
ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN BHUTAN



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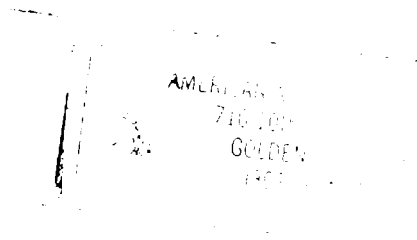


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MOVEMENT

ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN BHUTAN

A TERRORIST MOVEMENT



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Brief Background

The recorded history of Druk Yul (Bhutan, the land of the Thunder Dragon) began with the spread of Buddhism in the Himalayas and the coming of Guru Padmasambhava to Bhutan in the 7th century. After Padmasambhava many outstanding religious figures such as Phajo Drukgom Zhigpo helped to shape the history of Bhutan. However, it was Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, in the early 17th century, who left the largest imprint on the history of Bhutan by unifying the country and giving it a stable system of government which endured till the establishment of hereditary monarchy in 1907. During this period, the Bhutanese nation fought 12 wars with the Tibetans in the north and 11 wars with the British in the south to safeguard its sovereignty and independence. It was therefore not merely due to the rugged inaccessibility of its mountainous terrain but mainly because of the noble sacrifices and patriotism of the Bhutanese people themselves that Bhutan managed to remain an independent political entity throughout its recorded history.

During this crucial period in Bhutan's history, the destiny of the Bhutanese nation and its unique identity as a sovereign, independent country was shaped and safeguarded by the Drukpas, a name by which the original inhabitants of Druk Yul are commonly known in the Himalayan region.

The influx of Nepali immigrants had not yet commenced during this important period of Bhutan's history. A handful of Nepali migrants had begun trickling into the western foothills of Bhutan only towards the end of the 19th century from Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim. The flow of Nepali migrants into Bhutan's southern foothills only picked up in the first half of this century. British documents have confirmed that the flow of the Nepali migrants had not gone beyond Gaylegphug in the 1930s.

Political stirrings among the Nepali migrants surfaced in 1952 when the so called Bhutan State Congress launched a political agitation in southern Bhutan. The movement, however, fizzled out because of lack of popular support and because the Nepali population in southern Bhutan was then still very small.

In 1958, during its 11th session, the National Assembly of Bhutan enacted the Nationality Act of Bhutan, 1958 and granted Bhutanese nationality for the first time to all Nepalis who had settled in the kingdom before 1958. These Nepali immigrants after being granted Bhutanese citizenship were thereafter referred to as Lhotshampas (Southern Bhutanese).

Since then, under the enlightened reigns of His Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck and His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the Lhotshampa population have enjoyed all the rights and privileges of citizenship. No efforts have been spared by the Royal Government to bring the Lhotshampas

into the national mainstream. These efforts have been given even greater importance during the reign of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck. Southern Bhutan has been given preferential treatment in all development programmes and allotted with relatively far larger budgetary allocations than the other parts of the country. This is clearly evident from the fact that there are more educational and health facilities in the 5 southern districts as compared to the other districts of the kingdom, and that the employment ratio in government service is higher for the Lhotshampas. The rural population in southern Bhutan also enjoy a much higher income because of far larger land holdings and lucrative cash crop earnings. The average land holding per household in southern Bhutan is 8 acres as compared to 2 acres in northern Bhutan.

Unfortunately, the preferential treatment given to the Southern Bhutanese by the Royal Government, and the success of the development process in Bhutan over the past three decades did not succeed in bringing the Lhotshampas into the national mainstream. Instead, it created a situation that threatened the future prosperity and stability of the country. With abundant jobs and economic opportunities, easy availability of fertile land, and free health and educational facilities, vast hordes of Nepali migrants came to perceive Bhutan as an economic haven. For their part, the Lhotshampa population in the southern districts welcomed the prospects of increasing their numbers and changing the demographic balance in the kingdom.

The influx of Nepali migrants into southern Bhutan therefore became more pronounced with each passing year after the enactment of the Nationality Act of Bhutan, 1958. These economic migrants entered illegally over 700 kilometres of open borders between India and Bhutan and mingled with their brethren, the local Lhotshampas population of southern Bhutan. This illegal immigration was facilitated by corrupt local officials and encouraged by the Lhotshampas who were eager not only to increase their demographic size but also to obtain cheap labour for their farms, orange gardens and cardamom plantations. The problem was further compounded by the large numbers of Nepali labourers who were imported for carrying out developmental works but many of whom later settled down in Bhutan. The situation created by this continuous influx of illegal immigrants became so bad that gups (village headmen) and chimis (National Assembly members) could not distinguish nationals from foreigners in their areas. As a result, very large numbers of Nepali migrants were deliberately and illegally registered as Bhutanese citizens.

Large areas of land were illegally occupied and cultivated by the immigrants in southern Bhutan. In fact, the easy availability of fertile land which could be illegally occupied and converted to productive cash crop fields and orchards was one of the main incentives for the large influx of Nepali immigrants into southern Bhutan.

A comprehensive census programme was, therefore, launched for the first time by the Royal Government in 1988 and a firm policy on immigration was adopted. The Department of Land Records was also instructed to carry out a proper cadastral survey of all landholdings in the country. These moves were aimed at effectively curbing the influx of illegal immigrants and protecting the genuine interests of all bonafide Bhutanese citizens.

The 1988 census not only identified a substantial number of illegal immigrants but also revealed an unprecedented rise in the Lhotshampa population. In just one instance, the population of Samchi district, which is the most accessible part of southern Bhutan for the Nepali migrants, had doubled within a period of 10 years. The recently completed cadastral survey of Samchi district

revealed that the total illegal landholdings there was 47,235 acres, which is more than the total landholdings in Tashigang, the country's largest district.

The launching of anti-national activities was conceived by vested interests in southern Bhutan in 1988 after the implementation of the Royal Government's policy on census and immigration and the cadastral survey. In fact, many members of the so called Bhutan People's Party (BPP), including some of their leaders like Gopal Sharma and Shiva Pradhan, are illegal immigrants.

The Royal Government tried its best to accommodate the genuine difficulties and problems of certain categories of illegal immigrants on humanitarian grounds. The 67th session of the National Assembly in 1988 decided that illegal immigrants who had acquired property legally in Bhutan and those who were married to Bhutanese nationals before the Citizenship Act of 1985 would be entitled to the Special Residence Identity Card which gives them practically all the facilities and benefits as bonafide Bhutanese citizens. The Royal Government also registered as citizens 12,103 nationals who had either been listed as foreigners or had been left unregistered in the earlier census records.

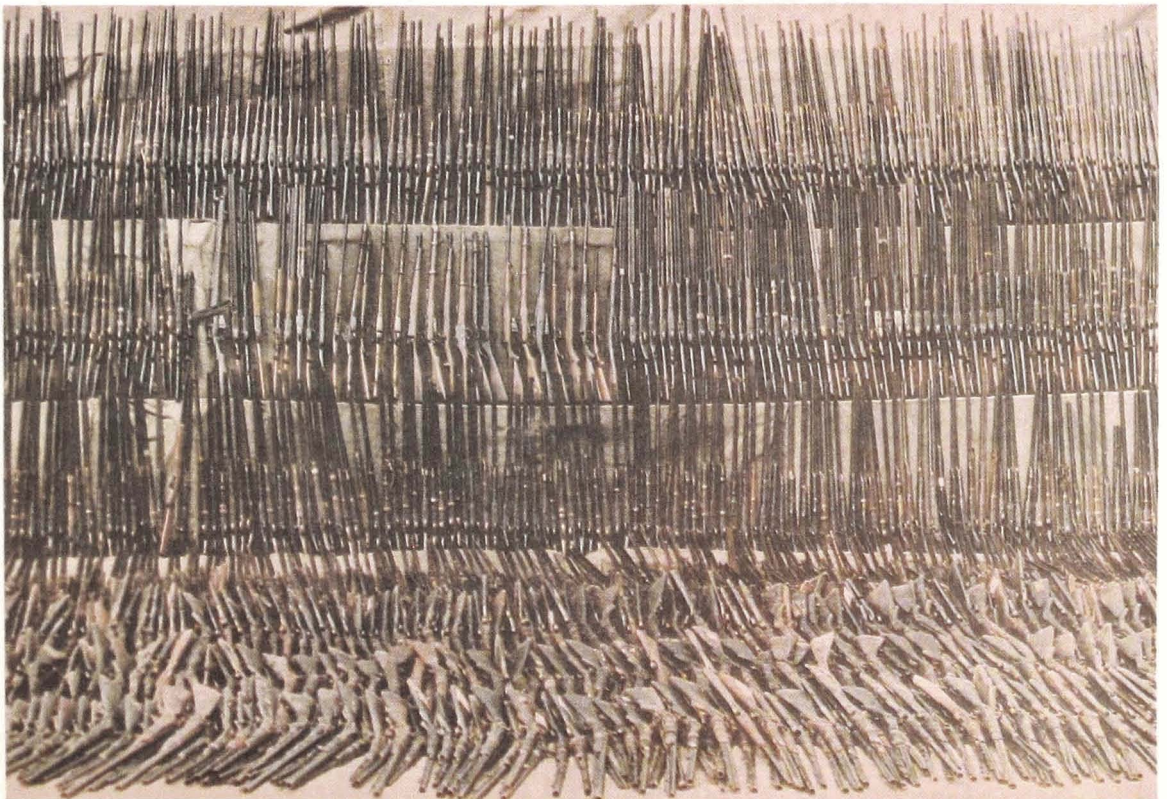
These generous concessions on humanitarian grounds and the sincere efforts made by the Royal Government to protect the genuine interests of all bonafide Bhutanese citizens failed to make any impression on the narrow perceptions of the anti-national elements. Anti-national activities were launched in mid-1989 with the publication of seditious literature which were clandestinely circulated in southern Bhutan. The Royal Government's policy of strengthening national integration through the promotion of a national language and dress and the kingdom's unique national identity was viciously attacked as a violation of human rights and a move to destroy the Nepali language and culture. Although the vast majority of the Southern Bhutanese had enthusiastically supported this policy both in public meetings at the grassroots level and the National Assembly, the anti-national elements viciously attacked this policy to mask their narrow selfish interests and their subversive political intentions.

At the height of this phase of anti-national activities between October and December 1989, a total of 42 persons were arrested in Bhutan and three of the main leaders were extradited from Nepal. Although they were all liable to capital punishment under the law of the land, 39 of them were released. An amnesty valid upto 28 February 1990 was also granted to all those who had absconded from the country because of their involvement in subversive activities. The Royal Government deliberately refrained from publicizing the activities of these subversive elements in the Kuensel and the Bhutan Broadcasting Service in order to avoid creating communal feelings between the peoples of northern and southern Bhutan.

The tolerant stand taken by the Royal Government failed to yield any results. Instead, the anti-national elements stepped up their activities mistaking tolerance for weakness. While maligning the Royal Government with false allegations of human rights violations and mouthing slogans of democracy to gain international sympathy and support, the anti-nationals resorted to terrorist activities to mobilize funds and to force other Southern Bhutanese to join them. From initial acts of extortion and robbery, they soon graduated to blatant terrorist acts such as hijackings, kidnappings, murder and decapitations of victims, destruction of government and public facilities and attacks on police outposts.



A contingent of anti-national terrorists in army camouflage uniforms apprehended by the security forces at Samchi in September 1990.



Assorted arms recovered from the anti-national terrorists by the security forces in southern Bhutan.

These anti-national elements were initially organized into two groups. One group calling itself the People's Forum for Human Rights (PFHR) and based in Garganda, India, was led by Gopal Sharma, a non-national who was illegally registered in the old records of Samchi district with the connivance of local officials and village headmen. The other group calling itself the United Liberation People's Front (ULPF) and based in Siliguri was led by Balaram Poudyal, a notorious criminal who had embezzled public funds and cheated private individuals when he was village headman of Bara Block in Samchi district.

The ULPF was renamed the Bhutan People's Party (BPP) on 2nd June 1990 with R.K. Budathoki, an Assistant Director in the Department of Customs who had been terminated from service for corruption, as president. In actual fact, the BPP comprises the same membership as the PFHR, the ULPF and the so called Students Union of Bhutan.

The anti-national activities assumed a larger dimension in September 1990 with the staging of violent demonstrations in the 5 districts and 1 sub-division of southern Bhutan. While publicized as peaceful marches by the so called BPP, these violent demonstrations were in actual fact acts of open rebellion against the Royal Government. Although in the initial stages of the anti-national activities, the general public in southern Bhutan did not extend support to the subversive forces but supported government policies, the attitude of many Lhotshampas had undergone a change. They had evidently come to believe the propaganda of the anti-nationals that they, the Lhotshampas, comprised more than half the population of Bhutan, and that they were sure to achieve their narrow objectives with the staging of anti-government demonstrations in all the districts of southern Bhutan.

All the male demonstrators, and even some of the women, came armed with "khukuries" (knives carried by Nepali men). There was also a notable presence of militants dressed in camouflage uniforms and armed with guns and bombs amongst all the mobs. As a result of the strict instructions of the Royal Government not to resort to direct firing under any circumstances, the small contingent of security forces in the district headquarters were shot at and attacked with bombs during the demonstrations. 3 police officers and 5 constables were seriously injured and one policeman brutally killed after being abducted by the demonstrators. Although some of the demonstrations were eventually dispersed without any serious incident by the security forces, in several districts and sub-districts government offices were vandalized and public property destroyed, and district officials were forced to accept the written demands of the violent mobs. The mobs destroyed all the census and immigration records in some of these offices. Many government employees were also forcibly stripped of their "ghos" (national dress worn by men) which were then burnt or cut to pieces by the violent demonstrators.

In order to maintain law and order and to help restore peace and normalcy in the southern districts, the Royal Government was left with no alternative but to reinforce the Royal Bhutan Police with whatever troops the small Royal Bhutan Army could spare. In spite of the continuing terrorist activities and the threats against the lives of all government officials, the Royal Government have kept open all basic facilities and infrastructures in the southern Dzongkhags through the deployment of the security forces. The Education Department has been able to keep 40 schools and institutions open in the south while 6,738 Southern Bhutanese students from schools which had to be closed down have been given special admissions in schools in northern Bhutan despite the acute shortage of space faced by these institutions. All the 9 Hospitals in southern Bhutan,

17 BHUs, 8 Dispensaries, 33 outreach Clinics and all 16 Malaria Control Centres have been kept open by the Health Department. Business and commercial activities are being carried out, buses and public transportations are plying, and both public and private industries are running because of the security provided by the government.



The Office of the Gaylephug Sub-Division Officer was vandalized and all the Census and Immigration documents were either burnt or torn into shreds.

While the situation has been brought under control in the disturbed areas, the security forces have, however, not been able to restore normalcy or curtail the terrorist activities that continue unabated. This is mainly because a segment of the local population do not co-operate with the security forces as they are sympathetic to the anti-national terrorists even though the terrorists continue to raid villagers and commit atrocities. The terrorists have masqueraded as security forces in most of their raids by wearing camouflage uniforms and speaking in broken Dzongkha (national language). Their objective is to collect all the money they can to finance their subversive activities by robbing the people and at the same time also incite them against the Royal Government by trying to make the villagers believe that the army is responsible for the raids. However, most of the time their victims have been able to recognize them as local absconders and anti-national terrorists, and a few of them have even been caught by the villagers during some of the raids.

A recent development has been the absconding of 10 senior Southern Bhutanese civil servants in May 1991. What is very significant about the flight of these officers is that the main leaders of the group were all related to each other and that they absconded after audits were started in their departments. The audits which are still underway have revealed large scale corruption and financial irregularities in the offices of the two main leaders, Bhim Subba, ex-Director General of the Power Department and R.B. Basnet, ex-Managing Director of the State Trading

Corporation of Bhutan. Although their offences are of a criminal nature, these officer sought refuge in Nepal on political grounds.

It is believed that although R.K. Budathoki is still the president of the so called BPP, the anti-national activities will now be directed by R.B. Basnet and Bhim Subba.

In the course of the terrorist movement, 73 Southern Bhutanese soldiers of the RBA, 26 Southern Bhutanese policemen and 26 Southern Bhutanese Forest Guards have deserted. More than 44 Southern Bhutanese ex-servicemen are also reported to have joined the anti-nationals and 343 Southern Bhutanese civil service officers and employees have till date absconded and joined the anti-nationals.

Aims and Objectives of the Terrorist Movement in Southern Bhutan

The true aim and objective of the terrorist movement in southern Bhutan has been revealed in demand No.2 and 4 of the 13 point demands of the so called BPP. Demand No.2 calls for the establishment of constitutional monarchy with the election of a prime minister and proportional ethnic representation in the National Assembly and the cabinet based on population. Demand no. 4 calls for the amendment of the 1985 Citizenship Act. While these two demands are of direct importance towards the fulfillment of the true objectives of the terrorist movement, all other demands are merely cosmetic and meant for propaganda as they centre around the popular catch phrases of democracy and human rights. While most of the issues and grievances enumerated in the 13 point demands are non-existent, some other issues such as democratic rights are in actual fact enjoyed by all sections of the Bhutanese people both in practice and spirit although they may not be institutionalized in form.

The bitter opposition of the anti-nationals, to the Royal Government's policy on census and immigration and their vicious and relentless attacks on the Royal Government's policy of national integration as well as their determined efforts to prevent other Southern Bhutanese from joining the national mainstream have clearly revealed their intention of turning Bhutan into a Nepali dominated state. The flood of illegal Nepali immigrants over the past three decades has already increased the number of people of Nepali origin in Bhutan to almost a third of the total population. Bhutan, today, is probably the only country in the world that has its very survival as a nation threatened by a flood of illegal immigrants who are all of the same ethnic origin as a large and assertive minority bent on increasing its demographic size. The gravity of this problem may be appreciated from the fact that while Bhutan's population is only about 600,000, there are about 10 million Nepalis in India alone, most of them living across Bhutan's immediate borders along the Duars region and in Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Sikkim. Like all economic migrants, many of these Nepalis are very eager to come and settle in Bhutan to improve their economic prospects.

It has now become clear that the anti-nationals will not settle for anything less than the eventual fulfilment of one of the following two objectives.

- a) The eventual domination of Bhutan by a Nepali population through the constant influx of Nepali immigrants, coupled with the introduction of multi-party democracy.
- b) To carve out a Nepali state in Bhutan through armed struggle if the first objective is not possible.

These intentions and objectives of the terrorist movement were not only clearly spelt out in some of the seditious literature circulated by the anti-nationals but all their later actions have served to confirm them.

The so called BPP have openly promised the Nepalis outside Bhutan with Bhutanese citizenship and land in return for their support if they achieve their objectives. While some sections of the BPP are carrying out anti-national activities through political propaganda, other sections are organizing military training for their cadres. At the same time, some other sections are making all possible efforts to procure arms and explosives both from Nepal and through contacts with militant elements in the North East region of India.

Outside Links and Support for the Terrorist Movement

Initially the anti-nationals in southern Bhutan attempted to win over the sympathy and support of public opinion and political groups in India by trying to damage Indo-Bhutan relations through false and malicious allegations. They fed newspapers with unfounded allegations of Indian traders and Indian nationals employed in Bhutan being mistreated and forcefully evicted from Bhutan by the Royal Government. The anti-nationals also alleged that TV dish antennas were banned by the Royal Government to specifically prevent Indian TV programmes from being viewed.

When this disinformation campaign failed to win them any sympathy or support in India except from the local Nepali population and leftist elements in the Duars and in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, the anti-national movement sought support and assistance in Nepal, particularly from the radical marxists. Recent reports indicate that the so called BPP has received tacit support from the Nepali Congress Party and open support from the Nepali communist parties. Reports have also indicated that apart from supplies of medicines and rations, arms are also being smuggled to the BPP.

It is also learnt that certain Nepali elements in Sikkim are sympathetic to the BPP terrorists.

The Royal Government's Position and Policy

The Royal Government have thus far been adopting a very patient and tolerant stand on the anti-national activities. The security forces are under strict instructions not to resort to any firing or use of force unless attacked by armed terrorists. On 5 separate occasions between October 1989 and August 1991, His Majesty the King has granted amnesty to a total of 808 persons arrested for anti-national activities. Although capital punishment is mandatory by law for treason against the Tsawa Sum (People, King and the Country), not a single terrorist or anti-national activist under custody has been given a death sentence or even life imprisonment.

The repeated granting of amnesty to anti-national activists has, however, not produced any positive results so far. Only the families of the individuals granted pardon are happy. The general public, especially the Northern Bhutanese, feel that the Royal Government is adopting a weak and

overly lenient stand on matters that concern the security of the nation. The so called BPP and its supporters believe that the Royal Government is weak and reluctant to punish anti-national activists. However, this tolerant stand has been deliberately adopted by the Royal Government to keep all options open for a peaceful resolution of the problem.

At the same time, the Royal Government will never compromise when it comes to ensuring Bhutan's long term security, and integrity. The terrorist movement threatens the very sovereignty and integrity of Bhutan and its survival as a nation. Therefore, the policy on immigration and census and the Citizenship Act of 1985 will have to be implemented in full. Nor can the Royal Government afford to discontinue the policy of national integration and the concept of one nation and one people. These policies are vital for ensuring Bhutan's long-term security and well-being as a united and cohesive nation. That is why the Royal Government considers it is so crucial for all citizens to look upon themselves as Bhutanese regardless of their race or religion, and why it is so important for all citizens to take pride in being fraternal members of one united Bhutanese family.

The response of all the people from Tashigang in the east to Haa in the west, in the wake of the anti-national activities and the terrorist movement in southern Bhutan, was spontaneous and unequivocal in the display of total loyalty and support for King and Country. People from all walks of life rallied strongly behind the Tsawa Sum and came forward in their tens of thousands to volunteer to join a militia force to defend the security of their country. They also offered contributions in cash as well as in kind to the government.

The Royal Government is fully committed towards finding an amicable and lasting solution to the anti-national problem. A small country like Bhutan cannot afford to have its security and well-being threatened time and again by subversive forces. All true patriots have therefore been called upon to work together with the Royal Government to ensure that Bhutan will never again face such a threat to its security and well-being, and that future generations may be bequeathed a legacy of a united and cohesive nation with a bright and secure future.

Ministry of Home Affairs

FACTS ABOUT THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND THE CONCEPT OF ONE PEOPLE AND ONE NATION

The Royal Government's policy on the national dress and language and Driglam Namzha is being implemented solely to enhance and strengthen the process of national integration. Contrary to the malicious allegations of the anti-nationals, the policy is not a move to discriminate against the people of southern Bhutan, but is aimed at bringing all sections of the Bhutanese people into the national mainstream in order to promote and realise the concept of one people and one nation. The objective of promoting national integration is to ensure that the Bhutanese people, regardless of race or religion, are all united through a fraternal feeling of national pride generated by an awareness of their distinctive identity as citizens of Bhutan. Due to close geographic proximity and a common racial origin, there has, however, been a tendency among some of the Southern Bhutanese people to feel a greater affinity with the Nepali people living in India and Nepal than with their fellow countrymen in Bhutan. The Royal Government have, therefore, been asking the Southern Bhutanese people to understand and appreciate that while friendship and goodwill for the people of neighbouring countries is both desirable and necessary, it is important that no Bhutanese citizen should feel different from his fellow countrymen or identify himself more closely with people of other nationalities. His Majesty the King has repeatedly told the people of southern Bhutan that they have a vital role to play in ensuring the future well-being and prosperity of the kingdom. He has, constantly urged them to come forward and work hand in hand with the Royal Government to promote the concept of one people and one nation, and play a dynamic and positive role in ensuring the continued well-being and security of the country.

The Policy of National Dress and Language and Driglam Namzha

The promotion of the national dress and language by the Royal Government has been a major theme for distortion by the anti-nationals. This policy was not arbitrarily thrust upon the Southern Bhutanese people. It was explained very clearly to all the people that the policy was being introduced to promote national integration and strengthen Bhutan's distinctive identity as a unique nation despite its small size and population. The policy was discussed thoroughly with the people, first by the District Development Committees (DYT) and after that by His Majesty the King in large public meetings, and their genuine views and opinions were obtained before its implementation. It was also made explicitly clear by His Majesty that it was not mandatory for "gho" (dress worn by men) and "kira" (dress worn by women) to be adopted as the national dress and that it was perfectly all right to choose any type of dress so long as it was different from the dress of other countries and could therefore project a distinct Bhutanese identity. For the record, it was the people of southern Bhutan who themselves endorsed "ghos" and "kiras" as the most suitable national dress both during His Majesty's public meetings and in the National Assembly. Similarly, it was explained to the people that Dzongkha, which has been the official language for centuries, was being promoted as the national language because it was the only widely spoken language that also projected a distinct identity for Bhutan. Neither Nepali, nor English could project that image. Of course, Nepali would continue to be used in southern Bhutan just as Sharchopaikha, Khenkha, Mangdipaikha, Kurtoipikha and Tsamangpaikha would continue to be used in eastern and central Bhutan, and Dzongkha would become the lingua franca of the nation.



His Majesty the King serves refreshments to the people after a public meeting in Samdrupjongkhar during which the Southern Bhutanese people pledged their complete support to the Royal Government's policy of promoting Bhutan's unique national identity.



A Southern Bhutanese public representative pledges the support of the people of Dagana district to the Royal Government's policy of promoting national unity and integration through the concept of 'one nation, one people' during a public meeting with His Majesty the King in Dagapela.

Another recurrent theme that has been continuously distorted by the anti-nationals is the Royal Government's promotion of Driglam Namzha (traditional etiquette and values). In fact, it was only in newspaper articles that the people inside Bhutan heard of such non-existent regulations like restrictions on the length of hair, compulsory norms for eating food, or that Hindu women were not allowed to wear the sindoor and that Hindus were forced to serve and eat beef. That such rules are non-existent can be easily verified. A quick stroll in any of the towns in Bhutan will immediately confirm whether there is any restriction on the length of hair kept by men or women. A glance inside the restaurants would quickly reveal whether there are any compulsory norms for eating food. Driglam Namzha is not the implementation of such non-sensical regulations or the requirement to rigidly follow any specific rules. It is a set of values and etiquette that teaches a person to conduct himself in a civilized and cultured manner. It imparts in people a sense of responsibility and respect for each other as human beings living together in society. Indeed, the Royal Government is promoting Driglam Namzha because its very essence is respect for the dignity of one's fellow human being and an awareness of one's responsibilities and obligations as a member of a well ordered society. Such a set of values is all the more important in the present day and age when cultural values are being eroded all over the world. The ridiculous allegation that a person has to bow very low in front of his senior and remain in that position unless ordered to stand up is yet another example of the deliberate distortion of facts by the anti-nationals. The Bhutanese people consider it courteous to bow to each other just as the Japanese do or just as the Indian people greet each other with folded hands as a mark of mutual respect or touch the feet of elders as a gesture of love and respect.

Not only did the people extend their full commitment and support for the promotion of the national dress and language and Driglam Namzha through the DYT and during their meetings with His Majesty the King but this support was reiterated during the 68th session of the National Assembly in 1989. The people's representatives of Gaylegphug, Sarbhong and Kalikhola speaking in the Assembly strongly advocated on behalf of the people of southern Bhutan that the Royal Government should give greater emphasis to implementing the policy on Driglam Namzha and national dress and language in order to foster greater social harmony and cohesion among the Bhutanese people. Greatly upset by this display of support by the people of southern Bhutan, the anti-nationals sent threat letters to the National Assembly members, and to other Southern Bhutanese, who publicly voiced the people's support for the Royal Government's policy.

The Policy on Religion

Another malicious allegation by the anti-nationals accuses the Royal Government of attempting to destroy the Hindu religion, and that proof of this is that Hindu religious ceremonies are banned, that pandits are not allowed to wear their religious attire and that Hindu gods had been given new names in Bhutanese to convert Hindus into Buddhists. Nothing could be further from the truth. There are no restrictions whatsoever on the attire of pandits or the performance of religious ceremonies. Having the same roots, Hinduism and Buddhism share many similarities, particularly the Vajrayana form of Mahayana Buddhism practised in Bhutan which includes all major Hindu gods in its pantheon of deities - such as Palden Lham (Mahakali) worshipped as the guardian deity of Bhutan, Lha Tsangm (Brahma), Lha Chabju (Vishnu), Lachen Wangchu (Shiva), Lham Dzongneyma (Durga), Gyeb Gajey (Rama), Chabju Nap (Krishna), Tshoda Langm (Ganapati) and many others. These facts were highlighted to show the happy



Gilded images of Lord Shiva and Lord Ganesh presented by His Majesty the King to many Hindu temples in southern Bhutan.

compatibility and affinity between Hinduism and Buddhism. Scholars in northern and southern Bhutan were also called upon to help achieve the important national goal of unity and social harmony through the generation of a greater understanding and appreciation of the close affinity between these two religions practiced in Bhutan.

It is true that Buddhism has been the state religion in Bhutan for centuries. However, there are absolutely no restrictions on the practice of other religions. In fact, His Majesty the King, although a devout Buddhist, also visits and prays in Hindu temples during his tours in southern Bhutan. The Dusserra celebrations has been declared a national holiday since 1980 and His Majesty personally participates in the "Tika" ceremony with officials and representatives of the Southern Bhutanese people. During his tour of southern Bhutan in early 1990, His Majesty the King presented gilded images of Lord Shiva and Lord Ganesh to many Hindu temples and Nu.5 lakhs each for the renovation and improvement of many important Hindu temples. His Majesty also presented Nu.5 lakhs each to the public of Gaylegphug and Phuntsholing to construct new Hindu temples and Nu.5 lakhs each to the public of Dagana and Samdrupjongkhar for the renovation and improvement of Sanskrit pathshallas.

The emphasis of the Royal Government and the King is that religious values and convictions, whether derived from Buddhism or Hinduism, are becoming even more necessary in today's world of rapid development and high technology and that instilling in the younger generations a greater understanding and appreciation of the country's rich religious and cultural values is becoming increasingly important.

Ministry of Home Affairs

DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN SOUTHERN BHUTAN

In view of the extremely difficult terrain, there was very little interaction between the districts of southern Bhutan and the rest of the country till the mid 1960s when some of the North-South motor roads were completed.

The Royal Government, since the inception of planned development, spared no efforts to bring the people of southern Bhutan into the mainstream of national activities. In fact most of the earlier developmental programmes were initiated in the southern Dzongkhags (districts) particularly in Samchi, Phuntsholing and Gayleghug. This explains why the southern Dzongkhags have better infrastructure and higher literacy rate as well as income levels.

The Royal Government in order to promote good-will, understanding and ultimately national integration have continued to devote greater attention and resources to the development of the southern Dzongkhags. Even during the current plan, that is the Sixth Plan, the five southern Dzongkhags have received the lion's share of the outlay. The Dzongkhag wise resource allocation, in order of size, is given below for the top seven Dzongkhags:

1.	Tashigang	Nu.	337.06	million
2.	Samchi	Nu.	308.55	million
3.	Sarbhong	Nu.	282.38	million
4.	Samdrup Jongkhar	Nu.	262.57	million
5.	Chukha	Nu.	253.06	million
6.	Chirang	Nu.	233.99	million
7.	Mongar	Nu.	213.18	million

Tashigang the largest and most populous of the Dzongkhags received the highest allocation. Four of the five southern Dzongkhags ranked between number two to six in terms of plan outlay. In other words none of the remaining twelve Dzongkhags received more than any of these southern Dzongkhags.

The southern Dzongkhags as a result of the infrastructure as well as proximity to the Indian market have become the focus of industrial and commercial development. The southern border towns have now become the main commercial centres of Bhutan. In addition to the numerous small and medium scale private industries practically all major industrial ventures of the Royal Government are also located in the South.

These include the following:

1.	Penden Cement Factory (Samchi)	Nu.	180	m. investment
2.	Bhutan Fruit Products Ltd (Samchi)	Nu.	10	m. investment
3.	Distillery Products Bottling (Samchi, Gayleghug and Samdrup Jongkhar)	Nu.	35	m. investment
4.	Bhutan Carbide and Chemicals Ltd. (Phuntsholing)	Nu.	240	m. investment
5.	Bhutan Board Products Ltd. (Tala and Phuntsholing)	Nu.	240	m. investment

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------------|
| 6. | Bhutan Polythene Co. (P/ing) | Nu. 15 m. investment |
| 7. | Government Workshops
(Phuntsholing, Gaylegphug,
Samdrup Jongkhar) | |
| 8. | Industrial Estates (Phuntsholing
Gaylegphug, Samdrup Jongkhar) | |

The northern Dzongkhags have no major industry except for the Gedu Wood Manufacturing Corporation, all other industries being small sawmills, furniture units and some cottage industries.



One of the several high tension electrical posts, supplying power to the Penden Cement Factory in Gomtu, felled by the anti-national terrorists.

In the area of agricultural development, as a result of the flatter terrain, warmer climatic conditions and greater soil fertility, the output of the southern Dzongkhags are far ahead of the northern Dzongkhags. Moreover the average land holding in the southern Dzongkhags is about 8 acres per family compared to only 2 acres in the North. The Southern Bhutanese enjoy substantial additional income from cash crops like oranges, cardamom and ginger which thrive in the southern region. This brings in an additional income of about Nu. 300.0 m. a year. In the north, the income from agriculture, mainly from apples, is only about Nu. 140 m. a year and that too mainly from western Bhutan.

In spite of having over 8 acres of land per family, many people in southern Bhutan had taken advantage of the complacency and shortcomings of the local authorities and had illegally occupied large tracts of land for decades without any regard to the environment and in deliberate

violation of the law. The recent cadastral land survey in Samchi Dzongkhag has revealed that illegal landholdings in the district is 47,235 acres - more than the total land holdings in Tashigang, the largest Dzongkhag in the country. It is likely that similar cases of illegal land holdings will also be uncovered when the land survey is completed in the other southern Dzongkhags.

While the incomes from cash crops were substantial, much of it also went to the Indian middlemen to whom the orchards are mortgaged on account of cash advances taken by the farmers. The sale price of the oranges, cardamom and ginger were usually pre-arranged at a very low level. His Majesty the King in order to free the farmers from the clutches of these middlemen introduced a special scheme of credit with financing from the Royal Insurance Corporation of Bhutan (RICB) of Nu. 8.713 m. This scheme was highly successful and resulted in freeing 203 Southern Bhutanese farmers from their debts to the middlemen. The Government also introduced special assistance in marketing through the Food Corporation of Bhutan and the State Trading Corporation which has enabled the farmers to substantially increase their cash incomes. Besides these special credits, the Bhutan Development Finance Corporation (BDFC) continues to grant credit for income generating activities in agriculture, livestock and small scale industries. In addition to all this, His Majesty the King had also taken special interest in settling the landless people of southern Bhutan and granted 2645 acres of prime land to 997 landless households between 1978 and 1989 alone.

The efforts of the Royal Government were particularly strong in the area of education and health. The southern Dzongkhags, today enjoy more health and educational facilities than any other Dzongkhags in Bhutan. In fact, out of about 68000 students enrolled in the whole country in 1990, 31054 or about 46% were Southern Bhutanese. Student enrollment ratio is by far much higher in the South than elsewhere in the country mainly as a result of the greater availability of facilities provided by the Government.

The following statistics highlight the distribution of educational facilities and the resultant enrollment pattern:

12 northern Dzongkhags	School	120	
	Students	36798	
	Enrollment ratio	40	%
5 southern Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkhag	Schools	80	
	Students	31054	
	Enrollment ratio	81	%

These statistics clearly show that the Government had made greater efforts to educate the Southern Bhutanese so that they would become loyal citizens.

In the area of health facilities too, the southern Dzongkhags, due to the extra efforts and consideration given by the Royal Government, enjoy far better health services and benefits as is evident from the following:

13 northern Dzongkhags (District)	
Hospitals	16

Basic Health Units	-	46
Dispensaries	-	20
Training Institute	-	2
Malaria Eradication Centre	-	1

5 southern Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkha (Sub-district)

Hospitals	-	9
Basic Health Units	-	25
Dispensaries	-	24
Outreach Clinics	-	111
Training Institute	-	1
Malaria Eradication Centre	-	16

The Royal Government have always given greater importance to the development of the South in the hope that the Southern Bhutanese people would become loyal citizens and play a constructive role in the task of nation building. In order to further strengthen the developmental efforts in the South, the Royal Government even went to the extent of establishing two of the four Zonal Headquarters in the South, namely Zone II Headquarters in Chirang and Zone III Headquarters in Gaylegphug. This was expected to bring decision making closer to the people and accelerate the process of development in the southern districts. Unfortunately, the nascent Zonal system and development efforts and activities have been severely affected by the terrorist movement and the large scale terrorist activities that continue unabated to this day in the disturbed southern Dzongkhags.

Planning Commission

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS IN SOUTHERN BHUTAN

Introduction

Education in Bhutan is totally free. In this connection, many other countries also claim to provide free education to their citizens. Such free education systems, however, normally extend to the exemption of only tuition fees. Bhutan, however, follows a unique system of free education whereby not only tuition fees are free but the Government also provides to our students free of cost stationeries, exercise books, textbook etc. ranging over 200 different items. Wherever available boarding is also provided free of cost.

The education sector in the kingdom has in fact always received the highest priority in all its Five Year Plans. Being a small country with a small population every Bhutanese man and woman is very important to the Tsawa Sum. It is, therefore, the desire of His Majesty the King and the Royal Government that through a free education system, the younger Bhutanese generations will have the opportunity to become educated, productive and useful citizens. It is also our hope and aspiration that by promoting education throughout the country, our future generations will not only acquire academic knowledge but also be instilled with a sense of pride in being Bhutanese and learn to appreciate their rich national heritage. It is the hope and objective of the Education Department to contribute towards fulfilling the important national objective of one nation and one people.

Education Sector Gives Priority to Southern Dzongkhags

The Royal Government, with the sincere desire to bring the Southern Bhutanese people into the national mainstream, politically, economically and socially, have attached high priority and greater importance to the development of education in the southern Dzongkhags as is evident from the following statistics :-

(i) Distribution of Schools/Institutes as of 1990

	Primary Schools	Jr. High Schools	High Schools	Institutes	Sanskrit Pathshalas	Total
13 Northern Dzongkhags	95 (61%)	12 (55%)	8 (80%)	5 (71%)	Nil	120 (60%)
5 Southern Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkhang	61 (39%)	10 (45%)	2 (20%)	2 (29%)	5 (100%)	80 (40%)
Total	156	22	10	7	5	200

(ii) Distribution of Students

Primary Schools	Jr. High Schools	High Schools	Institutes	Sanskrit Pathshalas	Total	
13 Northern Dzongkhags						
25993 (53%)	6346 (53%)	3161 (70%)	1298 (73%)	Nil	36798 (54%)	
5 Southern Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkhang						
23101 (47%)	5555 (47%)	1377 (30%)	2189 (27%)	532 (100%)	31054 (46%)	
Total :	49,094	11,901	4,538	3,487	532	67,852

(iii) 1142 or 43% of the total 2,625 teachers in the kingdom were deployed in the schools in southern Bhutan, and 916 of them were teaching in the 76 closed schools. The Department of Education has been also following a consistent policy of sending its best headmasters and teachers to the schools and institutes in southern Bhutan as a part of its effort to bring the Southern Bhutanese into the national mainstream.

(iv) Distribution of the members of the national teaching cadre are as hereunder :

Northern Bhutanese	967	(37%)
Southern Bhutanese	609	(23%)
Non-nationals	1049	(40%)
Total :	2625	(100%)

(v) Southern Bhutanese constituted 115 or 68% of the 170 students sent to India for higher and professional studies by the Department of Education during the last 5 years.

(vi) The 4 southern Dzongkhags of Samchi, Chirang, Sarbhang and Samdrupjongkhar feature along with only Tashigang and the capital Thimphu amongst the exclusive group of 6 Dzongkhags with the largest resource allocations for the education sector during both the VIIth Five Year Plan as well as the 1990-91 financial year. The only southern Dzongkhag missing from the exclusive group is Dagana.

(vii) The Department of Education has spared no efforts towards ensuring the successful implementation of the national integration programme through such measures as inter-regional transfers of selected students and admissions in boarding schools free of cost. Dzongkhag-wise percentages of Southern Bhutanese studying in Sherubtse College, Royal Bhutan Polytechnic, Kharbandi Technical Institute and the elite high schools, such as, Punakha High School, Yangchenphug High School and Khaling High School are amongst the highest.



The Samrang Primary School destroyed by anti-national terrorists after they had ransacked all WFP food items, furnitures and stationeries.



A section of a school in Samdrupjongkhar district destroyed by the anti-national terrorists.

It is evident from the above mentioned statistics that preference in education sector has been definitely in favour of the 5 Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkag in southern Bhutan. This was a deliberate policy followed consistently over the years by the Royal Government, in particular the Department of Education, in its endeavors to bring the Southern Bhutanese into the economic and social mainstream of the kingdom. It was our belief that the Northern Bhutanese may remain illiterate and half educated but would always be Bhutanese in body and soul with sincere love, loyalty and dedication to the Tsawa Sum. On the other hand, this would not be same with the Southern Bhutanese, and hence the Royal Government made extra efforts and granted greater benefits to the Southern Bhutanese through the medium of education in the sincere hope of bringing them into the national mainstream.

It may be noted that the policy to place priority on southern Dzongkhags has deprived many other Bhutanese of the educational opportunities and brought about regional and Dzongkhag-wise disparities in terms of educational facilities and enrollments as is evident hereunder from the 1990 enrollments percentages:

Dzongkhags	Enrollments	Dzongkhags	Enrollments
Chirang	99.88%	Lhuntshi	30.63%
Gaylegphug	95.09%	Mongar	36.40%
S/Jongkhar	80.91%	Tongsa	42.13%
Dagana	67.25%	Tashigang	42.51%
Samchi	66.99%	Wangdi	43.89%

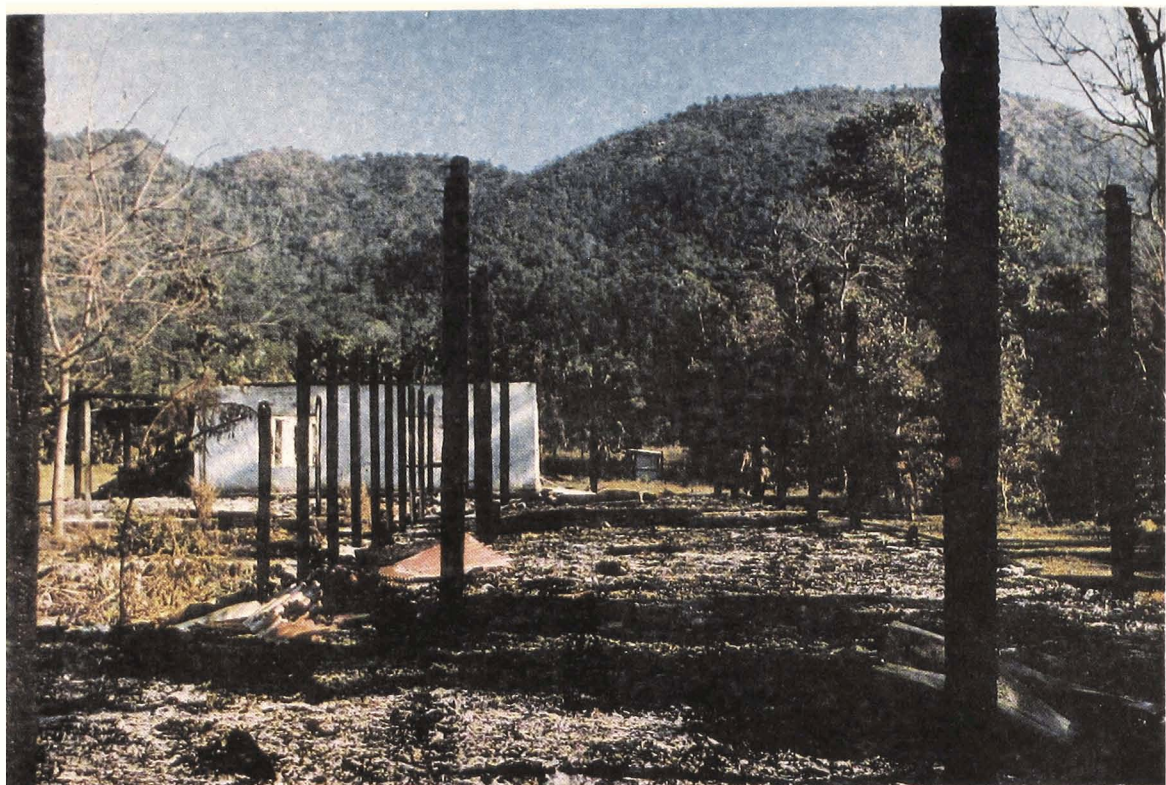
The above mentioned percentages are based on the actual population and not on the existing official population figure.

Although the Southern Bhutanese were to a large extent pampered as far as education facilities were concerned, there was no appreciation for the free education system and the priorities given to them.

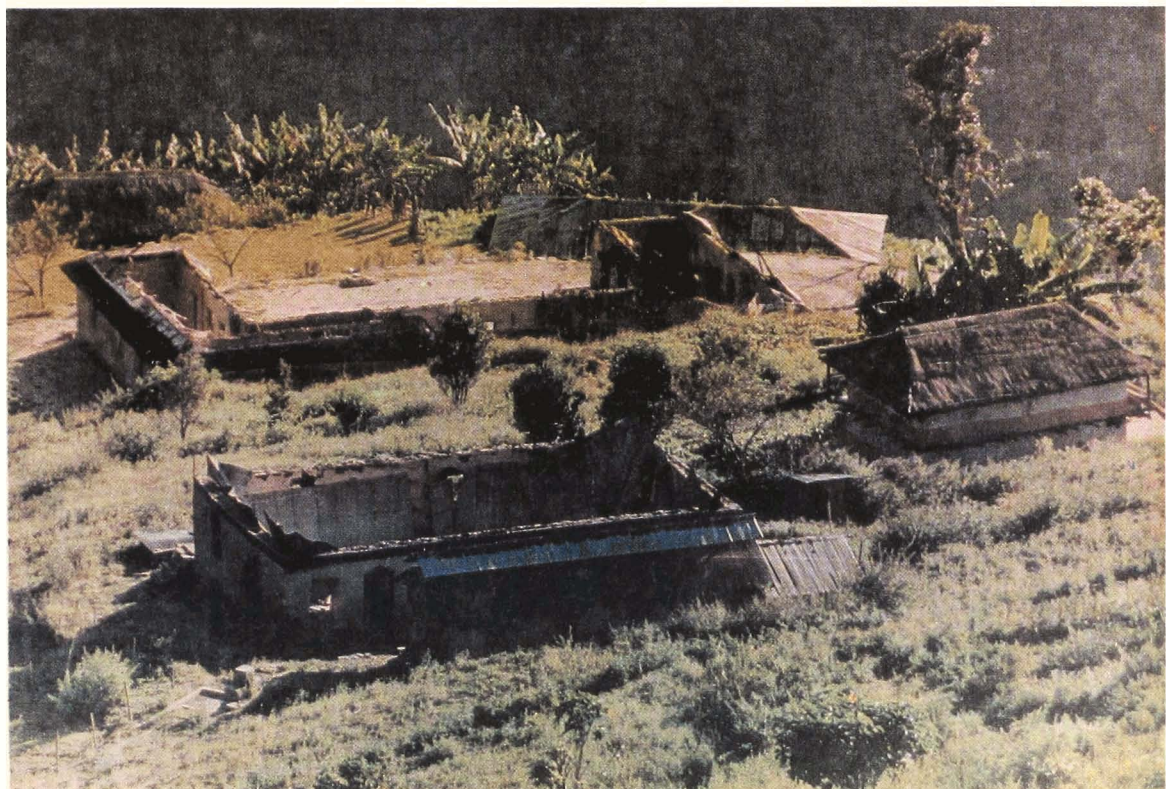
The massive expansion of education facilities in the southern Dzongkhags have also led to a heavy influx of many non-national students being admitted in our schools. Non-national students studying in the southern schools averaged during the year 1989 at 23% approximately. In schools like Phuntsholing, Pugli, Gomtu and Samchi Primary Schools, non-national students constituted over 50% of the total student strengths. The presence of a large number of non-national students not only chipped away the scarce resource allocated to the education sector but also proved to be a major deterrent in our efforts to achieve the national goal of one nation and one people.

Events Leading to Closure of Schools in the South

The anti-national and terrorist activities on massive scales throughout southern Bhutan during the years 1989 and 1990 had shocked all the loyal Bhutanese and surprised many friends of Bhutan throughout the world shattering its age old peace and tranquility, and its image as the last Shangrila. The results of the terrorist activities in southern Bhutan have been particularly devastating on the education sector and have turned back the clock on many things we were trying to achieve over the years through the education system. It was sadly evident that despite many



The Nichula Primary School under Kalkhola Sub-division was completely burnt down by the anti-national terrorists in the middle of September 1990.



The Powgang Primary School under Dagana District was blasted with explosives by the anti-nationals after the Headmaster refused to comply with their demand to shut down the school in September 1990.

years of efforts in promoting economic prosperity and social integration, a large portion of our Southern Bhutanese population, including many of our own students, did not feel that they were one with their fellow citizens in Bhutan but identified themselves more closely with the Nepalis living in Nepal and India.

The events leading to the closure of 76 schools in southern Bhutan late last year may be briefly summarized as hereunder:

It has been one of the consistent demands of the anti-national terrorists to close down all the schools in southern Bhutan. They have consistently threatened the destruction of schools as well as the lives of teachers and students. 18 schools have so far been destroyed by them and many others were vandalized and looted during the terrorist activities last year. Students were stripped of their uniforms and forced to take part in anti-national demonstrations. With a view to recruit students as active members of their terrorist organization, and also to embarrass and pressurize the Royal Government, the anti-nationals wanted to disrupt and close down all the schools in southern Bhutan.

Many of our own students and their parents and relatives joined hands with the anti-nationals through either active participation in the terrorist movement or boycotting of schools which ultimately compelled their closures. The attendances of students and teachers in all the 76 schools which had to be closed down last year dropped below 30% and in fact many of them observed almost 100% absentees. It became ridiculous under such difficult circumstances to keep those schools open.

Our headmasters and teachers suffered continuous threats, insults, abuses and humiliations at the hands of the anti-nationals, including many from their own students and their parents. In fact, many of the headmasters and teachers received some of the worst treatments during the violent demonstrations in September, 1990 at the hands of their own students whom they were educating only a week earlier. Many of the headmasters and teachers had to run away to save their own lives and that of their families. They now refuse to return to these schools. This was evident during the two successive seminars held at Paro during January, 1991, when only 4 of the 239 headteachers and 3 of the 450 teachers expressed their willingness to return to their schools of last posting in southern Bhutan which were once the most popular places for posting.

Lyonpo T.Tobgyel, the Minister for Social Services and even His Majesty the King personally visited the schools in southern Bhutan throughout the year and talked to the students. His Majesty told the students during such visits that he was greatly shocked, pained and saddened to hear about the intentions of some of the students to abscond from the schools and join forces with the anti-nationals. Our beloved sovereign added that if some of our students, in spite of the many years of education, care and love showered upon them by the government now harboured strong feelings against the Tsawa Sum, there was then little that anyone, including His Majesty, could do at this stage of their lives. While the government would not stop them physically from leaving their schools His Majesty, however, counselled the students to understand the serious implications of taking part in anti-national activities. A large number of our students in southern Bhutan, however, only turned deaf ears to such efforts made by the government.

No Department of Education or any of its officers likes schools to be closed and any of its students to be out of school. The Department of Education tried very hard to save the 76 schools from closure making last ditch efforts to keep them open on a practically one by one basis. It must be, however, admitted that the Department had failed in all its efforts to keep these schools open and the anti-nationals had succeeded in having them closed as they had always demanded.

Efforts to Reopen Schools During New Academic Year, 1991

In spite of the above mentioned successes of the anti-nationals there are in the 5 Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkha of southern Bhutan, a total of 40 educational institutions, consisting of 4 institutions, 3 Junior High Schools, 23 Primary Schools and 10 Community Schools, still open as of September 1991. Due to the security measures provided by the government, 7 of the schools closed down last year because of terrorist activities were reopened during the 1991 semester. Every effort is being made by the Department of Education to reopen more schools.

It is, however, regretted that the situation over a large area of southern Bhutan still remains very tense, and law and order is yet to return to normal. In this connection, the Department of Education cannot under any circumstances again risk the lives of our teachers and students nor expose our headmasters and other teachers to the kind of grave threats and abuses which they had to endure at the hands of the anti-nationals last year.

In the meantime, many students from the closed schools sought admissions in the schools in the North. The Department of Education made special efforts and admitted, 6,738 of such Southern Bhutanese students in schools in northern Bhutan. It must, however, be noted that the spaces in the Northern schools are very limited. While it is our earnest desire to provide educational opportunities to all children in the country, we must, however, under the present circumstances give more consideration to those students who had stood by our schools and their headmasters and teachers during those turbulent months last year.

Finally, it is our earnest hope and desire that better sense will prevail amongst the anti-nationals in southern Bhutan and peace will return once again to the disturbed areas so that the schools still closed with their thousands of children out of schools, may be re-opened at an early date.

Department of Education

HEALTH SERVICES IN BHUTAN

The productivity, well-being and happiness of a population is dependent on its physical, social and mental health. In consistence with the socio-economic development plan of Bhutan, the ultimate aim of various health plans, therefore, is to create conditions whereby the population is able to achieve and sustain a state of fitness and well-being necessary for the full realization of their potential. Although Bhutan is a small country with severe financial constraints, the Royal Government has taken full responsibility to provide, within its available means, all necessary preventive, promotive, rehabilitative and curative care services free of cost to all segments of the population. While doing so, the Royal Government ensures that not only the facilities and manpower are equitably distributed, but also all people, without distinction, have equity of access.

The main role of the health infrastructure is to protect and promote the health of all segments of the population, by laying emphasis mainly on all the eight elements of Primary Health Care. Basic Health Units (BHU) with their peripheral health posts and outreach clinics are the backbone of the system, maintaining constant link with the rural population and hospitals. They are also supported by a network of trained Village Volunteer Health Workers. Community Health Units (CHU) are also being extended to all District Hospitals and Referral Hospitals. This will be a hospital without walls to deliver promotive and preventive aspects of health services to the population in and around the hospitals and covers one to two blocks of villages. A Basic Health Unit is usually staffed by a Health Assistant (HA), an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) and a Basic Health Worker (BHW). When the population covered by a Basic Health Unit is larger than 5,000, a Medical Officer with additional Health Workers are posted to upgrade the BHU to BHU grade I. A first level referral consists of district hospitals. It is staffed adequately with personnel of required skills and equipped to provide promotive, preventive and curative services and also life saving emergency services. Second level referral hospitals are located in Thimphu in the Western region, Chirang in the Central region and Tashigang in the East. These referral hospitals provide specialized services. The Thimphu General Hospital functions as the National Referral Hospital in addition to its functioning as a regional referral hospital for the Western region.

As of March, 1991, there are 3 Regional Referral Hospitals, 23 District and other hospitals, including hospitals run by NGOs, 71 Basic Health Units, 44 Dispensaries, 1 Indigenous Hospital, 6 Indigenous Dispensaries, 3 Training Institutions and 350 Outreach Clinics. All the existing Dispensaries will be gradually upgraded to full-fledged BHUs, in due course of time. The recent increase in the number of outreach clinics has made it possible to take services to the door step of the people thereby increasing health services coverage. This has been found to be one of the important factors which facilitated the achievement of the 1990 goal of "Universal Child Immunization" in the country. In order to extend health services coverage to optimum level, more BHUs and Outreach clinics will be established. Outreach clinics run by the BHU staff at regular intervals deliver immunization, post-natal child growth monitoring and health education on nutrition, child growth and development and disease prevention and control.

Out of the above stated health facilities in the country 1 Training Institute, 9 Hospitals, 17 Basic Health Units, 24 Dispensaries and 111 Outreach Clinics fall under the disturbed 5 Dzongkhags

of Sarbhang, Chirang, Dagana, Samchi and Samdrupjongkhar and 1 Dungkhag (Sub-district) at Phuntsholing under Chukha Dzongkhag. Besides the above facilities, a Malaria Control Programme was executed at a huge cost mainly for the population in the southern Dzongkhags. Out of the 17 Malaria Control Centres, 16 centres are in the southern Dzongkhags.

In spite of the provision of the best health services, the anti-nationals are not satisfied with the Government and are bent on subversive activities. One of their main aims is to paralyze all health activities. They have ransacked a number of Basic Health Units and Dispensaries. Some of the Basic Health Unit and Dispensary buildings have even been burnt down or destroyed by the anti-national terrorists. Health workers in the southern Dzongkhags were threatened and harassed repeatedly. Some of them were abducted and tortured mercilessly and several health workers are still missing and their fate is not yet known. Until and unless the government can ensure the security of health workers and its properties, the Department will not be in a position to reopen the Health units which had to be closed down because of terrorists attack against them. It may be mentioned that the Department of Health, on the directives of the Royal Government, have at great risk and cost, been constantly endeavoring to keep all health facilities open. Even with the terrorist attacks continuing unabated in the disturbed areas, all 9 Hospitals in southern Bhutan, 17 BHUs, 8 Dispensaries, 33 Out-Reach Clinics and all 16 Malaria Centres have been kept open in the 5 Dzongkhags and 1 Dungkhag of southern Bhutan.

Department of Health Services



The Basic Health Unit at Nimtola under Dagana District which was destroyed by the anti-national terrorists with explosives in the beginning of October 1990.

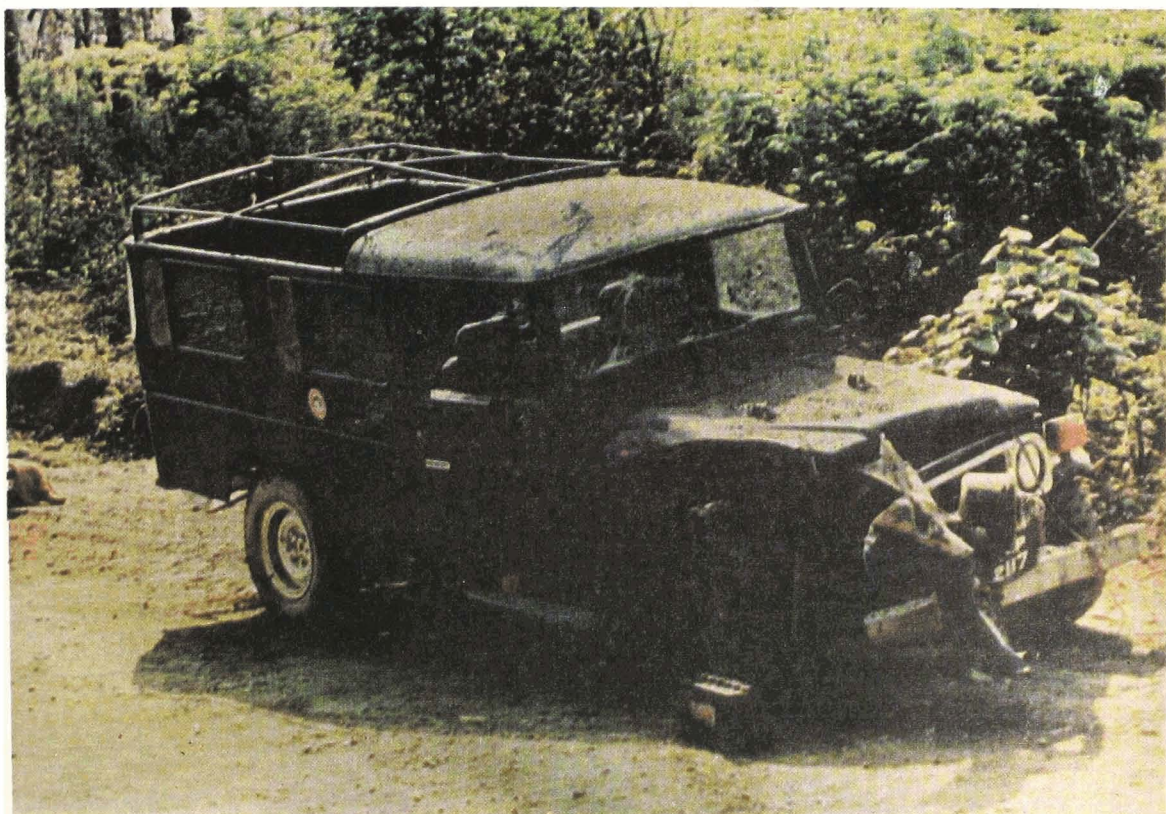
WIDE-SCALE ACTS OF TERRORISM BY THE ANTI-NATIONAL TERRORISTS

Ever since anti-national activities were launched in mid 1989, terrorist acts have been perpetrated by the anti-nationals as an integral part of their strategy to mobilise funds and force other Southern Bhutanese to join their terrorist movement. Starting with acts of extortion, dacoity and assault against Bhutanese nationals both inside Bhutan as well as on Indian soil, during transit, the anti-nationals soon graduated to outright acts of terrorism such as sabotage, hijacking, kidnapping and murder. Brutal torture, mutilation and decapitations of victims have become a regular feature of their terrorist activities. Even women have not been spared as targets of the anti-nationals. Many women have been assaulted and raped while some have even been killed by the terrorists during their frequent raids on villages. The terrorists have also acquired automatic weapons and learnt to use remote controlled mines during their attacks and ambushes against security forces.

The following pages give an idea of the wide-scale acts of terrorism that has been unleashed in southern Bhutan by the terrorist movement.



Security force vehicle damaged by land mines placed by terrorists on the Pugli-Gomtu road on 30 May 1991.



Royal Bhutan Police patrol vehicle blasted by land mines placed on the Gomtu-Samchi road by anti-national terrorists on 13 April, 1991.



The Forest Beat Office at Daifam under Samdrupjongkhar District which was destroyed by the terrorists in early October 1990.



Forestry colony completely burned down by the terrorists at Samrang under Samdrupjongkhar District in October 1990.



Forest Guard Leki Wangdi who was injured in an anti-national terrorist attack at Daifam on 11 June 1991.



Constable Chador of RBP who was abducted on the night of 22 September 1990 along with constable Chewang by the terrorists. Constable Chador was brutally tortured and his fingers chopped off. He also suffered severe multiple injuries on his shoulders, back and neck.



Chabllal Gurung, village headman of Biroo Block under Sibsoo Sub-division, who was attacked by the anti-national terrorists as a reprisal for supporting the Government. He was severely beaten and suffered knife wounds on the head and body.



Chuma Jangchu Dorji of RBP who was injured in an anti-national terrorist ambush at Daifam on 11 June 1991. He suffered a rifle shot through the chest.



Miss. Mana Maya Raini of Dagapela under Dagana District who was stabbed twice on her back and suffered a deep knife cut on her shoulder on 18 February 1990, when she tried to stop the anti-national terrorists from beating her parents. Her house was completely burnt down along with all belongings as a reprisal against her family for supporting the government.



Mrs. Jagmaya Ghallay, 56 years, from Alley village under Phuntsholing Sub-division, who was severely beaten by the terrorists for refusing to surrender her valuables to them on the night of April 2, 1991. She suffered two rib fractures.



Remains of constable Annu of the Royal Bhutan Police, who was killed instantly on 17 December, 1990 when a booby trapped bomb blew off at the Bank of Bhutan premises at Phuntsholing. The bomb was part of a plan by the terrorists to disrupt the National Day celebrations that day.



Mutilated body of constable Chewang of the Royal Bhutan Police. Constable Chewang was abducted from Pugli in Samchi district by anti-national terrorists on the night of 22 September, 1990. He was mercilessly tortured throughout the night and in the morning his mutilated body was dumped on Bhutanese territory.



A victim of a brutal torture. Chopping off fingers is one of the favorite methods of torture by the terrorists.



Kumar Sanyasi, 66 year old man from Khanabati village under Samchi Dzongkhag, who was brutally assaulted and wounded by the anti-national terrorists on the night of 16 August 1991 for refusing to surrender his valuables to them. He sustained serious knife injuries on his face.



The buried remains of Bishnu Bhakta Suberi of Golephug Sub-division which was recovered from the river-bed east of Murrary village in India on 3 April 1991 with the cooperation of the Indian Police. Chandralal Samal, a terrorist apprehended by the Royal Bhutan Police at Sarbhang, revealed the site and also confessed that the victim was mercilessly tortured and later beheaded by the anti-nationals. The terrorists had suspected him of being a government informer.



Thinlay Tamang, 18 year old boy from Khokhla village under Phuntsholing Dungkhag, who was brutally murdered on 23 August 1991 by the anti-national terrorists for refusing to join them. He suffered five critical stab wounds, three on the chest and two on the head.



Beat Officer Serpay of the Forest Department who was killed by anti-national terrorists in an ambush at Betholi Village under Samdrup Jongkhar district while on routine forest inspection duty on 11 June, 1991.



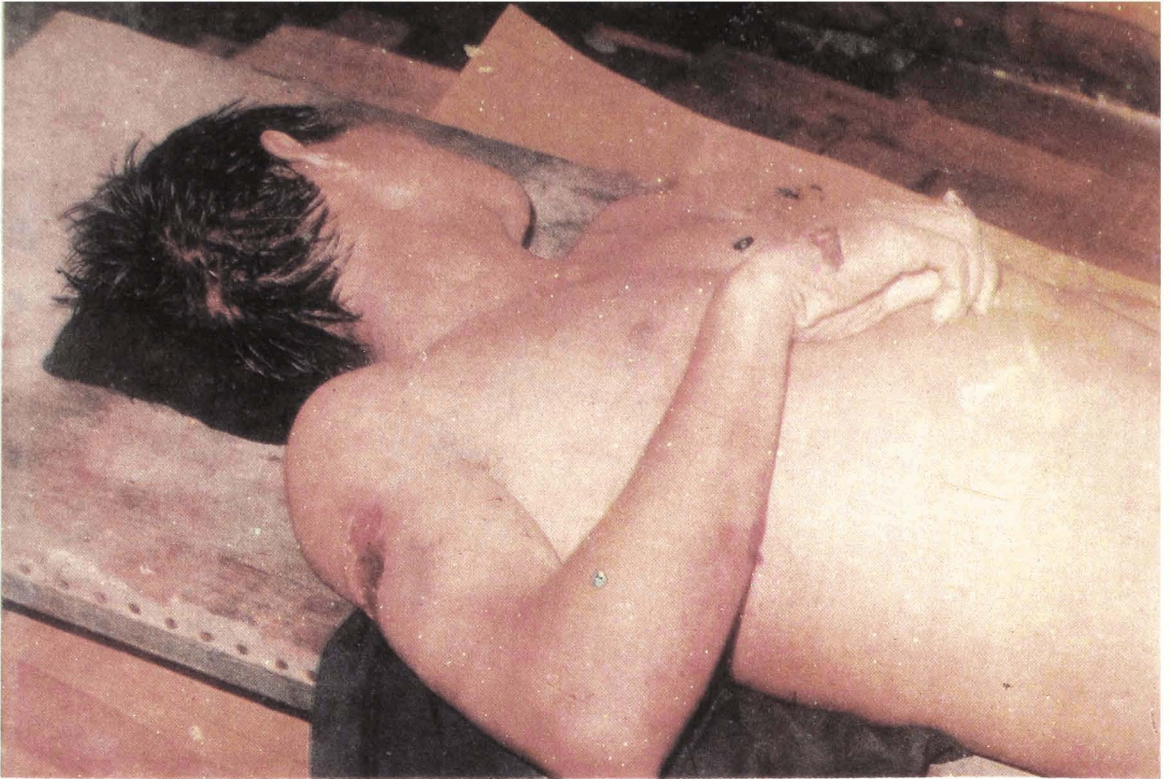
Harka Bahadur Dahal of Laopani under Sarbhang district who was attacked and severely injured by the terrorists on 21 May 1991 for supporting the Royal Government.



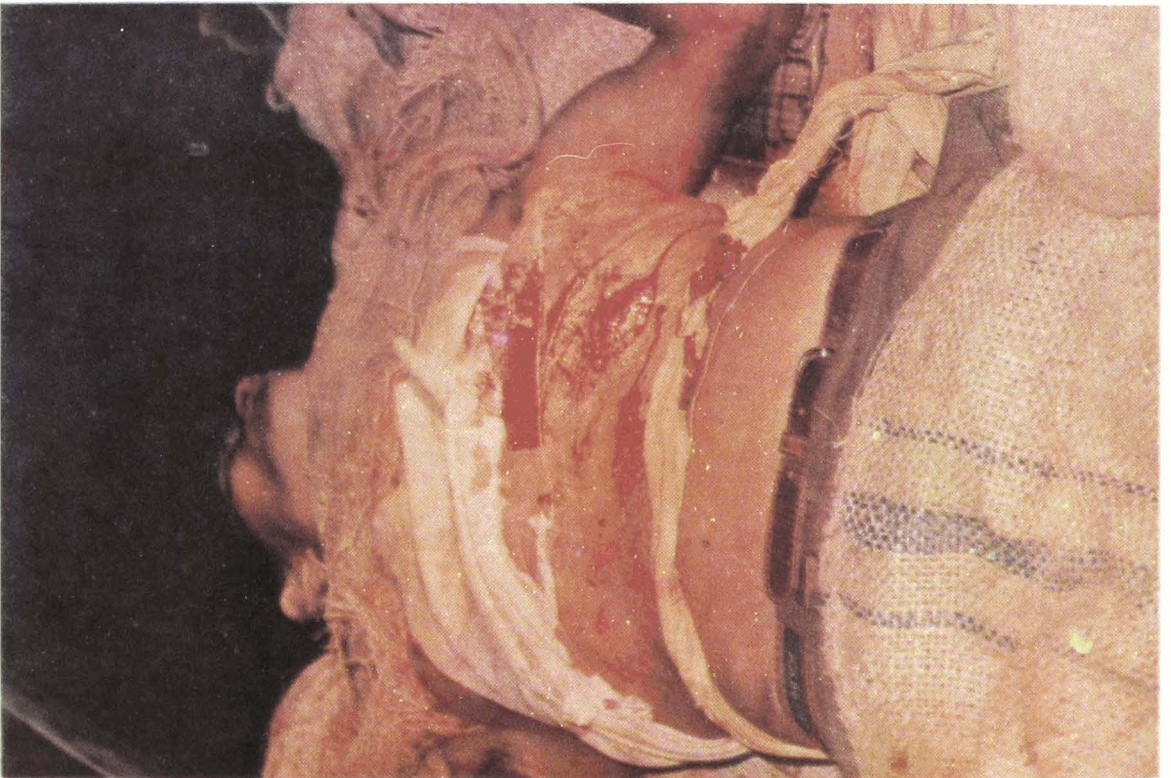
Hand of a helpless villager brutally mutilated by the anti-national terrorists during a raid on a village in Samchi District.



Coinciding with the launching of the so called Bhutan People's Party (BPP) on June 2nd 1990, the anti-national terrorists dumped two decapitated heads at Gomtu in southern Bhutan. The severed heads, were packed in different bags and attached with a warning letter written in English and Nepali in red ink. The warning letter stated that all those who supported the Royal Government would meet the same fate. The victims were identified as Kallash Dahal, an ex-government official, and Balaram Giri, a Census Committee member of Samchi District.



The body of Forest Guard Phub Dorji who was murdered by anti-national terrorists in an ambush at Bethoil village under Samdrupjongkhar district while on a routine forest inspection duty.



Innocent victim brutally murdered and robbed by anti-national terrorists in southern Bhutan.



Body of an anti-national terrorist killed by Aita Singh Ghallay who defended his house at Tading Gengu under Phuntsholing Dungkha, during a terrorist raid.



Body of Nima Lepcha, a villager of Nangladang under Samchi District, who was brutally murdered by anti-national terrorists for refusing to join them. His head which was cut off was found some distance from his body.



On 26 February 1991, Mr. Bisra Uraon a resident of Dhaley Pakha village under Chengmari Sub-division, who was stabbed in the stomach and wounded on the neck and shoulder by the anti-national terrorists for refusing to join them. He also suffered serious multiple cuts on his hands.



Body of 22 year old Birkha Bahadur Gurung of Buduney Village under Samchi district. Birkha Bahadur was tortured and killed by anti-national terrorists on the night of 9 September, 1991 for refusing to reveal the whereabouts of his family's valuables during a terrorist raid on his village.

SUMMARY OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

As of 14 September, 1991

Kidnapping, murder and hijacking

1. Kidnapping. - 174 cases (cases reported to the Royal Bhutan Police only).
2. Murder. - 33 cases (cases confirmed by the Police only. There are many unconfirmed murders of Bhutanese nationals kidnapped and executed in the anti-national camps across the border).
3. Hijacking of vehicles. - 28 incidents.

During the past year, a total of 123 Bhutanese nationals have been attacked and injured by the anti-national terrorists.

Countless cases of extortion, dacoity and robbery have taken place and a large number of people have been forcibly stripped of their 'ghos' and 'kiras', and the dresses cut to pieces or burnt in public.

Attacks on security forces

1. Ambush and attacks on security forces and government officials. - 49 cases
2. Number of security forces injured. - 6 officers
27 soldiers

Arson and sabotage

1. Destruction of vehicles. - 21 Nos.
2. Destruction of private houses by fire and use of explosives. - 43 houses
3. Blasting and burning of Police Checkposts and Outposts. - 12 (Includes offices & living quarters)
4. Destruction of Custom and Post Offices. - 4 - do -
5. Destruction of Forest Range/ Beat Offices. - 11 - do -

6.	Destruction of Basic Health Units.	-	5	- do -
7.	Burning and blasting of Schools.	-	17	School complexes
8.	Burning of Guest Houses.	-	5	
9.	Destruction of Gewog (Block of villages) office complex.	-	2	
10.	Vandalizing of Sub-Divisional Office.	-	2	cases
11.	Number of bridges sabotaged.	-	14	
12.	Destruction of Civil Wireless Station.	-		Onewireless station blasted One wireless set stolen
13.	Number of electric pylons destroyed.	-	6	(Including 1 Electric Transformer)
14.	Attack on PWD stores.	-	3	stores
15.	Attempted sabotage of factories.	-	6	attempts

There have also been numerous cases of indiscriminate felling and destruction of valuable trees by the anti-nationals from government plantations all along the foothills of southern Bhutan.

Looting of arms, ammunition and WFP ration

1.	Rifle	-	10	Nos along with ammunition
2.	Sten gun	-	5	Nos
3.	Explosives (Gelatine)	-	400	Kgs (raided from PWD stores)

It has also been confirmed that a total of 688 firearms have been taken outside the country by the anti-nationals from Southern Bhutanese villagers.

Large scale looting and stealing of WFP ration from various schools in southern Bhutan, viz:- rice, wheat, edible oil, fish, milk powder and salt, have been carried out by the anti-national terrorists.

The terrorists have also indulged in widespread looting of books, stationeries, equipments, furnitures etc. from schools in southern Bhutan.

Arms and explosives seized from the anti-national terrorists by the security forces

1.	Assorted rifles and pistols captured from terrorists and seized from anti-national supporters.	-	2118	Nos
2.	Army hand grenade.	-	10	"
3.	Steel pipe grenade.	-	91	"
4.	Home made bombs.	-	104	"
5.	Land mines.	-	23	"
6.	Improvised Cannon.	-	3	"
7.	Gelatine explosives.	-	480	Kgs.
8.	Detonators.	-	6184	Nos.
9.	Safety Fuze.	-	806	Feet
10.	Army 90 grenade	-	5	Nos.

Numerous other items like binoculars, compasses, table clocks for making time bombs, delay switches, wires, batteries, various sizes of G.I. pipes for making gun barrels and improvised cannons, many bottles of insecticides and several assorted tools for making home made guns were also seized.

Ministry of Home Affairs