/s formed for the purpose. Article 2, Section 16(b) should be deleted as it undermines and overrules all provisions and procedures of the Constitution and Bhutan's laws.

Any amendment to Article 7 (Fundamental Rights) should be by referendum.

Article 15 needs amendment to allow for a multiparty Parliamentary system of government. The current provision does not allow for regional parties mandated to work in their own geographic or social areas to participate in governance, and in Bhutan, which not divided into smaller federally administered units, a 2-party parliamentary system does not efficiently address regional issues nor allows for a voice in the central government (parties normally take a collective stand on issues). Strong regions make up a strong nation and regions must be adequately empowered to be represented in the Parliament without having to tag up with a larger parties with possibly other priorities. Further a 2-tiered electoral process drains twice the resources of a multiparty electoral process, with no real benefit in Bhutan's case. The Druk National Congress did not apply for registration in the 2008 elections for two reasons. One, the Party did not approve of the electoral process and did not want to be officially associated or endorse the process as being truly democratic. Two, given the current reality and the stand of the Royal Government, with undoubted chances of its registration application being refused on some ground or the other, it saw no relevance in taking the issue forward. Rather the Party chose to be actively involved in bringing the candidatures of the current national and regional leadership to the fore and in affecting the electoral outcome. Its success can be evidenced from the electoral results where the people effectively rejected the party that was deemed by the electorate to be closer to the Monarchy and the "old" system, than the other. But the DNC will be working to create the grounds for it to participate in the next general elections.

Democracy has finally come to Bhutan, but political prisoners continue to languish in jail. We demand the immediate release of all Bhutanese prisoners who are facing or have been convicted of political offences, offences of political nature and charges that were initiated which a view to punish for them for political offences. The onus falls on the present Government to immediately undo these wrongs of the past.

Lastly, a peaceful, stable and prosperous nation is an asset, benefiting not just its neighbours, but the world. But we must understand that peace cannot be forced - it is a by-product of fulfillment, satisfaction, contentment. It is thus imperative that, while much has been achieved, all our partners must continue to, and more need to join in to participate in working together, to continuously usher in social, political and economic improvements in Bhutan and in our mutual and collective surroundings.

Thank you. Rongthong Kunley Dorji. President, Druk National Congress 16th of June, 2009

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