

INDIA SUB-NATIONAL PROBLEM SET CODEBOOK, 1960-2004

Designed and Compiled for the Political Instability (State Failure) Task Force
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NOTE: The India Sub-National Problem Set was compiled from the Keesings Record of World Events (Keesings Online) and covers the period 1960-2004. It is a representative data compilation based on specific event records and general news reporting; it must not be considered a comprehensive data collection. It was collected to identify and delineate the general parameters of distinct conflict events and processes, in terms of location, magnitude, and time frame, which have characterized politics in India since 1960. No comprehensive delineation of such conflicts is known to have been created prior to this effort.

CNUM Conflict Number (4 digit numeric; nominal)

Unique numerical conflict identification variable; numbering begins with the number eleven (11). A conflict event must be 1) violent (resulting in at least one death or substantial property destruction) and 2) inherently political (performed by or for a distinct societal group with the intent of affecting existing political relations between that group and government authorities or another societal group).

CTAG1 Conflict Tag Number–Level 1 (4 digit numeric; nominal)

Situates micro-conflict events within a larger macro- or meta-conflict event or process by “tagging” the case to the larger event’s CNUM (each case has a unique CNUM value). “Nested” meta-conflict events are identified by a code “2” and tagged to a larger mega-conflict using CTAG2, see below. Discreet mega-, meta-, and micro-conflict events (i.e., events that are not situated within larger conflict events or processes) are identified by coded “flag” values:

- 0 Discreet mega-conflict event
- 1 Discreet meta-conflict event
- 2 Meta-conflict event (tag to mega-conflict event using CTAG2)
- 10 Discreet micro-conflict event

cnum Micro-conflict event situated within mega- or meta-conflict event “cnum”

Note: Micro-conflict event cases may be tagged with the CNUM of either a mega- or meta-conflict event (i.e., cases identified with a “0,” “1,” or “2” value for this variable) or both, in which case the CTAG1 will be the mega-event and CTAG2 will be the meta-event. Meta-conflict events “nested” within a larger conflict will be identified with code “2” in CTAG1 and tagged with the CNUM of the mega-conflict event in CTAG2. See Appendix C for a list of mega- and meta-conflicts.

CTAG2 Conflict Tag Number– Level 2 (4 digit numeric; nominal)

Situates meta-conflict events within a larger mega-conflict event or process, or micro-events by “tagging” the case to another case’s CNUM (each case has a unique CNUM value).

CTYPE Conflict Type (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Identifies the general level and type of conflict event according to the following list of values. While the CTYPE variable is considered to be a nominal variable, it is structured with some sense of ordinal ranking of societal conflict magnitude (based on degree of institutionalization of political activity). Higher order rankings imply that activities highlighted in lower order rankings may also be present (e.g., terrorist campaigns within the context of general warfare); such lower order events will be tagged to higher order events using CTAG variables (see above).

- 1 **General Warfare:** Protracted, interactive, and violent conflict involving at least one, organized, non-state actor group fighting with government authorities. The terms of the conflict include both separatist, political authority, and economic redistribution issues (combined elements of categories 2 and 3 below).
- 2 **Ethnic/Identity Warfare:** Protracted, interactive, and violent conflict involving militant organization(s) representing a singular ethnic or religious identity group (i.e., non-state actor) fighting with government authorities. The terms of the conflict are largely contained in the non-state actor's "separatist" agenda advocating independence or greater autonomy for a particular identity group and the territory claimed as its "homeland."
- 3 **Political/Economic Warfare:** Protracted, interactive, and violent conflict involving one or more militant non-state groups fighting with government authorities. The terms of the conflict are largely based on political authority or economic redistribution issues concerning the allocation of power or resources within existing administrative structures.
- 11 **Pro-Government Terrorism Campaign (Repression):** Persistent, directed-violence campaign waged primarily by government authorities, or by groups acting in explicit support of government authority (e.g., "right-wing" death squads or *senas*), targeting individual, or "collective individual," members of an alleged opposition group or movement.
- 12 **Anti-Government Terrorism Campaign:** Persistent, directed-violence campaign waged primarily by a non-state group against government authorities or symbols of government authorities (e.g., transportation or other infrastructures).
- 13 **Inter-Communal Warfare:** Protracted, interactive, and violent conflict involving militant organizations(s) representing a singular communal identity group fighting with militant organization(s) representing another, singular communal identity group. Government authorities are not directly involved in the fighting, although they may be involved in attempting to control the fighting or fighters, in which case, the government may be identified as a neutral third party in the meta-event. If the government's attempts to control the inter-communal warfare result in open, violent resistance by one or more of the groups, it may be coded as (and tagged to) a separate mega-conflict event.
- 14 **Communal Terrorism Campaign:** Persistent, directed-violence campaign waged primarily by a non-state group targeting individual, or "collective individual," members of an alleged oppositional group or movement.
- 21 **Armed Battle/Clash:** Distinct, continuous, and coordinated interaction involving opposing, organized armed forces representing government and/or group interests.

- 22 **Armed Attack:** Distinct, continuous, and coordinated action staged by a singular, militant political or identity group against government authorities or institutions representing an “other” group.
- 23 **Organized Violent Riot/Demonstration:** Distinct, continuous, and coordinated action staged by members of a singular political or identity group and directed toward members of a distinct “other” group or government authorities who are not able to effectively defend themselves.
- 24 **Spontaneous Violent Riot/Demonstration:** Distinct, continuous, and uncoordinated action resulting from an originally non-violent protest, demonstration, or other public gathering and directed toward members of a distinct “other” group or government authorities who are not able to effectively defend themselves.
- 25 **Terrorist Incident:** Distinct, continuous, and coordinated action staged by an individual or small group of individuals claiming to represent the interests of, or otherwise attributable to, a larger political or identity group and directed toward members of a distinct “other” group or government authorities who are not able to effectively defend themselves.

FGOVT Direct Involvement by Federal Government Authorities (1 digit numeric; dichotomous)

Are federal government authorities directly involved in the coded event?
(No = 0; Yes = 1)

SGOVT Direct Involvement by State/Local Government Authorities (1 digit numeric; dichotomous)

Are state and/or local government authorities directly involved in the coded event?
(No = 0; Yes = 1)

BDAY Begin Day (2 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the day the conflict event begins. Every effort should be made to record the exact day, especially for events that last only a short period of time. The exact beginning day for some mega- and meta-events may be hard to pinpoint; in that case, use the code “99.”

- 1-31 Day event begins
- 88 Began prior to 1960
- 99 Not known/General

BMONTH Begin Month (2 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the month during which the conflict event begins; each event must have a beginning month recorded.

- 1-12 Month event begins
- 88 Began prior to 1960
- 99 Not known/General

BYEAR **Begin Year** (4 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the four-digit year during which the conflict event begins; each event must have a beginning year recorded.

8888 Began prior to 1960

EDAY **End Day** (2 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the day the conflict event ends. Every effort should be made to record the exact day, especially for events that last only a short period of time. The exact ending day for some mega- and meta-events may be hard to pinpoint; in that case, use the code “99.”

1-31 Day event ends
99 Not known/General

EMONTH **End Month** (2 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the month during which the conflict event ends; each event must have an ending month recorded.

1-12 Month event ends
99 Not known/General

EYEAR **End Year** (4 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record the four-digit year during which the conflict event ends; each event must have an ending year recorded.

9999 Ongoing in 2001

ACTOR1 **Conflict Actor #1** (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Record the general political or identity group (i.e., actor) directly involved in the fighting or violence that defines the conflict event. No attempt is made here to identify which group instigates violence in an interactive conflict event (i.e., all actors using violence are listed as actors). Use codes listed in Appendix A.

ACTOR2 **Conflict Actor #2** (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Record the general political or identity group (i.e., actor) directly involved in the fighting or violence that defines the conflict event. No attempt is made here to identify which group instigates violence in an interactive conflict event (i.e., all actors using violence are listed as actors). Use codes listed in Appendix A.

ACTOR3 **Conflict Actor #3** (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Record the general political or identity group (i.e., actor) directly involved in the fighting or violence that defines the conflict event. No attempt is made here to identify which group instigates violence in an interactive conflict event (i.e., all actors using violence are listed as actors). Use codes listed in Appendix A.

TARGET1 **Conflict Target Group #1** (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Record the general political or identity group (i.e., target) directly targeted by the fighting or violence that defines the non-interactive conflict event. In order to be identified as a target group,

the group must have been involved directly in interactive violence with the actor group or groups. The key defining quality of a “target” is that they are mainly recipients (or victims) of violent actions by an “other” group; the “other” group is listed as an ACTOR(1-3), see above. Use codes listed in Appendix A.

TARGET2 Conflict Target Group #2 (3 digit numeric; nominal)

Record the general political or identity group (i.e., target) directly targeted by the fighting or violence that defines the non-interactive conflict event. In order to be identified as a target group, the group must have been involved directly in interactive violence with the actor group or groups. The key defining quality of a “target” is that they are mainly recipients (or victims) of violent actions by an “other” group; the “other” group is listed as an ACTOR(1-3), see above. Use codes listed in Appendix A.

NPART Total Number of Active Participants and People Directly Affected (2 digit numeric; ordinal)

Record estimated total number of participants and people directly affected by the violent conflict event according to the following scale:

- 1 less than 10
- 2 10-100
- 3 101-1,000
- 4 1,001-10,000
- 5 10,001-100,000
- 6 100,001-1,000,000
- 7 over 1,000,000
- 11 Unknown, but probably relatively small number (less than 1,000)
- 12 Unknown, but probably large number (1,000-100,000)
- 13 Unknown, but probably very large number (over 100,000)

NDEATH Total Number of Deaths Reported (9 digit numeric; cardinal)

Records the best estimate of the number of persons killed as a direct result of the conflict event.

- 99 Unknown; not reported

LSCOPE Event Location Scope (2 digit numeric; nominal)

Identify the general geographical scope of the location where the conflict event takes place. Choose the most specific type (level) applicable to the circumstances of the conflict event. If the event covers more than one distinct location, identify the multiple locations in the event description (DESC, see below).

- 1 Rural locality
- 2 Urban locality
- 3 Multiple rural and urban locations
- 4 Multiple urban locations
- 5 Large city (>500,000 population)
- 11 District
- 12 Two or more districts

- 21 State or Union Territory
- 22 Two or three States or Union Territories
- 31 Region
- 32 Two or three regions
- 41 General (all-India)

LREGION Event Location Region (2 digit numeric; nominal)

Identify the general geographic region of India where the conflict event takes place.

- 1 North
- 2 South
- 3 East
- 4 West
- 5 Northeast
- 6 North central
- 7 Central

LSTATE Event Location State (2 digit numeric; nominal)

Identify the state within which the event mainly takes place. Use codes listed in Appendix B.

- 88 Not applicable (more than one state)
- 99 Unknown

LLOCAL Event Location Locality (24 character alpha)

Identify by name the locality in which the event mainly takes place.

- 88 Not applicable
- 99 Unknown

Appendix A – Actors/Targets

Confessional Groups (0-9)

- 1 Hindus
- 2 Muslims (general)
- 3 Sunni Muslims
- 4 Shia Muslims
- 5 Sikhs
- 6 Jains
- 7 Christians
- 8 Other religious minorities (specify in DESC; e.g., Khojas, Parsis)

Ethno-identity groups (10-39) (other categories may be added as necessary)

- 11 Anglo-Indians
- 12 Assamese
- 13 Bengalis
- 14 Bodos
- 15 Gujeratis
- 16 Kannadas (Karnataka)
- 17 Kashmiris
- 18 Maharashtrians
- 19 Manipuris
- 20 Mizos
- 21 Nagas
- 22 Punjabis (Hindu)
- 23 Scheduled Tribes/Adivasis
- 24 Tamils
- 25 Telgus
- 26 Tripuras
- 27 Gurkhas

Political groups (40-59) (other categories may be added as necessary)

- 41 Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
- 42 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP; also, Jan Sangh)
- 43 Communist Party of India (CPI)
- 44 Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM)
- 45 Indian National Congress Party (Congress)
- 46 Samajwadi Party (SP; also, Samata Party)
- 47 Other small national political parties (e.g. breakaway Congress parties, Janata Dal, National Front, Janata Party)
- 48 Student groups
- 49 Regionally-based political parties (e.g., DMK, Shiv Sena, AIADMK, Akali Dal, Trinamool Congress, Telgu Desam, Biju Janata Dal)

Econo-Caste groups (60-79) (other categories may be added as necessary)

- 60 Brahmins
- 61 Other upper-caste groups
- 62 Rajputs
- 63 Other backward-caste groups (OBCs)
- 64 Scheduled castes/dalits
- 65 Communists
- 66 Industrial Workers
- 67 Landless Laborers
- 68 Naxalites

Government Authorities (80-98) (other categories may be added as necessary)

- 71 Federal Armed Forces (General Government Authorities)
- 72 Federal Internal Security Forces/Border Guards
- 73 Federal Government Authorities (other than armed forces or police)
- 75 State or Local Police
- 76 State or Local Government Authorities (other than armed forces or police)
- 77 Panchayat Authorities (village-level)
- 81 Pro-Government Militias
- 91 Foreign Armed Forces
- 92 Foreign Militias

- 99 Unknown; unspecified

Appendix B – Federal States and Union Territories

AN	Andaman/Nicobar
AP	Andhra Pradesh
AR	Arunachal Pradesh
AS	Assam
BH	Bihar
BO	Bombay
CH	Chandigarh
DD	Daman and Diu
DE	Delhi
DN	Dadra/Nagar Haveli
GD	Goa, Daman and Diu
GO	Goa
GU	Gujarat
HP	Himachal Pradesh
KR	Karnataka (Mysore)
LA	Lakshadweep
HR	Haryana
JK	Jammu & Kashmir
KE	Kerala
LM	L M and A Islands
MA	Maharashtra
MD	Madras
MG	Meghalaya
MN	Manipur
MP	Madhya Pradesh
MZ	Mizoram
NG	Nagaland
OR	Orissa
PJ	Punjab
PN	Pondicherry
RJ	Rajasthan
SK	Sikkim
TN	Tamil Nadu
TR	Tripura
UP	Uttar Pradesh
WB	West Bengal

Appendix C – List of Mega- and Meta-Conflicts

See Annex 1 (following) for brief descriptions of India Sub-National Mega- and Meta-Conflict Events.

Mega-conflicts and “Nested” Meta-conflicts:

- 0045 Naga Separatism (1952-present)
- 0529 Nagas vs. Kukis (1993-1994)
- 0055 Hindu-Muslim violence (historical-present)
- 0526 Ayodyha Movement (1989-1993)
- 0128 Mizo Separatism (1966-86)
- 0184 Naxalite Movement (1967-present)
- 0221 Telengana Separatism (1969-73)
- 0412 Assamese vs. Bengali Immigrants (1979-present)
- 0469 “Anti-Foreigner” Massacres (1983)
- 0522 ULFA Terrorism (1990-present)
- 0438 Sikh Separatism (1981-97)
- 0527 Operation Blue Star (1984)
- 0528 Anti-Sikh Riots
- 0523 Kashmiri Separatism (1990-present)
- 0524 Manipuri Separatism (1975-1982)

Discrete Meta-conflicts:

- 0013 Anti-government Food Riots (1958-59)
- 0020 Vidarbha Movement (1960-61)
- 0024 Punjabi Statehood (1960-66)
- 0028 Assamese Language Riots (1960-61 and 1972)
- 0098 Hindi Language Riots (1965-68)
- 0105 Anti-government Food Riots (1964-66)
- 0135 Mysore-Maharashtra Border Dispute (1966-70)
- 0309 Anti-government Food Riots (1973-74)
- 0342 The Emergency (1975-77)
- 0360 Inter-caste Riots/Atrocities (1977-present)
- 0375 Anand Marg Movement (1977-82)
- 0519 Tripuras vs. Bengali Immigrants (1979-present)
- 0521 Gurkha Movement (1986-87)
- 0526 Anti-Christian Terrorism (1998-present)
- 0529 Bodo Separatism (1989-98)

Annex 1
VIOLENT CONFLICTS IN INDIA, 1960-2004: BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF EVENTS
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MEGA-EVENTS

0055: Communal violence between Hindus and Muslims: Historical and Ongoing (c. 11,000 killed)

The violent communal conflict between Hindus and Muslims has most often taken the form of more or less reactive and spontaneous riots. Such riots have occurred across the country but particularly in the north, west, and north-central regions. The social dynamics of Hindu-Muslim riots have been long and intensely studied but no clear, uniform understanding of their causes has emerged. Riots may be triggered by local events and confrontations and riot behavior may spread quickly to other areas, either close by or far removed. There appears to be little coordination among events although there has been an increase in local militias (*senas*) who respond quickly to communal provocations and stimulate militancy among riotous crowds. There are few examples of organized riots, although riots often occur concomitantly to organized demonstrations. As riots rarely profess a broader political agenda, the potential for resolution of the confessional conflict is immaterial. Riots do appear to be somewhat responsive to changes in broader political issues and/or structural conditions; as such, their occurrence does exhibit both temporal and spatial patterns. Hindu-Muslim riots have occurred through the twentieth century and reached a crescendo with the Partition of British-India in 1949. Communal riots diminished in the 1950s but increased again in the early 1960s. Waves of communal riots took place from February 1960 to October 1961 (at least 113 killed); January to April 1964 (at least 685 in this short period); October 1966 to May 1974 (at least 1941 killed); March 1978 to May 1987 (at least 1271 killed); and gained a renewed intensity with the Ayodhya movement surrounding the demolition of the Babri Masjid (mosque) in December 1992 (1989-93). Inter-communal violence has diminished considerably since 1994, although riots continue to occur sporadically (at least 300 killed). Massive rioting occurred in Gujarat between February 27 and May 29, 2002, following a reported attack on Hindus riding a train; the riots resulted in about 2500 deaths, mostly among Muslims.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

- 1179: Riots in Manipur (1993; 100k)
- 383: Jamshedpur riots (1979; 117k)
- 263: Bhiwandi riots (1970; 144k)
- 151: Riots over Urdu being the second official language (1967; 150k)
- 166: Ranchi riots (1967; 158k)
- 81: Jamshedpur riots (1964; 171k)
- 427: Moradabad riots (1980; 180k)
- 518: Riots in Bhiwandi and Bombay (1984; 230k)
- 1053: Meerut riots (1987; 305k)
- 83: Riots in Bihar (1964; 346k)
- 238: Gujarat riots (1969; 431k)
- 1675: Gujarat riots (2002; 2500k)

Number of events tagged: 105

** 41-43, 53, 54, 56, 57, 72-86, 139-141, 151, 166-171, 174-177, 238, 263, 264, 299, 327, 330, 369-371, 381-386, 427, 480, 482, 484-486, 513, 514, 518, 1018-1022, 1050-1054, 1110, 1160, 1165, 1179, 1183, 1212, 1222, 1233, 1269-1271, 1362, 1669, 1670, 1675, 1688, 1700, 1701, 1722, 1743, 1747, 1754, 1802, 1809, 1810

(0055 Meta-Event) 0526: Ayodhya Movement--Demolition of the Babri Masjid: September 1989-December 1993 (c. 3,000 killed)

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

- 1103: Violence when the Babri mosque issue first arises (1989; 100k)
- 1174: Continuing violence over Ayodhya (1993; 215k)
- 1124: Immediate aftermath of the Ayodhya riots (1990; 300k)
- 1117: Violence in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh (1990; 890k)
- 1173: Violence after Ayodhya (1992; 1150k)

Number of events tagged: (12)

* 1103, 1117, 1118, 1121, 1123, 1124, 1158, 1173, 1174, 1205, 1808, 1813

0045: Naga Separatism: 1952 – Ongoing (c. 4,000-8,000 killed)

The Nagas first began their rebellion in 1952 as the newly independent Indian government began to impose central administration over traditional tribal lands. Although the strength of the rebellion has waxed and waned over the years, armed conflict continues to infuse authority relations in the extreme northeast, affecting Nagaland and tribal areas in neighboring Manipur and Tripura (“Greater Nagaland”). From the outset, the Nagas have employed terror and armed warfare to challenge the state and state authorities have, at times, used harsh methods to subdue the rebels. The Nagas have received external support from China and Pakistan. The most intense period of rebellion and repression occurred from 5/56 to 10/58; although fatalities are difficult to estimate, it is clear that over 2000 were killed during this early rebellion. Various policies helped to limit the scope and magnitude of armed conflict but low level rebellion has continued. A second phase of the Naga rebellion flared from August 1960 to September 1974 (at least 883 killed); the third phase spanned January, 1979 to May, 1981 (the number killed reduced to a minimum of 86); a fourth phase began January, 1984 and continued through June, 1986 (at least 31 killed); and the most recent phase, which began in September, 1992 continues (with at least 1130 being killed). The most recent phase included an edict calling for non-Naga groups to leave the territories of “Greater Nagaland”; this led to an intense inter-communal conflict with the Kukis in the early 1990s.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

- 121: Peace talks rejected by extremists (1966; 133k)
- 198: Army and Nagas clash (1968; 200k)
- 199: Army and Nagas clash (1968; 230k)

Number of events tagged: 80

** 46-48; 58, 59, 63-71, 87, 88, 121-127, 189-200, 287-291, 297, 313, 314, 320, 321, 333-336, 356, 394, 395, 423, 424, 435-437, 1002, 1003, 1012, 1013, 1046, 1047, 1164, 1194, 1199, 1200, 1202, 1204, 1232, 1263, 1317, 1714, 1791, 1803

(0045 Meta-Event) 0529: Nagas vs. Kukis: August 1993 – November 1994 (c. 400-500 killed)

Naga militants demand that all non-Naga groups leave the territories of “Greater Nagaland” leading to intense inter-communal conflict with the Kukis in the early 1990s.

Reported deaths over 100 in increasing order:

- 1196: Nagas/Kuki violence (1993; 100k)
- 1186: Nagas/Kuki violence (1993; 250k)

Number of events tagged: (11)

* 1186, 1193, 1195, 1196, 1201, 1206, 1207, 1216, 1223, 1228, 1229

0128: Mizo Separatism: February 1966 – July 1982; 1986 settlement (c. 500-1,000 killed)

The Mizo National Front staged an armed separatist rebellion that began in 1966 and continued to 1982; the conflict was restricted to the Mizo Hills (present Mizoram). Indian offers to negotiate were gradually reciprocated and eventually led to a formal settlement (although MNF extremists occasionally staged violent attacks). The Mizo movement was more violent in its early phases. The initial phase lasted from

February 1966 to September 1968 (at least 349 killed); coinciding with the break-up of Pakistan, Mizoram was made a Union Territory in 1972 and violence subsided for a short period. Terrorist violence increased again between January 1974 and June 1976 (at least 23 killed); negotiations began in earnest from 1976 onwards but scattered instances of violence recurred from 1979-1982 (at least 51 killed). The Mizos received early external support from Pakistan (base in its eastern wing) and China.

Number of events tagged: 32

* 129-131, 194-196, 201-212, 326, 331, 332, 345, 346, 357, 392, 393, 403, 404, 417, 422, 457

0184: Naxalite Movement: May 1967 – Ongoing (c. 4,000-7,500 killed)

The Naxalite (or Naxalbari) movement started with an armed uprising against landlords in Bihar in May 1967. The Naxalites promote peasant rebellion over land issues, viewing upper-classes as their enemy and using violence to eliminate them. The rebellion exhibited its greatest strength over the period lasting from May 1967 through December 1971. Although the Naxalite movement itself was largely broken in the early 1970s, the movement has become a symbol for more general social conflict over land issues which has increased in the 1990s and grown to affect many states in the north and east—mainly West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Uttar Pradesh. Following the initial rebellion, there have been two additional uprisings: the first from November 1985 to August 1987 (at least 218 dead) and a second phase from December 1991 to March 2000 (at least 291 killed). In February 2001, the Maoist People's War Group (PWG) rekindled the insurgency among "dalits" (Scheduled Tribes) in the forested regions in the east, mainly in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh. The PWG joined forces with a second group, the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), to form the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army in late 2004. The current insurgency has remained systematic and sustained through late 2007 and has claimed about 3,000 additional lives.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

286: Naxalites and political parties (esp. ruling Congress) clash in Calcutta (1971; 112k)

Number of events tagged: 83

* 185-188, 220, 242, 243, 245, 251-261, 271-280, 286, 295, 313, 337, 338, 348-350, 352, 398, 399, 449, 450, 1024, 1055-1059, 1073-1075, 1143, 1147, 1148, 1154, 1198, 1225, 1252, 1253, 1256, 1276, 1300, 1310, 1329, 1330, 1333, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1609, 1624, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1706, 1707, 1748, 1753, 1766, 1780, 1796, 1797, 1799

0221: Telangana Separatism (Andhra Pradesh): January 1969 – March 1973 (c. 150 killed)

The Telangana movement sought to carve a separate Telangana state within Andhra Pradesh and lasted from 1969 to 1973 (at least 111 killed). Mass demonstrations and riots were used by the Telanganas to make their grievances known. Concessions were granted to the Telanganas leading to settlement of the conflict.

Number of events tagged: 19

* 222-237, 304-306

0524: Manipuri Separatism: January 1975 – August 1982 (c. 250 killed)

The Manipuris have engaged in separatist conflict in tribal areas of Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura. They used violence particularly from January 1979 to August 1982 (at 86 killed) in their struggle against the Indian state, but at regular intervals have negotiated. The establishment of Manipur state and local autonomy has quelled most of the disturbances.

Number of events tagged: 13

* 44, 266, 390, 391, 401, 416, 434, 455, 456, 1705, 1739, 1784, 1785

0412: Assamese vs. Bengali Immigrants: October 1979 – Ongoing (c. 4,000-6,000 killed)

The recurring clashes between the Assamese and Bengali communities in Assam stems from the flood of immigration (both legal and illegal) from lowland areas in neighboring Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) to the highland areas of Assam, particularly beginning with the Pakistani civil war in 1971-2. Resident Assamese have mobilized to control the immigration, to limit the political influence of the ever-increasing Bengali population, and, even, to drive immigrants out of the area. Communal violence has tended to occur in waves, to be reciprocal, and to coincide with widespread disputes over the immigration issue. In the weeks prior to elections in 1983, serious communal fighting broke out that left approximately 3,000 dead and up to 250,000 homeless. Two main periods of communal conflict can be identified: the first from December 1979 to August 1985 (at least 4200 killed) and the second from October 1992 to August 1998 (at least 700 killed). Communal violence itself is only part of the political maneuverings by native-Assamese in their attempts to negotiate terms with the central Indian government in the troubled northeast. Lack of resolution to the complex issues surrounding immigration has led to the formation of a militant organization, the United Liberation Front for Assam (ULFA). The ULFA promotes independence for Assam as a strategy and works closely with militant student groups in challenging policies of the central authorities. The ULFA engages in scattered acts of terrorism and has been involved in armed clashes with authorities. From its formation in 1986, the ULFA has continued to use violence to increase pressure on both state and central government authorities. The ULFA undertakes its operations in Assam and the border areas of Arunachal Pradesh; it has bases in neighboring Bhutan.

Number of events tagged: 36

** 400, 413-15, 419-21, 430-33, 451-53, 478, 515, 516, 1010, 1792, 1793, 1794

(0412 Meta-Event) 0469: “Anti-Foreigner” Massacres: January-March 1983 (c. 2,000-4,000 killed)

Widespread tensions over unresolved issues regarding voting rights of immigrant Bengalis ignited with the approach of general elections in Assam. Sparring among immigrant, tribal, and native Assamese groups quickly escalated to armed clashes and violent rampages. Massacres occurred in February in Nelli, Choulka, and Oppidaya during which thousands of Bengalis were brutally killed. Government negotiations to impose limits on voting rights and immigration helped to defuse tensions by March 1983.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

471: Bodo tribesmen attack Bengali settlers (1983; 100k)

476: Massacre at Oppidaya Island (1983; 500k)

472: Massacre at Nelli (1983; 600k)

475: Massacre at Choulka (1983; 1000k)

Number of events tagged: (10)

* 467, 468, 470-477

(0412 Meta-Event) 0522: ULFA Terrorism: 1990 – Ongoing (c. 1,500-2,500 killed)

ULFA events are under-reported in the data as they tend to be included with broader reports on the complex troubles in the northeast.

Number of events tagged: (16)

* 1126, 1155, 1334, 1348, 1357, 1610, 1628, 1642, 1643, 1723, 1724, 1756, 1772, 1783, 1785, 1795

0438: Sikh Separatism (Khalistan Movement): September 1981 – July 1997 (c. 20-25,000 killed)

The movement for Khalistan had its roots in the Partition and the formation of the Indian state. It assumed an increasing separatist agenda in the early 1980s, at which time its militant arm began to use violent agitation to increase pressure on Indian authorities to recognize special Sikh interests in the Punjab and neighboring areas. Early attempts by the Indian government to repress the militants sparked a major armed conflict that lasted from April 1983 through September 1993. The Sikh conflict was eventually contained through a combination of repression and political accommodation, although scattered, violent incidents continued into the late 1990s. The armed conflict was mainly situated in the Punjab but often spilled over into neighboring Haryana, Delhi, and Himachal Pradesh, particularly following the Indian

army's storming of the Sikh's Golden Temple (Operation Blue Star) and subsequent assassination of Indira Gandhi by Sikh bodyguards in 1984. Anti-Sikh riots swept the north following the assassination of the Prime Minister (at least 3,000 killed); Sikh terrorism increased in the aftermath of the riots. The Sikhs received external support from Pakistan.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

1133: Sikh militant attack on trains near Ludhiana (1991; 110k)

1122: Sikh violence (1990; 122k)

Number of events tagged: 100

** 439-441, 458, 459, 487-496, 498-507, 1005-1009, 1026-1039, 1041, 1063-1070, 1077-1089, 1095-1097, 1099-1101, 1109, 1113-1115, 1122, 1125, 1133, 1136, 1138-1142, 1145, 1152, 1153, 1156, 1161, 1162, 1168, 1187, 1237, 1240, 1258

(0438 Meta-Event) 0527: Operation Blue Star (Golden Temple): June 1984 (c. 500-1,250 killed)

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

509: Post-Golden Temple violence (1984; 119k)

508: Military action at Golden Temple (1984; 493k)

Number of events tagged: (2)

The federal government decides to storm Akali Dahl (Sikh) militants' headquarters and refuge in the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

* 508, 509

(0438 Meta-Event) 0528: Hindu on Sikh violence post-Mrs. Gandhi's assassination: October 31, 1984 – November 1984 (c. 3,000 killed)

Violent anti-Sikh riots engulf Delhi following Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination by two Sikh members of her bodyguards; anti-Sikh riots quickly spread through the north central region.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

1000: Anti-Sikh riots following assassination of Indira Gandhi (1984; 2987k)

Number of events tagged: (2)

* 497, 1000

0523: Kashmiri Separatism: January 1990 – Ongoing (c. 40-65,000 killed)

The movement for the independence of Kashmir began in earnest in January 1990 and has increased in magnitude through the 1990s and early 2000s. The conflict has deep roots that can be traced back to the Partition and the independence of India and neighboring Pakistan. The Kashmir region has been the locus of several armed confrontations between those two countries and has been subject to defacto separation between Azad Kashmir (under Pakistan control), the Indian state of Kashmir and Jammu, and smaller portion that remains under control by China. The Kashmiri separatist movement has been characterized by a general unwillingness to negotiate by the parties to the conflict, including groups in Pakistan and Pakistan itself, which gives active and substantial support to the separatist movement. Cross-border fighting between Pakistan and India armed forces is common and often intense.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

1134: Kashmiri militants attack Indian troops (1991; 100k)

1694: Attack on Raghunath Temple in Jammu (2002; 122k)

1349: Kashmiri militants attack Hindus (2000, 102k)

Number of events tagged: 207

* 1104, 1105, 1107, 1108, 1111, 1112, 1127, 1128, 1131, 1134, 1135, 1146, 1157, 1163, 1175, 1176, 1178, 1181, 1184, 1185, 1189-1191, 1200, 1203, 1208, 1209, 1213, 1214, 1217, 1235, 1236, 1238, 1239, 1245, 1250, 1251, 1255, 1264, 1266, 1267, 1280, 1281, 1288, 1289, 1293, 1295-1297, 1299, 1303-1305, 1311, 1313-1316, 1319, 1322-1325, 1327, 1331, 1332, 1335-1339, 1342, 1343, 1346, 1347, 1349, 1350, 1352, 1353, 1355, 1356, 1358-1361, 1363, 1600-1602, 1607, 1608, 1614-1616, 1620, 1621, 1626, 1627, 1629-1633, 1635-1641, 1644-1666, 1668, 1672-1674, 1674, 1676-1679, 1682, 1683, 1685-1689, 1692,

1693-1699, 1708-1710, 1715-1720, 1727-1729, 1731-1733, 1735-1738, 1741, 1742, 1744-1746, 1749-1752, 1755, 1759-1765, 1768-1771, 1774-1779, 1781, 1782, 1800, 1805

META-EVENTS

0013: Anti-government Food Riots: September 1958 – September 1959 (c. 50 killed)

As a result of food shortages, the Bengalis launched civil disobedience campaigns. These campaigns protested the West Bengal government's food policy and many resulted in violent confrontations between demonstrators and authorities. Demonstrations were frequent between September 1958 and September 1959 (at least 44 killed).

Number of events tagged: 6

* 14-19

0020: Vidarbha Movement: April 1960 – March 1961 (c. 10-20 killed)

People living in the eastern parts of Maharashtra resented the incorporation of Vidarbha into Maharashtra and demanded their own state. They demonstrated and rioted, but concessions granted by the government led to a peaceful solution. The agitation continued from April 1960 through March 1961 (about 7 killed).

Number of events tagged: 5

*21-23, 52, 284

0028: Assamese Language Riots: May 1960 – June 1961 and October-November 1972 (c. 100 killed)

The people of the hill districts (Mizos, Tripuras, Manipuris) of Assam (which since have become states within India) demonstrated and rioted against Assamese becoming the official language of the state. The riots were intense from April 1960 to June 1961 (at least 51 died) and once again for a month from October to November 1972 (about 25 were killed). The conflict abated when some hill districts were converted into union territories or separate states, and were allowed autonomy to make their own determinations.

Number of events tagged: 12

* 29-36; 49, 50, 104, 298

0024: Punjabi Statehood: June-December 1960 and March 1966 (c. 25 killed)

Both Hindu and Sikh Punjabis demonstrated and rioted in support of the establishment of a Punjabi-speaking state. The conflict occurred in Punjab and Haryana and occasionally the Punjabis organized processions in Delhi. The Punjabi movement was active from June through November 1960 (about 7 were killed); the movement again became active in March 1966 (about 14 people killed). The conflict abated when the Punjab gained statehood.

Number of events tagged: 12

* 25, 26, 37-40, 115-120

0105: Anti-government Food Riots: August 1964 – August 1966 (c. 50 killed)

Food shortages led to violent demonstrations across the country from August 1964 to August 1966 (at least 52 killed).

Number of events tagged: 12

* 106-114, 132-134

0098: Hindi Language Riots: January 1965 – February 1968 (c. 150 killed)

With the introduction of Hindi as the official national language, there was widespread rioting, especially in southern India (Tamil Nadu). Students clashed with police and burned government property. The riots

were particularly intense in 1965 (at least 115 killed). The conflict ended when the government assured the non-Hindi speaking groups that they would not be put at a disadvantage in education and employment because of lack of knowledge of Hindi.

Number of events tagged: 21

* 91-103, 158-165, 1025

0135: Mysore-Maharashtra Border Dispute: June 1966 – December 1970 (c. 25 killed)

Groups in Maharashtra and Mysore demonstrated and began civil disobedience campaigns so as to pressure the central government to settle border issues. Disturbances continued from June 1966 to December 1967 (at least 13 killed) and ended with the establishment of a border commission by the government.

Number of events tagged: 8

* 136-138, 145, 157, 268, 269, 324

0309: Anti-government Food Riots: April 1973 – February 1974 (c. 10-25 killed)

Severe drought, food shortages and rising prices led to widespread demonstrations (at least 10 killed).

Number of events tagged: 7

* 310, 311, 316-319, 325

0342: The Emergency: June 26, 1975 – March 31, 1977 (c. 30-50 killed)

The Indira Gandhi government imposed a state of emergency and engaged in mass arrests (160,000 imprisoned), press censorship, and other acts of repression against political opponents from June 1975 to October 1976; reactions to the government policies led to some confrontations despite the tight restrictions (at least 30 persons killed). Increasing acts of civil disobedience and widespread anti-government sentiments pushed the government to hold new elections in March 1977, ending the Emergency. The ruling Congress party lost its majority and opposition parties formed a new government.

Number of events tagged: 5

* 343, 351, 353-355

0375: Anand Marg Terrorism : November 1977 – April 1982 (c. 3-500 killed)

The Anand Marg launched a terrorist campaign that targeted the Indian government. It was responsible for multiple acts of sabotage in the late 1970s (around 250 killed); its activity gradually diminished in the early 1980s.

Reported deaths over 100

379: Air India plane blown-up (1978; 213k)

Number of events tagged: 4

* 377-379, 464

0360: Inter-caste Riots (Atrocities): May 1977 – Ongoing (c. 1,000 killed)

Violent rioting between castes, and mass killings of members of caste-groups, is a frequent occurrence in India. However, according to Keesing's reports, inter-caste riots occurred only occasionally until 1977. From then, two phases of violence can be identified: the first from May 1977 to March 1983 (at least 244 killed) and a second from July 1996 to the present (at least 161 killed). Inter-caste riots have taken place in all areas of the country.

Number of events tagged: 31

* 217, 361-368, 407, 408, 446-448, 483, 1017, 1023, 1116, 1149-1151, 1210, 1211, 1221, 1249, 1268, 1286, 1306, 1312, 1345, 1623, 1625

0519: Tripuras vs. Bengali Immigrants: June 1979 – Ongoing (c. 3-4,000 killed)

The beginnings of violent communal conflict in Tripura can be traced to the 1971 civil war in neighboring East Pakistan (Bangladesh) when tens of thousands of Bengali refugees swept into tribal areas.

Immigration has continued since then pushing the indigenous peoples into a minority of the population. Militant Tripuras have reacted by attempting to force Bengalis to leave the area. Attempts by the Left Front Government, which took office in 1978, to protect tribal interests were opposed by the militant Amra Bangali which advocated a separate “Bangalitan” for Bengalis. Violent clashes between the Amra Bangali and the Tripura Sena first broke out in 1979. Between June 6 and June 10, 1980, armed Tripura tribesmen began a rampage against Bengali settlements that left some 2,000 dead. Ethnic militias have continued to engage in attacks since that time, although at much lower intensity.

Reported deaths of 100 or more, in increasing order:

1094: Tripura militants attack Bengalis (1988; 105k)

425: Massacre of Bengalis: Mandai, Burakha, Sachindranagar, and Antharacard (1980; 2000k)

Number of events tagged: 32

*397, 405, 425, 426, 442, 443, 517, 1014-1016, 1042-1045, 1060-1062, 1092-1094, 1169, 1241, 1242, 1257, 1292, 1340, 1341, 1505, 1617-1619, 1691

0521: Movement for Gurkhaland: May 1986 – July 1987 (c. 1-200 killed)

The Gurkha movement was violent for a short period (with at least 100 being killed) and then quickly diminished; it never consolidated as a coherent separatist movement. The movement took place in West Bengal, particularly in areas around Darjeeling, where Gurkhas had proposed the creation a separate homeland.

Number of events tagged: 3

* 1040, 1049, 1090

0529: Bodo Separatism: August 1989 – September 1998 (c. 1,000 killed)

Bodo militants initiated an ostensibly separatist rebellion in 1989 as the Bodo Security Force (BSF) engage in periodic assaults on non-Bodo communities, scattered acts of terrorism aimed at government authorities, and some armed clashes with other militant groups. Although claiming a separatist agenda, Bodo militants seem intent on purging claimed territory of Santal, Assamese, and immigrant Bengali “settlers.” Peace talks in 1998 appear to have succeeded in decreasing Bodo violence; however, many Bodo militants are reported to have taken refuge in neighboring Bhutan.

Reported deaths over 100 in increasing order

1102: Attacks by rebellious Bodo tribesmen (1989; 150k)

1254: Suspected Bodo militants bomb passenger train (1996; 300k)

Number of events tagged: 17

*1102, 1167, 1170, 1192, 1215, 1219, 1243, 1254, 1265, 1287, 1294, 1298, 1501-4, 1690

0525: Anti-Christian Terrorism: December 1998 – Ongoing (c. 10 killed)

Since the late 1990s, extremist Hindu groups have harassed, injured, and, in some instances, killed Christian missionaries (about 10 killed). They accuse the missionaries of enticing or, even, forcing members of poorer castes and tribes to convert to Christianity.

Number of events tagged: 10

* 1301, 1302, 1307, 1309, 1320, 1344, 1622, 1711, 1789, 1790