

**Bhutan Cases, 1970-2012**  
**Last Updated: 28 June 2019**

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T316	DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF BODOLAND NDFB		1988	2012
T545	ACHIK NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS' COUNCIL (ANVC)		1995	2001
T915	KAMTAPUR LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (KLO)		1995	2012
T823	BODO LIBERATION FRONT		1996	2008
T2531	THE UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF BHUTAN		2008	2008

- I. NDFB  
 TORG ID: 316  
 Min. Group Date: 1988  
 Max. Group Date: 2012  
 Onset: 1994

Aliases: National Democratic Front Of Bodoland (Ndfb), Bdsf, Bodo Security Force, Bodo Security Force (Bsf), Democratic Front Of Bodoland Ndfb, National Democratic Front For Bodoland, National Democratic Front For Bodoland (Ndfb), Ndfb

**Part 1. Bibliography**

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- Jones, Seth G., and Martin C. Libicki. *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering al Qaeda*. The RAND Corporation, 2008. 169. [http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND\\_MG741-1.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG741-1.pdf)
- "National Democratic Front of Bodoland," South Asia Terrorist Portal, no date, [http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist\\_outfits/ndfb.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist_outfits/ndfb.htm)
- "The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)," Para-Military Groups South Asia, Global Security, Last Modified 2014, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/ndfb.htm>

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- "After Telangana, Bodoland Demand Intensifies." 2013. Tehelka, Aug 05. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1417477968?accountid=14026>.
- GTD Perpetrator 712. Global Terrorism Database. Study for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. Last modified June 2017. <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=712>

## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1988

Group End (Outcome): As of 2016, the NDFB still carried out violent activity (Times of India 2016; GTD 2017).

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

There has historically been a lot of conflict in Assam's Bodoland between the indigenous Bodo people and Muslim settlers (Tehelka 2013). The Bodo tribal community's resentment of Muslim settlers as well as government neglect led to a movement for autonomy. The main catalyst for increased violence was the Bodo Autonomous Council in 1993 (Tehelka 2013). Frustration with the Council's lack of progress led to the creation of violent groups such as the Bodo Security Force in 1986 or 1988, later renamed the National Democratic Front of Bodoland in 1994 (Global Security n.d.; SATP n.d.). The NDFB seeks the creation of a separate Bodoland and opposes the use of the Devnagari script to write the Bodo language (Tehelka 2013, Global Security n.d.). The NDFB now focuses mainly on repelling non-Assamese influence in Assam (Global Security n.d.). The group's first violent incident came as late as 1992 (GTD 2017).

### **Geography**

The NDFB operates mainly northwest of the Brahmaputra river, in Assam's Bongaigaon, Kokrajhar, Darrang, Barpeta, Dhubri, Nalbari and Sonitpur districts (Global Security n.d.). The Bodos also reportedly use the Manas National Park as a sanctuary and an entry into Bhutan (Global Security n.d.). They had external bases in Myanmar and Bhutan as well (Global Security n.d.).

### **Organizational Structure**

The NDFB has approximately 3500 members (Global Security n.d.). Members come from the Bodo tribe (Global Security n.d.). They are funded through a "Bhutanese diplomatic bag" which is a diaspora source of funding (Global Security n.d.). They are headed by a Chairman by the name of Ranjan Daimary (Global Security n.d.). In addition, the political party the People's Democratic Party is allegedly the NDFB's formal political front (Global Security n.d.).

Following the ceasefire of 2005, the NDFB split into into the NDFB(P), NDFB(R), and NDFB(S), the last of which has continued its violence activity (Global Security n.d.).

### **External Ties**

In 2001, the group publicly announced that the outfits the All Students' Bodo Association, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, the Bodo People's Action Committee, and the All Bodo Women's Welfare Federation were "rival organizations" (Chadha 2005). The NDFB also clashes with the BLTF (Chadha 2005). The CNLA, a violent group in Myanmar, supplies the NDFB arms (Global Security n.d.). It is allied with the United Liberation Front of Assam, formally uniting with them in 1999 (Global Security n.d.). The NDFB is also friendly with NSCN-IM (Global Security n.d.).

### **Group Outcome**

Violence escalated in 1994 after the group rejected the Bodo Accord signed between the government and other Bodo movements in 1993. In 2005, NDFB signed a ceasefire with the Assam government, but it didn't hold and factions of the group continued fighting under the original group name (Times of India 2016). The group's last known attack was in 2016 (GTD 2017). In 2014 the Indian Government responded with a "large-scale military operation" known as Operation All-Out (Times of India 2016).

Despite a series of unsuccessful peace talks with the government, the NDFB continues to use violence (Times of India 2016).

- I. ACHIK NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS' COUNCIL (ANVC)  
Torg ID: 545

Min. Group Date: 1995  
Max. Group Date: 2001  
Onset: NA

Aliases: Achik National Volunteer Council (Anvc), Achik National Volunteers Council (Anvc), Achik National Volunteers' Council (Anvc)

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- "Achik National Volunteer Council." Terrorist Organization Profile No. 3547, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism,  
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### **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: NA

Group Formation: 1995 (MIPT 2008). GTD lists the first violent attack as an attack on Police Officers in Songsak, Meghalaya on August 10, 2001 (GTD n.d.).

Group End: ANVC signed a ceasefire with the Indian Government in 2004; however, GTD lists an attack in 2011 and a suspected attack in 2014 (GTD n.d.).

### **Part 3. Narrative**

#### **Group Formation**

ANVC is a separatist, nationalist terrorist group that formed in December 1995 (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008, SATP n.d.). The group aims to create an independent homeland called 'Achik Land' in the Garo hills in Meghalaya, Kamrup and the Goalpara district of Assam (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008, SATP n.d.). The group splintered from the Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (Cline 2006, 140). GTD lists the first violent attack as an attack on Police Officers in Songsak, Meghalaya on August 10, 2001 (GTD n.d.).

## **Geography**

ANVC is active in the Garo Hills and West Khasi Hills in the state of Meghalaya and the Kamrup and Goalpara districts in Assam (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008, SATP n.d.). The headquarters are at Cheram in the Garo Hills (SATP n.d.). ANVC has transnational branches in Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Burma (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008).

## **Organizational Structure**

Most members are ethnically Garo (also known as Achik) (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008). Dilash R. Marak is the current chairman, Jerome Momin is commander in chief, Wanding R. Marak is the Public Secretary, Janggam Momin is Joint Secretary, and Rickie Sangma is Finance Secretary (SATP n.d.). The group is organized into geographical zones that are each headed by commanders. Chennang Marak commands the Eastern Zone, Goran Sangma governs the Southern Zone, Batjang Shera governs the Western zone, and Ranggam Marak governs the West Khasi Hills. Below the zonal commanders are area commanders (SATP n.d.). Allegedly, the group gets funding from bringing fake currency printed by the ISI into India (SATP n.d.). The group collects/extorts funds from people who live or have businesses in the area; abduction and ransom is also common (SATP n.d.). The group is thought to have had about 12 members in 1997 (Times of India 1997).

## **External Ties**

Allegedly, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland-IM helped start the organization however the organization, being Garo, has severed all links with the Naga and the Bodo NDFB (SATP n.d.). The organization is still linked with the United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) (SATP n.d.). Allegedly, the organization has helped the ISI transport fake currency in return for funds (SATP n.d.). The organization split from the Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (SATP n.d.).

## **Group Outcome**

ANVC was originally banned by the Indian government in 2000 (SATP n.d.). ANVC signed a ceasefire with the Indian Government in 2004; however, GTD lists an attack in 2011 and a suspected attack in 2014 (GTD n.d.).

## II. KAMTAPUR LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (KLO)

Torg ID: 915

Min. Group Date: 1995

Max. Group Date: 2012

Onset: NA

Aliases: Kamtapur Liberation Organization (Klo), Kamtapur Liberation Organization

### Part 1. Bibliography

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### Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1995

Group End: 2014 (still violent and active)

### Part 3. Narrative

#### Group Formation

The KLO formed by students in 1995 as a separatist group to create an independent Kamatapur state (Terrorist Organization Profile 2008; Global Security n.d.). It would include six districts—Cooch Behar, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, North and South Dinajpur and Malda—of West Bengal and four contiguous districts of Assam—Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Dhubri and Goalpara (Global Security n.d.). The KLO was created to deal with problems such as “large-scale unemployment, land alienation, perceived neglect of Kamatapuri language and identity, and grievances of economic deprivation” (Global Security n.d.; SATP n.d.). The group is ethno-nationalist. The group’s first violent attack occurred in 1999 (Global Security n.d.).

## **Geography**

The KLO operates in six districts of north Bengal - South Dinajpur, North Dinajpur, Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Malda and Darjeeling - and four districts in Lower Assam - Dhubri, Bongaigaon, Kokrajhar and Goalpara. The group’s activities are concentrated in Jalpaiguri and the Cooch Behar districts (Times of India 2014; SATP n.d.). The outfit also has cells in Bhutan surrounding the Wangchu river, close to Chuka district, and in the Bhangtar and Lhamoizingkha areas (SATP n.d.).

## **Organizational Structure**

The KLO originally consisted of students. The organization’s cadre strength was initially 60 members in 1995 and grew to 400 in 2014 (SATP n.d.; Times of India 2014). Not much is known about current KLO leadership; however, some prominent leaders include Hiten Roy, Ravi Rajbongshi, Rahul Roy and Kajal Roy (Global Security n.d.; SATP n.d.). The group had support from Bengalis (Das 2013). The United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) has provided training and financial assistance for the KLO in exchange for a passage from Bhutan to Bangladesh through Bengal (Global Security n.d.; SATP n.d.). The Kamtapur People’s Party (KPP) is the armed wing of the organization (SATP n.d.).

## **External Ties**

The United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) has provided training and financial assistance for the KLO in exchange for a passage from Bhutan to Bangladesh through Bengal (Global Security n.d.; SATP n.d.). The organization has also been linked with the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) (SATP n.d.). The KLO, ULFA, and NDFB reportedly coordinate attacks (SATP n.d.). Tiwa National Revolutionary Front (TNRF), National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM), All Kamatapur Students' Union (KSU), the Kamatapur Women 's Right Front (KWRF), and the ISI have also been linked to KLO. KLO has killed CPI-M and CPM members.

## **Group Outcome**

The group was targeted by Indian security forces in 2003 during Operation All Clear (Times of India 2014). The Indian government also offered an amnesty program to KLO members in exchange for their disarmament in 2009 (Das 2013). It was only mildly effective. Tom Adhikary, Narayan Roy, Pradip Roy and Nilambar Rajbanshi, all prominent KLO leaders, were arrested in India in 2014 (Times of India 2014). India has ordered CRPF to take action on KLO (Global Security n.d.) The group is still currently active (SATP n.d.; Times of India 2014).

### III. BODO LIBERATION TIGER FRONT

Torg ID: 823

Min. Group Date: 1996

Max. Group Date: 2008

Onset: NA

Aliases: Bodo Liberation Tigers (Blt), Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (Bltf), Bodo Liberations Tigers (Blt), Terrorist Group Of Assam

#### Part 1. Bibliography

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Bodo Liberation Tigers (BlT), Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (BlTf), Bodo Liberations Tigers (BlT), Terrorist Group Of Assam

Group Formation: What is the earliest year the group was active? July 1996 (MIPT 2008).

Group End: What is the last year the group was active? 2008 Why did it stop using political violence? Goals were eventually mostly achieved (MIPT 2008; GTD 2018).

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

The group formed in 1996 as a means to protect the views of the Bodo population in India. They favor independence from neighboring Assam, but under the authority of the Indian government, actively negotiating with the government to protect and promote the representation of the Bodo people (MIPT 2008). They are an armed insurgent group, and they committed their first violent attack in December of 1996 when the Bodo Liberation Tigers launched an explosion in the Assam region in India, killing 33 people and injuring 54 (GTD 2018). Their main goals are to create a separate state of Bodoland, create an autonomous district council, and to include Bodos in the protections given by the constitution (SATP N.D.). The Bodo Accord exemplifies their political and ideological goals of providing cultural, social, and economic advancement and autonomy for the Bodo population through the creation of the Bodoland Autonomous Council (Kumara 2007; University of Notre Dame N.D.)

### **Geography**

This group operates in both India and Bhutan to promote its interest of the Bodo population in India. They have operated and committed attacks in the regions of Kokrajhar, Bagulmari, Bogribari, Kachugaon, Patacharkuchi, Athiabari, Dhamdhama, and Sansapani (GTD 2018).

### **Organizational Structure**

Politician Prem Singh Brahma founded the Bodo Liberation Tigers as a means of protest against the Plain Tribal Council of Assam due to their limited protections of the Bodo people (Times of India, 2007). He created the group to promote Bodo interests and operations in the Assam region of India. Their funding partially comes from extortion and kidnapping (MIPT 2008). They elect their leaders such as the chairman, Hagrama Basumatary, Chief Executive Member, Basumatary, and many others. Their members

consist of the Bodo people, and they operate in over 3,000 villages, with a size estimate of about 2641 cadres (SATP N.D.).

### **External Ties**

The group has many alliances and connections with other groups with similar groups. For example, the founder, Brahma, formed the Bodo Autonomous Council in 1993 and the Bodo Voluntary Force before shifting and creating the Bodo Liberation Group (Times of India, 2007; SATP N.D.). .

### **Group Outcome**

The last violent attack from the group occurred in November of 2008 when the Bodo Tigers, allegedly, shot and killed two people (GTD 2008). However, the group began to fade and become inactive after progress and negotiation with the government for the sake of the Bodo people. They decided to surrender, abide by law, and eventually fade at many points as they were able to achieve many of their goals for the promotion of the Bodo people such as the government's recognition of the Bodo language, economic aid to Assam, and the creation of the Bodoland Territorial Council under the Indian constitution (SATP N.D.; MIPT 2008). The group had agreed to a ceasefire in 2000 and surrendered their arms and renounced the use of violence in 2003, decreasing their support base (SATP N.D.; Kumara 2007). Since then, they have remained mostly inactive (SATP N.D.; MIPT 2008; GTD 2008). They eventually totally faded after 2008 due to many different factors, but especially because of the death of their leader and founder, Prem Singh Brahma (Times of India, 2007; GTD 2008).

## **IV. UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF BHUTAN**

Torg ID: 2531

Min. Group Date: 2008

Max. Group Date: 2008

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

### **Part 1. Bibliography**

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## **Part 2. Basic Coding**

Aliases: Communist Party of Bhutan (Diplomat 2009).

Group Formation: What is the earliest year the group was active? 2007 (SATP n.d.), 2008 (First attack)

Group End: What is the last year the group was active? 2008 Why did it stop using political violence? Bhutan had its first parliamentary election (Gyambo 2008).

## **Part 3. Narrative**

### **Group Formation**

In the early 1990s, the Bhutan government expelled Lhotshampa Nepalis to Nepal, beginning tensions between Bhutan and its Nepali minority (Diplomat 2016). After the 10-year Nepali Civil War, many Nepali refugees in Bhutan were inspired to organize themselves into groups, with violent and militant goals (Diplomat 2009). This group formed in 2007 as a response to the government’s continued suppression of the Hindu Ethnic Nepalis, especially with the government’s role in intensifying its borders ahead of voting polls (SATP n.d.; Reuters 2008). Their goals are to protect and promote the rights of ethnic Nepalis and democracy in Bhutan (Scoop 2008). The group’s first attack was in March of 2008 when an explosion set up by the United Revolutionary Front of Bhutan

was set off near an oil distributor pump, killing one Indian worker (GTD 2008; SATP n.d.). They ascribe to a Maoist ideology (Diplomat 2009).

## **Geography**

The group has not specifically operated nor committed attacks outside of Bhutan. As their goals are mostly domestic, they have only committed operations within the domestic borders of Bhutan (GTD 2008). However, they have appealed to the international community with their goals of natural rights and democracy, especially western ones (Scoop 2008).

## **Organizational Structure**

There is not a lot of information about the specific leaders of this organization. However, in their press release to the public, the Commander-in-Chief referred to himself as “Karma” (Scoop 2008). There are ~60,000 Lhotshampa, or ethnic Nepalis in the area, so it is likely that many of them are supporters and even members of this organization (Morch 2016). Many of their members are recruited from refugee camps in Nepal (Reuters 2008; Diplomat 2009).

## **External Ties**

No specific information is available on the alliances and partnerships that this group has.

## **Group Outcome**

There is not a lot of information about the outcome of the group. However, their last attack was in December of 2008 when attackers from the United Revolutionary Front of Bhutan opened fire on individuals in a tractor, killing 4 and injuring 2 others (US State Department 2009; GTD 2018). They most likely began to fade and become inactive after Bhutan had its first parliamentary elections in late 2008, which meant that political spheres were finally able to see some change with the increased democratic practices that occurred from these elections (Gyambo 2008).

Notes for Iris:

- origin story: ethnic Bhutans that got expelled from Bhutan and sent to Nepal during the monarchy
- they had a short spike in 08-09 then disappeared again
- Bhutan had its first parliamentary elections in late 2008 which might have affected their opportunity to rebel or why they had to resort to violence to peacefully address