

RIGSS

MAGAZINE

THE ALUMNI ISSUE

DECEMBER 2015



OF GREATNESS AND THE
GREAT FOURTH

PASSING THE
LEADERSHIP BATON

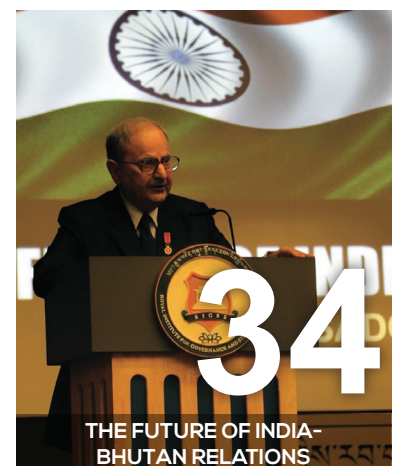
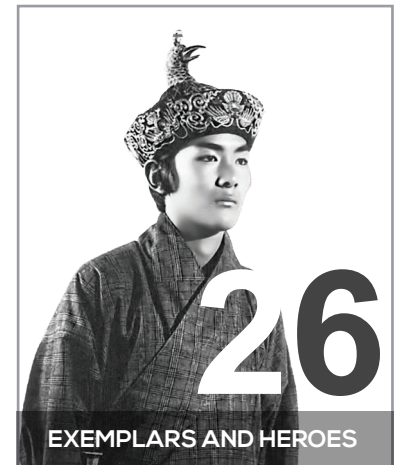
AN EXTRAORDINARY
SERVANT- LEADER



“ *What we need is not a Leader to lead the Masses -
we need Leadership of the Self ”*

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MESSAGE FROM THE VICE-CHAIR

It is a great honour to be able to pay tribute to His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo and join the nation-wide celebrations to mark the 60th Birth Anniversary, through the launch of the RIGSS Alumni Magazine.

His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo best epitomizes the leadership that RIGSS must try to inculcate in all its alumni. This is the great fortune of Bhutan, the gift of golden leadership that we find in all our Kings. We do not need to look far or wide for what we should all aspire to and emulate. “Extraordinary” is the word that comes to mind when one reflects on what His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo has done for the security, sovereignty and self-reliance of Bhutan. Indeed, there can be no higher “Leadership of the Self” than that demonstrated by His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo during his Golden Reign. Let us pray for His Majesty’s long

and happy life. At the same time, let us always remember the sacrifices His Majesty made in His 34 years of service to the nation and strive to do the same.

It is also a good time for RIGSS and its alumni to reflect on our journey to realize His Majesty The King’s vision for RIGSS. We have trained over 200 leaders in the two years of our existence – people in positions of leadership who know that true leadership is not about position, it is about action. We can all play impactful roles in securing our country’s future, if we choose to. The past two years have been exciting, but there is much to be done if RIGSS is to fulfil the vision of His Majesty The King, to create cadres of leaders in all spheres of life in Bhutan to secure our country’s future.

The job of nation building for a small country like Bhutan will remain a constant endeavour. It will require our



continued collective effort. We sincerely hope the RIGSS Alumni Magazine will provide the space for you all to share your experiences and stories of contribution to nation building and thereby inspire each other and more.

Tashi Delek!

Dasho Karma Tshiteem

Vice Chairman, RIGSS Governing Board

MESSAGE FROM THE PROJECT COORDINATOR



Great leaders have great goals, goals that are difficult to achieve but not unachievable, and goals that can change the destiny of a country or even that of mankind. RIGSS was one such goal of His Majesty The King.

RIGSS is just into its third year now but it has come a long way. We started off with the Senior Executive Leadership

Program (SELP) with 23 participants. Today we offer three different leadership courses, and have already trained 228 senior officials from the public, corporate, armed force and private sectors. Many of our alumni are doing very well in their professional careers. In 2016, we will launch two new programs - Leadership Program for Parliamentarians (LPP) and the Young Professionals Leadership Program (YPLP).

On the historic occasion of the 60th Birth Anniversary of His Majesty the Fourth King, we are happy to be able to launch the RIGSS Alumni Magazine as a humble tribute to His unparalleled leadership and legacy. Through this inaugural issue of the RIGSS Magazine, we offer our deepest respects, gratefulness and admiration to His Majesty the Fourth King for building a nation and giving the Bhutanese a country that we proudly call our own.

We do hope our alumni and other readers enjoy reading our magazine. More importantly, we hope you find more reasons to look back and reflect upon the contributions and accomplishments of His Majesty the Fourth King. We know through history that God has not created many such leaders.

The potential that RIGSS has in shaping the destiny of our country is immense, and the journey has just begun. All along this journey, we will continue to be inspired, guided and blessed by the legacy of our beloved “Drukgyal Zhipa” and the knowledge, wisdom and foresight of His Majesty The King.

I thank all those who contributed to this inaugural issue, and I wish everyone a very happy reading.

Chewang Rinzin

Project Coordinator

CORONATION ADDRESS OF HIS MAJESTY THE FOURTH DRUK GYALPO



Two years ago when my father passed away, all the Dratshangs (Monk Body), officials and you, my people, placing your trust in me made me King. During the short while that I have been on the throne, I have not been able to render any great service to our country. However, I offer my pledge today that I shall endeavour to serve our beloved country and people with fidelity and to the best of my ability.

From year to year, Bhutan is receiving increasing financial and technical assistance from many countries. Among them, we have received the greatest assistance from our good friend, India.

Although the process of socio-economic development was initiated in our country only a few years ago, we have achieved tremendous progress within a short span of time. In spite of this progress, our present internal revenue cannot meet even a fraction of our govern-

ment expenditure. Therefore, the most important task before us at present is to achieve economic self-reliance to ensure the continued progress of our country in the future. Bhutan has a small population, abundant land and rich natural resources and sound planning on our part will enable us to realize our aim of economic self-reliance in the near future. As far as you, my people, are concerned, you should not adopt the attitude that whatever is required to be done for your welfare will be done entirely by the government. On the contrary, a little effort on your part will be much more effective than a great deal of effort on the part of the government. If the government and people can join hands and work with determination, our people will achieve prosperity and our nation will become strong and stable.

In earlier times, when our country was passing through a critical period and our people were suffering greatly due to civil wars and internal strife,

Ugyen Wangchuck was unanimously elected as the first hereditary king of Bhutan on December 17, 1907, ushering in a period of great peace and happiness for Bhutan. The fact that our country continues to enjoy peace and stability is due to the blessings of our deities and the great loyalty and devotion shown by the Dratshangs, officials and people of our kingdom.

The only message I have to convey to you today, my people, is that if everyone of us consider ourselves Bhutanese, and think and act as one, and if we have faith in the triple gem, our glorious Kingdom of Bhutan will grow from strength to strength and achieve prosperity, peace and happiness.

Today we are extremely happy to have with us representatives of friendly countries and other guests to participate in our celebrations. To you, my people, and to all our guests I offer my Tashi Delek!

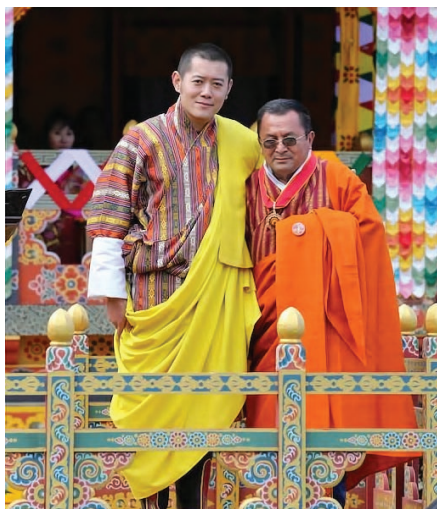
ALUMNI AND FACULTY IN THE NEWS (2014-2015)

Lyonpo Sonam Tobgye (17 December 2014)



His Majesty The King expressed special acknowledgements to the Former Chief Justice, Lyonpo Sonam Tobgye, for his enduring and dedicated service to the nation and outstanding contribution in judiciary and establishing the rule of law. Lyonpo is a faculty member of RIGSS.

Lyonpo Thinley Gyamtsho (17 December 2014)



Lyonpo Thinley Gyamtsho, former minister and chairperson of the Royal Civil Service Commission, was awarded the Druk Thuksey Medal in recognition of his enduring and dedicated services to the nation as a Minister of Education and Home Affairs in the cabinet of His

Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo's government, and as Chairperson of the Royal Civil Service Commission. Lyonpo was the Vice Chairman of the RIGSS Governing Board.

Dasho Sonam Kinga (17 December 2014)



Dasho Sonam Kinga, Chairperson of the National Council, was awarded the National Order of Merit, Gold in recognition of his dedicated services to the nation, and direct attention and availability to the people who have elected him to office. Dasho is a faculty member of RIGSS.

Dasho Chhewang Rinzin (17 December 2014)



Dasho Chhewang Rinzin, Managing Director of Druk Green Power Corpo-

ration, was awarded the Druk Khorlo Medal, in recognition for his enduring and dedicated services to the nation, and in recognition of the importance of hydropower in the national economy and improving the lives of our people. Dasho is a faculty member of RIGSS.

Dasho Tashi Wangyal (17 December 2014)



His Majesty conferred bura marp (red scarf) to RIGSS Faculty member and eminent person to the National Council, Tashi Wangyal.

ACC Chairperson (31 July 2015)



His Majesty appointed SELP-3 participant Kinley Yangzom as the new Chairperson of the Anti-Corruption Commission.



8 April 2015 : RIGSS Project Coordinator Chewang Rinzin and SELP-2 participant Kunzang Dorji were appointed as Zimpon Wogmas by His Majesty The King.



20 July 2015 : SELP-2 participant Ugen Sonam was appointed as the new Mongar Dzongdag and SELP-3 participant Thuji Tshering as the new Trashi Yangtse Dzongdag by His Majesty The King.



7 December 2015 : SELP-2 participant Karma Tshering and SELP-4 participant Phuntsho Raptan were appointed as eminent members of the National Council by His Majesty The King.



7 December 2015: Dasho Penjore was appointed as the Governor of the Royal Monetary Authority. Dasho is a faculty member of RIGSS by His Majesty The King.



17 December 2015: His Majesty conferred red scarf to the Chairman of RCSC, Dasho Karma Tshiteem. Dasho is the Vice Chairman of the RIGSS Governing Board and also a faculty member of RIGSS.

ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR GOVERNANCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

A premier institute to promote excellence in governance, leadership and strategic studies.

In a world that is increasingly becoming more competitive, globalized and sophisticated, it is imperative for countries to have leaders who can measure up to the current challenges as well as anticipate and prepare for future ones. Particularly for a country like Bhutan, given its

unique and challenging geo-political and geo-economic realities, its leaders must have a vision that is collective and far-reaching, reflecting the aspirations of every single citizen and the nation as a whole. This is crucial for the long-term unity, peace and prosperity of Bhutan. ►



► The Royal Institute for Governance and Strategic Studies (RIGSS) was conceived and established by His Majesty The King. Its main objective is to train leaders from various sectors in all major areas of governance and nation-building, and to foster a common understanding and appreciation of our long-term national goals and the challenges we confront in realizing them. It provides a most timely and befitting forum for discourse on national issues, policies and strategies, and offers a unique opportunity to research, brainstorm and generate new ideas that would provide solutions to our current and future problems.

RIGSS was inaugurated on 10th October 2013 by His Majesty The King.

VISION

A Premier Institute to promote excellence in governance, leadership and strategic studies.

MISSION

- Provide high-quality leadership training and education that are values-based, Bhutan-centric and globally relevant
- Promote critical analysis of public policies and applied research works that influence real-life policy decisions
- Serve as a think-tank
- Provide a platform for leaders from different sectors to interact and brainstorm on critical national issues.
- Network with leading national and international institutions and agencies to collaborate on research studies and training programs, and to allow for sharing of resources for mutual benefit

STRATEGIES

- Recruit and engage top-notch faculty members at all times in order to ensure high quality education, training and research
- Attract and select the best candidates, who are academically strong, and have the passion, commitment and potential to assume top leadership positions
- Provide high quality education and training focused on values, analysis and thinking
- Engage in high-impact research activities that advance knowledge and its practical application
- Ensure diversity of students, faculty and programs to promote diversity of views and ideas in the teaching-learning process
- Develop a global profile and reach through institutional and professional linkages, and by consistently upgrading the quality of its programs
- Adopt and apply best practices in management, administration and service delivery in the operation of the institute

CURRENT PROGRAMS

The Institute currently offers the following programs:

i. Senior Executive Leadership Program (SELP)

The four-week Senior Executive Leadership Program (SELP) is mainly designed for senior public service officials



SELP session via Skype

and corporate executives who face the challenges of governance and decision-making on a day-to-day basis. The highly intensive program not only aims to hone the leadership skills of the participants but also exposes them to real-life policy issues facing the country, and engages them in meaningful discourse in search of solutions or alternatives. It equips them with the relevant knowledge, skills and tools that not only broaden their horizon as leaders but make them better informed decision-makers.

The SELP consists of three weekly modules on three broad themes and a week-long learning journey, as given below:

- Week 1: Bhutan-Changes and Challenges
- Week 2: Governance and Leadership
- Week 3: Political Economy of Public Policy
- Week 4: Learning Journey

The SELP provides a rare opportunity for leaders from various sectors to interact, network and collaborate, not only during the duration of the course but possibly long after they leave the Institute.

Participants for the SELP are selected through an open, on-line and merit-based competitive selection process, and selected candidates are provided full scholarship by the Institute.

ii. Military Leaders Strategic Studies Seminar (MLS)

In view of the immense responsibilities entrusted to the Armed Forces to ensure peace, security, sovereignty of the



MLS in session



Members of the first RIGSS Governing Board with His Majesty The King



The participants of inaugural Senior Executive Leadership Program (SELP-1) with Their Majesties The King and The Gyaltsuen



The participants of inaugural Military Leaders Strategic Studies Seminar (MLS-1) with COO of Royal Bhutan Army Lt. General Batoo Tshering



The participants of inaugural Bhutan Executive Services Training (BEST-1) with the Chairperson of RCSC, Dasho Karma Tshiteem

nation and in the context of changing global, regional and national circumstances, it is imperative that our Armed Forces are not only tactically agile and operationally ready, but also strategically knowledgeable and equipped to address emerging threats.

The 10-day Military Leaders Strategic Studies Seminar (MLS) at RIGSS is designed to expose military officers to understand the security threat perceptions to prepare for mitigation and responses in the 21st century. The Seminar provides a cross-disciplinary perspective by integrating aspects of security, geopolitics and economics in assessing and analyzing threats.

The immediate objective of the MLS is to provide knowledge of emerging threats and imbibe the core values needed to be analytical and to equip military leaders with the skills needed to understand and mitigate potential threats.

iii. Bhutan Executive Services Training (BEST)



Mock Media Session for BEST

The Bhutan Executive Services Training or BEST, is a two-week leadership program, exclusively designed for the Royal Civil Service Commission (RCSC) for senior executives in the civil service. The core objective of BEST is to equip the executives with the right knowledge, competencies and skills required of a 21st century public service leader.

BEST draws inspiration from the larger reforms being undertaken by the RCSC to promote professionalism, efficiency and integrity in the civil service. RCSC's Leadership Capability Framework has been used as the basis for the BEST curriculum, and the framework encompasses the following five broad areas:

1. Having strategic views
2. Achieving results
3. Cultivating productive working relationships
4. Exemplifying personal drive and integrity
5. Communicating effectively

BEST is designed to impart knowledge, create awareness and more importantly, help participants develop a set of core competencies to enable them to better tackle issues and challenges confronting the civil service and its functioning in the service of the country.

UPCOMING PROGRAMS

In 2016, in addition to the three courses mentioned above, RIGSS will launch at least two new programs as given below:

i. Leadership Program for Parliamentarians (LPP)

The two-week tailor-made "Leadership Program for Parliamentarians" (LPP) is designed exclusively for Members of the Parliament.

Given the immense responsibilities the Members of Parliament have to shoulder, the LPP is designed to provide a platform for discussion of important national goals and challenges, create awareness of values and impart some of the key skills needed for effective leadership and governance. The course will comprise a blend of lectures, case studies, interactive sessions, group discussions and presentation sessions.

ii. Young Professionals Leadership Program (YPLP)

The Young Professionals Leadership Program (YPLP) will be launched in April 2016. YPLP will be a four-week course that will focus on leadership skills building, with one week dedicated to outdoor leadership and team-building exercises.

The launch of the YPLP will enable RIGSS to extend its leadership training for talented young and mid-career individuals with high leadership potential from the civil service, corporate sector and the armed forces. This will catalyze the civil service, armed forces and corporate sector to identify and groom future leaders early in their career so as to train, guide and enable them to realize their full potential and inculcate the desired values and attitudes.

As an integrated course, the YPLP will help to enhance the relationship and understanding between the civilian, corporate and military leaders and allow cross-fertilization of ideas between the various disciplines.

OTHER PROGRAMS

i. Friday Forum Lectures

The "Friday Forum" is one of the Institute's main intellectual programs where eminent speakers from around the world are invited to deliver a lecture on any subject under the overall



Inaugural Friday Forum lecture was delivered by Honourable Prime Minister of Bhutan

purview of leadership and governance. Organized usually on Friday evenings, the Friday Forum is a public lecture and interaction forum. In just a year of its launch, the Friday Forum at RIGSS has successfully captured the attention and attendance of a wide range of audience including cabinet ministers, senior public officials, parliamentarians, scholars, university students, businessmen etc.

Sl. No.	Speaker	Date	Topic
1	Prime Minister Tshering Tobgay	25/10/13	Bhutan: Changes & Challenges
2	Dr. Shashi Tharoor	01/11/13	Democracy & Development
3	Amb. Pavan K Varma	08/11/13	Public Policy & Democratic Functioning
4	Lyonpo Sonam Tobgye (Retd. Chief Justice of Bhutan)	21/03/14	A Perspective on the Philosophical Basis of the Bhutanese Constitution
5	Amb. Shyam Saran	28/03/14	Climate Change: Why Should Bhutan Worry?
6	Prof. Kishore Mahbubani	31/10/14	Asia in Today's World
7	Prof. Robert Klitgaard	07/11/14	Leadership Across the Public-Private Divide
8	Suhasini Haidar	14/11/14	SAARC Beyond India & Pakistan
9	Amb. Gautam Bambawale	13/03/15	India's Act East Policy
10	HE Sogyal Rimpoche	20/03/15	Leadership of the Mind
11	Amb. Dalip Mehta	04/09/15	The Future of India-Bhutan Relations

Summary of the Friday Forum lectures at RIGSS up to October 2015.

ii. RIGSS Policy Debate

Participants from each batch of SELP take part in the RIGSS Policy Debate which is increasingly becoming a popular activity of the institute. A topical and contentious policy issue is identified and debated upon between participants. The debates are intended to provide a deeper understanding of the issue, encourage objective-research amongst participants and stimulate new thinking. They will also help participants analyze problems critically and rationally, foster teamwork and



5th RIGSS Policy debate by the participants of SELP-5

help enhance participants' oratory and presentation skills.

The Policy Debates, as they gain maturity and credibility, will serve to be a useful tool in shaping public opinions and public policies.

iii. RIGSS Policy Seminar

The RIGSS Policy Seminar provides an opportunity for relevant stakeholders, outside RIGSS, to come together and share and exchange ideas and experiences with RIGSS course participants on real-life issues confronting the country and people.

The first RIGSS Policy Seminar was held in collaboration with the Gaeddu College of Business Studies on "The Unemployment Challenge" in April 2015.



The First RIGSS Policy Seminar was held at Gaeddu College of Business Studies

SOME OF OUR FACILITIES

i. At the Institute

The majestic RIGSS building, constructed under the close supervision of His Majesty The King Himself, stands as the hallmark of quality, grandeur and purpose. The Dzong-like traditional exterior facade of the building blends perfectly well with the meticulously executed interiors that boasts of spacious rooms and modern amenities.

The building houses two differently designed lecture rooms that can accommodate 40-45 people and the grand Prajna Auditorium, or the Hall of Wisdom, all equipped with the latest state-of-the-art presentation and audio-visual facilities. It also has a Royal Suite, a VIP lounge, spacious lobby and a multi-purpose foyer and luxurious faculty and office rooms. Break-out rooms for small group discussions are also being created. The entire RIGSS building is connected with high-speed Wi-Fi internet.

ii. At the RIGSS Coronation Hostel

The historic Kharbandi Guest House, which was built for accommodation of foreign invitees for the coronation of His Majesty the Fourth King in 1974, has been fully refurbished and renamed as the RIGSS Coronation Hostel (RCH). Located

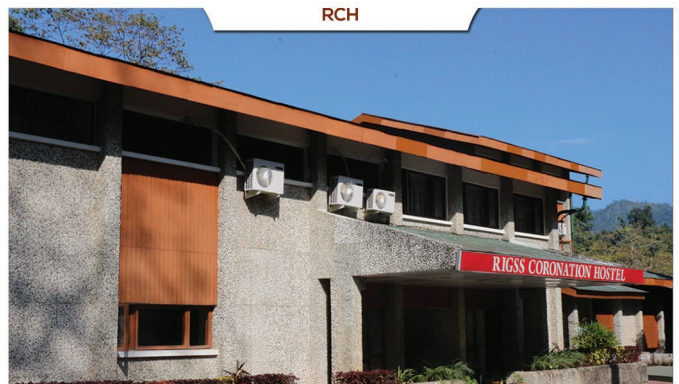
on a quiet and lush green hillside, the hostel has 24 twin bedded rooms and two suite rooms, all with attached bathrooms. RCH has its own kitchen, dining hall, altar room (*choesham*), a fitness centre, indoor games and barbecue lawn. There is also a large multi-purpose recreation room with cable TV connection and snooker facilities, and a conference hall that can accom-

modate 25-30 people.

Course participants stay at the RCH which offers a conducive ambience for thinking, reading and writing and for informal interactions amongst participants. The institute operates shuttle bus services between RCH and the institute for participants.



PRAJNA AUDITORIUM



RCH



LUNCH AT INSTITUTE FOYER



RCH ROOM



TABLE TENNIS AT RCH



POOL AT RCH



BBQ AT RCH



INSTITUTE LOBBY



RECREATION ROOM RCH

RIGSS 2015: A LOOK BACK



JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER
<p>8 The RIGSS Project Coordinator and the entire staff received an audience with His Majesty The King at the Tashichhodzong as a part of the retreat for all Royal Projects. It was essentially a review meeting to update His Majesty on activities carried out till date and setting targets for 2015.</p> <p>Subsequently a compact was signed for 2015 with the newly set up Office of Performance Management (OPM), His Majesty's Secretariat.</p>	<p>5-6 Second Executive Forum (EX-FO II) conducted by RCSC.</p> <p>9-10 Third Executive Forum (EX-FO III) conducted by RCSC.</p> <p>12 Cabinet Retreat and Mid-year review of Performance Agreements for Samtse, Sarpang, Tsirang, Dagana and Chukha Dzongkhags.</p>	<p>1 Fourth Senior Executive Leadership Program (SELP-4) and second Military Leaders Strategic Studies Seminar (MLS-2) commenced.</p> <p>13 9th Friday Forum lecture by Ambassador Gautam Bambawale.</p> <p>13 Photo Exhibition on His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo jointly by RIGSS and Nehru-Wangchuck Cultural Centre.</p> <p>19 4th RIGSS Policy Debate was held (by participants of SELP-4) attended by SELP-4 participants and public of Phuentsholing.</p>	<p>20 His Majesty The King granted an Audience to the participants of SELP-4.</p> <p>10 Friday Forum lecture by His Eminence Sogyal Rinpoche.</p> <p>1 1st RIGSS Policy Seminar held at Gaeddu College of Business Studies.</p> <p>8 RIGSS Project Coordinator was appointed as Zimpon Wogma by His Majesty The King.</p>	<p>17-22 Organisational Development Exercise (OD) Review meeting conducted by RCSC.</p>	<p>19 Launched Read RIGSS (read.rigss.bt), a website to review books by the alumni to celebrate the National Reading Year 2015.</p> <p>26 The inaugural Bhutan Executive Services Training (BEST-1) launched.</p>	<p>8 BEST-1 concluded.</p>	<p>16 SELP-5 and MLS-3 commenced.</p> <p>26 MLS-3 Concluded.</p> <p>28 5th RIGSS Policy Debate held at the institute. It was attended by the participants of SELP, RIGSS staff and the some section of public of Phuentsholing.</p>	<p>9 11th Friday Forum by Ambassador Dalip Mehta.</p> <p>17 SELP-5 Concluded.</p> <p>30 Audience granted by HM to SELP-5 participants at the Raven House, Thimphu.</p>	<p>2-4 5th Indo Bhutan Strategic Dialogue.</p> <p>11 BEST-2 began.</p> <p>25 Audience granted to BEST-2 participants by His Majesty The King.</p>



འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་བཞི་པའི་མཛེན་ ལྷ་པ་ཀ་ཚུམ།

མེད་གེ་རྒྱལ་ཀླུ་ལ། (SELP-4)

ཀ་ཆེན་བཞི་ཡི་གོང་འཕེལ་ལྷ་བ་མཛོག་།
ལ་བཞི་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དགའ་སྦྱང་དཔལ་འཛོམས་ཟེར།
གཤིས་མཛེས་རུང་ནི་བདེ་ལྷ་པ་ཀ་ཚུམ།
ང་བཅས་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མཛོག་གིས་བཙུགས་གནང་ཡི།

ཅ་ཚ་ལུང་གཤོང་གང་བའི་ནགས་ཆལ་ནང་།
ཆ་གནས་མེད་པའི་གཞོན་ཅན་གཡིབ་དཔག་རྒྱ།
ཇ་ཆང་བྱིན་ཏེ་བདེ་ལྷ་པ་ཀ་ཚུམ་ལས།
ཉ་རུང་ལྷགས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱགས་པ་བཞིན་ཆེ།

ད་ར་རྩེ་བརྒྱན་སྦྱོར་མའི་ལྷ་བ་གིས།
མ་རུང་མི་མེད་ལྷག་ཤོད་ཀྱིས་ལམ་བཙུགས།
ད་རེས་ཉ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ཤེས་རིག་གིས།
ན་གཞོན་གོ་ཆོད་པ་བཟོས་ལས་བཞིན་ཆེ།

པ་ཏ་ཆོན་གྱིས་རྒྱ་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི།
པ་བལྟལ་བྱ་ལྷ་སྦྱང་པའི་ལམ་སྟོན་ཆེ།
བ་ལས་འདོད་འཛིན་ཡོ་བཞི་རྒྱུ་བོ་བཟུམ།
མ་ཉམས་གོང་དུ་སྤེལ་བ་བཞིན་ཆེ།

ཅ་ཡི་ནང་རྟེན་འདྲ་བའི་མི་དབང་མཛོག་།
ཆ་ཟེར་བདེ་སྦྱང་སྤེལ་བའི་དྲང་ཁྲིམས་བརྒྱུས།
ཇ་ཏི་སྒྲན་ལས་ལྷག་པའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱིས།
མ་མེད་ལྷ་བ་བཅོམ་པ་བཞིན་ཆེ།

ཞ་གོས་རང་ཆས་འཛིན་པའི་ཕོ་སྐྱེས་དང་།
ཟ་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཆང་བའི་ཨམ་སྐ་རྒྱ།
འ་ལུང་མེད་པའི་སྤྱུག་ལམ་ཆོས་གསུམ་གྱིས།
ཡ་རབས་ལམ་ལུ་བཙུགས་པ་བཞིན་ཆེ།

ར་ལུང་སྤྱ་མའི་སྤུལ་སྐྱ་མི་དབང་མཛོག་།
ལ་རྩེ་ལམ་གིས་རྒྱ་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནང་།
ཤ་ཞོན་འཆང་སྤེ་དཔོན་སྤྱོད་གནང་མ་ལས།
ས་སྤེང་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ཁབ་པ་བཞིན་ཆེ།

ད་ཅང་བྱང་མེས་ལྷན་པའི་མི་དབང་མཛོག་།
ད་ལམ་དགའ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་བཙུ་བཞེས་དང་འབྲེལ།
ཨ་མའི་བུ་རུང་འབྲུག་པའི་མི་མེད་ཀྱིས།
ཨ་པ་དྲིན་ཅན་སྐྱེ་ཆོས་རིང་བར་སྟོན།

དགེ་ལེགས་འཕེལ །།



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Our Most Treasured and Beloved Father of Drukyl

A Book Review by Karma Choden (SELP-3)

Book Title: 11-11-11

Conceptualized by: Karma Tshering

Publisher: MCP Publications.

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‘Our Most Treasured and Beloved Father of Drukyl’ is the way Queen Mother Ashi Dorji Wangmo Wangchuck describes His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo in the book of tributes to Him, 11-11-11, published coinciding with His 56th Birth Anniversary.

The 56th Birth Anniversary has been significantly portrayed in the numerical sequence 11-11-11 as in the Day, Month and Year of the anniversary. The number 11 also happens to be the auspicious dice number of Genyen Jagpa Melen- the protective deity of Thimphu.

Such concurrence happens only to a rare being whose birth had been prophesied by the 18th Century treasure revealer Terton Drukda Dorji. He prophesied that in the Female Wood Sheep Year, a king would be born who would bring unprecedented peace and prosperity to Bhutan.

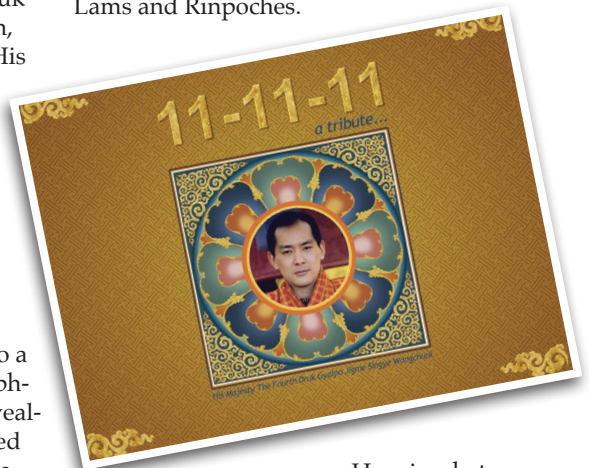
True to the prophecy, in the Female Wood Sheep Year of 1955, the good news of the birth of a prince was heralded on November 11 by Her Majesty Ashi Phuntsho Chodron Wangchuck, Royal Mother of The Third Druk Gyalpo.

As little as three years old at the time of formal introduction to the public, His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo is said to have brought Genday Namgay –the then Drabi Lopen in awe and yet another prophecy was pronounced, “This is no ordinary child; He is destined for greatness; He is protected by Yeshey Goenpo.”

11-11-11, through 11 chapters, briefly takes the readers through the journey of His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo starting from early life facts to the accomplishments and inspirational stories including some of the path breaking Royal Decrees.

The deep respect and reverence that every Bhutanese has for His Majesty The Fourth King can be drawn from some of

the most poignant messages about the sacrifices, contributions, achievements, values, and personal beliefs and selflessness of His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo as opined through the tributes starting from members of the Royal Family to the Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers to the Youth, Business and International Organizations as well as Lams and Rinpoches.



Here is what His Majesty The King says about His father, “To me personally, His Majesty is my King, my Teacher, my Inspiration and my Tsawai Lam.” Thrizin Dasho (Dr.) Sonam Kinga of the National Council of Bhutan says: “His Majesty has embodied the epitome of leadership by actualizing the ideal protector.”

“If my king sees my message, I want Him to know we all love our king and want to wish Him a very happy birthday”, said Tashi Yangbi, 11 Years Old, Class V (then) Yadi Middle Secondary School, Mongar.

Those who believe ‘brevity is the soul of wit’ by Shakespeare, this is the right book in terms of writings. The rare pictures of His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo add charm. Personally reflecting on the 56th Birth Anniversary tribute is a humbling offering on the 60th Birth Anniversary of His Majesty The Fourth Druk Gyalpo.



Karma Choden is the Chief Programme Officer, Private School Division, Department of School Education, Ministry of Education

Reflections of a Daughter and a Citizen

Tshering Wangmo (SELP-3)

Namgay was born in 1950 and was the youngest amongst her siblings. Her father died when she was just a toddler leaving behind five ladies (mother and four daughters) to fend for themselves. Though she received many proposals for remarriage, her mother remained a widow and resolute to take good care of her family. During those days, government officials visited villages to enroll children in school. Obeying her mother's advice, Namgay acted mute and lost the opportunity to get an education.

With no electricity, gas, proper toilet facilities, proper roads, machinery-except for some hand tools, life back in those days was excruciatingly difficult. For livelihood, one had to barter goods 'to and fro' distances as far as Tibet, India and within regions. Goods were carried on horseback but mostly on people's back. All construction materials were transported by people on their backs and constructions done manually. Anything from firewood, fodder, harvest, water, to manure, were carried on back.

Agricultural knowledge passed down from generation was followed obligingly with very less room for creativity and innovation. Pain was borne in silence, and at times when it became unbearable, people resorted to indigenous methods, which at times even led to being at the whims and fancies of

quack doctors. Without telecommunication facilities, important messages were conveyed mainly by shouting from one end to the other.

Added to all the hardship, growing up in a family without a man in the house was tough. A woman's two days of labour was considered equivalent to a man's one day and they were paid only half of what men got. Namgay recalls taking up adult responsibilities since the age of ten and has never stopped her back-breaking labour thence.

She married at an early age and together the young couple continued their life of hard work and sheer determination. Weak, anemic, without knowledge of birth control and health care, she went through the process of delivering nine children out of which only four survived. From her experiences, Namgay learnt the importance of education and got all her children educated.

Three civil servants and an engineer, these children are role models in the community / society, independent in their respective ways, and most importantly participate in discussions and engage in activities that contribute towards nation building and well-being of its citizens. They are appreciative of all the sacrifices and love showered upon them and the availability of important facilities within reach. They don't feel the discrimination between gender like their grandmother / mother did back then



nor do they undergo the hardship their parents or grandparents underwent.

This is the story of just one family. If access to education has made a drastic impact to this one family, it has made similar impact to other families too.

Under the benevolent leadership of our Kings, Bhutan has passed the phase of immense hardship and we have reached the comfortable stage where we now stand. It is now in our hands to take our nation to the next higher level.



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The Growth and Development of Media as the Fourth Estate

Dawa Penjor (SELP-5)

As we celebrate the 60th Birth Anniversary of our beloved Fourth Druk Gyalpo, it is essential to understand His vision and initiatives in building a vibrant media or the fourth estate that we enjoy today.

Over the past three decades, there has been immense changes in the way the Bhutanese are informed, governments and corporations are made accountable, and societies fulfil their potentials in politics, economy, social fabric and every other aspect of life. The

Bhutanese media without fear or favour has been covering issues, institutions and policies that were under-reported or considered sensitive, sacred or taboo. Like it or not, media is now an indispensable agent of change for Bhutan and the Bhutanese.

The construct of independent and plural Bhutanese media was the result of the clairvoyant vision and the deliberate incremental steps undertaken by *Drukgyal Zhipa* during His reign from 1972 to 2006. He was crystal clear and mindful

of the role and the power of media for Bhutan's future and interest, and promoted the need to use information by citizens to make educated choices and recognised media as an essential tenet in safeguarding Bhutan's democracy.

In 1986, under the Royal initiative, 'Kuensel' was transformed into a weekly newspaper from a government gazette established in 1967 and the amateur youth radio 'NYAB' which started in 1973 was renamed and restructured to function as the national broadcast-



er-'Bhutan Broadcasting Service' (BBS) under the Department of Information.

In 1992, through a Royal edict, BBS and Kuensel were delinked from the government giving it autonomy to "allow for its professional growth".

Further, in 1999, Television and Internet access were provided to commemorate the Silver Jubilee celebrations of His reign. During the celebratory address, *Drukgyal Zhipa* perspicuously highlighted the benefits and the responsibilities of

the citizens in accessing and using content that was available through TV and Internet. This leapfrogged Bhutanese information portal to receive and share Bhutan's story with the rest of the world.

In early 2006, in order to have a media that suits Bhutan's need as we transitioned into a parliamentary democracy, and for media to continue to play a pivotal role in informing, educating and providing people with access to multiple perspectives and a platform to deliberate on governance, institutions, national policies and socio-economic, private media (Newspaper and Radio) were licensed.

Further, to assure and guarantee that Bhutan enjoys a free, vibrant and independent media perpetually, the independence and freedom of media along with the right to information was formulated as a fundamental right under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, the drafting of which was initiated by *Drukgyal Zhipa* in 2001.

As a tribute to *Drukgyal Zhipa's* endeavour to sustain a free and vibrant fourth estate, it is crucial that the citizens and the government be mindful of Bhutan's geography, demography, cultural sensitivities and geo-political realities, and its limits, and adopt intelligent media policies and make aforethought investments in media as envisioned by the great *Drukgyal Zhipa*.



Dawa Penjor is the Executive Director of Bhutan Media Foundation

A Transformational Leader

Tshering Cigay Dorji, PhD (SELP-4)

The very thought of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo or a mere sight of His royal countenance in pictures motivates and inspires us immensely. We have no doubt that each and every Bhutanese has the deepest respect and gratitude to His Majesty for all He has given us. In Him, we see a flawless leader who has guided the nation with a clear vision and inspired each and every one of us.

For a country to whom geography has not been so kind, the list of things that we have achieved as a nation in

THE VERY THOUGHT OF HIS MAJESTY THE FOURTH DRUK GYALPO OR A MERE SIGHT OF HIS ROYAL COUNTENANCE IN PICTURES MOTIVATES AND INSPIRES US IMMENSELY.

the 34 years under His leadership is indeed amazing. He took over the reigns of a rugged country with few modern amenities as a teenager, though in a wise way beyond His years, in 1972 and left to us a progressive and peaceful modern nation when He abdicated the throne

in 2006. Throughout His reign, He did everything for His country and people, and did not even build for Himself a proper palace. So selfless has He been.

How do we describe such kind of leadership? No doubt it is inspirational. Mark Turner et al. describes His Majesty's leadership as 'Transformational' in their article 'Democratization by decree: the case of Bhutan'. Bhutan's democratization is puzzling even to scholars as conventional theories do not explain why democratization took place in Bhutan. So, Turner et al. attributes it to His Majesty's transformational leadership and strong state. For us, we know in hindsight that His Majesty had envisioned and planned the democratization process as far back as 1981 starting with the decentralization programs empowering the local government leaders. Isn't it truly great for a leader to give away his powers when many other political leaders in the world are busy trying to concentrate powers in their own hands?

Yet, democratization is not the only great thing that His Majesty has done

for Bhutan. There are many other great things that we take for granted. But if we really look at them deeply, then we begin to see the depth of His Majesty's wisdom and farsighted vision in those things too.

The first such great thing that comes to my mind is our tourism policy. Bhutan opened itself up to tourism in 1974 and has since followed a policy of 'high value low impact' tourism. For a small country with a fragile ecosystem, this policy has served us just right. If Bhutan has been able to preserve its pristine environment and its culture and identity largely intact today, this policy has had its part to play. At a time when neighboring countries like Nepal earned huge sums in foreign exchange from open tourism in the late 1970s and 1980s, it must have taken a huge courage and deep wisdom to stick to this controlled policy for tourism.

The second such great thing is our policy on environment conservation. Today, Bhutan has earned the respect and admiration from the world for its strong



policy for environmental protection. I do not have to delve into this detail, but this is all because of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo's farsighted vision and wisdom.

Thirdly, one of the greatest gifts that His Majesty has given us is our culture and identity. Today, we are proud of our identity as a Bhutanese wherever we go in the world. We are proud of our

culture too as culture and identity go hand in hand. For instance, we proudly wear our *Gho* and *Kira* today even when we are outside Bhutan. But this has not happened naturally or just by accident. It is the fruit of His Majesty's vision to make Bhutanese people realize the importance of their culture and identity and take steps to preserve it. There was a time when I was in primary school that many Bhutanese dressed in Western clothing even on formal occasions. The sense of national pride in our culture and identity has been revived during His Majesty's reign, thanks again to His farsighted wisdom.

Fourthly, His Majesty took upon Himself the great responsibility of protecting the security and sovereignty

of the nation at two critical times during His reign – one during the Southern Bhutan upheaval in the early 1990s, and the second one during the crisis of Indian insurgents' refusal to leave the jungles of Bhutan in early 2000s. In both situations, His Majesty ensured our security and sovereignty with His wisdom and selfless courage.

I could go on and on narrating other important achievements, but I will leave them for now though there are others which are equally well deserving of mention. Suffice it to say that His Majesty is a peerless leader in the modern age. He is truly a Transformational Leader – a leader who had a clear vision for the country and inspired and led His people to work towards achieving the vision. All I can say is that we, the Bhutanese are very lucky to have Him born in Bhutan.



Tshering Cigay Dorji, PhD is the CEO of Thimphu TechPark

Audit as an Essential Tool of Good Governance

Dorji Wangchuk (SELP-4)

His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo has always maintained that the people's welfare and wellbeing are of primary importance. The promotion of audit as an essential tool of good governance was driven by His extraordinary vision, that has tirelessly sought to advance public interest and welfare above all else.

Good Governance is the mainstay of the public administration and delivery of services. Every public sector reform and development agenda of the Royal Government emphasizes the principles of transparency and accountability to ensure proper safeguards of public interests. His Majesty's foresight to introduce an independent and impartial institution to render check and balance in the governance system is extraordinary and bears great depth. While most economically advanced countries continued to mull over the now ubiquitous mantras of "*transparency and accountability*", Bhutan had already embraced these concepts. While the promulgation of good governance in many societies and

organizations was sparked by failures, it was not really the case for Bhutan.

His Majesty, through the successive Royal Kashos, reiterated and reinforced the independence of the auditing institution. With the enactment of Audit Act of Bhutan in 2006 and adoption of the Constitution in 2008, the Royal Audit Authority (RAA) was declared as constitutional body granting solid mandates and independence. The RAA as it stands today, is professionally advanced and capable to conduct performance and thematic audits besides the regular financial audits. With expansionary trend of the developmental activities envisaged in successive Five Year Plans, the relevance of the auditing institution has further increased in recent times not only to ensure transparency and accountability of those charged with governance, but also to render basis for decision making through our reports and recommendations. As an oversight body of public operations, the RAA continuously strives to justify its mandates through its work of auditing and reporting, and playing

a vital role in ensuring that resources are spent judiciously and in the spirit of deriving "*economy and efficiency*" in the use of public resources.

We owe the existence of a well functioning accountability mechanism in our governance system to the astute leadership of our beloved Fourth Druk Gyalpo. Today with the accountability mechanism in place, millions of Ngultrums are saved annually from the treasury, besides making good of potential losses. His Majesty's vision of creating a corrupt-free society through promotion of accountability and transparency through the auditing system is, therefore, profound. All efficacious initiatives for promoting good governance find roots in the vision of His Majesty. Indeed, His deeds exemplify visionary leadership, commanding tremendous respect and admiration from within and outside the country.



Dorji Wangchuk is an Assistant Auditor General of the Royal Audit Authority

His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck and the Judicial Reforms

Tashi Chhozom (SELP-5)



The accession of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck to the Golden Throne as the Fourth Druk Gyalpo ushered in unprecedented reforms. He recognized the law as the foundation of people's peace and prosperity. Therefore, His Majesty's reign witnessed an extraordinary increase in the efforts to promote rule of law, access to justice and in general the role of the judiciary in promoting socio-economic development. His Majesty with a vision to establish an efficient and effective judicial system for the country, in the decree on appointment of the Judges, 1989 commanded that:

"The peace and happiness in a country depend on how properly, strongly, and impartially the justice is dispensed".

The judicial reforms in Bhutan were earnestly initiated from 1991 onwards. His Majesty in an address to Justices and Judges during 16th National Judicial Conference, 2002 commanded to:

"Adjudicate cases expeditiously, fairly, and inexpensively".

To fulfill the vision of His Majesty, the reforms included institutional, procedural, and adoption of substantive laws. Apart from the above mentioned fields of reform, there have been infra-

structural developments, enhancement of professionalism, introduction of user-friendly technologies (ICT), and making the judicial process more efficient and courts easily accessible.

Important institutional reforms like the National Judicial Conference was established in 1976, to deliberate on various legal issues, exchange experiences, and promote uniform application of the laws. Further, in pursuit of judicial independence and to improve overall institutional performance, separate judicial cadre was established in 1990 with decentralization of financial and administrative powers. More importantly, with the view to take justice nearer to the people, His Majesty established independent courts in all the Dungkhags. The National Judicial Commission was also established in 2003 under the Royal Decree to make recommendations for the appointment of the Chief Justice and the Justices of the appeal courts.

His Majesty in the decree to the Justices of the High Court, 1986 conveyed that:

"The court procedure should be for the practical purposes of public convenience and ensure their satisfaction of the court processes".

Therefore, to prevent undue delays and ensure efficient and effective delivery of justice, many procedural reforms were introduced. The Civil and Criminal Procedure Code was enacted in 2001 to strengthen the procedural aspects of a trial related to registration and hearing process. Further, in obedience to the Royal Command, the adjudication process had been expedited through introduction of various case and docket management principles. Likewise, to enhance professionalism 75 judicial forms were introduced. The access to justice has been made simple and effective, while keeping the cost of litigation inexpensive. The most substantial reforms amongst all, has been the initiation of the drafting process in 2001 and eventu-

al adoption of the Constitution in 2008, changing the system of governance to a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy.

In obedience to the Royal Command, the Penal Code was enacted in 2004. The Code consolidated existing laws pertaining to criminal offences and also included new offences in keeping with the changing time. It was intended to reinstate dignity to the victims of crime and increase the possibilities for rehabilitation of offenders (restorative justice). Therefore, His Majesty commanded the establishment of the Youth Development and Rehabilitation Centre for children in conflict with law. In 2004, His Majesty, through Royal Decree abolished capital punishment which has been canonized in our Constitution under Article 7 Section 18.

Besides institutional, procedural, and penal reforms, there has been major infrastructure development under the guidance of His Majesty. Reaffirming the doctrine of separation of power and independence of the judiciary, the separate new court buildings are in place in most of the Dzongkhags and Dungkhags. The new Supreme Court complex built on the command of His Majesty the King was inaugurated in 2014.

His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck is truly a unique personality and an extraordinary leader. He has been relentless in His pursuit to dispense justice expeditiously, fairly, and inexpensively. Therefore, during His reign, He dramatically reformed the judicial system and enhanced judicial process to the satisfaction of both the losers and the winners, enhancing the people's trust and confidence in justice delivery which is a necessity for any legal system.



Tashi Chhozom is a Justice at Supreme Court of Bhutan

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Passing the Leadership Baton: Hallmark of a Great Leader

Karma Galleg (SELP-3)



The 17th of December 2005 is a watershed moment in the history of modern Bhutan. It was on this day in the National Day Address at Tashiyangtse Dzongkhag, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo declared His decision to abdicate the Golden Throne in favour of His heir, the then Chhoetse Penlop Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, in the following lines:

"... the Chhoetse Penlop will be enthroned as the Fifth Druk Gyalpo in 2008. It is necessary and important for a king to gain as much experience as possible to serve his country to his fullest capacity, I will be delegating my responsibilities to the Chhoetse Penlop before 2008."

He handed over the reigns of leadership to the Fifth Druk Gyalpo on 9th December 2006 through a Royal Kasho. Rarely has history seen rulers or leaders relinquish their power in times of personal glory and stability. It was indeed

a selfless act of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo to pass the leadership baton to a young king at the zenith of His golden reign.

As a visionary leader, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo foresaw the need to put in place young leadership to guide the transition of the nation to a new system of constitutional monarchy; and attend to the aspirations and challenges of emerging young generation of Bhutanese population in the new millennium.

To this end, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo seems to have immaculately made succession planning many years in advance for a smooth leadership transition. The Crown Prince was educated in some of the best institutions of the world in politics and international affairs. The Crown Prince accompanied His Majesty in many of the tours to the countryside meeting the people and understanding their ground realities. He also represented the country in many international events. In October 2004, the Crown Prince was instated as the Choetse Penlop. Thus, the Crown Prince was rigorously groomed to take the leadership baton. The devolution of power from the throne was also carefully introduced through gradual process of decentralization with the establishment of Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdus in 1981,

Gewog Yargay Tshogchungs in 1991, and introduction of system of elected Council of Ministers by the National Assembly in 1998.

With the Fifth Druk Gyalpo at the helm for about nine years now, it is fortunate that the people and the country have inherited yet another visionary leader. Under His wise leadership, the country went through seamless transition to democratically elected form of government. The Fifth Druk Gyalpo introduced several new reforms and programmes to uplift the livelihood of rural population and introduced innovative systems and institutions to promote intelligent and ethical governance.

As the nation celebrates the 60th Birth Anniversary of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo, let us offer our deep gratitude and cherish the immeasurable contributions and selfless service of a great leader to His people and the country. Let us also pray for the continued prosperity, well-being and security of the country under the dynamic leadership of the Fifth Druk Gyalpo.



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An Extraordinary Servant-Leader

Phuntsho Rapten (SELP-4)

His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck served selflessly for 34 years in the interests of the people and nation, ushering in unprecedented peace, prosperity and happiness. Though His Majesty was only 16 when He took over the responsibilities of a king in 1972, His wisdom and actions were far ahead of the times in steering the wheel of governance to protecting the national sovereignty and security. While many nations were grappling with the issues of economic growth His Majesty realized the shortfalls of the western development models and

promulgated Gross National Happiness right from the early 1970s as the new paradigm for sustainable development and happiness. Hence, all the development activities in the country were directed towards people's wellbeing and happiness. These are self-evident from the *kashos* or decrees the Fourth King issued during His Golden Reign. This article attempts to extract the sacred nectar from a few selected *kashos* issued from 1976 to 2006.

Law being the foundation of stability, peace and happiness, His Majesty from the early years nurtured

and strengthened the Judiciary system. People's trust in the judiciary is largely influenced by the impartial justice and independent system. Hence from as early as 1976, His Majesty issued *kashos* to the Judiciary detailing clear procedures for the adjudication of cases - providing further clarity and harmony, and emphasizing the need to render just, impartial, efficient and effective court trials. In the *kasho* of 1989, His Majesty also emphasized on the need to appoint capable and good persons as judges.

For the majority of the population whose livelihood depend on farming,

His Majesty accorded highest priority in granting land *kidu* to landless people. Right from the 1980s, His Majesty issued *kashos* to the Home Minister stating that the land *kidu* was His Majesty's prerogative and neither the Home Minister nor the royal family members could grant land. To further ensure that the land *kidu* was awarded to deserving landless people and also to keep sufficient land for future generations, His Majesty decreed in 1985 that only family residing under one roof with less than three acres would be eligible for land *kidu*. Further, He decreed in 1986 that general land ceiling would also be applied to land belonging to members of royal family.

Planning must be right if development is to be inclusive. In 1986, His Majesty commanded the Planning Commission to frame policies and plans that meet the present needs without affecting our culture, religion, environment and political system. Development must be equitable and it should strive to achieve self-reliance. Further, it was explicitly stated that beginning with the 6th Five Year Plan the basis for the evaluation of plan success should be gauged by how happy our people were and whether they were living a comfortable life. This was a breakthrough in the planning cycle shifting focus on the 'result-based planning' from normal input-output process.

As the success of plans also largely depended on the bureaucracy's capabilities, a decree was issued to the Royal Civil Service Commission in 1986 to review the mechanical term-based promotion and institute performance-based evaluation. In 1993, it was further decreed to assign jobs to civil servants according to their capability and ensure right person in the right organization. Since future of the country lies in the hands of our youth, His Majesty issued a decree to the Minister of Health and

Education in 1998 to ensure equitable access to youth counselling and guidance programs and establish permanent trust fund to support youth programs.

His Majesty always

emphasized that the destiny of a country should not be dependent on a single person. In the midst of people's complacent attitudes, the nation was shocked when

His Majesty decreed the National Assembly in 1998 to discuss and resolve on the election of the council of ministers (instead of appointment) and casting of vote of no confidence against the King. Subsequently, His Majesty devolved full executive powers to the elected council of ministers. Further, on the command of His Majesty, drafting of the written Constitution was initiated in 2001. In 2006, the nation and the people were once again stunned when His Majesty issued the last *kasho* to abdicate the

Throne and handover the responsibilities to Choetse Penlop Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck. With the formal adoption of the Constitution in 2008, Bhutan witnessed a new history where the Fourth Druk Gyalpo voluntarily handed over the power to the people after 100 years of Monarchy and thereby, established parliamentary democracy.

All those *kashos* truly mirror His Majesty the Fourth King's visionary leadership and selfless service to the people and land of Pelden

Drukpa. Therefore, His Majesty the Fourth King is always revered by the Bhutanese as a Bodhisattva King for His immeasurable love, kindness and compassion to the people.

Long Live His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo and Palden Drukpa Lha Gyalo.



Hon. Phuntsho Rapten is an Eminent Member of National Council of Bhutan.



Remarkable Statesmanship of His Majesty the Fourth King

Tshering Lhadn (BEST-1, SELP-5)

The survival and mere existence of a small country has historically been an enduring challenge, and if not for great statesmanship it has either been engulfed by a greater nation or fallen prey to internal strife and challenges. But many have emerged victorious and stand today as equals among small and big nations in the global community, and some have even set ablaze international trends.

Bhutan's small size, and being a least developed and a landlocked country coupled with its geostrategic location is a formidable certainty yet our leaders have skillfully steered Bhutan from getting hauled into regional and global politics. Instead our leaders have consistently pursued the objective of fortifying its independent sovereign status, in addition to pursuing national development and self-reliance, friendly relations with our neighbours and all other states, and constructive engagement in regional and multilateral organisations.

Today, Bhutan enjoys membership to 90 intergovernmental organisations, has diplomatic relations with 53 countries, thereby firmly establishing its status as an independent sovereign state in the global community. Where US foreign policy has democracy, EU the human rights, Japan its human security, Bhutan is closely associated with the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) and has significantly made contribution to global community on the people centered holistic approach to development. Bhutan's standing today in the global community as an independent sovereign state and as a thought leader is a tribute to His Majesty the Fourth King for His remarkable wisdom, leadership and statesmanship.

Another notable art of statesmanship of His Majesty the Fourth King is incessantly working towards democratizing Bhutan to suit the changing times.

With the end of the World War II, there was a wave of decolonization and emergence of many new countries. Besides UN being actively involved in affirming the principle of self-determination for these decolonized coun-

tries, NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) formally established in 1955, played a crucial role in enabling many countries to gain independence. And since the establishment of UN, 80 former colonies have gained independence, including 11 Trust Territories. Most monarchies were abolished in the 20th century and became Republics.

As a member of NAM, Bhutan supported independence of territories that were under colonial powers. Self-determination and democratic system of governance was becoming the norm, especially in the face of Official Development Assistance being increasingly extended against the yardstick of practice of democracy. There began an increasing focus on the need for better governance in measuring aid effectiveness by having proper institutional arrangements. Some of the common governance variables ranged from democracy, political instability, rule of law, bureaucratic regulations, government effectiveness, and corruption, and that institutional quality is a key determinant of development and, most likely, aid effectiveness.

SINCE THE FOUNDING, THE MONARCHS OF BHUTAN CONTINUE TO BE THE AGENCY OF CHANGE AND PROGRESS, AND SYMBOL OF NATIONAL UNITY, PEACE AND STABILITY.

Political stability, popular participation and good governance are generally accepted as essentials for development to be successful. Accordingly in many countries there has been popular pressure to enhance people's participation and good governance based on pluralistic democratic politics.

The donors also often use the democratic practice of a country as a measuring yardstick to prioritize development aid, adding pressure to consolidate the democratization process of a recipient country. However, in many countries there have been rushed efforts to consolidate the democratization process, which have had negative impact on the development process.

In such a scenario, His Majesty in His visionary role embedded the

democratization process in Bhutan that stretched over a period of time. Believing that the future of the country lay in the hands of the people, His Majesty the Fourth King showed unwavering commitment and leadership to devolve power and in building a dynamic and popular system of governance that began in 1981, with the establishment of the Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdus (DYTs) as the institution at the district level to provide a platform for public participation in the development process and decision-making. Institutional arrangements were further fortified with the establishment of Election Commission, Office of Attorney General, and Anti-corruption Commission.

The process culminated into His Majesty gifting to the people of Bhutan the Constitution and parliamentary democracy in 2008. What can equal a gift so precious from the Throne?

The democratic system of governance was accepted unwillingly by the Bhutanese people, which they believed threatened the comfort of being looked after by the King. Essentially, as envisioned by His Majesty, the democratic form of governance has been firmly rooted in the country with two fruitful elections. A twofold gain from this democratic system continue to bless us; the all-encompassing wisdom and vision of His Majesty as Head of the State for enduring benefit of the people and country, and an elected government to represent the people. To the outside world that continues to gauge governance through the lens of democracy, Bhutan has earned credible standing among the comity of nations with our successful integration of democratic standards.

Since the founding, the Monarchs of Bhutan continue to be the agency of change and progress, and symbol of national unity, peace and stability.



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Reflection on Responsibility

Tshering Yangden (SELP-1)



William Shakespeare said that 'the world is a stage and we are all actors'. If we believe in what Shakespeare said, then we are all actors and have surely a role to play to make this world a better and a happier place to live in. How well each actor plays their role certainly depends on the skills of the scriptwriter, director, photographer, costume designer, the singer and so on. However, if we always depend on other factors and make conditional efforts in order to achieve our goals, we will have to pay a higher price and travel a longer distance to reach our destination.

What if the actors really take their role seriously not only on stage but also beyond? What if the actress 'Yangden' lives true to her values of love and loyalty towards "Rangdrol" not just on the stage of Sherubtse College but also in reality! What if the ideal teacher of the

award winning film 'Lopen Kadrinche' comes alive in the classrooms of our schools across the country! Is it not possible? There is no harm in dreaming!

It would be the dream of any teacher that every actor in this world plays his or her part well, so that the role of a teacher becomes much easier in making doctors, engineers, lawyers, actors, politicians and so on. This would be too idealistic but it would surely make a difference in the true sense of the word.

If parents commit to play their role in proper nurturing and upbringing of their children, they will not have to invest much in moulding them later in the adolescent stage. The normal complaints in the staff rooms of schools would be about arrogant and ill-mannered students, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy and juvenile delinquency. Such complaints will be much lesser and the effort spent there can be diverted

to some other areas of development if everyone has played their part well.

It falls back on the role of not just the parents and the teachers but how aware and supportive is the society in understanding and catering to the needs of the youth. Teachers will be able to do their part well to be able to share success stories if they are lucky enough to have well-raised students and supportive community.

Can't all parents and citizens be role models instead of just leaving it to the teachers and the school? Do they need a degree in Parenting Education or Bachelors in Education to be good and responsible parents? We might have illiterate parents in the remote villages who play their role far better and more sincerely than some of our parents with PhD! Education is not everything. Is it not possible for the parents to provide a continuation of the life that their children lead in school? The real disturbance and the confusion occur in our children when the continuity of the principles and values that they have been inculcated is disrupted be it at school or the home.

It could be the wish of most of the teachers to be as creative and committed to understanding and appreciating individual differences of their students just as the Bollywood star Amir Khan in the film "Taare Zameen Par". Of course the school leaders endeavour to inspire the teachers and students with the parents and the community in providing a congenial environment for growth and an atmosphere of openness and acceptance. Yet this does not suffice for the success of our children and teachers! As the world develops, complexity also multiplies. So do their needs.

The roles played by our kings have been invincible and amazing. They have been the father to the fatherless and mother to the motherless, and left no stone unturned in every aspect. It is a heaven on earth to have such kings. Our kings celebrate with us our victories together and are the first ones to reach the affected people during disasters to console and support them. People with disability and the vulnerable groups

of the population are very close to the hearts of the Monarchs.

On the same note women in Bhutan have come a long way since the dawn of modern education in 1913 under the reign of Ugyen Wangchuck, the first King of Bhutan. Thanks to King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, fondly referred to as the father of modern Bhutan, and our successive beloved Monarchs for their unconditional love and support for the Bhutanese women. Just as loving fathers would do, our Monarchs have ensured that our girls, like boys, not only go to school but stand on an equal footing.

During the reign of our Fourth King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, several institutions like the RENEW (Respect, Educate, Nurture and Empower Women) and NCWC (National Commission for Women and Children) were established

to take care of women and children. Bhutan had signed several international Conventions like the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1980, Vienna Declaration in 1983 and Beijing Plan of Action of 1995. A Royal decree was issued which stressed the importance of women's representation in the National Assembly. The Royal Civil Service Act has several clauses which take into consideration the special needs of women. The Marriage Act of 1980 and the Labour and Employment Act 2007 had also been amended to provide the required protection to women (NCWC, 2015). With such Royal patronage and empowering environment, there is much more role that the Bhutanese women can play.

Our beloved Kings have transcended the physical boundaries and material

development. Our Monarchs indeed have surpassed the horizon of knowledge and visioning. The sacrifices borne by our kings are immense. This is why Gross National Happiness, our country's development philosophy, is the brain child of our visionary King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo and the Constitutional Monarchy is thriving in Bhutan.

Everything comes and goes but our Monarchs remain for us, the citizens of Bhutan, as a source of eternal comfort and love through thick and thin.

Long live our beloved kings!



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Reference

1. National Commission for Women and Children. Publications, 21 October, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.ncwc.gov.bt/ncwc/> on 21 October, 2015.

Leadership in Perspective

Samdrup K. Thinley (SELP-1)

We keep on reiterating that leadership is the prime driver in accomplishing any activity, project or goal. And that is why the bookstores are overwhelmed with variety of books on leadership while countless institutions compete in offering training courses on leadership. Different styles of leaderships have been described with each having its strengths and weaknesses. A deeper insight points out that a leader must possess all types of leadership styles since the leader has to assume different roles in different situations. At home the leader is assuming the role of a husband or wife, father or mother, sister or brother. In the office, he is assuming the role of a leader for a unit or division, subordinate to his department boss and as colleague while working as a committee member.

Because the leader's primary job is to lead his team or group in a chosen direction, the leader must have a super vision to craft what we commonly call a "vision". Care must be taken to ensure that a vision is described in short, specific and simple words. Conversely, the more the words are used in describing a vision, the more vague and confusing it

becomes. Consider Gross National Happiness (GNH), a vision set out by the Drukgyal Zhipa for Bhutan. It is a vision so clear and simple, yet so profound.

The realization of vision is supported through successful implementation of multiple missions. For this reason a mission should address three key questions: What do we do? For whom do we do? and How do we do? The creation of *Dzongkhag Yargay Tshogdu* in 1981 and *Gewog Yargay Tshogchung* in 1991 was a mission accomplished to lay the bedrock foundation for successful conduct of first democratic election in 2008.

In order for the leader to inspire his followers, the leader becomes the change he would like to see by leading through example. Our beloved Drukgyal Zhipa lead the army to flush out the militant groups from southern Bhutan by risking His own life to protect the sovereignty and security of Bhutan. The establishment of Anti-Corruption Commission and fearless discharge of its duties by this agency only reminds us that good governance can only thrive in an environment where principles of transparency and accountability are constantly enforced. That the constitu-

tion mandates 60% of our country be kept under forest coverage ensures that the preservation of essential biodiversity and protection of water sources for hydropower generation will be maintained at all times to come.

To preserve what has been created, the leader needs to ensure its sustainability. With GNH as its vision coupled with good governance and strict environment conservation laws in place, Drukgyal Zhipa abdicated the throne in 2006 expressing His deep confidence in the successful succession planning for the Fifth Druk Gyalpo to take over the reign. His Majesty The Fifth Druk Gyalpo is the biggest gift that Bhutan inherited from Fourth Druk Gyalpo. We the Bhutanese people are more than blessed as His Majesty The King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck embarks in taking Bhutan to new levels of unprecedented peace, progress and prosperity.



Samdrup K. Thinley is the CEO of Bhutan Electricity Authority

Exemplars and Heroes

Robert Klitgaard



It is a pleasure and a privilege to celebrate with RIGSS alumni and the people of Bhutan the birthday of His Majesty the Fourth King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck. His example raises a question for us to consider. For each of us in our humble lives, what can be the role of heroes like the King?

The first point I would like to make is that across many cultures, one finds a common prototype of a hero. Heroes experience a calling. They attain an insight. They share the insight and serve. This heroic pattern represents an ideal of a full human life.

CALLING

You experience a calling to something when that something becomes apparent or obvious to you as the right thing for you to be or become. The psychologist Abraham H. Maslow studied “self-actualizing people,” his term for the “more matured, more fully human” among us. Their basic needs of belongingness, affection, respect, and self-esteem are gratified. They are spontaneous, natural, “more easily themselves than other people.” What motivates these people? “All such people,” Maslow writes, in italics, “are devoted to some task, call, vocation, beloved work (‘outside themselves’).”

What does this mean? Maslow elaborates.

In examining self-actualizing people directly, I find that in all cases, at least in our culture, they are dedicated people, devoted to some task “outside themselves,” some vocation, or duty, or beloved job. Generally the devotion and dedication is so marked that one can fairly use the old words vocation, or calling, or mission to describe their passionate, selfless, and profound feeling for their “work.” We could even use the words destiny or fate. I have sometimes

gone so far as to speak of oblation in the religious sense, in the sense of offering oneself upon some altar for some particular task, some cause outside oneself and bigger than oneself, something not merely selfish, something impersonal.¹

INSIGHT

One dictionary defines “insight” as “a clear understanding of the inner nature of some specific thing.” An insight surprises us, grabs us, satisfies us—it makes us say “Aha!” Arthur Koestler went so far as to characterize three of mankind’s most basic reactions as

“Ah!”—That feels good!

“Aha!”—That makes sense!

“Haha!”—That’s funny!²

The insight makes sense of things that heretofore were mysterious or contradictory or unconnected. The insight clarifies the world, not just one’s own calling, although the insight may explain the calling as well.

Sometimes the calling or the insight, or perhaps both, originate with what Maslow called a “peak experience.” Almost all his “self-actualizing” subjects had therapeutic effects from peak experiences described as “mystic” or “oceanic” or “a cognition of being.” Their insights were “so profound as to remove neurotic symptoms forever; or were followed by greater creativity, spontaneity, or expressiveness; or produced a more or less permanently changed, more healthy world-view, and so on.”³

SHARING AND SERVING

In the heroic progression, sharing and serving come next. The calling and the insight are not dedicated to the hero’s own well-being or sanctification. The hero shares his calling and insight with us—and he serves us.

What does “sharing” a calling and an insight mean? It is not the same as teaching a scientific theory or demonstrating a chemical reaction. This kind

of sharing is usually done artistically and/or through actions that make a difference wordlessly. It is shared by example. The hero shares by the way he lives his life.

Service is part of the equation. The hero's service is often directed toward people and causes that society tends to avoid and exclude. The hero serves the needy and the forgotten, even the sinners and the enemies of society.

THE FOURTH KING

In discussions at RIGSS, participants applied these categories to the Fourth King. Here are some of the comments:

- Calling: The King, replacing a fallen father while still a teenager. The commander-in-chief when insurgents threatened.
- Insight: Visionary of development (Gross National Happiness) and of democratic transition (moved Bhutan toward free elections). The insight to cherish and expand what is distinctive about

Bhutan while simultaneously opening up to the world.

• Sharing and serving: RIGSS participants shared many anecdotes about the King. He has never lived His life in a monastery; He is a living example of service.

The discussion concluded that His Majesty exemplifies a full human life. One that can inspire us, even imperfect us.

FOR NON HEROES, TOO?

If we experience a sense of rightness in a hero's saga, it may become a source of calling and insight to us, an inspiration for us to share and serve.

An artistic analogy is useful. "The spirit of an artist's gifts can wake our own," notes Lewis Hyde. "We may not have the power to profess our gifts as the artist does, and yet we come to recognize, and in a sense to receive, the endowments of our being through the agency of his creation."

"It is very similar in the domain of the religious consciousness, religious production, and revelation," wrote Rudolf Otto. "The prophet corresponds in the religious sphere to the creative artist in that of art: he is the man in whom the Spirit shows itself alike as the power to hear 'the voice within' and the power of divination, and in each case appears as a creative force."

We vary in our ability to find a calling, discover an insight, and live both calling and insight through sharing and serving. Those of us who have less ability and experience may well find our inspiration and instruction from those with gifts and lessons. They can, in small or large measure, be our heroes. And finding a hero helps us understand that a full human life is open to non-heroes, too, just like you and me.



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¹ Abraham H. Maslow, "A Theory of Metamotivation," in his *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature*. New York: Viking, 1971: 301.

² Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation*. New York: Macmillan, 1964: 105-9.

³ Abraham H. Maslow, "Cognition of Being in the Peak Experience," *Journal of General Psychology*, Vol. 95 (1959): 43-66.

Democracy and Environmental Conservation: Timeless Gifts to the Bhutanese from the Golden Throne

Kinley Tenzin (SELP-1)

Bhutan's burgeoning democratic system and successful environmental conservation practices are two of the many timeless gifts from the Golden Throne, which emanated from His Majesty the 4th King's farsighted and visionary leadership.

His Majesty the 4th King meticulously steered the country based on the development philosophy that for Bhutan "Gross National Happiness is more important than Gross Domestic Product." Even as Bhutan was progressing socio-economically, His Majesty the 4th King realized that a centralized power would not adequately empower grassroots to contribute optimally to nation building in the long run. To remedy this, His Majesty initiated programs of both administrative and political decentralization as soon as He acceded to the

throne. In 1981, District Development Committees consisting of elected members were established to decide on the development priorities of the individual districts. In 1991, the process was taken a step further with the establishment of Block Development Committees. These bodies worked to promote the democratic processes at the grassroots level. In 1998, His Majesty delegated full executive powers to the Council of Ministers elected by the National Assembly through a secret ballot.

His Majesty the 4th King spearheaded writing of a modern, forward looking and balanced Constitution. This wisdom is truly sublime and worthy of being remembered by Bhutanese from all walks of life. These moves were very systematically and chronologically administered before His Majesty found an opportune

time and the right milieu to declare His intentions to transition Bhutan into a constitutional democracy with all the necessary safeguards. This led to the historic first parliamentary elections in 2008 and put in place a parliament comprising of 47 elected members in the National Assembly (lower house) and 20 elected members and 5 eminent members nominated by the King in National Council (upper house).

His Majesty the 4th King attached great importance to promoting Bhutan's pristine environment and rich biodiversity. He placed environmental conservation at the center of Bhutan's development strategy mandating it as one of the four pillars of GNH. Consequently, Bhutan has acquired an international reputation as an environmentally exemplary nation, and as one of the global



hotspots for biodiversity. Forest covers over 72 per cent of the country's total area, and 51.44 per cent of the country has been declared as national parks, nature reserves and wildlife sanctuaries. In addition, the Constitution mandates that at least 60 per cent of the country remains forested for all times to come.

Today, Bhutan is a democratic country with strong environmental conservation practices, two of the many timeless gifts to the Bhutanese from the Golden Throne. It now becomes the collective responsibility of all Bhutanese – politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, civil society, and the public at large – to upkeep these and live up to the expectations of our beloved Monarchs. We must nurture the unique Bhutan-context democratic system, based on the principles of Gross National Happiness. The impacts of climate change can particularly loom large over an ecologically sensitive and vulnerable region as ours and Bhutan must be cognizant of this.

It is time that the people of Bhutan put their collective effort to take forward the conservation legacy of our beloved 4th King and that elected leaders lead our country and people by example.



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Of Greatness and The Great Fourth

Adrian Chan

This article explores notions of greatness and celebrates how these attributes are expressed in His Majesty the Fourth King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck.

"Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them".

INTRODUCTION – WHAT IS GREATNESS?

What is greatness? It is a preoccupation of the common man to aspire towards greatness. The motivation for doing so varies – for some, greatness is a means to an end; for others, greatness is the end in itself. Yet greatness is not easily defined and can be quite subjective. Not everyone achieves or even aspires towards the same brand of greatness. Some are born into a certain kind of greatness. Others grow into greatness. For yet others, being great simply isn't the goal, but merely an unwanted by-product of a quest for something even greater than greatness itself.

This article proposes that greatness be understood in association with impact, power, and renown. The subjectivity of greatness lies in how impact is felt. In this, anyone has the potential to do great things. Even the worst of sinners can perform great acts of humanity. The ordinary, daily sacrifices of a parent for a

child are great acts as well. Acts performed in secret for the good of others are also great.

Whether great acts transcend into greatness in a person depends on how power and renown is acquired and managed. By this token, the same sinner who abused power to perform acts of humanity can no longer be considered great. The sacrifices of the parent for the child in order to outperform other parents no longer makes the parent great, but merely competitive. The person who fails to handle renown gained when secret acts of kindness are made public is no longer great, only good. In all three examples, while the great acts remain, greatness is not achieved. Impact, power and renown go together. How power and renown is managed determines greatness.

IMPACT OF THE GREAT FOURTH

Great people shape history. In his book, "On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History", the Scottish writ-

er Thomas Carlyle argued that historical events are directly shaped by the actions of "heroes" ².

The Great Fourth, as King Jigme Singye Wangchuck is now very fondly known, is a shaper of the history of Bhutan, whose great acts of leadership have impacted many Bhutanese. Building on the endeavours of His predecessors, the Fourth King brought Bhutan into the modern era. An accomplished diplomat, He was a key influencer of Bhutan's relations with the rest of the world. As a leader, the Fourth King is synonymous with the development of modern day Bhutan.

While the Fourth King clearly was an impactful monarch, His greatness is even more astounding when one takes into account how He was Himself impacted by historical events before He was king. Thrust into the monarchy at a tender age of 17, He was the youngest king in the Wangchuck Dynasty to inherit the Raven Crown. Great men are great learners and survivors. Regardless



of the hand dealt by fate, they make do, then make things happen. His Majesty the Fourth King not only weathered a premature entry into monarchy, He thrived to eventually take His country and people to the path of modernity and happiness never known to them before. The greatness of the Fourth King lies not just in His eventual accomplishments, but also rests in His initial wrestling with the particular circumstances surrounding His early ascension.

POWER MANAGEMENT BY THE GREAT FOURTH

Great people wield great power. Power is a necessary pre-requisite for impactful action, but power management determines greatness. Unfortunately, people with great power run the risk of doing bad things. So many have failed the power test that it prompted the historian and moralist, John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, first Baron Acton (1834–1902) to conclude in a letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton in 1887:

“Power tends to corrupt, and absolute

power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men³.”

Greatness attracts, but power seduces. As viewed by an outsider, the transfer of power in Bhutan by His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck is testament to His greatness.

The Wangchuck Dynasty that founded modern Bhutan is a dynasty that is benign, impactful and loved. The Fourth King personifies that powerful blend of decisive action, wisdom, and heart for His kingdom that has won Him respect and endeared Him to His subjects. The dynasty was not in danger of failing. Yet, this king willingly, even forcibly against His own subjects’ wishes, set in motion a transfer of power that restricts the dynasty to that of a constitutional monarchy. In doing so, He volitionally and irrevocably redistributed the absolute power of a monarchy to His people. Power mongering was not His preoccupation. The welfare of His people was.

His Majesty the Fourth King has demonstrated that a great person does

not need power as a crutch, because it is how one masters power without being mastered by it that amounts to greatness. He did what He needed to do with the power He had, and then He handed it over. To be able to do great things for one’s kingdom and not be enraptured by the seduction of power is a measure of true greatness.

RENOWN AS MANAGED BY THE GREAT FOURTH

Great people are people of renown. Revered by many, their renown grows when others speak well of them. However, they are not self-absorbed or bought in by the flightiness of reputation, nor do they focus on the state of their own prestige. They leave the desire to accumulate renown to others while they focus on the job at hand.

At the point of abdication, His Majesty the Fourth King was still in the prime of health and at the height of His powers. To a lesser king, to abdicate is to acknowledge failure. Abdication puts a carefully built legacy at risk. A lesser king concerned with renown would have wanted to remain in control. Yet, in choosing to abdicate for His son while at the height of His powers, the Fourth King clearly demonstrates how unimportant His personal renown is to Him. By acting free of the trappings of renown, He not only secured a smooth transition, but also ironically gained even more renown. Greatness simply cannot be concealed.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck was born into greatness. At an early age, He had greatness thrust upon Him. During His reign, He achieved greatness. Yet above all, His true greatness was that He did not consider greatness something to be grasped, but humbled Himself before the task of ruling a kingdom as best as He could before submitting Himself to the end of His reign by abdicating in favour of His son. He is a wonderful exemplar of a great king. Even a foreigner can see that.



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¹ Act 2 Scene 5 of Twelfth Night, Shakespeare, William.

² Thomas Carlyle, “The Hero as Divinity” in: Heroes and Hero-Worship (1840).

³ Letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton, April 5, 1887 published in Historical Essays and Studies, edited by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (London: Macmillan, 1907)

Livestock's Development Voyage and the Guiding Lighthouse

Naiten Wangchuk (SELP-5)



BACKGROUND

Livestock development plan began in Bhutan only in 1961 but it significantly influenced Bhutanese lifestyle, culture and farming system even prior to the advent of development plan; primarily providing food and non-food functions such as provision of draught power, enrichment of soil nutrient, facilitation of barter trading, payment of household tax, religious sacrifice and indicator of household wealth. While most non-food functions have faded with evolving changes draft power, soil nutrient and food functions are still relevant. Thus, livestock development strategies were aligned to address the changing needs and priorities of the households – farming as well as the consumer households. All along, livestock's development blueprint was framed consultatively. However, closer review, guidance and endorsement by the King was solicited to usher development for the greater cause of nation's sovereignty and security, economic stability and wellbeing of the citizens, and our Kings have guided us with immaculate wisdom.

Of all the development period, for this article, I emphasize on 3rd Five Year Plan (FYP) to 6th FYP – a period when the Planning Commission was

directly under the Chairmanship of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck. But, in no way do I intend to underemphasize His Majesty's contribution for development prior to assumption of Chairmanship and after relinquishing of Chairmanship. The Fourth Druk Gyalpo's contributions are priceless, timeless and profound.

THE FIRST DECADE OF LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT (1961-1971)

This period was a preparatory phase for adoption of modern livestock farming. The modern way of livestock farming was characterized with proper housing, feeding, breeding and treatment; a holistic package with good recording system. It was in contrast to the traditional migratory and forest dependent herding system. Thus, modern farming system began by setting up of government farms and veterinary dispensaries and simultaneously by developing human resources to cater for health services. Seven livestock farms, mostly integrated, and eight veterinary dispensaries were established. Initially six people were trained in veterinary and animal husbandry management in India and other six people were trained at Samtse farm. While livestock farms, veterinary dispensaries and human

resources were getting set up gradually their competence and credibility were tested with the outbreak of Rinderpest in 1968 and 1969. This outbreak possibility must have triggered the training of more veterinary compounders, veterinary assistants and livestock assistants. By end of 2nd FYP twenty eight additional veterinary compounders, veterinary assistants and livestock assistants were locally trained and employed.

FARM INTENSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF INPUTS (1972-1976)

In the 3rd FYP existing farm capacity were increased and three additional livestock farms were established to expedite livestock breed improvement activities and initiate distribution of exotic livestock breeds and cross breeds to farmers. Despite distribution of exotic and cross breeds to farmers, substantial impacts were not witnessed in the field. The reason, perhaps, could be due to lack of extension agency to closely monitor and advise farmers on improved husbandry and farm management practices. Thus, modern livestock farming were more or less concentrated only in Government farms.

DECENTRALIZED PLANNING AND INTENSIVE LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS (1976-1981)

Planning Commission was established in 1971 but decentralized planning with involvement of local bodies was initiated only in the 4th FYP. With decentralization, livestock development activities were expanded from government farm to the field. Development in the field was accelerated by setting up intensive livestock development projects in potential Dzongkhags. Seven Dzongkhags: Haa, Tashigang, Tsirang, Daga-na, Bumthang, Wangdue and Lhuentse were selected mainly for intensive cross breeding of native livestock breeds with exotic ones to enhance productivity. For instance, in cattle, artificial insemination (AI) was initiated to expedite breed improvement and enhance productivity. To facilitate marketing of milk, few milk booths were also established.

FORMULATION OF HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT PACKAGES AND LEGAL INSTRUMENTS (1981-1987)

Livestock development intensification project continued in the 5th FYP. It was noted that feed and fodder development was lagging as compared to breed improvement and health services. Hence, holistic development package was formulated constituting breed improvement, health, extension, and feed and fodder development services. With increasing demand for services and their complexities in delivery, the need for legal instruments was felt. Hence, Livestock Act and few policy guidelines were introduced for effective delivery of services and support to relevant clients.

POTENTIAL BASED LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING (1987-1992)

The practice of intensive livestock development was continued even in the 6th FYP. Additional projects were included to pursue potential based development and these projects were collectively mainstreamed under Intensive Livestock Development Program. The program constituted the following projects: High Altitude Area Development Projects (HADP), Highland Livestock Development Projects (HLDP) and Integrated Fishery Development Project (IFDP), and it covered 35 Geogs of the total 192 Geogs. Livestock development in the remaining Geogs was implemented by Dzongkhags under General Livestock Development Program. Demand for livestock inputs and services increased; and the emerging demand in turn called for strengthening of livestock institutions. Livestock breeding farms, diagnostic laboratories, vaccine production centers, veterinary hospitals, fodder seed production centers, livestock research centers, artificial insemination center, medicine store and Directorate are some of the important institutions that were established and intricately linked to enable proper monitoring and evaluation of the development progress.

By end of 6th FYP, following were the key milestones achieved: 12 MSc. students graduated in veterinary science; 38 AI centers established; a cold chain and a milk plant established; AI in yak initiated; LN2 plant established; sufficient temperate grass seeds produced; veterinary services strengthened; provisional declaration for Rinderpest

free status obtained; establishment of 30 private livestock farms facilitated; veterinary services strengthened; and livestock institutions for administration, monitoring and evaluation of livestock's services and progress strengthened.

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT AND EVENTS BEYOND 1992

In 1991, His Majesty relinquished Chairmanship of the Planning Commission and by 1998, governance of the country was also handed over to Cabinet Ministers. Perhaps, there were other priorities such as disturbance of 1990s and infiltration of the external militant groups in the country requiring His Majesty's interventions. Despite such disturbances within the country, livestock development continued without hindrances adopting the Renewable Natural Resources (RNR) Concept promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture. The objective of the RNR concept was to integrate Agriculture, Livestock and Forestry to enhance service delivery to farmers. The concept was good in principle but it did not yield the expected result; rather it almost derailed Livestock as an institution – delinking input supply farms and the extension services in the Dzongkhags. Nonetheless, Livestock institution was able to reorganize and re-strengthen in the 9th FYP. Right from the 1st FYP to the end of 9th FYP, performance of livestock was assessed and reported based on the inputs and services provided to the farmers. It called for reviewing and institution of performance assessment system based on end products rather than the means. Therefore, in the 10th FYP; One Geog Three Product (OGTP) concept was adopted to enable production based on potential of the Geogs and facilitate performance assessment based on end products. Accordingly, institutional readjustment was made by instituting Commodity Development Programs. Currently, there are five Commodity Development programs (Dairy, Poultry, Piggery, Fishery and highland) and three Service Oriented Programs (Health, Nutrition and Research).

Right from the start of first FYP, self-sufficiency and food security has been the overarching goal. Progress has been gradual but more needs to be done to attain the goal through prioritized investment, realignment of strategies and reinforcement of production capability.

THE GUIDING LIGHTHOUSE

In the environment of resource scarcity, prudence and focus were a necessity and His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo has provided unconditional development guidance during His reign. Time and again we were reminded that the ultimate objective of the development is to generate happiness and peace for all Bhutanese, and to ensure stability and sovereignty for Bhutan.

While in pursuit of economic progress and development, most often, we tend to overlook the sustainability aspects of development and its relevance to one's farming tradition and culture. A case in example is the genetic deterioration of our *Jatsha* and *Jatsham* due to lack of quality *Nublang* bulls. We were obsessed with milk productivity per se of exotic cattle and ignored other desirable traits of our *Nublang* and their potential to contribute towards genetic diversity. Had it not been the Fourth Druk Gyalpo's command to set up farm for *Nublang*, Mithun, native pig (*sa-pha* and *dom-pha*), native chicken and native sheep, our native livestock species could have become rare. Currently, we have successfully conserved our native livestock species (both in situ and ex situ) in collaboration with National Bio-diversity Conservation Center.

Other hallmark of His Majesty is His selfless Compassion for animals and their welfare. We are constantly reminded to farm animals as close as possible to the natural setting to enable animals to express their innate behaviors.

As I reflect on His Majesty's command and guidance, it literally sums up to one word: "SUSTAINABILITY". While the entire world is reviewing and realigning their lifestyle to make development approaches more sustainable, we in Bhutan have been practicing it for many decades under the wise and farsighted leadership of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo. It is a profound merit and blessing to receive His Majesty's wisdom, guidance and compassion.

As we continue on our development voyage, we will constantly seek blessings of the Royal Lighthouse of Wisdom to keep us on the track of sustainability.



Naiten Wangchuk is Chief Livestock Officer at Department of Livestock, Ministry of Agriculture and Forests

Inspiring Lives, Securing Sovereignty

Tandin Wangmo (SELP-4)

"Leadership is not about titles, positions, or flow charts. It is about one life influencing another." – John C. Maxwell



Bhutan has many things to be proud of, but the one thing that Bhutan can be really proud of, in eons to come, is the one leader who truly inspires millions beyond the Bhutanese boundaries, and makes us believe in the goodness of humanity. The one leader who not only created history but also ensured the peace, security and sovereignty of our nation, our beloved Fourth Druk Gyalpo, His Majesty the King Jigme Singye Wangchuck. I feel thus, because I had the unique privilege and opportunity of being personally touched and inspired by our great King during the operation "Flush Out" in Dewathang in 2003.

I was volunteering at the Military Hospital to coordinate blood donations and food for both casualties and health workers. So I was at the hospital round the clock particularly just before and during the operation. His Majesty had

been in Dewathang many times even before the operation started and granted audience to the military personnel and families many times, sharing private and light moments with His citizens when His heart would have been heavy with the looming threat! What really amazed me was that our King would remember which Aum had a cough the last time He met her or whose son was not well, or who was dating who! Such concerns and love from a king for His citizens is something that the rest of the world may have read about in books or watched in movies, but experienced truly only in Bhutan.

When other leaders in such situations would be travelling in bullet-proof cars with very tight security, He travelled the length and breadth of the militant infested thick forests and high mountains with a very small group of men. He had given personal assurance to the soldiers' wives that He would

take good care of their husbands, and that each one would be informed about the whereabouts of the men.

The Army Chief or the Wing Commandant(s) could have led the operation, but no, it was our King Himself who personally walked through the dense mountains fearlessly and selflessly, without food or water for days. He not only led the operation, but also led teams into the most dangerous zones in Dewathang, Geleyphug and Kalikhola, and spent many sleepless nights in the forests, in remote villages and in make-shift shacks. As if those were not enough, He would personally visit the injured in the hospital every single day while He was in Dewathang and also offered prayers to the martyrs. Such humility, sensitivity and empathy in light of the imminent threat still brings out tears and fills the heart with love and pride for such magnanimity!

During those days, I saw our beloved King as a real Buddha, a most valiant warrior and a very affectionate parent, inspiring His citizens to stand together, and fearlessly leading the operation, that began on the 13th December 2003 and ended on the 15th December 2003. News of the victory was announced on 17th December 2003, the National Day, by His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck who was then Choetse Penlop. Thus, 17th December will always be a big day in the lives of Bhutanese people. It was really not a big surprise when His Majesty did not stay back in the affected regions to celebrate victory! He immediately left for the capital and let the families catch up. No parties, no drum rolls, no victory banners. But what did happen was the surge of unwavering love, devotion and loyalty to our beloved Fourth Druk Gyalpo and the Wangchuck Dynasty.



Tandin Wangmo is the Executive Director of RENEW

A Selfless King, Letting It All Go

Chencho T. Namgay (SELP-5)



A quick Google search on abdication by a monarch generally reveals a few distinct results and of prominence seem to be the abdication of King Edward VIII of the British Empire in 1936 and the more recent abdication of the throne by King Juan Carlos of Spain in 2014. No doubt, abdication by a monarch is a rare event, with the reign of most monarchs ending by their death, generally true even for the Wangchuck Dynasty in Bhutan. History, however, does not provide any testimony of a voluntary abdication by a Monarch at the prime of His reign, with the vulnerability of the country at a low and the citizens enjoying the best of socio-economic times.

Time stood still, the legend of the Himalayas took on a new meaning, the whole world watched in awe and bowed in respect at the selflessness of a glorious leader, when His Majesty the Fourth King, the monarch of the Kingdom of Bhutan, at the age of 51, abdicated the throne on December 9, 2006. Although the announcement on intent to abdicate was made a year earlier, there is little doubt in my mind, that this was part of a vision planned long before the actual

announcement. The reign of Drukgyal Zhipa is filled with anecdotes of masterfully planned visions and perfectly timed implementations.

Although it may be belittling to focus on the abdication aspect of the reign of a glorious leader instead of the many visionary and selfless contributions, this final decision of the glorious reign is rarely spoken of and discussed, even though it is of immeasurable significance. Human instincts tell us to hold on, to become attached. Examples are plenty and for every one to see, when it comes to clinging on, of asserting self-importance and in not being able to let go.

Only a monarch, who always put the benefit of the country and the people first, chose to lead by example in His entire reign, would be capable of letting it all go. At a time when the respect for monarchy and particularly for Drukgyal Zhipa Himself had even surpassed reverence for gods, a time to bask in the glory, enjoy the fruits of the many decades of hard work, His Majesty the Great Fourth, chose to let it all go. Perhaps, Drukgyal Zhipa felt the readiness of an able Crown Prince to

take over the reign and take the country to greater peace and prosperity, perhaps His Majesty felt the necessity to impose upon the people to be responsible for their own future, perhaps this was the last master stroke of a visionary leader for the benefit of the country and the people, we can only speculate.

The boldest and the strongest benchmark of a selfless leader through the act of abdication was set for mankind, to forever appreciate and aspire for. True love is perhaps inspired through freedom and not possession. Whatever may be the reasons for the seemingly surprise abdication, small minds like ours will rarely be able to fully comprehend the act of the great visionary. We can only watch in awe, be inspired and emulate in whatever small ways we can.



Chencho T. Namgay is the Associate Director, Department of Finance, Druk Holding and Investments

THE FUTURE OF INDIA-BHUTAN RELATIONS

11th Friday Forum Lecture by **Ambassador Dalip Mehta**, 4th September, 2015.



Excellencies, Mr. Chewang Rinzin and members of the Faculty of RIGSS, distinguished guests.

It is a privilege to be invited to speak at this prestigious Institute that has the blessings and guidance of His Majesty The King, and that too in the 60th year of His Majesty the Fourth King.

I speak here today with a distinct sense of nostalgia. For it is here in Phuntsoling that I first encountered Bhutan, 40 years ago, in 1975, when I was heading to Thimphu to join the Indian Mission. At that time Paro airport did not exist and one had to undertake the long and tiring rail and road journey from Delhi. Phuntsoling, like much else in Bhutan, was very different those long years ago, not the bustling place it is today, but a small provincial town. I am therefore delighted to be here today.

Over the years so much has been written and said on Bhutan-India relations that it is not easy to say much that is new. Therefore let me begin by going back a little in time.

Political and trade relations between Bhutan and India have existed for centuries, while more formal relations began in the 1770s when Warren Hastings of the East India Company sent a mission to Bhutan. However, the modern era of relations began during the reign of the third king, His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, when Bhutan began to emerge from its self-imposed isolation, coinciding with India's emergence as an independent country. The 1949 Treaty of Friendship formalised relations between the two countries which grew from the spirit of the visits of the King to India, and of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to Bhutan in 1958.

Nehru's visit was perhaps the defining moment in our bilateral relations, for it was in Paro, that he stated India's policy towards Bhutan. That policy is as true in spirit today as it was that day, nearly 60 years ago. His speech has been often quoted but it bears repetition: "Some may think since India is a great and powerful country and Bhutan a

small one, the former may wish to exercise pressure on Bhutan. It is therefore essential that I make it clear that our only wish is that you should remain an independent country, choosing your own way of life and taking the path of progress according to your own will."

NEHRU'S VISIT WAS PERHAPS THE DEFINING MOMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, FOR IT WAS IN PARO, THAT HE STATED INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS BHUTAN.

Following Nehru's visit and the excellent rapport and trust established with the king, financial and other assistance from India began to flow into Bhutan. Relations at all levels and diverse fields, however, truly intensified during the reign of the fourth king, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck. It is well to remember what He once said, and I quote, "that over the years the two countries have established and strengthened a mutually beneficial relationship. We have shown to the world that an enlightened and farsighted leadership make it possible for a large and

powerful country like India to co-exist with a small neighbour like Bhutan in perfect harmony, understanding and friendship." It is under the wise and visionary leadership of the fourth king that bilateral relations took firm root, and if it was the Third King who laid the firm foundations of India-Bhutan friendship, the Fourth King will always be remembered as the architect of the excellent relations that exist between the two countries today.

India has always respected the fundamentals of Bhutan's abiding policies which are the preservation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, achieving economic self-reliance, and the preservation of its distinct and ancient religious and cultural heritage.

I should now like to recall what His Majesty as Crown Prince said at the time of the signing of the India-Bhutan Friendship Treaty of 2007, which superseded the 1949 Treaty. His Majesty said, and I quote: *"it truly reflects the unchanging and steadfast nature of the bonds of our friendship."* He added, and I quote again: *"inspite of the transformation in regional and global politics as well as our own relationship, with the signing of this Treaty it is my firm belief that our ties will become even stronger even as they grow more diverse."*

Article 4 states, inter alia, that the Royal Government is free to import through or from India whatever arms, ammunition and other warlike materials for the welfare of Bhutan so long as there is no danger to India from such importation.

It is clear from the spirit and language of these articles, indeed from the text of the entire treaty, that India and Bhutan treat each other as equal and sovereign nations. Today we have a partnership of complete equality and

IF IT WAS THE THIRD KING WHO LAID THE FIRM FOUNDATIONS OF INDIA-BHUTAN FRIENDSHIP, THE FOURTH KING WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED AS THE ARCHITECT OF THE EXCELLENT RELATIONS THAT EXIST BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES TODAY.

trust, regardless of the difference in size and population.

The Friendship Treaty of 2007 finally puts to rest the asymmetry of the 1949 Treaty which had caused so much resentment in Bhutan.

Ever since my first posting to Bhutan in 1975, and then again in 1995, I have followed closely the path of our evolving relations. And while today they are steady and mutually beneficial, in all honesty I must say there have been

recent times. The first was the meeting in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012 of the Prime Ministers of Bhutan and China. The meeting may well have been just a friendly courtesy meeting, but considering the Indian prime minister was also in Rio, perhaps even staying in the same hotel, a prior mention would have allayed any misunderstanding. Instead, all kinds of motives were being attributed, and the speculation led to an unnecessary awkward situation.

Another entirely avoidable misunderstanding concerned the withdrawal of subsidies on cooking gas and kerosene by the Government of India in 2013. This decision caused great hardship and inconvenience to the people of Bhutan; these were reported in detail in the Kuensels at that time. All kinds of ulterior motives were being ascribed to the Indian government's action. Nobody in Bhutan believed that a country with an economy the size of India's could not provide the finance to subsidize essential commodities in Bhutan, especially those that affect the life of the common man. Likewise, the rupee crunch being faced in Bhutan at about the same time was also seen as a deliberate and unfriendly act to pressurize the Royal Government, for whatever reason. Such actions needlessly put a shadow on our bilateral relations. Often such actions arise merely from the rule-bound rigidity of officials –which I believe was the reason for the cooking gas crisis, and in no way reflect the political policies of the Government of India. Yet it led to entirely avoidable tensions and misunderstandings.

In today's world, governmental actions are often played up in the media, in television talk shows, and these do influence public perceptions. The media can be intrusive and judgemental without knowing all the facts, frequently with unfortunate consequences. This is another dimension that must be borne in mind.

When Bhutan first began the process of modernization in the 1960s, its manpower was ill-equipped to take on the formidable task, so it was largely Indian experts who were called upon to assist and advise. Over the years Bhutan has trained an exceptionally professional and capable cadre of officials, diplomats, doctors, teachers, engineers and others, greatly reducing its need for outside expertise. In the years to come this



It is useful to emphasize the spirit of this Treaty in its Articles 2 and 4. Article 2 clearly states that both countries shall cooperate closely with each other on issues relating to their national interests and shall not allow their territories to be used for activities harmful to the national security interests of each other.

times of stress and misunderstandings. Fortunately, these misunderstandings have been resolved, but to ignore them would be a serious mistake. For then we risk such misunderstandings arising again.

Let me give two examples from

dependence will decrease even further. India can and will of course continue to assist with projects such as building roads and hydro-electric power, but to sustain a meaningful and mutually beneficial relationship, Bhutan and India must continue to find new areas for cooperation- areas where Indians and Bhutanese can work together and gain from each other's experience.

There are many areas in which these should now be explored- areas such as pharmaceuticals, information technology, food processing, and in developing and harnessing alternate sources of energy such as solar power and wind power. We must also work together in tackling the effects of climate change—so visible in our region with the shrinking of glaciers and the effect this might have on our water sources, agriculture and, indeed, every aspect of the livelihoods of the people of Bhutan and India. Climate change is one example of a field where cooperation is essential between India and Bhutan, so interlinked is our geography. Moreover, this, together with other aspects of environmental action, such as the management of river systems, the conservation of flora and fauna, is an area where Bhutan has much to teach India.

Bhutan's smooth transition to parliamentary democracy, the free and fair manner in which it has conducted its elections, has evoked great admiration in India. I must add that during this period Bhutan has had the enormous advantage of having a King, His Majesty Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, whose wisdom, compassion, deep understanding of His people's aspirations, and above all His immense moral authority, has ensured that parliamentary democracy, reflecting the will of the people, works so effectively in Bhutan. Here too we in India, a larger and more unruly democracy, have much to learn from Bhutan.

Looking to the future, I hope both countries will work to widen the scope of people to people contact, with more exchange of students, academics, journalists, tourists, artists and craftspeople, pilgrims, as well as parliamentarians and civil servants. The Bhutan-India Foundation should broaden its activities to encourage greater understanding and appreciation of each other's culture, heritage and value systems.



Let me now say something about the Indian agencies working in Bhutan, and their role in the future. Several of them have done pioneering work, often in the most arduous conditions, but over time have handed over their responsibilities to their Bhutanese colleagues. Examples that come to mind are the Geological Survey of India at Samtse, and the office of the Police Advisor in Thimphu. Dantak, the Border Roads Organization in Bhutan has, over the years, done sterling work constructing roads, bridges, hospitals, schools and many other projects. Indeed it continues to do so. However, with time, their work load decreased,

I MUST ADD THAT IT WAS THE OPEN AND FRANK NATURE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE COMPLETE CONFIDENCE AND TRUST OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN HIS MAJESTY'S WORD, THAT MADE THIS RESOLUTION OF A SENSITIVE ISSUE, POSSIBLE.

taken over by other agencies, so it was decided to handover their sprawling complex in Deothang back to the Royal Bhutan Army. Dantak is now headquartered in a more modest complex on the outskirts of Thimphu, commensurate with its reduced obligations.

IMTRAT, the Indian Military Training Team, has likewise done highly praiseworthy work over the decades, helping to train and modernize the Royal Bhutan Army, with which it continues to have excellent relations. IMTRAT is greatly respected by the Bhutanese for all it has done to help make the RBA into an outstanding fighting force. No doubt,

in years to come IMTRAT's role too will evolve as Bhutan's own defence capabilities grow, though the close cooperation between our two armies will continue.

Today there is an ongoing debate on the concept of sovereignty and by this I do not mean territorial sovereignty per se but the action that one country may take across the borders of another. Also, whether a country can do whatever it likes within its own borders. Take, for example, Iran's nuclear programme. For years it developed its nuclear capability, but when suspicions arose that the programme may not be for entirely peaceful purposes, sanctions by outside powers were imposed, with serious consequences for the Iranian economy and the welfare of the Iranian people. Another example is terrorism. When America felt its national security was threatened, it did not hesitate to kill Osama Bin Laden, completely ignoring Pakistan's territorial sovereignty.

In our bilateral context, the presence of ULFA and Bodo militants in southern Bhutan, where they had established camps, was seen by the Indian government as a serious threat to India's security and integrity. How to deal with this problem was the subject of much discussion between our two governments. Finally, it was His Majesty the Fourth King's firm assurance that the Royal Bhutan Army would ensure their eviction from Bhutanese territory, which they did with resounding success in a swift military operation in December 2003, that brought this difficult situation

to an end. I must add that it was the open and frank nature of our bilateral relations, the complete confidence and trust of the Indian government in His Majesty's word, that made this resolution of a sensitive issue, possible.

Now a few words about developments which have had reverberations in our region. Take for example, the Chinese occupation of Tibet in the 1950s—this resulted in the Royal Government deciding to seal its borders with Tibet with which Bhutan for centuries had trade, religious, social and other close links. When Sikkim, a neighbouring state, lost its special identity as a protectorate in the 1970s and became an integral part of India, there was shock in Bhutan— not because Bhutan felt threatened, enjoying as it did sovereign status with its membership of the United Nations, but because it was in a sense the demise of an entity. Then, there was the birth of a new country, Bangladesh, following a bloody war. More recently, in Nepal, there was constant turmoil in its internal politics during the period which saw the end of monarchy, the rise to power of Maoists, and a series of

today's world, which can often be the thin edge of the wedge, especially where small countries are concerned. Take for example the case of some African countries which had welcomed but are now feeling the impact of China's overbearing presence, both in terms of the thousands of Chinese workers and business people working in these countries, and also the huge amount of money inflows which their economies are unable to easily absorb. There is growing resentment that their cultural and social value systems are being irreversibly altered and diluted.

Let me now turn to Bhutan's relations with China. India's own relations with China are complex and keep fluctuating. There is the constant fear that China is attempting to encircle India militarily both on land and at sea. Inroads are steadily being made into neighbouring countries, which are inimical to India's security interests. In consequence of these developments, the Government of India is taking necessary measures to safeguard its interests and is confident of the Royal Government's full understanding.



unstable governments following one another. All these developments inevitably changed the geo-strategic environment of the region, and though they did not directly affect Bhutan or India-Bhutan relations, the dynamics of the region were irreversibly altered.

Perhaps it would not be out of place in this context to say a few words about cultural and economic imperialism in

It is for Bhutan to decide on the nature and extent of its relations with China. When to establish diplomatic relations is of course entirely for the Royal Government to decide. As far as the common border between China and Bhutan is concerned, the two countries have just concluded their 23rd round of talks in Thimphu, to their common satisfaction. Sooner or later the two countries

IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT IN THE FUTURE, BHUTAN'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA, OR FOR THAT MATTER WITH ANY OTHER COUNTRY, WILL NOT IN ANY WAY AFFECT ITS RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

will finalise the demarcation of their border. While doing so I have no doubt that the Royal Government will take India's security concerns into consideration, especially in those western areas adjacent to the Chumbi Valley, for as you know, the Valley descends sharply southwards to the so-called Chicken's Neck, the narrow strip of land that connects India's north-east states to the rest of the country. In the spirit of trust and friendship that exists between Bhutan and India, decisions should therefore not be taken that may adversely affect the security of either India or Bhutan who share similar perceptions regarding matters of security.

It is my firm belief that in the future, Bhutan's relations with China, or for that matter with any other country, will not in any way affect its relations with India. The Friendship Treaty of 2007 amply demonstrates the shared interests, the close cooperation, the deep confidence and trust, that exist between our two countries. I believe this will never change.

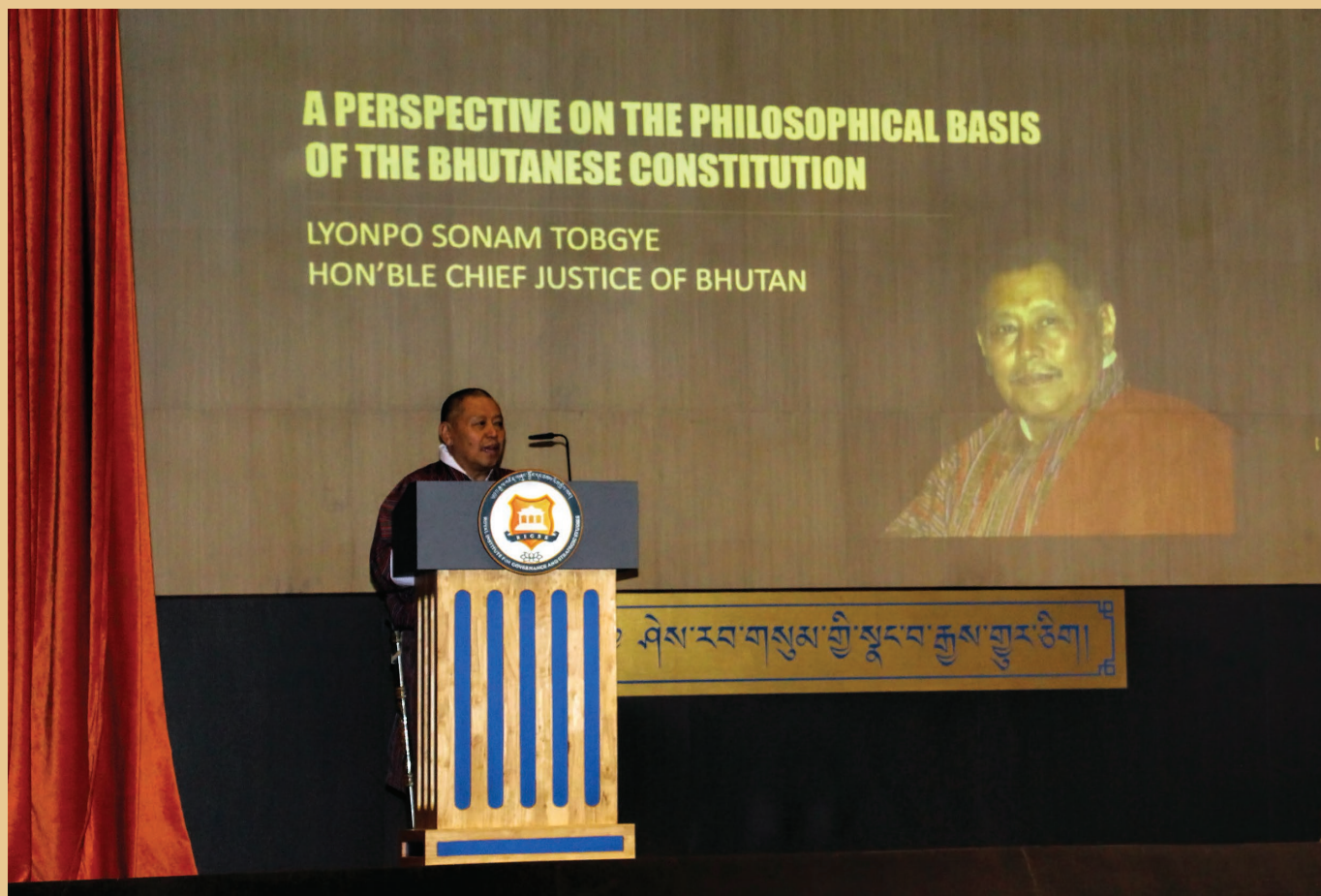
In conclusion, I would like to say that no relationship is immutable, neither between humans nor countries; they have to be constantly nurtured and must evolve with the times and circumstances. Relations between Bhutan and India have certainly changed over the years, from the 1970s when I was first posted here, to today. Which goes to show that while the foundation of the relationship is strong and viable, it has adapted to the changing dynamics of the region and the world, as well as to the changing aspirations of the peoples of the two countries. Today there is a role for each country, Bhutan and India, to resolve regional and global issues, together and separately.

Bhutan could well play the role of a benign interlocutor to help move forward stalled dialogues between some of its troubled neighbours. I leave this thought with you.

Thank you.

A PERSPECTIVE ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF THE BHUTANESE CONSTITUTION

3rd Friday Forum Lecture by **Lyonpo Sonam Tobgye**, former Chief Justice of Bhutan, 21 March 2014.



Delivering this lecture on my perspective on the philosophical basis of the Bhutanese Constitution in such a prestigious and dynamic institution as RIGSS is a huge honour and a privilege for me. To be associated with the vision of His Majesty as expressed through this institute of excellence is an achievement that I cannot claim repeatedly.

It is a privilege for me to be speaking on this important subject this evening.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate the course participants for having been selected for this second Senior Executive Leadership Program. You are taking part in the unfolding of a farsighted vision that embraces the past wisdom, present experiences and prepares us for the future. As senior leaders

of the country, I am confident that you will fulfill the RIGSS's vision of providing excellence in governance, leadership and strategic studies.

Constitution

The Bhutanese Constitution is one of the few, which has references to both national and international legal, political, social, cultural and spiritual philosophies and principles. The legal and philosophical basis of the Constitution is the historic “gyenja” of 1907. The establishment and election of the Monarchy with inherent succession of responsibility through public choice by Buchanan had democratic imprimatur. It was a rational choice for collective action. In addition, the history of our nation state, the philosophical perspectives concern-

ing the working of human relationships, the resulting social order, the past and existing political institutions, the sacrifices made by our forefathers, and the norms, values, principles and ideals espoused by and through the words and actions of our benevolent monarchs also formed the basis of our Constitution. We understood that constitution making is an elaborate and delicate, yet elegantly complex process.

Drafting the Constitution of Bhutan

The origin of Bhutan as a nation state resulted from a democratic process in 1907 by electing a hereditary monarch akin to “the Great Chosen One (Mahasammatta)”¹, which is similar to the social contract theory². The democratic process

¹ See, Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order*, 2011.

² Refer, Social contract theories of Thomas Hobbes and the writings of the enlightenment philosophers like Locke, Rousseau, etc, and *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Rights*, 1926 by Rousseau.

in Bhutan culminated, a century later in 2008 with the adoption of the Constitution. The Monarch Himself was instrumental in developing and ushering in this democratic Constitution.

Drafting of the Constitution of Bhutan began in the year 2001, when His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the Fourth King astonished the Nation with the proclamation that Bhutan would embrace democracy. His Majesty cautioned:

"That the destiny of the nation lies in the hands of the people. We cannot leave the future of the country in the hands of one person."

With that Royal Proclamation to initiate drafting of the Constitution, the Constitution Drafting Committee studied the meaning, birth, types and dynamics of democracy and Constitution. We were cautious of critical scrutiny by our own citizens, criticism from the foreigners and deflected antagonism from our friends. Moreover, we were under the blinding glare of history. We could not fail and falter. Consequently, the Drafting Committee studied:

- (a) Royal decrees and edicts, Laws of Bhutan, Speeches of His Majesty and policies of the Kingdom;
- (b) Religious, cultural, philosophical and political bases of the Constitution;
- (c) History of the evolution of Constitution;
- (d) The meaning of the Constitution;
- (e) Objectives of the Constitution;
- (f) Nature of the Constitution;
- (g) Types of the Constitution;
- (h) Constitutional values³ and principles;
- (i) Constitutional justice;
- (j) Salutory provisions of the Constitution;
- (k) Human rights conventions, treaties, protocols, covenants and other international and regional instruments;
- (l) Types of rights, liberty and freedom;
- (m) History of democracy;
- (n) Types of democracy;
- (o) Democratic values⁴, democratic

- traditions⁵ and democratic culture⁶;
- (p) Emerging legal paradigms, social and ethical control mechanism;
- (q) Types of sovereignty;
- (r) Interest theories;
- (s) Theories on social, political and public moralities;
- (t) Lessons from numerous constitutional crises around the World;
- (u) The comments from international agencies, individuals and the Ministries of the Royal Government;
- (v) Clauses, sentences, provisions, dictums of many constitutions, landmark judgments and constitutional writings;
- (w) Buddhist and western philosophies; and
- (x) Around hundred constitutions (out of which twenty were studied in detail).

It is my pleasure to state that Bhutan could be one of the few, if not the only country in the World to have based many of the provisions of its Constitution on different philosophies. The Constitution must satisfy Bhutanese aspirations, have global conformities and spiritual and philosophical basis. If the context and words fail, principles and philosophical basis must give purposive interpretation. Philosophies encompass explosion of thoughts with tolerance. It gives immortal thoughts and sublime aspirations of the humanity. Anaxagoras said:

"To philosophy, I owe my worldly ruin, and my soul's prosperity"

Our Constitution is a simple text with the Epicurean philosophy of the document being easily intelligible and expressed in language, which the ordinary people could understand to address the complex issues. It is a principle like the guiding northern star of constellations of diverse nature of a State and its citizens. It responds to the changing and unknown situations. It is the mother of all laws with expanding family that keep the nation and its people's diverse behaviour with uniform living. It has a philosophical basis of internal freedom

with external symbiotic existence. It has many manifested and latent attributes of human nature beside functional objectives of the Constitution espoused by Aristotle and utilitarian objectives by Bentham. Therefore, the Constitution of Bhutan has both worldly prosperity and soaring intellectual pursuit.

History and Meaning of the Constitution

The first Constitution in the world was written by Solon, an Athenian lawmaker and reformer, as a reaction to Draco's harsh laws of 621 BC. His Constitution was adopted in 495 BC by the members, who were all of the Greek ruling class, a group based on wealth (plutocracy). Thereafter, the idea of "the Constitution" engulfed the world. Only 20 of the 190 countries with constitutions pre-date 1950.

Etymologically, the term *constitution* comes from the Latin word *constitutio*, used for regulations and orders. We must know the latent power of that simple word that inspired peoples and nations across the World.

Objectives of the Constitution

Beside functional and utilitarian objectives, the Constitution must promote progress, stability and values. The vision and spirit of the Constitution is at the root of what His Majesty said:

Our Constitution has been drafted, for the long-term interest of the sovereignty and security of the country, for the welfare of our people, to strengthen and improve the system of decentralization of power, and to provide a good democratic system with specific objective to benefit the people of our country. The Constitution must go beyond mere words and become the golden pillar, which will support and enable the political system to safeguard the sovereignty of the country and the rights of the people.

In order to fulfill the national objectives and pursuit of individual rights and liberties, the Drafting Committee considered the various political theories, principles, references and comments

³ THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES, Prof Hiroshi Nishihara LLD Waseda University (Tokyo/JAPAN)

⁴ Democratic values include life, liberty, equality and dignity.

⁵ Democratic tradition includes rights and responsibilities, power of separation, a change from absolutism and the divine right of kings to constitutionalism.

⁶ According to Jack Balkin, a democratic culture is a culture in which individuals have a fair opportunity to participate in the forms of decision-making that constitute them as individuals. Democratic culture is about individual liberty as well as collective self-governance; it concerns each individual's ability to participate in the production and distribution of culture and enter into public debate about cultural quality wherever it is manifested across all three spheres of publicly funded, commercial and home-made culture...in opera, crime writing, ballet, salsa, art galleries, TV, etc.

including the study of different types of constitutions. His Majesty acknowledged:

In the process of making the Constitution, the Government has studied many different Constitutions of the world, and finally the Government has come up with a very good Constitution for the well-being of the nation.

Nature of the Constitution

Constitutions can be monist, dualist, abrogative, constitutive, and declaratory. The principles derived from case-laws are only constitutive. According to the declaratory theory by Kant, judges do not create new law. Judges only declare the law. However, under the declaratory and original law making theories advocated by Bacon, Hale, Blackstone, Dicey and Salmond, judges play a creative role in making the law. Similarly, Austin and Bentham said that by interpreting laws and giving new shape, judges make laws. Kant mentioned that constitutive analogy leads to errors and regulative posture leads to a desirable advancement of knowledge. His Majesty said:

The Supreme Court is the Guardian of the Constitution and must ensure its credibility and relevance in perpetuity. As the Guardian, the Supreme Court must truly understand the significance and purpose of the Constitution as a guiding principle, interpret its content with incontestable clarity, and preserve it as a living document with unfailing vigilance. As the final authority on the interpretation, the Supreme Court must not allow the Constitution to be undermined through misinterpretation at any time, it must inspire the trust and confidence of the people in the Constitution by safeguarding its integrity as the font of legislative wisdom, and it must maintain the independent authority of the Constitution from all other power centres and institutions in the land.

This command and wisdom of His Majesty enshrines constitutional democracy and the principle of dualism as enjoined in sections 9 and 10 of Article 1, and section 25 of Article 10 of the Constitution.

Types of Constitution

Constitution can be of different types such as the Written Constitution, Unwritten Constitution, Enacted Constitution, Federal Constitution, Unitary Constitution, Flexible Constitution and Rigid Constitution, Old constitutions, Colonial constitutions, the Neo-liberal constitutions, the Classic Constitution and the French Constitution, etc. Further, many constitutional scholars have discussed on the limited form of constitutionalism⁷ or controlled Constitution, as a form of reaction to the prevailing situations. Generally, a constitution can be preservative, conservative and interventionist.

Constitutional Values

Constitutional values comprises of (i) Constitutional core values, which generally are human dignity, sovereignty of a country, social justice, etc., (ii) Supporting values comprising of freedom and equality, (iii) Structural values which includes democracy and rule of law, (iv) Embedded values and principles and (v) Neutral values, which include Freedom, equality, democracy and freedom of choice. Hence, His Majesty explained:

Democracy is not about politics alone. Democracy is inherently about values and principles.

Constitutional Principles

Constitutional principles comprise of (i) Rule of Law: It enshrines that both the people and the government must obey all laws; (ii) Separation of powers: advocated by Montesquieu, Burke, Engels, Locke and John Mill mentions that oppression on part of any organ of government may be checked for preservation of liberty and prevention of tyranny. It was opposed by Plato, Bodin, Hobbes and Madison. Madison mentioned that the power of each organ of government should be so far connected and blended as to give each a constitutional control over the other; (iii) Representative government which confirms the participation of people in the functioning of the government; (iv) Checks and balances that no one branch should dominate the other; and (v) The principle of equality,

individual rights, freedoms, federalism and civilian control over the military.

Cultural Basis of the Constitution

Cultural relativism is the view that those who belong to one culture cannot form a valid judgment of any custom, institution and belief. According to Edmund Burke's principle of:

"Respect for inherited rights and for established customs,... no single generation has the right to destroy the agreed and inherited fabric of society."

Indeed, culture is the product of tested experiences and distilled belief of the people to promote self-determination and self-defense. Therefore, Mark R. Thomson said:

'...like Montesquieu, Hegel believed that the best constitution for a nation derived from its own specific cultural, historical, climatic and geographical conditions.'

Constitution is neither abandonment of the past nor resistance to change. The Constitution must respect and build on the golden past shaped by the situations. Provisions of the Constitutions should be preservative to maintain certain existing practices to avoid deterioration, reformative to usher in certain aspirations and interventionist to uphold and protect spirit of the Constitution. Royal decrees, Acts of Bhutan, speeches of Their Majesties and policies reflect the wisdom of ages and lessons for the future. Thus, His Majesty reminded:

Our country is very small, less populated and landlocked. Therefore, our culture and heritage plays important role as our identity and also for the sovereignty and security of our country. Our tradition and culture are the true identity of our country's sovereignty. That is why culture and tradition of Bhutan is the foundation of our country's sovereignty and security.

Fundamental Rights

Rights are the empowerment of the people that will be preserved with a general knowledge and vigilance by the people. Law should be for the welfare of society as a whole and rights of the individual should be protected and

⁷ Constitutionalism is the struggle for sovereignty and fundamental rights. Scholars have also talked and written about Western constitutionalism, the modern western form, the Contemporary constitutional processes, Old constitutions, Colonial constitutions, the Neo-liberal constitutions which were replaced by either military rule, Liberal democracy (particularly in parts of Europe), Constitutional rule through 'consociationalism', Rational-legal state, Patrimonial state, Patriarchal, or the Classic constitutions set up political institutions, and the French Constitution, etc.

respected. Fundamental Rights protect the dignity of an individual as a human being. Protection of fundamental rights is the best way to promote a just and tolerant society. Fundamental rights limit the power of Legislature, secure individual liberty, barricade from tyranny of the majority and provide security against arbitrary action by the government. It enhances individual's freedom for development to his/her fullest potentiality.

Our Constitution incorporates vertical rights of an individual against the State and horizontal rights among individuals such as:

- (a) Absolute rights under 7(18) & 7(19) such as Protection from arbitrary and unlawful interference;
- (b) Civil rights (freedom of state);
- (c) Political rights (non-interference and freedom to participate);
- (d) Social and Cultural rights;
- (e) Corrective rights;
- (f) Distributive rights;
- (g) Divine rights legitimized by Thomas Hobbes;
- (h) Economic rights such as the right to buy, sell and trade private property and the right to employment without government interference;
- (i) Emergent rights (freedom of speech and press by Bentham);
- (j) Inalienable right (equality before law and the right to life). In almost all of its variants, constitutional liberalism⁸ argues that human beings have certain natural (or "inalienable") rights and that government must accept a basic law, limiting its own powers to secure them.
- (k) Individual Rights as advocated by Bentham: Each individual has the fundamental right to life⁹, liberty, economic freedom and the pursuit of happiness;
- (l) Inherent rights (right to life);
- (m) Negative and positive rights by Spencer;
- (n) Perfect rights¹⁰ and Imperfect rights¹¹;
- (o) Personal rights;
- (p) Progressive rights;
- (q) Proprietary rights;

- (r) Sovereignty and natural rights as classified by Rousseau;
- (s) Standing rights, such as access to justice;
- (t) Defensive rights as enshrined under Article 7(22);
- (u) Substantive right under Article 9 which includes rights to education and employment; and
- (v) Non-derogable rights. It is the assurance for protection of civil liberties, which in many countries, is not expressly provided.

Mr. K.K. Venugopal, Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India concluded his correction of the draft Constitution of Bhutan by recording:

"Here ends the most modern Constitution with maximum fundamental rights."

Under our Constitution, the constitutional guarantee for civil liberties and their enforcement are enshrined under Article 7. This is the assurance for protection of civil liberties, which is the essence of democracy. Fundamental Rights protect the dignity of an individual as a human being. Protection of fundamental rights is the best way to promote a just and tolerant society. Article 7, Section 23 is a standing right that enables a citizen to sue for breach of their rights. The United States remedied their lacunae in the Bill of Rights by judicial activism or juridification.

Section 17 of Article 7 guarantees protection against torture and other forms of degrading treatment incorporating the substance of the UN Convention against Torture and section 18 abolishes capital punishment. These are progressive guarantees of inalienable human rights. The provisions under Article 7 provide vertical rights of an individual against the State and also cater to the horizontal rights among individuals. Dr. B.R Ambedkar stated:

"The real distinction between the two is that non-Fundamental Rights are created by agreement between parties while Fundamental Rights are the gift of the law. Because Fundamental Rights are the gift of the State it does not follow

that the State cannot qualify them."

Our Constitution confers the First Generation of Rights in the nature of civil and political rights; the Second Generation of Rights concerning the right to economic, social and cultural rights; and the Third Generation of Rights pertaining to solidarity rights such as right to peace, happiness and clean environment. The interest of the society may be predominant over an individual interest because the larger and public interest must far outweigh the smaller one. But there are certain rights, which are non-derogable rights. Even in emergencies, these rights cannot be trampled upon or suspended. In almost all of its variants, constitutional liberalism¹² argues that human beings have certain natural (or "inalienable") rights and that government must accept a basic law, limiting its own powers to secure them.

Jeremy Waldron mentioned about the deliberative entitlement and the epistemic capacity of the rights holder. Under the Deliberative Entitlement, Waldron seeks to derive from the basic fact that we are rights-bearing creatures with a claim of moral entitlement. As rights-bearers, we are all entitled to participate in the process of rights contestation on equal terms. In the process of contestation of rights, we are indeed entitled to be treated as equal members of our political community, and that proposition does seem intrinsic or at least closely connected to the logic of rights. Under the Epistemic Capacity he said that if we think of ourselves as entitled to rights, it follows that we should think of ourselves as having the capacity to make sound judgments about the rights we have. If we trust ourselves to exercise the discretion to choose among courses of action that rights confer upon us, we ought to, in turn, trust ourselves to reflect upon, debate, and ultimately come to conclusion about what rights we all have. He mentioned that we are creatures seized with the capacity to make judgments about rights, and that we are entitled to participate in the process of deliberating about rights on equal terms.

⁸ Constitutional Liberalism emphasizes the value of individual's rights of equality and of individual freedom of choice and freedom from interference supported by Locke, Montesquieu, Adam Smith and Kant.

⁹ Hylozoism by Cudworth – the theory that life is inherent in all matters.

¹⁰ Perfect right is recognized and enforced by law "*ubi jus ibi remedium*" where there is right, there is remedy.

¹¹ Imperfect rights are recognized but not enforced by law – time based or declarations of principles of state policies.

¹² Constitutional Liberalism emphasizes the value of individual's rights of equality and of individual freedom of choice and freedom from interference supported by Locke, Montesquieu, Adam Smith and Kant.

Liberty

The growth of liberty, prosperity and representative government is an inexorable progress of human institutions that began with Greek democracy. After the Revolutions of 1848 in Western Europe, the doctrine of individual liberty developed. This was preceded by the 1789 Declarations of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, whereby the idea of human rights and civil rights advanced. The concept of “individual liberty” was criticized by thinkers such as Engels, Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. They viewed equality as a main component of a society’s grade of liberty. Liberty without equality, anarchists argue to this day, is only the “freedom of the powerful to exploit the weak”. Fried Hayek countered the argument:

“...liberty, far from being improved by social justice and equality, was in fact endangered by socialist regimes.”

Liberty comprises of civil, political and economic liberties. The right to liberty protects the physical liberty of the person through a cluster of interrelated rights such as the right against arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to be secure from unreasonable search and seizure, including the right to information and access to legal advice, the right to be brought promptly before a judge, and the right to be treated with humanity and respect.

Liberty was prized by the Classical Greeks like Aristotle, Demosthenes, Cicero and Tacitus. It is classified into negative, positive, individual and collective liberties. Isaiah Berlin’s concept of liberty mentions that, negative liberty means an individual has immunity from arbitrary interference except in accordance with law, and the positive liberty is exercise of civil liberty. According to Russell, individual liberty is the greatest good, while Thomas Hobbes advocated blend of individual and collective liberty. However, Rousseau and Spencer said that an individual is subordinate to the State.

Fundamental Duties

Rights go with responsibilities and Article 8 on ‘fundamental duties’ demands its citizens to foster tolerance and

mutual respect transcending religious, linguistic, regional or sectional diversities. Additional duties of citizens under the Bhutanese Constitution are provided under sections 6, 8 and 9 that is, to help victims of accidents and natural calamity, to pay taxes and to fight corruption. Fundamental duties are based on Buddhism and Jenks¹³ and Austin’s¹⁴ concepts. Sir David Ross’s list of *prima facie* duties, the concepts of universal duties, general duties and particular duties by Jenks and Austin’s *vinculum juris* or bond of legal obligation, relative and absolute duties reflects Buddha’s duties. Conscious duties make a responsible human being and Sir David Ross mentioned that “*non-maleficence is apprehended as a duty distinct from that of beneficence, and a duty of a more stringent character.*” The combined efforts of Fundamental Rights and Fundamental Duties of every citizen and the State are realizing the Constitutional promise. It is so reflected in the French Declaration of 1789:

“Liberty consists of the power to do whatever is not injurious to others; thus the enjoyment of the natural rights of every man has for its limits only those that assure other members of society the enjoyment of those same rights; such limits may be determined only by law.”

John Locke said “in the state of nature, there is freedom and reciprocity.” Bhutan combined both of them. Consequently, His Majesty noted:

The Article on fundamental duties is one of the unique features of our Constitution. Although other countries have thought about the same they have not been able to provide in their Constitutions. They are now discussing about the incorporation.

In our case, Article 7 and 8 were both commanded by His Majesty. His Majesty has time and again explained to the people that the fundamental rights and duties are very essential for our people. Hence, it is incorporated in our Constitution.

Freedom

Freedom is right and supreme good. The freedom and liberty under the Constitution is that the sovereignty of

the people and country is absolute. The birth of freedom is on 21st September, 490 BC in Athens. Russell mentioned that freedom is the supreme good. Types of freedom are:

- (a) **Personal Freedom:** the right to think and act without government control;
- (b) **Political Freedom:** the right to participate in political process;
- (c) **Economic Freedom:** the right to buy, sell and trade private property and the right to employment without the government interference;
- (d) **Freedom of Religion:** The right to practice any or no religion without persecution by the government. Freedom of religion was advocated by Scientific and humanist philosopher like Spinoza, and Enlightenment philosopher like Montesquieu. He advanced the “opportunity” and “process” aspects of freedom;
- (e) **Positive freedom:** possibility of developing human capabilities and enlarged ability to contribute to common good;
- (f) **Intellectual freedom:** Spinoza was against State interference and thus asked for intellectual freedom; and
- (g) **Freedom of choice:** The Classical Greek supported by Hegel and Kant mentioned that internal freedoms of choice and human nature produce rational and good choice. Plato said that no man can ever freely choose what’s wrong.

Negative freedom and positive freedom (same as self-determination¹⁵ or autonomy) were distinguished by Kant. Negative freedom consists in the absence of coercion and the absence of interference from other people.

Democracy

Constitutions of nations promote democracy. Thus, we surveyed epistemology and the evolution of democracy. Historically, Cleisthenes invented democracy in 508 BC. The word “democracy” combined the elements *dêmos* which mean “people” and *krátos* a “force” or “power”. Aristotle was a thinker of the classical Greek period whose political theories, like those of Plato, set the bounds of political discourse throughout

¹³ Hylozoism by Cudworth – the theory that life is inherent in all matters.

¹⁴ P Jenk’s Universal duty (binding on all normal members of the community), General duty (binding on normal persons) and Particular duties (binding on a person who have undertaken them).

¹⁵ Article 1 of Part 1 of the Covenant of Social and Political rights.

the middle ages. His work still exercises a profound influence on modern political and social thought. Aristotle's political ideas are more immediately acceptable to the modern Western mind than Plato's because he comes closer to approving of democracy. Long before democracy flourished in ancient Greece, the concept took root in the independent republic of Vaishali¹⁶. In response to the changes and different situations, we recorded forty-three types of democracy¹⁷.

In Bhutan, democracy and constitutionalism were shaped in the historical settings of the country. Election of *Debs* and *Zomdue*, the National Assembly, the decentralization policy, the DYT and GYT, the council of ministers, etc created a political system in which every Bhutanese citizen became member of the government. Bhutan had both participatory and representative democracy in which all citizens took part in the day to day administration of the State through the GYT, DYT and the National Assembly. Although "pure" and "direct" democracies are viewed as impractical, the *Zomdue*, the DYT, GYT and the National Assembly were institutions that in certain respects resembled direct democracy. The election districts were small, elections were held frequently and the representatives elected were often men of humble agrarian origins who knew the needs and aspirations of the common people.

Objective of Democracy

Democracy is to be 'the rule of public opinion' in the form of individual and self-determination. The Constitution must advance individual and national potential. Gandhiji elucidated:

"My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest shall have the same oppor-

tunities as the strongest."

Alex Tocqueville mentioned that "Democracy does not create strong ties between people. But it does make living together easier."

Russell commented, "democracy makes social progress possible." His Majesty was keen to ensure participation and involvement of the people of Bhutan in the democratic process. The First Draft of the Constitution was publicly distributed and simultaneously launched on the Internet¹⁸. After receiving feedbacks and comments, the second draft was distributed¹⁹ to every household and to every institution in the country, as well as to all international organizations based in Thimphu. Moreover, Their Majesties the Fourth and Fifth Kings conducted nationwide consultations to discuss the Constitution with the people of all twenty Districts²⁰. It was a crucial move towards the creation of an 'inclusive democracy' recognizing the people's participatory role in governance. In the first session of Parliament on May 10, 2008, His Majesty The King said:

"The highest achievement of 100 years of Monarchy has been the constant nurturing of democracy...I hereby return to our People the powers that had been vested in our Kings by our forefathers 100 years ago".

As a witness to the past and global experiences, Bhutan ushered in a multifaceted democracy ingrained in "natural democracy" as noted by Prof. Kattsu Masaki. Democracy provides personal choice, common decision making and stabilizing results with responsibility.

However, democracy has its own negative side as Rousseau held that perfect democracy was not for Man. 'Where there are people of Gods, their government

would be democratic.' De Tocqueville concluded that democracy led to a dead level of mediocrity. Sir Henry Maine was afraid that popular government would 'inaugurate an era of stagnation.' Locke regarded democracy as too meddlesome and antithetical to liberty. Bismarck scoffed at democracy as 'blubbing sentimentality'. The well-known French writer, Faquet, described democracy as 'the cult of incompetence'. To Nietzsche, democracy was 'a degenerating form of political organization'. Voltaire was against democracy because he compared the people to oxen 'which need a yoke, a goat and hay'. In our own times, Bernard Shaw regards Lincoln's definition of democracy as 'romantic nonsense'. Shaw writes, "The People have obstructed government often enough; they have revolted; but they have never really governed." Prof. Lenard J. Davis remarked:

"Democracy is more than a form of government; it is a social ideal, and the difficulty of the ideal is commensurate with its nobility."

John Stuart Mill commented:

"The supreme merit of democracy lies in the fact that it promotes a better and higher form of national character than any other polity whatever."

Preamble

The Preamble of the Constitution of Bhutan has incorporated the concept of Romanticism²¹, and that of historical school²² of law. The Preamble begins with the words "We, the people of Bhutan" and ends with "Do Hereby ordain and adopt this Constitution." "We", the people is conceived as a collective body capable of an independent act and political legitimacy of Constitution making, and "adopt" is the sovereignty of people.

¹⁶ See, Parsa Venkateshwar Rao Jr, Vaishali, *A Most Ancient Democracy*.

¹⁷ Major democracies are (a) Direct Democracy; (b) Representative Democracy; and (c) Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy. Direct Democracy is achieved through direct participation of all citizens, whereas representative democracy involves a body of elected representatives and within the group of representative democracies, the focus may be on a strong president (Presidential Democracy) or on a strong parliament (Parliamentary Democracy). Apart from these basic types of democracy there are other various types of democracies such as: Athenian democracy or classical democracy, Anticipatory democracy, Defensive democracy, Deliberative democracy, Democratic centralism, Economic democracy, Grassroots democracy, Illiberal democracy, Jacksonian democracy, Liberal democracy, Market democracy, Multiparty democracy, Non-partisan democracy, Participatory democracy, Social democracy, Sortition, Totalitarian democracy, Westminster democracy, Procedural democracy, Substantive democracy, etc.

¹⁸ On 26th March, 2005, friends, critics, adversaries and the public were given sufficient time to express their views, make comments and provide suggestions regarding any provision in the draft Constitution. We received about 40 pages of comments from online readers including comments from the experts.

¹⁹ The second draft of the Constitution was distributed on 18th August 2005.

²⁰ The first public consultation meeting was held in Thimphu district on 26th October 2005 and the last meeting ended at the historic place of Trongsa on 24th May 2006.

²¹ Emphasis of emotion.

²² Friedrich Karl Von Savigny is universally recognized as the founder of historical school of law. For him a legal system was part of the culture of people, law was not the result of an arbitrary act of a legislator but developed as a response to the impersonal powers to be found in the people's national spirit which he termed as 'Volksgeist'. 'Volksgeist' was, Savigny believed, to be the biological heritage of people. Law is found, it cannot be made. Law, like language grows and evolves and has deep roots in the social, economic and other factors, Henry Maine was the founder of the English Historical School of law, Maine made a distinction between 'Static' and 'Progressive' Societies, According to the Historical School of Law custom is the most important source of law.



Preamble

WE, the people of Bhutan:

BLESSED by the Triple Gem, the protection of our guardian deities, the wisdom of our leaders, the everlasting fortunes of the Pelden Drukpa and the guidance of His Majesty the Druk Gyalpo Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck;

SOLEMNLY pledging ourselves to strengthen the sovereignty of Bhutan, to secure the blessings of liberty, to ensure justice and tranquillity and to enhance the unity, happiness and well-being of the people for all time;

DO HEREBY ordain and adopt this Constitution for the Kingdom of Bhutan on the Fifteenth Day of the Fifth Month of the Male Earth Rat Year corresponding to the Eighteenth Day of July, Two Thousand and Eight.

The basic constitutional values incorporated in the Preamble are: blessings of the Triple Gem (*Buddha, Dharma and Sangha*), everlasting fortunes of *Pelden Drukpa* (rich heritage of glorious Bhutan), guidance of Druk Gyalpo (benevolent monarchy with republicanism), sovereignty, liberty, justice and tranquility, unity, and happiness of the people.²³ Justice Kirby from Australia commented:

"In the preamble to the Constitution of Bhutan there are poetical and beautiful words."

Territorial Integrity of Bhutan

Article 1 of the Bhutanese Constitution expressly provides that the sovereign power belongs to the people of Bhutan and the form of government is a "Democratic Constitutional Monarchy". It is an immutable principle of the Constitution of Bhutan. It can neither be abrogated nor amended except "through a National Referendum" or plebiscitary democracy. The power to amend the basic structure of the Constitution, through a referendum, is vested in the people. According to His Majesty, the sovereignty of the people is the principle of the Constitution, which rests with the people, whilst the legislative sovereignty²⁴ is bestowed to the representative Parliament in line with Hans Kelsen's doctrine. This is the original will of the

Constitution.

Checks and Balances

Our Constitution have inbuilt checks and balances with the objectives of protecting liberties, freedoms,²⁵ and rights incorporating the doctrine of separation of power at three levels. Firstly, territorial splitting has been done through the unitary system with constitutional guarantees for local government to deal with local issues under Article 22. Secondly, functional splitting is enshrined through the separation of power between the three branches of the Government under section 13 of Article 1. Thirdly, individual institutions are separated through the establishment of both 'political' and 'professional' offices within the executive. Further, the Constitutional bodies have been established to ensure good governance and compliance with the rule of law.

Monarchy

Article 2 deals with the institution of Monarchy. There is a provision that the King of Bhutan (Druk Gyalpo) has to abdicate and hand over the Throne at the age of 65 years to his successor. The King shall also abdicate for willful violation of the Constitution or for the permanent disability in a motion passed by the joint session of Parliament. It is a salutary provision. The provision that

the Monarch will step down proves that the political sovereignty is vested in the people. It is the people's representative who can sit in judgment over the King's conduct. It is sovereignty of people²⁶ or Popular Sovereignty²⁷ in action²⁸. Hegel embraced constitutional monarchy, as being above political fray and Thomas Hobbes said that monarchy provides stability.

Environment

There is a separate Article on environment under Article 5, which encompasses the fundamental duty of every citizen to contribute to the protection of natural environment and prevention of ecological degradation. The Constitution of Bhutan expressly makes every Bhutanese citizen a trustee and imposes a duty on the State for its preservation. Section 3 of Article 5 mandates a minimum of 60% of Bhutan's total land to be maintained under forest cover for all time. The Bhutanese Constitution also incorporates therein the doctrine of sustainable use of natural resources and to maintain inter-generational equity or the doctrine of public trust for environment preservation.

Principles of State Policy

Article 9 of the Bhutanese Constitution enacts the Principles of State Policy. In the words of Dr. B.R Ambedkar:

²³ The Economist on Nov 9th 2013 wrote, "Easy search should save time and effort for the business of drafting. That can produce workmanlike prose—or something more exotic. Bhutan's constitution kicks off with: 'Blessed by the Triple Gem, the protection of our guardian deities, the wisdom of our leaders, the everlasting fortunes of the Pelden Drukpa, and the guidance of His Majesty'".

²⁴ Dicey (1835 – 1922) differentiated the legal sovereignty of law making by the legislature and electoral sovereignty of the people as the political sovereignty. Dicey's two kinds of sovereignty – legal and political. The legislature is the legal sovereign as it has the power of law-making. The electorate is the political sovereign and the legal sovereign acts in accordance with the wishes of the political sovereign.

²⁵ The birth of freedom can be traced to "the gray dawn of 21st September, 490 B.C. 9,000 citizen-soldiers of Athens formed ranks on a plain by the Bay of Marathon." Initially, freedom was not universal and pervasive. The slaves were denied freedom. Freedom can be negative freedom as espoused by Spencer, positive freedom, 'self-determination or autonomy freedom as advocated by Kant, freedom of religion by scientific humanist Espinoza and religious toleration advocated by Montesquieu. However, freedom must have rational action as Bentham said: "Source freedom is valuable for more opportunity to pursue objectives that we value and importance to the process of choice itself. Freedom is to be found in rational action. Rational action cannot be based on a single individual's personal desires but to be a universal law... a person shares with the whole community. He extended this community to all rational beings." Kant insisted that actions resulting from desires cannot be free and he differentiated the 'opportunity aspect' from the 'process aspect.' Apart from other freedoms, our Constitution guarantees six important freedoms: (a) The freedom of speech and expression; (b) The freedom of assembly; (c) The freedom to form associations and unions; (d) The freedom of movement; (e) The freedom to reside in any part of the territory of our country; and (f) The freedom of profession, occupation, trade and business.

²⁶ According to the principle of people's sovereignty, all state power comes from the people. This means that all power exercised by the state has to be legitimized by the people. The principle of people's sovereignty does not demand that citizens take part directly in all decisions of state (as in a referendum). It does, however, demand that all those exercising state power hold office as a result of the will of the people; this means the election of representatives either indirectly (e.g. members of parliament) or directly (e.g. in a parliamentary democracy or civil servants appointed by it). People's sovereignty is also known as Political sovereignty - Locke (1634 – 1704) provides the principle that political sovereignty comes only from the consent of the governed.

²⁷ Humanist's teaching on sovereignty emphasized strong, centralized rule, dynastic continuity and consolidation of royal power. Henry VIII was influenced by the followers of humanists, who were Erasmus, Blount, Thomas More, Mountjoy, Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn and John Colet, Bertrand Russell, Erasmus's book of in praise of Folly. Bentham followed the theory of Hobbes and advocated absolute monarchy. John Locke (1634-1704) gave all natural rights to an absolute monarch.

²⁸ His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck said, "... the sovereign power of the Kingdom has been purposely left to the Bhutanese people. This is because we can never ensure the capability of future Kings/Monarchs to look after the welfare of the People. Therefore, if a King is incapable of performing his duties as a Monarch, the people of Bhutan can move a secret vote of no confidence and if three-fourth of the people support such a motion, the King has to resign and give Kingship to the next capable one. Thus, the Sovereign power has been kept with the people in trust. In our country, the people should know whether their King is capable or not capable to rule the country or whether the king is good or not. For this reason, if in the National Referendum, the people decide against the King, the King has to resign immediately. Hence, in the Constitution, it was purposely intended not to give the sovereign power both to the people and the King jointly. In other countries, where there is a case of, the King or the Queen sharing equal power, it is because the people cannot dethrone the King or Queen through secret voting. However, our Constitution is a different Constitution. Our Constitution is drafted by reposing trust and confidence upon the people of Bhutan."



"In the Draft Constitution of India the Fundamental Rights are followed by what are called "Directive principles". It is a noble feature in a Constitution framed for Parliamentary Democracy... He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a Court of Law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. What great value these Directive Principles possess will be realized better when the forces of right contrive to capture power."

The provisions under the Principles of State Policy are similar for the creation of a welfare state towards the pursuit of the goal of Gross National Happiness (GNH)²⁹. The concept of GNH advocated by His Majesty the Fourth King encapsulates the vision of a welfare state. His Majesty elucidated:

The concept was at a time when the world was interpreting development as

the narrow concept of Gross National Product. That narrow focus on consumerism has proven to be disastrous, on the earth and on human development. Bhutan wanted to raise the level of human contentment and well being with a holistic approach to development and change. Sustainable economic development is necessary to free the people from poverty. Culture is necessary to strengthen national identity and preserve traditional values. Spiritual development strengthens moral and ethical values that laws cannot substitute. The environment is the natural legacy that is our responsibility to preserve for future generations. Bhutan has always preserved this holistic balance and the interdependent existence of all life forms. A disturbance of any of them will destroy the natural balance that and cause discontentment and unhappiness.

One of the most important provi-

sions of Article 9 is the effort of the State to execute policies to minimize inequalities of income and concentration of wealth among citizens.

Political Parties

Article 15 relating to Political Parties contains some salutary provisions. It confines the final election to the National Assembly to only two political parties-a party in government and another in opposition, which would prevent post-election horse-trading. In the absence of a clear electoral verdict, small parties or independent candidates will disrupt the whole democratic essence. Palkhiwala wrote:

"The voice of a small minority is today mistaken to be the voice of the majority, simply because it is loud and vociferous, while the still, small voice of reason is not heard. So long as thinking men will not take the trouble to give public

²⁹ Hedonism- pleasure is the highest good. Eudainism – "happiness is the highest good." Bentham- "it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong", Hedonistic Epicurus - only pleasure is good. Baruch Spinoza - Happiness is a virtue, not its reward. Bertrand Russell - Happiness is not best achieved by those who seek it directly. Buddha - Happiness is made to be shared. Jeremy Bentham - The general object which all laws have, or ought to have, is to augment the total happiness of the community. John Adams – the happiness of society is the end of government, Locke believed that "the negation of nature is the way towards happiness."

expression to their views, they should be reconciled to the thought of living under an administration of which the distinguishing feature is that it places “the lives of wise men at the mercy of fools.”

State Funding

Article 16 enshrines State funding for elections. From the experience of elections in other countries, where money and muscle power play a dominant role, Bhutan adopted that the State will provide funds for election campaigns to candidates and political parties in a non discriminatory manner.

Executive

Article 17 prescribes the essential qualification for the office of Prime Minister to ensure true representation of the people. The Constitution states that the Prime minister should be a natural born citizen³⁰ of Bhutan. This rule has been extended to persons holding all the constitutional posts under Article 31 and those holding elective offices under Article 23. Such provisions tend to promote political morality. Grote mentioned:

“A paramount reverence for the forms of the Constitution, enforcing obedience to authority acting under and within these forms yet combined with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control, and unrestrained censure of the very authorities as to all their public acts combined too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen amidst the bitterness of party contest that the forms of the Constitution will not be less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than in his own.”

Judiciary

Article 21 deals with the Judiciary. It

is the guardian of the Rule of Law³¹, for which its independence³² is secured by suitable provisions relating to security of tenure, conditions of service and the essence of separation of power. Appointment of judges is made on the recommendation of the National Judicial Commission. The significance of Judiciary in Bhutan is a great assurance for the working of its democracy. The Judiciary has a seminal role in a democracy.

The Supreme Court of Bhutan is not a constitutional court but a court of general jurisdiction and last resort. We have not followed a diffused system in contrast to a concentrated system (propounded by Hans Kelsen). Bhutan follows the middle path – the High Court is designated as the court of first instance for constitutional cases which provides for one step appeal to the Supreme Court in keeping with the relevant laws related to appeal and the principles of natural law.

The Judiciary of Bhutan must rise to the challenges and meet those expectations of the people in the administration of justice and enable the rule of law to continue to thrive. Therefore, there are various aspects of judicial independence such as: Institutional independence³³, Personnel independence, entrenched judicial independence³⁴, jurisdictional monopoly³⁵, financial and the independent administration of constitutional office holders³⁶. Salary and benefits cannot be varied³⁷ and the independence of the Judiciary was further strengthened with the enactment of the Judicial Service Act in 2007. His Majesty personally formulated the amendment section as under:

“The amendment of this Act by way of addition, variation or repeal may be ef-

fectured only when the Commission or the Council submit a motion to Parliament, subject to the requirement that amendments shall not undermine the effectiveness of the Judicial Service.”³⁸

Further, the court buildings manifest physical separation of power affirming the principle of independence, cardinal to the doctrine of equal protection as enshrined under the Constitution.

Salutary Provisions of our Constitution

Some of the salutary provisions of our Constitution are:

- (a) The King is to voluntarily step down in favor of His successor at the age of 65 years and he shall abdicate for willful violation of the Constitution or for the permanent disability in a motion passed by the joint session of Parliament. It is an extraordinary provision.
- (b) No immunities granted to members of Parliament to cover their corrupt acts.
- (c) Any member of the National Council belonging to any political party is disqualified from being a member of the Council.
- (d) Article 15 relating to Political Parties confines the final election to the National Assembly to only two political parties, which would prevent post-election horse-trading. Defection after election is also forbidden.
- (e) Election campaign funding is provided to curb malpractices and to promote political morality.
- (f) Article 17 prescribes membership of the National Assembly as the essential qualification for the office

³⁰ Ref. Article 2, Section 1, Clause 5 of the Constitution of the USA.

³¹ We realized the value of the democratic society and the need to respect one's right and others, ensuring supremacy of the “rule of law” that embodies the basic principles of equal treatment of all people before the law, fairness, and both constitutional and actual guarantees of basic human rights. The rule of law is the foundation for sustainable communities based on opportunity and equity. Dicey's rule of law has the material rule of law and the formal rule of law. The material rule of law requires the realization of just legal order and formal rule of law requires that the state activities are to be based on laws that are consistent with the constitution. In his treatise, “Law of the Constitution”, he identified three principles which together establish the rule of law: (1) the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power; (2) equality before the law or the equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary courts; and (3) the law of the constitution as a consequence of the rights of individuals as defined and enforced by the courts.

³² We adhered to the Statutory protection of Independence; Personal Independence and Integrity (not sway by personals bias and extraneous influence); Professional Independence; Investigatory Independence; Reporting Independence; and Resources Independence.

³³ Section 13 Article 1 of the Constitution of Bhutan provides that, “There shall be separation of the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary and no encroachment of each other's powers is permissible except to the extent provided for by this Constitution.”

³⁴ Section 1 of Article 32 of the Constitution of Bhutan.

³⁵ Section 2 of Article 21 of the Constitution of Bhutan and Article 3 of Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary Adopted by the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held at Milan. “3. The judiciary shall have jurisdiction over all issues of a judicial nature and shall have exclusive authority to decide whether an issue submitted for its decision is within its competence as defined by law.” Article 3 of the Basic Principles of Basic Principles on the Independence of the Judiciary endorsed by General Assembly resolutions 40/32 of 29 November 1985 and 40/146 of 13 December 1985.

³⁶ Section 13 of Article 14 under the Constitution.

³⁷ Section 7 of Article 31 under the Constitution.

³⁸ Section 230 of the Judicial Service Act, 2007.



of Prime Minister to ensure true representation of the people in that office. Also no person shall hold office as Prime Minister for more than two terms.

(g) Article 27 states that the State will not use military force against a foreign State except in self-defense or for the purpose of maintaining its security, territorial integrity and sovereignty.

(h) Article 33 provides that the Constitution shall not be amended during emergency, and the constitutional remedy for enforcement of the non-derogable civil liberties cannot be suspended.

Survival of Constitution & Democracy

Many philosophers believed that political cycle was harmful. The transitions would often be accompanied by violence and turmoil, and a good part of the cycle would be spent to degenerate forms of government. To minimize casualties and facilitate transition,

Bhutan looked into Aristotle's political cycle comprising of six forms of stages and believed that these keep revolving in a cyclic order. Similarly, Polybius has defined four basic forms of government as democracy, aristocracy, oligarchy and tyranny. Plato mentioned that the five forms of government are aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny. Having studied them, we created interlocking system and enshrined principles, doctrines and legal paradigms in the Constitution. The Constitution of Bhutan is rigid to establish normative values and flexible³⁹ enough to be dynamic in-order to embrace changes. The Constitution should contribute to social and political stability and introduce changes without disrupting the ongoing operation of the system. It means that society will over a period of time face social and political disruptions of various sorts in the political domain and the opposition party may gain sufficient power to become troublesome or disruptive and may take power and displace the government. However, Prof. Mark V.

Tushnet of Harvard said that the opposition would not be destructive.

The Constitution of Bhutan has survived for the last seven years without any amendment. It has passed the first cycle and in the future it will be tested as we move with the change of time. However, we must be mindful for Aristotle warned:

"Even the most minor changes to basic laws and constitutions must be opposed because over time the small changes will add up to a complete transformation."

Any amendment to a basic law or Constitution which would not satisfy the prerequisites enshrined in a valid entrenched clause would lead to so-called "unconstitutional constitutional law", i.e. an amendment to constitutional law text which would appear to be constitutional law only by its form, albeit being unconstitutional as with respect to the procedure in which it has been enacted, or as to the material content of its provisions. The objective is to prevent amendments which would pervert the

³⁹ The flexible Constitution lays down a special process for its amendment. It does not distinguish between a constitutional law and an ordinary law.

fundamental principles enshrined in it, in particular to prevent the creation of a legalistic dictatorship. But entrenched clauses are often challenged by their opponents as being undemocratic. It is also known as the basic structure of the Constitution and the Immutable principle.

During the last seven years, the Constitution of Bhutan has endured the constitutional goals, contributed to social and political stability without disrupting them and the governance to pursue goals for the nation. It has maintained stability and peace in bewildering changing times. In a system of election, a party that loses the election must not feel that it has been permanently defeated. It should not therefore go into serious opposition to the new governing party. The Constitution must allow the governance or the elected government to pursue the goals for the nation that the Constitution and the governing party identifies. It needs to establish social, political and legislative morality including the institutional morality as Fali S. Nariman stated:

"... Constitution is founded on the rule of law, and the rule of law embodies a principle of institutional morality, a principle which suggests feasible limits on power, to constrain abuses which occur even in the most compassionate administration of the laws."

Conclusion

The Constitution must ensure the realization of the constitutional promise. Constitutions have become major sources of values, institutions and procedures around the world. Constitutions are losing their national specificity. Rousseau once called the Constitution a law engraved on the hearts of the citizens. The objective of the Constitution is to provide a sacred refuge and guidance to the nation. It is not an ordinary law. It is the statement of fundamental rights of the citizens, which normally forms part of modern written constitutions. Bhutan considered and incorporated intellectual, philosophical, spiritual and cultural values to make the Constitution, an inclusive Constitution.

As opined by Aristotle, Democracy is the most complex and difficult form of government. Democracy is never a finished product, but is always evolving because humanity itself is evolutionary with molting process. From self-help to common defense, time and history responded positively. The human urge for better and greater lives, from the Greek's conception of universal law, the partial skepticism of the Sophists, the epochs of Cynicism, Rationality, Humanism, Renaissance, Enlightenment (Age of Reason), Empiricisms, Romanticism, and Postmodernism to modern era were reactions, counter-actions and often revolutionary so that individual

freedom, harmonious society and sovereignty of the nations will not perish. Philosophies and spiritualism expressed through constitutions and anchored on the various schools of thought such as teleology, deontology, consequentialism and realism act as self-correction and self-imposed restraint.

The Constitution embodies hope for survival, reassurance for our future and the national vision of greater and general public interest. Collective dreams and common aspirations for a unifying vision expressed in this document will address the common misery and shared anguish to assuage human suffering and lead the nation to glory. His Majesty said:

"This Constitution is the most profound achievement of generations of endeavor and service. As it is granted to us today, we must remember that even more important than the wise and judicious use of the powers it confers, is the unconditional fulfillment of the responsibilities we must shoulder. Only in understanding our duties will the exercise of our powers be fruitful... Lastly, this Constitution was placed before the people of the twenty dzongkhags by the King. Each word has earned its sacred place with the blessings of every citizen in our nation. This is the People's Constitution."

Thank You and Trashi delek



ASIA IN TODAY'S WORLD

6th Friday Forum Lecture by **Professor Kishore Mahbubani**, 31 October 2014



Your Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It's a great pleasure and honor for me to be here in Bhutan. It's a country that I have adored and admired for a long time. My wife is here, our children and I came here for a wonderful holiday here about a decade ago and we have very warm memories of our time in Bhutan. So I am very happy to be back here, and to be addressing all of you at a sister School of my School, the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

Now I do give speeches regularly so I find that the hardest thing to decide is, how do you start. You know in America you begin with a joke, in Asia you begin with an apology; so what I do is I combine the two traditions and I apologize for my bad joke. But my bad joke was told by the first Chief Minister of Singapore. His name is David Marshall; it's interesting- Singapore, which is a majority Chinese state, started off with a Chief Minister who was of Iraqi Jewish origin, and a good friend of mine too. So David Marshall told a story of a young priest, a catholic priest, who was very

devout, who like to pray but at the same time he also likes to smoke occasionally, frequently. So one day, in desperation he went up to the bishop, he said, "Your grace, please may I have your permission to smoke while I pray?", and the bishop was of course very upset and threw him out saying "No, no, no, this is sacrilegious, you can't do it." So the priest walked out looking very dejected and unhappy. Then he met a fellow priest who said, "What happened?" He explained what happened and the fellow priest thought for a while and then said, "Hey wait wait, I think there is a misunderstanding here." So the fellow priest took the young priest back to the bishop and said, "Your grace, there's been a misunderstanding here. All that this young man is asking for is permission to pray while he smokes." So, of course the bishop said, "How can I deny a man permission to pray, right?". Now there is a reason why I begin with that story because you know it captures brilliantly the fact that you can have the same set of facts- the facts don't change but the story changes. So this is the world we live in today- there is one set

of facts and there are two stories about our world.

The dominant story, the dominant narrative is what I call the western narrative and now there is an emerging Asian narrative. And since, Bhutan and Singapore are in Asia we have to understand this emerging Asian narrative because we are entering a completely new era of world history today. So in my remarks today, I will divide my remarks into three parts. Chewang can confirm I only make three points at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. From the first part I will try to describe the nature of this new historical era and how and why it has emerged. In the second part I will deal with the challenges that we still face in Asia and then finally I will conclude with my forecast for the future and how I see the development of Asia in a coming decade or so. And after that I hope I will get some questions from all of you. I always tell everyone that the more difficult the question the easier it is for me to answer. So please think of the most difficult questions you can think of. You will help me a lot when it comes to the Q&A session.

So let me begin the story and this is the story about the new era of world history we are in. And how would I characterize the new era of world history with two points? Firstly, we are now reaching the end of the era of Western domination of world history. Now I hasten to add that the end of the era of Western domination of world history is not the end of the West; in fact the West will remain as a strong civilization and all of us want to see the West remain the strong civilization because the world needs a strong West still. But the capacity of the West to dominate the world is over; because this is my second point-you seeing the return of Asia.

And why do I call it the return of Asia and not the rise of Asia? Because from the year one to the year 1820, for eighteen hundred of the last two thousand years the two largest economies of the world were always those of China and India. And it's only in the last two hundred years that Europe took off and North America took off. So if you view the past two hundred years of world history against the backdrop of the past two thousand years of world history, the past two hundred years of world history have been a major historical aberration. So as you know, all aberrations come to a natural end and therefore it is perfectly natural for China and India and the other Asian countries to emerge as the largest economies in the world. But I can tell you that this is happening faster than anyone anticipated. And you want to know how fast it is? Let me give you one statistic. In 1980, thirty-four years ago, according to IMF statistics in Purchasing Power Parity terms, in PPP terms, the United States' share of the global GNP was 25% and China's share was 2.2%. So in 1980 China's share of the global GNP was less than 10% of that of United States of America. But amazingly, and this is why we live in amazing times, by the end of this year, 2014, according to IMF statistics, in PPP terms, China's GNP will become larger than that of United States of America. And by 2030, according to Justin Lin, a former chief economist of the World Bank, China's GNP could become twice the size of the United States in PPP terms. Now this is an amazing transformation of world history and we are actually living through some of the most exciting times of human history ever, because these kinds of transformations rarely occur.

But of course the big question is why is it happening now; China always had large amount of people, why did China go down and why has it come back and why are all the other Asian countries all coming back at this point in time? This is why, to answer the question, I came up with the theory that the reason why Asian countries have finally begun to do well is that they have understood, absorbed and they are implementing seven pillars of Western wisdom. And it's by implementing these seven pillars of Western wisdom the Asian countries are doing very well now. I am going to share these seven pillars with you, I can't go through all of them at length because I normally give a one hour lecture on the seven pillars, I know I am suppose to finish it in forty-five minutes to give you time for Q&A. I will give you a flavor of these seven pillars and it's also important, I believe, to share these seven pillars because these seven pillars have helped Singapore to succeed and indeed when students come to our School I share them also these pillars because we want others to also implement these seven pillars, so I share them widely.

What is the first pillar of Western wisdom? Well I describe it as a free market economics, and if you want proof of the power of free market economics, the largest human laboratory in the world that has tried it out, is China, because as you know from 1949 to 1979 China tried centrally planned Soviet-style, state-run, economics and went nowhere; and then Deng Xiaoping came along in 1979, smashed Mao Tse Tung's iron rice bowl, and implemented the Four Modernizations, and China has delivered the fastest growing economy in the world for over thirty years. That's an amazing achievement and it shows how powerful free market economics is as a mechanism, for transforming society, for uplifting people, and China has uplifted more people out of absolute poverty than any other country has in human history. It has uplifted eight hundred million people from absolute poverty.

Now having said that, the remarkable thing that has happened in the last few years is that even though free market economics is a Western concept, a Western gift to humanity, something amazing has happened the last few years, especially after the global financial crisis of 2008- 2009, that the Western societies are beginning to lose

faith in free market economics while the Asian societies have greater and greater faith in free market economics. And if you want empirical proof of this, it's very easy to demonstrate because if you believe in free market economics, you believe in free trade and you believe in Free Trade Agreements- so the word FTA is a nice sounding word if you believe in Free Trade Agreements. But you know, take United States of America, which used to be the leader of free trade for so long; today the word FTA has become so toxic in America that when the United States negotiates a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement with EU, as it is doing so now, it doesn't call it a Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement- TAFTA, because it sounds like NAFTA, and NAFTA is politically toxic so they call it T-TIP; they changed and dropped the word FTA and similarly instead of calling a negotiation with East Asia the Trans-Pacific Free Trade Agreement, they call it TPP, so they dropped the word FTA. And by contrast in East Asia which used to have only three Free Trade Agreements now has almost fifty Free Trade Agreements. That's a sign of the times that we live in, that in East Asia there is greater belief in the power of Free Trade Agreements and free market economics. So that's the first pillar.

The second pillar, of course, quite obviously is also the mastery of science and technology, and here again a remarkable shift has taken place that few have noticed. As you know the reason why the West could go out and conquer, colonize and dominate the whole world was because they had superior science and technology. And you know, when I look back at history I find it amazing that a small country like Portugal with four million people could colonize South America and you have Brazil, colonize Africa so you have Angola and Mozambique, and this small country Portugal could take a bite of India in Goa and take a bite of China in Macao. That's as shocking, a country of four million people could seize territories all over the world. Why? Superior science and technology. But today if you want to look at all indicators, this mastery of science and technology is also shifting to Asia. Again if you want empirical proof just look at R&D budgets and already East Asia is spending more in R&D in science and technology than either Europe or North America. And as you look down

the road over the next ten years the budgets in Europe are being squeezed, the budgets in America are being squeezed, because as you know they have huge budgetary problems; and the budgets in East Asia are expanding. And you want a simple indicator, from the year 1991 to 2011, in the twenty-year period United States doubled its R&D budget in twenty years, China increased its R&D budget by twenty times. That's the difference in pace. That's why you have this amazing situation today where in an area where America was dominant for so long, in outer space, Americans were the first to send the man to moon, they had the most exciting space exploration program; today Americans don't even have a vehicle to send their astronauts to outer space, they have to use Russian rockets. And now that they fought with Russia over Ukraine, they are going to have a very hard time sending astronauts into space. And by contrast, as you know, I was in China when the first Chinese astronaut walked into space you saw this amazing excitement in China. So that's an indication of a changing world that we live in. And since I speak of outer space I tell you the most amazing thing was India's achievement in sending this space vehicle to Mars at a price per kilometer that is less than the rickshaw ride in New Delhi. That's an amazing scientific achievement by India in its voyage to Mars. That's what is happening in Asia.

The third pillar of Western wisdom I describe as pragmatism. Pragmatism is a Western virtue but the best definition of pragmatism was given by the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping when he said "It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or a cat is white; if it catches mice it is a good cat." And that was a brilliant way of saying it doesn't matter whether it is communism or whether it is capitalism, whatever works we will use it. And so he said, "Okay capitalism works, we will use capitalism." But Deng Xiaoping was not the first Asian pragmatist, the first Asian pragmatist were the Japanese who way back in 1860s, a hundred any fifty years ago, when they saw how India, a country of three hundred million people had been effortlessly colonized by hundred thousand Englishman, and when they saw how China, this huge country that they looked up to, had been humiliated in the Opium War of 1842, and the Japanese said "Hah! We will be

the next to be humiliated." So the Japanese switched, they had the Meiji Reformation, they recruited the young people, and these young Meiji reformers went around the world to learn best practices. So the Japanese learned from the Americans free market economics, they learned from the French the Napoleonic Code, they learned from Germans how to built an army, they learned from the British how to built a navy, and Japan emerged as the first modern industrial power. So essentially, what the Japanese did with the Meiji Reformation in the 1860s, to go out and learn from the rest of the world is what the Asian countries are doing now. And one of the things that many people are not aware of is that the biggest thing that is happening in Asia is completely invisible because, I call it the great silent learning journey, each year thousands of Asians are travelling around the world to learn best practices and bring them home to implement it, and that's why Asia is being transformed. And we know it well in Singapore because we get thousands of delegations coming to Singapore to learn how we built the world's best airport, how we built the world's best port, so we know this silent learning journey is happening all this time.

Now the fourth pillar of western wisdom I describe is meritocracy. Now meritocracy, as you know, is all about how you select the best people to run your society, and in some ways all those of you who participate in these leadership programs here at the Royal Institute are all beneficiaries of a process of meritocratic selection. Now that's essentially what's happening all through out Asia because I always say that if you want the simplest explanation of why Asia is doing well, it's actually very simple- Asia always had the world's largest pool of brains. We are 55% of the world's population so naturally we have world's largest pool of brains, but Asia also have the worlds largest pool of unused brains. Now the unused brains are being used on a massive scale, and fortunately some of Asian leaders recognized the wisdom of this early on. I remember long time ago in the 1980s the former Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, was asked this question "Aren't you worried about a brain drain from India?" You know Indians were leaving, Indians to go to America, to Europe. And Rajiv Gandhi gave a very wise reply, he said

"Better a brain drain than a brain in the drain." And that was very wise because you can see the result thirty years later. Because if you go to America, which is the most competitive human laboratory in the world, the best and brightest from all over the world, from south America, from Europe, from Asia, from Africa go to America to compete. And in the most competitive human laboratory on our planet, you would have thought that the most successful ethnic group may be the Japanese or the Jews or the Chinese or the Koreans. No! The most successful ethnic group in the United States of America, by far (and their per capital income is higher than any other ethnic group) are the ethnic Indians from India in America. And in an essay that I wrote for McKinsey, they came out with a book called Reimagining India- I said that if Indians in India could achieve half the per capita income of Indians in America, India's GNP would not be two trillion dollars, India's GNP would be twenty-five trillion dollars. So you can see the incredible potential of an economy like India's in the world. And it's coming because you can see how talented Indians have done so well all over the world. So that's the potential for Asia.

Let me run through very quickly the three other pillars because I want to talk about challenges also. The three other pillars are, the fifth is of course the culture of peace, and it's very important to have peace, and I can tell you that the biggest obstacle to economic development is always war. And amazingly enough, in a region in East Asia which has seen the three biggest world wars since World War II- the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Sino-Vietnamese War, the guns are silent in East Asia. Now that's a remarkable achievement for a very difficult region. And I can tell you hopefully during Q&A, if you want me to speak more about South East Asia, I actually think that what ASEAN has done in South East Asia is a miracle. And the reason why it is miracle is because the most diverse region in the planet, by far, is South East Asia. That's why British historians call South East Asia the Balkans of Asia. And guess what, the Balkans of Asia are at peace today because of ASEAN and we can discuss that a bit more, but that's the culture of peace which is critical.

The sixth pillar of western wisdom is the rule of law and here let me be honest

just as in culture of peace, we have made progress but we still have a long way to go. In the same way we have made progress on the rule of law but we still have a long way to go. And even in China for example, even though I can tell you one statistic- the country that has produced largest number of new lawyers in the world is China, they've produced a few hundred thousand lawyers in the last two decades, but they still have a long way to go in achieving a rule of law of the kind that you find in, say western societies, so there is some progress to be made there.

And the final pillar of Western wisdom, of course, is education and here something absolutely remarkable has happened in the field of education because, you know, if you look at the Western education it was clearly designed for the Western mind. But amazingly when you take a Western education and you combine it with the Asian mind, the Asian mind does amazingly well in Western education. And if you want proof of this just go to the graduation ceremony. You know when my son graduated from Carnegie Mellon, I was there, a good university. And when the names of PHD holders in Science and Engineering come on the stage, (and Tom Friedman wrote a column about this. He saw something similar at the Rensselaer Institute of Technology) Tom said, "Whereas the PhD graduates came to the stage, their names began with Tan, Lee, Wang or Kumar, Kapoor, Rakesh...." He said, "...finally one David Morrow saved the day!" One Anglo-Saxon name walked up on the stage to get a PhD in Science and Engineering. And that's a postcard from the future; that's the future talent of the world. And you can see how well the Asians are doing in Western education.

But of course while each of these pillars are important, actually what's remarkable is in the application of these seven pillars. And the success in the

application of these seven pillars has led to a fundamental transformation of Asia, which is also silent and invisible, and that silent invisible transformation of Asia is what I call the explosion of cultural confidence in Asia. So today if you want to meet the most optimistic young people in the world, don't go to Europe. If you have 50% youth unemployment in France, Italy and Spain, the youth in Europe don't feel optimistic about the future. Even in America, which has always been the land of optimism, the young feel troubled about the future. By contrast, if you want to meet the



most optimistic young people, you come to Asia. Because they believe that tomorrow belongs to them. And that's why this return of Asia is irreversible and unstoppable.

But, there's always a but, there will be challenges, and this will bring me to my second part of my remarks about the challenges that we in Asia will face. And I will put the challenges into three categories, and they all begin with the letter "G". The first "G" challenge is geo-politics, the second "G" challenge is good governance and the third "G" challenge is global governance. These are the three challenges that the Asian states will face.

The first one, geo-politics- you know, geo politics has been around for two thousand years or more, and geo politics will be around for another two thousand years or so. And we live in one of the

most fascinating times of human history in geo-political terms. And I can tell you, for two thousand years of human history, the most important geo-political fault line is always that between the world's largest power and the world's largest emerging power. Today the world's largest power is the United States of America; the world's largest emerging power is China. And it is always at the point when the Number 2 is about to pass Number 1 to become Number 1, that's when you see a rising level of tension between Number 1 and Number 2. And so at this point in history, as I mentioned in my opening remarks,

that this is about the time when China's GNP is going to become bigger than America, we should be seeing rising levels of tension between US and China. But amazingly, we don't. This is actually quite stunning; this is a geo-political freak. And I give credit to both Beijing and Washington DC for having managed this relationship very well. So overall, it's a relatively stable relationship. But cracks are appearing. Now you saw a sign of this just a few weeks ago. As you know, China announced a proposal for the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. It's a good proposal because, you know, all of us in Asia we need more infrastructure, we need an infrastructure bank, we should have all supported China.

Instead, as you know, United States campaigned very hard, and when Xi Jinping launched the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in Beijing a few weeks ago, South Korea didn't turn up, Japan didn't turn up, Australia didn't turn up, partly because of pressure from the United States of America. So that's an example of geo-political competition. So I can tell you I am reasonably certain that if you follow the normal logic of history, there will be rising geo-political competition between US and China; it's coming. And I can tell you that we in Singapore are very worried about this, because Singapore as a small state, will be directly affected by US-China geo-political competition. Because we in Singapore, as a small state, we have a very good defense relationship with United States of America and we want to maintain this good defense relationship because it's been good for us. But if tensions rise between US and China,

and 75% of Singapore's population is Chinese, we have to be very careful; we cannot be caught in the rivalry between China and the US. So we as a small state have to be very very careful. But I can tell you that while today's geo-political challenge is between United States and China, tomorrow's geo-political challenge will be between the two rising powers in 20-30 years from now, and that will be between China and India. That too is coming. And I would say, if I lived in Bhutan, I would pay very very careful attention to this geo-political competition between China and India. And I can tell you we at the Lee Kuan Yew School, we think that that's going to be a big challenge, so we have invested eight million dollars, we have set up an eight million dollar endowment fund to study the future of China-India relations and I want to let you know that we will be happy to share all these studies with you so that you can use them also in trying to understand this relationship. But these are the geo-political challenges that are coming, I haven't talked about another geo-political challenge, China and Japan, we can talk about that in the Q&A when we come to that. So that's the first "G" challenge.

The second "G" challenge is good governance. And it's very clear that while the Asian countries have succeeded in many ways with their economic development, their political development has often not kept pace with their economic development. And as a result of that they are struggling. Now if you want example, the best example I can give you is Thailand in South East Asia. Now for a long time, Thailand was the most stable state in South East Asia, indeed the only state out of the ten states in South East Asia, the only one out of the ten that was not colonized by any western power was Thailand. Because the Thais were geo-politically deft and shrewd in the way they handled the colonial powers and they avoided colonization. And they have always had strong institutions, they had a strong monarchy, and everyone thought- "Hey, Thailand is safe." And I can tell you, as a political analyst, which is what my job description is, I was personally shocked at how divided Thailand has become, between, as you know, the red shirts who support the former Prime Minister Thaksin and the yellow shirts who support the establishment in Bangkok. I

go to Bangkok frequently, I am writing a book on South East Asia with my fellow author in Bangkok, and every time I go to Bangkok, I am surprised at how divided the country is. So that's an example of a good governance challenge that can arise.

And the third "G" of course is global governance and here it's very obvious that, you know, one of the biggest gifts the West gave to humanity was this whole family of multilateral institutions, many of them based in the UN and some related to the UN, like IMF and the World Bank. Now these are good institutions but the West wants to continue to dominate them. And that's no longer tenable because, you know, at a time when the Asian share of the global GNP is becoming bigger and bigger and bigger, you cannot have a rule that says that to become the head of the IMF you must be European, to become the head of the World Bank you must be an American. Unfortunately, that is still the rule. So all these rules have to change to adapt to the new world order. So this is the global governance challenge that we have to deal with.

Now all this brings me to my conclusion, which is, what are the prospects for Asia? And the reason I began with a story about the two narratives of the priest is that as you look ahead to Asia's prospects, you will see two different narratives. If you read the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, the Financial Times, and The Economist, you will be excused for believing that China is about to break apart and fall apart at any day now. Because the Western narrative is that the Chinese cannot continue succeeding in the way that they have, that the Communist Party will collapse and fail. I disagree completely with that analysis. So I have a very different narrative, so I have a much more optimistic narrative for Asia. Again you see I like the Number 3 for three reasons why I am optimistic.

The first reason why I am optimistic is that by an amazing coincidence of history, you know future historians when they look back at the year 2014, our year, now, they will be absolutely shocked, they'd say "How did it end up that the three most populous states in Asia; China, India and Indonesia- how did all three simultaneously had strong, dynamic reform-minded leaders?" I can tell you that President Xi Jinping is



an amazing leader. He is determined to transform China. And he will probably go down in history as the third most important leader of modern China after Mao Tse-tung and Deng Xiaoping. He is determined to lift China up to a new height, and as you know, strong leadership makes a huge difference to a country. And in the case of India, I think you all probably know India better than I do, it is amazing that Prime Minister Modi was elected with such an incredible mandate. I went to call on him three years ago because I am Chairman of the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize Nominating Committee, and we had nominated Ahmedabad to be on the short list for the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize, so I went to Ahmedabad, I spent two hours talking to then Chief Minister Modi, and I was very impressed by him. Because this is a can-do leader, hands-on leader who believes in results. And that's why, as you know, when he was Chief Minister of Gujarat, Gujarat was growing at 10-12 percent a year. So he, I believe, will implement significant reforms. So India will also take off. And finally Indonesia, a country of two hundred and seventy million people, has elected someone called Joko Wi, as he is popularly known, and I was invited to spend seven hours with him on December 18 last year; we drove around the car together, he showed me his projects and we had a long conversation, and I was very impressed by him. Just to

give you one small example- there was a highway across Jakarta that have been 90% completed in 1998, then President Suharto fell in 1998 and the highway stopped. For sixteen years nobody could complete the construction of the highway; governor Joko Wi came along, he finished the job. He is also like Prime Minister Modi, a can-do man, who will transform Indonesia. So this is amazing- for Asia to have three of the best leaders in office at the same time must mean that the economic development of Asia is going to get a boost in the next ten years. So that's one reason why I am optimistic.

The second reason why I am optimistic is that after all these years of development, the size of the middle classes in Asia have grown. Now I have given you a few statistics, you may forget some of them I am sure, but if you want to leave this room with just one statistic, take away this statistic because this is the most transformative statistic of all. And what is that? It is that in the

year 2010, in all of Asia, from West Asia to East Asia, the total size of the Asian middle class was 500 million people. That's a reasonable size- 500 million people, about the size of population of Europe. But by 2020, which is only six years from now, that number is going to explode from 500 million to 1.75 billion, an increase of three and a half times in ten years. The world has seen nothing like this ever in human history. And if you want the global figures for global middle class, in 2010 it was 1.8 billion, in 2020 it will be 3.2 billion and by 2030 it will be 4.9 billion which means by 2030 more than half the world's population will be enjoying middle class living standards and that's why I wrote the book *The Great Convergence*, my latest book, to describe this great transformation that we are seeing in the world, and that's why I am very optimistic also for the future.

Now finally the final reason why I am optimistic for the future, and then I will stop and take questions from all

of you, is that I believe that after every economic renaissance, and what we have seen in Asia by the way, in the last twenty or thirty years we in Asia have seen one of the biggest economic renaissance ever seen in human history. But an economic renaissance will soon be followed by a cultural renaissance, and I predict that the next ten to twenty years will be some of the best years to be living in Asia because you will see this remarkable cultural renaissances happening all over in China, India, Indonesia, Vietnam and many other countries. So that cultural renaissance in turn will provide a boost to growth because it will make people feel more confident about the future. So if I am to summarize my talk in one line, I would say the good times are coming.

Thank you very much.

[Transcribed by RIGSS]



Staff Members of RIGSS with His Majesty The King, Prime Minister and Professor Kishore Mahbubani

SO SAY OUR ALUMNI ...

"The most beneficial aspect of the SELP program was the constant reminder of the fact that Leadership is about channeling all that we are for the benefit of others, that is, to be better individuals, better human beings; for it is by first serving others that we earn the right to lead them."

Tshewang C Dorji (SELP-5)
Chief Officer, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

"For a very young institute, RIGSS has been exemplary in providing such a comprehensive course like SELP which includes both lectures and group work sessions, and hands-on learning through field visits, report writing and debates on topical issues. It takes you out of your narrow sectoral view to having a more national level perspective, especially on strategic matters, which is critical for people in leadership positions."

Karma Hamu Dorjee (SELP-5)
Commissioner, Royal Civil Service Commission

"The program at RIGSS was one of the best that I have attended. It changed my perspective of the various dimensions of my outlook professionally and personally."

Jamyang Choeden (BEST-1, SELP-5)
Chief Program Office, Dept. of School Education, MoE

"The Leadership Program at the RIGSS, covering a wide range of topics on social, economic and political issues of the country, leadership and management skills, negotiations, foreign policy, and a week-long learning journey instilled in me knowledge, skills and insights valuable in my career, and also helped me transform as a person."

Karma Pemba (BEST-1, SELP-3)
Chief Transport Officer, RSTA

"My learning at RIGSS has been truly a unique one. SELP has not only acquainted me with the profoundness of the national issues and security of our country but has also taught me to reflect on my conduct and my work on a daily basis."

Damche Tenzin (SELP-5)
Chief, Legal Services

"Institution par excellence instilling pearls of wisdom; an honour and privilege to be an alumnus"

Col (Dr) Pema Tenzing (MLS-3)
Royal Bhutan Army

"As a participant from the private sector, SELP has deeply reinforced my understanding of the value of prioritizing overarching national objectives over and above personal and organizational objectives."

Rinzin Lhamo (SELP-5)
CEO, Kingyal Coke and Chemicals Private Ltd.

"I believe RIGSS would evolve over time to become a leading training institute for the leaders of today and tomorrow in South Asia."

T.B.Monger (SELP-1)
Senior Finance Officer, MHPA

"An excellent programme very well organized and implemented. I am inspired to rethink the way I plan and present my work."

Minjur Dorji (BEST-2)
Executive Secretary, Thimphu Thromde

"RIGSS is an epitome of a premier institute where all participants travel in the same boat to gain a vast ocean of knowledge and experiences. I would rather say "Harvard of the himalayan Kingdom"

Lt. Col. Kinley Penjor (SELP-5)
RBA

"RIGSS, an un-paralleled brainchild of His Majesty The King, has potential to develop tremendous soft power for the country while affording a platform to strengthen social capital among public servants. It inspired us to align our individual efforts toward the greater good and higher goals of the country through self-leadership."

Lobzang Rinzin Yargay (SELP-1)
Drangpon, Tsirang Dzongkhag Court

"RIGSS is extraordinary with richness in simplicity, compactness, efficiency and in traditionality. And SELP is even more extraordinaire, enriching us with most sought-after self-leadership qualities, and inspiring us with more reverential current and future national priorities."

Nima Tshering C (SELP-5)
Chief, Licensing and Technical Division, BEA

"RIGSS is the epitome of executive education and transformation through faculty and pedagogy of extraordinary excellence."

Dr. S.B.Chamling Rai (SELP-4)
Animal Health Specialist, Dept. of Livestock, MoAF

"RIGSS is a platform where senior executive leaders from different organizations learn to cooperate in the field of development of the country without wasting time due to indifference of individual."

Lt. Col. Tshulthrim Dorji (SELP-3)
SP, RBP, Trongsa

"One can get a sense of this remarkable institution's intellectual verve and vitality from the various courses and trainings offered by RIGSS. The panel of diverse faculty, with the passion for learning and a desire to share knowledge with others, has brought to this institution a depth and a range of experience unmatched by any faculty of any other institutions in Bhutan."

Ugyen Tshering (SELP-1)
Drangpon, Thimphu District Court

"The course was very much relevant, informative and inspiring. The course does help me in discharging my duties as the Head of the Division. Similar program for mid-level government officers should also be instituted as they would benefit."

Lobzang Dorji (SELP-5)
Chief Forest Officer, MoAF

"My learning experience, while undergoing SELP, was educative and contemporarily relevant one I have ever had. Besides conducive learning atmosphere, lectures by the highly renowned guest speakers both from within and outside the country is a blend that is rare and most fulfilling. Effort by the Institute in arranging such courses is commendable and inspiring and will go a long way in fulfilling the aspirations of our great Kings."

Gyembo (SELP-3)

Chief Budget Officer, Ministry of Finance

"The month long training at RIGSS provided me with a fascinating learning opportunity and memorable experience through its enriching interactive lessons and the lasting networking with the fellow scholars. SELP at RIGSS awakened the leader in me and helped me hone my leadership skills."

Passang Dorji (SELP-2)

Head, Corporate Planning & Strategy Division
Druk Green Power Corporation Limited

"The SELP has really helped me to perform my duty to the TSA-WA-SUM with full dedication and commitment in line with the Royal Government of Bhutan's long-term policies and objectives. "

Sangay Phuntsho (SELP-1)

RTIO, MOEA, Thimphu

"More than anything, the program enabled me to understand matters of national significance from the spectrum of no lesser personality than His Majesty Himself and it sparked the light of leadership in me - at least of the self."

Loday Tsheten (SELP-4)

Chief Internal Auditor, Ministry of Finance

"SELP provided an excellent hands-on training to empower future leaders and I walked out of RIGSS more self aware, more confident and better able to fully engage in my professional relationships. It is the best leadership training I have ever attended, Thank you RIGSS!"

Wangay Dorji (SELP-4)

Chief Communication Officer, BICMA

"An excellent centre with relevant courses to strengthen the need of the country"

Kesang Choden Dorji (SELP-4)

Director, REC, Ministry of Education

"The experiences and lessons learnt from SELP have helped me in my own self-development and given me enough motivation to align my personal mission with national priorities and goals. I have been truly blessed with the opportunity to attend the program."

Tashi Tobgay (SELP-5)

Asst Auditor General, RAA

RIGSS is the prominent institute of choice to discuss and develop the Bhutanese political, social and economic dynamics. It is serving as the cradle for nurturing our current and future generation leaders."

Jambay Wangchuk (SELP-1)

Project Director, Armed Forces School Project, HMS

"I experienced a world-class leadership programme taught by illustrious international and national faculty, and a curriculum strategically customized to address the leadership needs of the 21st century. "

Kinley Peday (SELP-4)

Chief Regulatory and Quarantine Officer, BAFRA, MoAF

"RIGSS offers fantastic courses on leadership equivalent to the ones offered by renowned international institutes. The faculty and staff are true professionals and helpful."

Rinzin Dorji (BEST-1)

Director General, MOWHS

"RIGSS offered the platform for technical professional like me to step into the shoes of management to know the insights of the state affairs and our country's long-term vision."

Karma Dupchuk (SELP-3)

Chief Engineer, Gelephu Thromde

"I came to realize how much my conservative goal-setting approach in the past had limited my true potential. SELP has reshaped my life perspective and priorities tremendously and I now have a clearer sense of direction as to how I could play an important role as a true citizen."

Pema Wangchuk (SELP-5)

GM, Department of Corporate Service, CDCL

SELP has been one of the most enjoyable and valuable courses I have ever taken. The course was very enriching, insightful and enlightening. The teaching was masterful and the materials covered were of diverse field which were very practical and pragmatic.

Kuenzang Gyeltshen (SELP-5)

Dean of Academic Affairs, Samtse College of Education

"Civil servants must be constantly infused with new knowledge and skills to remain dynamic. The BEST is an important initiative by the RCSC and RIGSS. As a participant in BEST, the experience was most enjoyable."

Phuntsho Namgyel (BEST-1)

Director, Cabinet Secretariat

"Besides great opportunity for interactions fostering renewal and development of greater friendship among the participants, I liked the broad-based learning experiences that were consciously created for the participants. The programme helped to further strengthen the feeling that our leadership development must be grounded on the Leadership of the Self."

Karma Yeshey (SELP-5)

Director General, Ministry of Education

"SELP is the best course attended thus far followed by continuous interactions among alumni. Thanks to the wisdom and vision of our Monarch"

Karna Bdr. Sunwar (SELP-2)

General Manager, Druk Wang Alloys

"RIGSS: a professional institution to instil a sense of absolute consciousness for leaders to lead responsibly

Samdrup Rigyal, PhD (SELP-4)

Director, Royal University of Bhutan

RIGSS COURSE CALENDAR for 2016

Course Titles: **LPP**: Leadership Program for Parliamentarians, **YPLP**: Young Professionals Leadership Program, **SELP**: Senior Executive Leadership Program, **MLS**: Military Leaders Strategic Studies Seminar, **BEST**: Bhutan Executive Services Training

JANUARY

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LPP-1: 3-17 Jan
LPP-2: 24 Jan - 7 Feb

FEBRUARY

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LPP-2: 24 Jan - 7 Feb
SELP-6: 28 Feb - 28 Mar

MAY

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YPLP-1: 10 Apr-7 May
BEST-3: 15-28 May

JUNE

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BEST-4: 4-17 Sep

OCTOBER

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SELP-7: 2 Oct - 2 Nov
MLS-5: 2-12 Oct

MARCH

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SELP-6: 28 Feb - 28 Mar
MLS-4: 28 Feb - 9 Mar

APRIL

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YPLP-1: 10 Apr-7 May

JULY

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YPLP-2: 31 Jul - 27 Aug

AUGUST

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YPLP-2: 31 Jul - 27 Aug

NOVEMBER

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SELP-7: 2 Oct - 2 Nov
YPLP-3: 13 Nov - 10 Dec

DECEMBER

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YPLP-3: 13 Nov - 10 Dec

ROYAL ADDRESS ON HIS MAJESTY DRUKGYAL ZHIPA'S 60TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY



Today, we come together as a nation to celebrate a special day of national pride and jubilation— an occasion to reflect on our past achievements, take stock of our present responsibilities, and pledge our efforts in planning for our bright future.

The tranquil peace, prosperity, and happiness that we enjoy in Bhutan is an outcome of the enduring sacrifice of our King of Prophecy, His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck— our most revered and beloved guardian. From the moment of His Majesty's accession to the Throne, His Majesty has worked tirelessly to fulfill all the aspirations of His people.

On this truly special day, the people of 20 dzongkhags of Bhutan unite to express our boundless gratitude to His Majesty.

By the paramount benediction of the Triple Gem; the providence of the

Guardian Deities; the devout prayers of our benevolent ancestors; and the good fortune of the people, Bhutan was blessed at the most opportune moment with an exceptional leader who achieved unimaginable success during His reign.

This is an opportunity for the people to pay tribute and offer heartfelt prayers for the eternal wellbeing of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo.

The circumstances during which His Majesty became King in 1972 were entirely different from those we are living in today.

As a result of national development under the guidance of His Majesty, people across the country today have access to basic amenities and infrastructure, and are able to live in contentment.

When His Majesty became King, there was little more than 700 kilometres of road network. The total budget for the third five-year Plan was around Nu.

300 million, as compared with the total budget outlay for the current 11th Plan, which is Nu. 213 billion, in addition to which, we will spend Nu. 200 billion for hydropower development.

In 1972, we barely generated one megawatt of electricity. There were a total of four high schools and 15 junior high schools in Bhutan— the first college was set up only in 1983. There were only 16 doctors in the entire country. The average life expectancy was 46 years. It has increased to about 69 years today. Our foreign reserve was only USD 4 million.

The national wealth was meager, and the hardships of the people considerable. Still, the Bhutanese people enjoyed a degree of tranquility and peace, even though the rest of the world was rife with uncertainty. While some nations were being formed, others were being demolished— it was a period of war and dispute. His Majesty began His reign

during such a time, and steered our country to an age of peace and prosperity.

His Majesty prioritized above all else, the profound task of Nation-Building, and ensuring the survival of our country.

Towards this objective, His Majesty safeguarded peace and harmony, and thus reinforced the sovereignty and security of our country.

Recognizing the importance of capable citizenry in nation building, His Majesty empowered an entire generation of Bhutanese through education, and enabled them to stand tall in the world.

With the enlightened development philosophy of Gross National Happiness, His Majesty engineered a system free of corruption, mismanagement and disharmony, and bridged the divide between the haves and have-nots.

His Majesty's principal objective throughout His reign was to ease the troubles of His people, fulfill their aspirations, and empower them so that the future of our nation would be invincible.

In these endeavours, His Majesty succeeded beyond imagination.

His Majesty accomplished all this, and at the same time, tended to our natural environment in such a manner that Bhutan remains to this day, a haven of beauty in which beings of all realms may delight in.

His Majesty always said that our sovereignty is upheld by our cultural heritage, and as a result even today, Bhutan is suffused in our age-old values of self-discipline, responsibility and spirituality.

Throughout His Majesty's reign of 34 years, His Majesty, as the Dharma King, extended unwavering support to religious orders, and allowed the teachings of Guru Rinpoche and Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel to flourish.

His Majesty established firm foundations and institutions for democracy, good governance, and rule of law, to ensure the continuity and security of not one generation in one lifetime, but for all the future citizens of Bhutan.

This is His Majesty's greatest legacy. It would be impossible for me to

enumerate in this short time, the vast ocean of achievements of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo. I take this moment to instead reflect on some of His Majesty's deeply held beliefs, which I have had the opportunity to study closely over the years.

His Majesty has always emphasized on the establishment of the rule of law. It is said that the failure of justice persecutes an individual, but the lack of adherence to rule of law persecutes an entire nation.

Rule of law brings about discipline in people and order in society. If there is order in society, there will be peace and trust amongst the people. His Majesty has always maintained that if there is peace and trust amongst people, the nation will achieve untold prosperity.

His Majesty strongly espoused integrity. From time immemorial, there exists an adage from Guru Rinpoche: With integrity, all our endeavours will bear abundant fruit. If the sacred commitment of integrity exists between King, country, government and people, it will benefit the country manifold.





Finally, as the protector of the welfare of all His people, His Majesty has been a just King and believed in equality. But His Majesty recognized the value of meritocracy, leadership, and talent in taking our nation forward. Bhutan is like a small animal in a large forest, placed between the most populous and powerful countries of the world, which will need skills for survival.

I have had the opportunity to observe closely, His Majesty's tireless service for the people and country, often sacrificing His own personal comfort in doing so.

In spite of His Majesty's monumental responsibilities, His Majesty was always attentive to minute details and concerns. His Majesty often asked after the health of the people that He met, and personally sent medication and advice if they were unwell.

Once, upon visiting Trongsa dzong as it was being renovated, His Majesty saw that concrete was being used, and Commanded that, as affluence grows, many modern structures can come up, but if age old tradition is lost it will be difficult to revive. As a result, the renovation was carried out in a traditional manner, and the dzong retained its inherent beauty.

At another time, His Majesty noticed that an immense tree had disappeared. His Majesty was greatly pained to learn that the tree had been felled to make space for an office, and Commanded that a tree that takes moments to fell has taken hundreds of years to grow—such trees are part of our national treasure, and should be cared for and handed over to the future generations.

Similarly, upon noticing garbage, His Majesty would express apprehensions that along with development and modernization, cleanliness may fall by the wayside.

Often, looking at the increasing number of vehicles in the Royal Convoy, His Majesty would express concerns that national expenditure would be incurred. His Majesty's concerns arose from a deep sense of value for national wealth, having seen at a young age how difficult it was to even buy two jeeps for the country during His Majesty the Third Druk Gyalpo's reign, and having painstakingly accrued the wealth we have today.

We all recognize in His Majesty the



Fourth Druk Gyalpo, the consummate Bodhisattva. But we must realize that it was not His Majesty's infinite compassion alone that delivered such tremendous success for our country.

In His work, His Majesty was unyielding and stern. His Majesty's Commands were regarded as precious and weighty, and it was well known that halfhearted efforts and mediocrity infuriated His Majesty.

His Majesty did not tolerate dishonesty, incompetence, and malfeasance when it came to matters of national importance.

This was because His Majesty considered governance to be no trivial matter—the responsibility of a nation was, for His Majesty, exacting beyond measure.

His Majesty always said that He bore this most onerous responsibility with the one thought, that death would be a better alternative to failure—and achieved phenomenal success precisely due to the gravity with which His Majesty regarded His duties.

With such unparalleled determination, His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo achieved in 34 years what would have otherwise required the work of two lifetimes.

We are forever indebted to His Majesty the Third Druk Gyalpo and Her Majesty Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck, for having gifted the people of Bhutan such an extraordinary leader—a jewel among men.

We also thank Their Majesties the Queens of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo, for their tremendous love, support and devotion to His Majesty.

The government officials, civil servants, and armed force and personnel serving His Majesty are to be thanked for their steadfast fealty and dedication.

Our gratitude is also due to the people of Bhutan, who reposed their confidence to the leadership of His Majesty the Fourth Druk Gyalpo.

Finally, the clergy have carried out important religious events over the decades, and continue to offer prayers for the longevity and well being of His Majesty, for which I express our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation.

His Majesty assumed the mantle and responsibilities of Kingship at the age of 16, when ordinary people are still growing up. By the age of 51, when most people are still striving to achieve their lifelong goals, His Majesty had already accomplished prodigious feats. Where ordinary people crave wealth and

power, His Majesty, in an act of superlative altruism that is unprecedented in the history of the world, abdicated the throne, crowned a new King, introduced democracy and handed over the responsibility of governance to His people.

In all His actions, His Majesty was a farsighted visionary, a benefactor of His people, whose strategies for the country demonstrated impeccable clarity of thought, and whose realization of national objectives bespoke of unsailable determination and excellent statesmanship.

This is why we revere His Majesty as the Father of the Nation.

We are gathered here to offer our gratitude, tribute and respects to His Majesty. There can be no greater tribute, expression of gratitude and respect, than the pledge that we will hand over to the next generation, an even stronger, even more prosperous, and even more successful nation, and serve our country in such a manner that thousands of generations after us will continue to reap the fruits of our labours.

Tashi Delek!

སྤེལ་ཁང་གི་བསྟོན་བྱ་སེམས་ཀྱི་རིམ་ 11

༄ དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པ་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ།
འབྲུག་གི་བསྟན་པ་མངའ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོས་འཛིན།
རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རང་བཙན་སྤང་བ་སྤིང་གི་གཞུང་།
འབངས་འཁོར་ཐུགས་རྩེ་བྱམས་དང་བརྩེ་བས་སྦྱང་།
ཐོས་བསམ་སྒྲིམ་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱས་པ་དང་།
མ་འོང་མངོན་གཟིགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐབས།
རང་རེ་སྦྱོར་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ལ་རིག
དེ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱིས་སྤེལ།
རྒྱལ་འཛིན་གཞུང་སྦྱང་ཐབས་རིག་སྤེལ་བའི་ཁང་།
ས་སྦྱང་མི་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུ་།
འགོ་ཁྲིད་གཞུང་སྦྱང་ལེགས་འགྱུར་མཛད་པའི་དགོངས།
འབད་མེད་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་རེ་སྒོན་འབུལ།



Composed by:
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“It is my wish and prayer that, during the reign of Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, the Palden Drukpa will remain strong and united, that our country will achieve greater prosperity with the sun of happiness shining on our people, that all the national objectives of the country and the hopes and aspirations of our people will be fulfilled, and the Bhutanese people will enjoy a greater level of contentment and happiness.”



རྒྱལ་འཛིན་གཞུང་སྐྱོང་དང་ཐབས་ཤིག་སྤེལ་ཁང་།



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