

Living with Guns

Militarisation in South Asia



South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication (SAAPE)

Living with Guns: Militarisation in South Asia

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Foreword

South Asia is one of the most militarised regions in the world, where the nations rank amongst the lowest in terms of the Human Development Index (HDI), indicating the severely poor state of human security in the region. Military expenditure is expanding in the region and this is occurring in direct contrast to the standard of living of the people of South Asia and also goes against people's aspirations of improving their living conditions and promoting peaceful co-existence by way of exercising democracy. The international agencies and national governments seek militarised solution for the problems of underdevelopment in the region that has promoted conflicts and war between communities, faith groups and nation states. The broader partition of South Asian countries and restriction imposed to cross borders has created conflict and tension in the region.

Consequently, South Asia has been emerging as one of the most violent places on earth, where conflicts like civil wars, international and domestic terrorism and the so called war on terrorism carried out by nation states have increased the number of conflicts. The India-Pakistan rivalry, the nuclear arms race and the ever present conflict in the North-east India are just some examples of the level of conflict that is present. Also, the growing religious fundamentalism and military extremism in Pakistan, extreme militarisation and violation of human rights in Sri Lanka, the irrelevant and misguided war in Afghanistan, the displacement of the elected government by the police in the Maldives, the domination of the *Chakma* ethnic community in Bangladesh, the forceful removal of Nepali language speaking ethnic groups from Bhutan and the tumultuous peace process in Nepal has the region steeped in violence.

SAAPE's campaign on Demilitarisation, Democratisation and Social Justice is demanding and claiming reduction in military budgets; increase in social security budget; development & implementation of labour rights; resistance to nuclear arms and sale of small arms; resistance to religious fundamentalism; freedom of human rights defenders. This publication has been created as an attempt to strengthen our campaign against the ever

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increasing military expenditure militarisation in South Asia and to improve the process of democratisation and the state of Social Justice in the region.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr Mohiuddin Ahmad for his writing and his extensive research in the process of preparing this document, which I am sure will add valuable knowledge and act as a relevant reference document to further advance the campaign for social justice. I would also like to thank my colleagues at the SAAPE secretariat for doing all that was required to bring the publication into existence.

Dr. Netra Timsina

Coordinator

SAAPE

Introduction

Militarisation has become a part of political culture in South Asia. States are at loggerhead and societies are gripped in violence with indiscriminate use of bombs, bullets and bayonets. Cross-border conflicts, as well as intra-state strife, have become order of the day. The region had never been free from violence in the past. But their frequency and intensity have heightened alarmingly in the recent past.

The British in its two centuries of colonial rule pursued a devious policy of “unite and rule, divide and quit”. The cost had been very high, as one and a half billion people of the region are still paying dearly. To maintain and perpetuate the divide, post-colonial states in South Asia have been instituting imaginary might in the name of nationalism and national security, while scarce resources are drained away in a senseless and shameful manner keeping millions shabby and hungry.

The colonial rulers created a strong armed force with the locals who helped the British to rule the region for 190 years. The infamous Jallianwala Bagh massacre was ordered by an English military officer, while Indian policemen gunned down their fellow countrymen to perform their jobs. Nepal had never been formally colonised. But military regiments manned by the Nepalese participated along with the British to keep India under siege and invade territories outside the region. The armed forces have not changed their loyalty since then. They are still serving political monopolies of respective states and are pointing barrel of guns to their own people. Increasing ‘defense’ spending for ‘national security’ at the cost of human security spending in the form of food, health, education, housing and other basic needs have turned South Asia into a perilous region. The nuclear race has accelerated the pace of militarisation, as well as jingoism. The relatively ‘smaller’ states in the region are not lagging behind. They are also strengthening their defense establishments in the name of stability and order, though they have been killing their own people in different pretexts.

State of human security

The average HDI (Human Development Index) value for the region is 0.558, which is below the world average of 0.693. Sri Lanka is the only country in the high human development group, while Maldives, India and Bhutan are in the medium and the remaining four countries Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and Afghanistan are in the low human development group.

Between 2000 and 2012, South Asia region registered annual growth of 1.43 percent in HDI value. Looking at individual countries in the region, Afghanistan achieved the fastest growth with 3.9 percent, followed by Pakistan with 1.7 percent and then India at 0.5 percent.

The region's average life expectancy at birth is 66.2 years, nearly four years below the world average of 70.1 and more than eight years below the average for Latin America and the Caribbean, which has the highest average life expectancy at birth.

Average years of schooling of 4.7 for the region ties with sub-Saharan Africa in the bottom position and are 2.8 years below the world average.

The average gross national income (GNI) per capita of \$3,343 is only one-third of the world average of \$10,184.

The region ranks fifth out of six regions in terms of overall loss to HDI due to inequality in distribution. The loss to potential HDI value is about six percentage points higher than the world's average loss of 23.3 percent. Loss due to inequality is the highest in education (42 percent) followed by health (27 percent). Nepal suffered the biggest loss due to inequalities (34.2 percent) followed by Pakistan (30.9 percent). The country suffering the least loss in the region is Sri Lanka (15.1 percent).

The average Gender Inequality Index value for the region is 0.568 – better only than sub-Saharan Africa's average of 0.577. The region has a relatively high maternal mortality ratio, low female educational attainment, as well

as low female labor force participation rate. The poorest performers in the region are Afghanistan and India.

Bangladesh has the highest Multidimensional Poverty Index value based on 2007 survey data followed by India. The headcount ratio, (i.e. the percentage of the population suffering overlapping deprivation) is 57.8 percent for Bangladesh and 53.7 percent for India. These translate into 83.2 million people in Bangladesh and 612.3 million people in India who suffer overlapping deprivation.

The region's average employment-to-population ratio is 61.2 percent, below the world average of 65.8 percent. Child labour is relatively high in Nepal, where more than one-third of children of five to 14 years are 'economically active'.

The average overall life satisfaction based on the Gallup World Poll for the region is 4.7, making it the second most dissatisfied region after sub-Saharan Africa.¹

In the overall backdrop of the region's human development status, it's growing military spending need to be contextualised and assessed.

Military expenditure

Global military expenditure in 2012 has been \$1,756 billion accounting for 2.5 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP) or \$249 for each person in the world. The total is about 0.4 per cent lower in real terms than in 2011, the first fall since 1998. Nonetheless, the total is higher than in any year between the end of World War II and 2010. The distribution of global spending in 2012 shows what may be the beginnings of a shift from the

¹ UNDP Human Development Report 2013 - *The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*, <http://hdr.undp.org>.

West to other parts of the world, in particular Eastern Europe and the 'developing' world.²

South Asia is the most impoverished region of the world other than sub-Saharan Africa. However, some South Asian countries are lavishly spending for military hardware and software giving its people a false sense of security. Total military spending of all countries of the world together is 2.2% of their combined GDP. It is 2.5% for OECD countries, 2.0% for Europe and Central Asia, 3.1% for Middle East and North Africa, 2.4% for South Asia, 1.8% East Asia and Pacific and 1.3% for Latin America and the Caribbean (Figure 1).

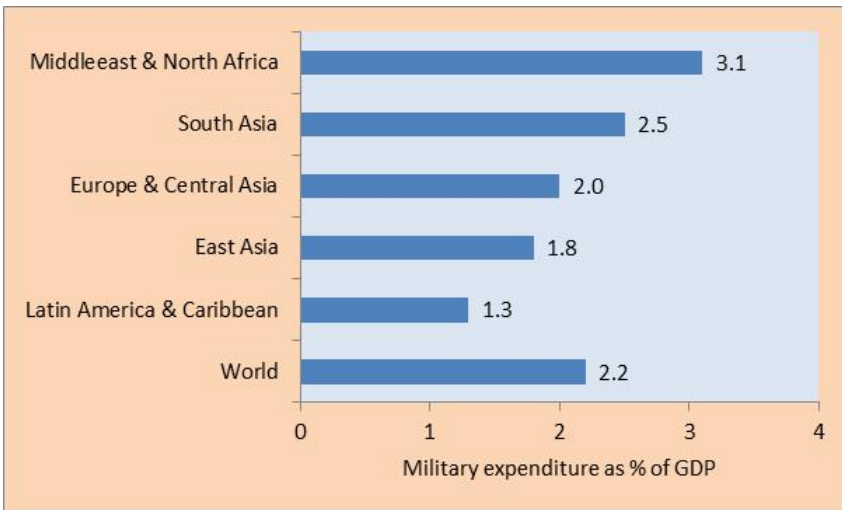


Figure 1: Military expenditure by region

In South Asia region, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India spend more for the military than the world average, 3.5%, 2.7% and 2.5% of respective GDP (Figure 2, Table 1). Their military expenditure in terms of percentage of GDP is even higher than economic super powers like China (2.1%), EU (1.7%) and Japan (1.0%). India ranks 8th in the world in terms of total

² Stockholm Peace Research Institute, <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2013/03>

military expenditure (\$47.74 billion), while USA spends the highest amount (\$1,836.56 billion).

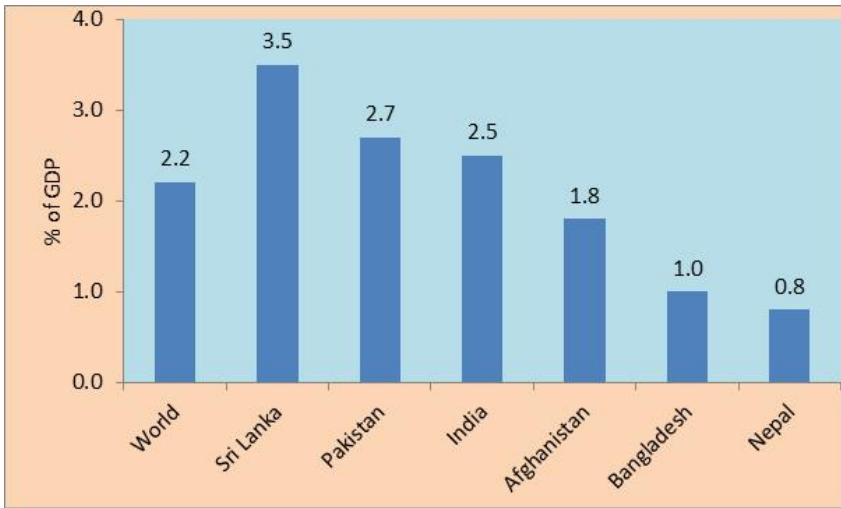


Figure 2: Military spending of selected South Asian countries

It is agonising that South Asian countries are at the bottom rung of the HDI (human development index) ladder. This is indicative of severely poor state of human security (Table 1).³ There are shortage of teachers, health service providers and technologists in these countries while the 'defense' sector is expanding day by day.

³ HDI estimates are of 2013 based on 2012 data.

Table 1: Military spending versus the state of human development

Country	Military spending (million \$)	% of GDP	Ranking in military spending	HDI ranking from below	HDI score
World	1,836,564	2.2			
India	47,735	2.5	8	136	0.554
Pakistan	6,987	2.7	25	146	0.515
Sri Lanka	1,280	3.5	64	92	0.715
Bangladesh	1,137	1.0	67	146	0.515
Afghanistan	250	1.8	96	175	0.374
Nepal	207	0.8	104	157	0.463
Bhutan				140	0.538
Maldives				104	0.688

Source: IISS 2010, HDR (UNDP) 2013

Despite being one of the ten largest economies and military power, India is the country of the largest number of poor people. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the world's undernourished population lives in India. Nearly 31 per cent of the billion-plus Indians earn less than a dollar a day. But in the name of consolidating its 'security', it drains off money to defense contracts and arms import. Based on data of table 1, India's share in total South Asian military expenses (minus Bhutan and Maldives) is as high as 83 percent (Figure 3).

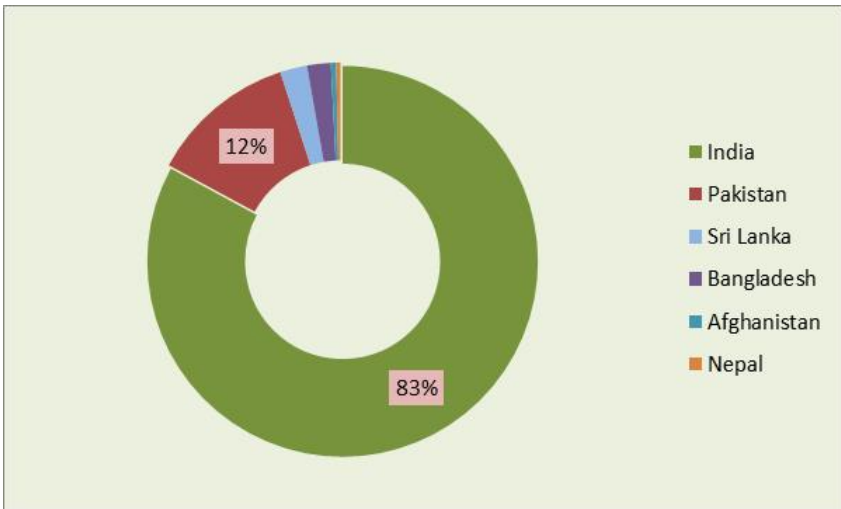


Figure 3: Country-wise share in military expenditure in South Asia

Across the region, military spending has two objectives. One is to benefit the arms dealers and politicians through contracts and commissions; the second is to dilute and divert public anger against the government into other areas. The third one is to further intimidate neighbours and maintain hegemony in the neighbourhood. Thus, the hike in defense budget and heavy procurement of arms is not going to make people feel secure when a large number of the population are dying and starving.⁴

Militarisation of politics

Militarisation is a syndrome that often molds mindset of the people. This malady is manifested in collective behaviour of the people, particularly in political or ideological indoctrination. Military culture not only prevails in 'security forces' and ultra-nationalist political parties, but is spread in the form of identity politics throughout class, caste, ethnicity and religion. This

⁴ Yuba Nath Lamsal, *The Militarisation in South Asia*, weekly Mirror, December 10, 2013, <http://weeklymirror.com.np/index.php?action=news&id=2096>

cultural force exists not only for political and ideological reasons, but also for armed, violent, and criminal means of subsistence. Due to interests of cultures, languages, regions and religions, insurgencies continue or succeed widely in the complex setting of 'inner colonisation' in South Asia. In 1947 Pakistan was created by partitioning India owing to differences of religion, and Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971 due to language, ethnicity and regionalism. In both cases, objectives were achieved through violent means, either in the form of communal riots or armed insurgency.

Soon after the independence of Bangladesh, its majority chauvinism took a heavy toll of lives in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). This region is inhabited by nine small non-Muslim ethnic communities. Their legitimate demand for constitutional guarantee of their ethnic identity and heritage has been suppressed and paved the way for armed insurgency by the local youth. Thousands of Bangalee Muslims were brought from other districts and were settled in the CHT through state patronage. This has seriously affected the demography of the region by distorting the ethnic balance. Though the government signed a peace accord with the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS) in December 1997, peace has not yet been restored. There are now several armed groups engaged in political and extra-political activities that provide some logic to continued military presence in that area.

Nepali politics was gripped with militarist syndrome in the 1990s that led to 10 years of armed struggle by the Maoists. Since the "Comprehensive Peace Accord" (CPA) signed on 22 November 2006, there has been mushrooming of 69 armed and semi-armed groups with violent and criminal modes. The emergence of such groups exists mostly in the Southern plain, known as the Tarai or Madhes, near the porous border with India. Many of them have no goal beyond an independent Madhes nation.⁵

⁵ Bishnu Pathak and Devendra Uprety, *The Culture of Militarisation in South Asia – Both Armies' New Recruitment in Nepal*, 23 March 2009, Transcend Media Service,

Bhutan has largely persisted as the only fortunate exception in an otherwise violence-torn South Asia. However, the issue of Ngolops remains a critical problem for Bhutan. Over 100,000 Bhutanese refugees reside in seven camps in the eastern Districts of Nepal since the ethnic exodus that followed the implementation of Bhutan's Citizenship Act of 1985 and the subsequent nation-wide Census of 1988. The Bhutan Government has tended to resist all repatriation because most of the refugees are of Nepali origin, and fears that the repatriated groups may be 'infected' by the Nepalese Maoists. Meanwhile, there are reports that almost half of the Bhutanese refugees living in Nepal have opted for a new life and have applied for resettlement in the US.

Pakistan is now facing the brunt of the religious extremism and terrorism that it has long produced and exported. The country recorded a total of at least 6,211 terrorism-related fatalities including 3,007 civilians, 2,472 militants and 732 Security Forces (SF) personnel in 2012. Sectarian violence has been heightened as members of the Shia community are being slaughtered. Political accusations and counter-accusations confirmed the regime of collusion that continued to back terrorist and sectarian excesses in the country.

Balochistan continues to be another hotspot in Pakistan. Many Baloch consider it as an 'inner colony' of Pakistan and are fighting for greater autonomy and liberation. Between 2004 and 2013, 3,679 persons were killed including 2,406 innocent civilians in political skirmish. Among them, 222 civilian killings have been claimed by formations such as the Baloch Republican Army (BRA), Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Balochistan Liberation Tigers (BLT) and UBA. Islamist extremist formations, primarily the LeJ and the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), claimed responsibility for the killing of 186 civilians, mostly in sectarian attacks. Since 2004, 1,998 fatalities remain 'unattributed', 662 in 2012, and 502 in 2011. A large proportion of the 'unattributed' fatalities are believed to be the result of

<https://www.transcend.org/tms/2009/03/the-culture-of-militarisation-in-south-asia-both-armies-new-recruitment-in-nepal/>

enforced disappearances carried out by state agencies or by their proxies, prominently including the Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Aman Balochistan. Sectarian violence orchestrated by Islamabad-backed Islamist formations is also responsible for a significant proportion of civilian fatalities.⁶

Sri Lanka continues to face the daunting challenge of reconciliation between the Sinhala majority and the Tamil minority. During 2000-2009, 41,338 persons were killed in the civil war including 13,503 civilians, 5,251 security force personnel and 22,584 Tamil militants. In 2009 alone, 15,564 persons were killed and another 11,144 in the previous year. There are problems arising out of a strident politics of Sinhala triumphalism. The real challenge since the comprehensive defeat of the LTTE has been to secure a substantive resolution of the political confrontation between the Sinhala and the Tamil community. Unless such reconciliation is engineered, Sri Lankan politics will remain fraught with the extreme ethnic tensions.⁷

India is in the vortex of armed conflicts. These are mainly of three types, (a) conflict between the state and political parties carrying out insurgencies for greater autonomy or freedom, (b) Maoist insurgency for 'social justice' and (c) riots perpetrated by groups in the name of religion or caste. The most troubled states are Kashmir, Northeast, Chattishgarh and Jharkhand.

Afghanistan has remained a conflict region for decades. The people are indomitable and, unlike many other South Asian countries, have refused to submit to any aggressor. The British colonialists failed to colonise it and left it to remain as buffer with Russia. The religious extremism that encroached in the society first found its expression in the form of anti-Soviet struggle and then transformed into all forms of western notions of politics and culture.

⁶ *Institute for Conflict Management, South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org*

⁷ *Institute for Conflict Management, South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org*

Armed conflict

South Asia is one of the most violent places on earth. Armed conflicts have increased in the region in the last decade. Conflicts are mainly of two broad categories. The first category includes conflict with the state. Examples of this include civil war or 'terrorism', which is carried out by relatively organised groups of non-state actors, and directed against the state. The second category includes people-to-people conflict, rather than directed against the state. Examples of this include localised land conflicts, religious riots, homicides or other crimes. South Asian countries suffer from both types of conflicts. However, they are evolving differently in the region - one is on the rise, and the other is declining. In India, people-to-people conflicts (homicides, riots) have been trending downwards over the past decade. This is in sharp contrast to 'terrorist' incidents which have increased. High conflict rates are associated in regions that have low per capita income. This is exactly what is observed in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Conflict is concentrated in the lagging regions, which have a per capita income below the national average.⁸

Since 2005 (up to 1 December 2013), 106,501 persons including 38,171 innocent civilians, 55,591 'terrorists'/insurgents and 12,739 'security force' personnel have been killed in the region in armed conflicts and violence. Human fatalities reached their peak in the region during 2007-10 (Figure 4).⁹

⁸ *South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org*

⁹ *South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org*

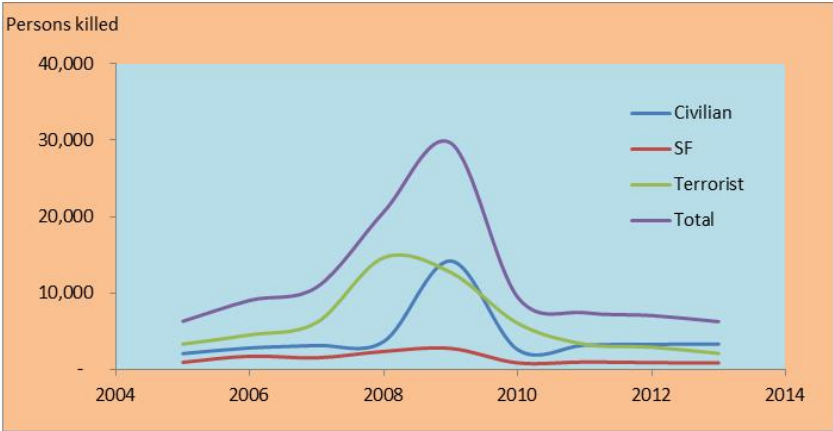


Figure 4: Casualties of conflict in South Asia during 2005-13

Pakistan is the worst in terms of human fatality (49,224), followed by India (18,081). Although absolute number of fatalities seems to be decreasing in past few years, data over a period shows an increasing trend (Figure 5).¹⁰

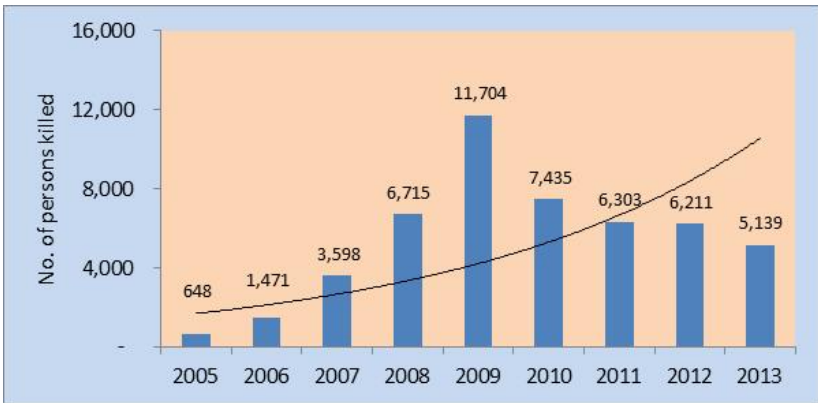


Figure 5: Casualties of conflict in Pakistan during 2005-2013

¹⁰ South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org

Afghanistan has been torn apart by internal rivalry between Pashtuns, Uzbeks, Tajiks and Hazara over power and the interpretation of Islam's social rules. This is a global conflict with religious undertones, involving radical Sunni Islamists against Western secularism (primarily USA) and the Saudi establishment. Besides, there are conflicts between the Pashtun Taliban and other ethnic groups and warlords, with shifting alliances.¹¹

The lagging regions in Pakistan (Baluchistan, Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and North-West Frontier Province, India (Maoist insurgency in Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Orissa), Sri Lanka (North-decreased significantly since the end of the war), and Nepal have high level of conflict. Afghanistan has had a civil war for last 30 years. Lagging regions have experienced more than three times the number of terrorist incidents per capita, compared with leading regions. Adverse consequences of conflict are more pronounced in regions that have weak institutions, poor geography and are poorly integrated with markets. These are also the characteristics that limit their pace of growth and poverty reduction.¹²

Independence from the colonial rule does not necessarily bring peace and happiness. This is manifested in a host of conflicts in India of varying nature where military means are applied to deal with issues of political nature.

The Northeast region of India comprising eight states and surrounded by four countries is a setting for multitude of conflicts that undermine India as a functioning democracy. Reasons for conflicts are wide ranging, from 'separatist' movement to inter-community and inter-ethnic strife. At the one side of the conflicts there are armed insurgencies and at the other side there are atrocities committed by the state in the name of law and order. Thus a problem of largely political nature is being dealt with a militaristic way that only complicates the situation further. The AFSPA (Armed Forces

¹¹ <http://www.f4hs.org/worldwatch/afghanistan.htm>

¹² <http://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/conflict-and-development-where-conflict-concentrated-south-asia>

Special Power Act), for instance, shows inability and reluctance of successive governments to solve the conflict with adequate political measures. AFSPA was passed in 18 August 1958 as a short term measure to allow deployment of the army to counter an armed separatist movement in the Naga Hills has been in place for over six decades and has been extended to the entire region. Instead of resolving the problem, it led to escalation of the conflict by bringing it on a military level. Violation of human rights has led to radicalisation and militarisation of the region and has weakened the support base for a political solution.¹³

In the Northwest, Kashmir is bleeding. The conflict remains unresolved for over six decades, fuelling the conventional and nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and is a bone of contention, not only between these countries, but also for the entire South Asian region. Since 1988, 43,502 persons were killed including 14,671 civilians, 22,739 ‘militants’ and 6,092 security force personnel (Figure 6).¹⁴

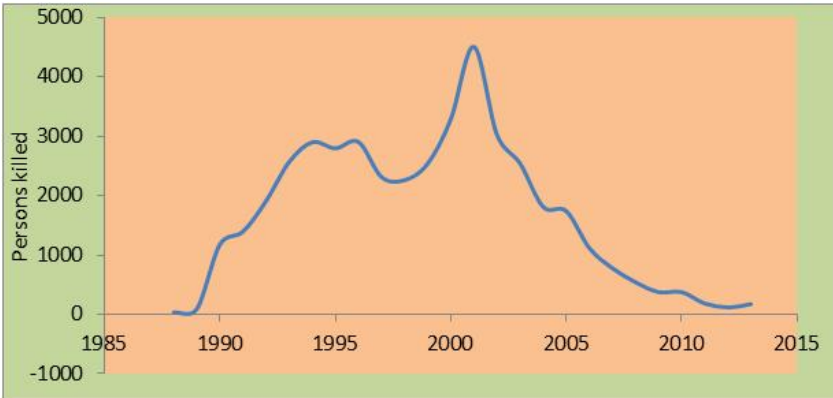


Figure 6: Casualties of Kashmir conflict in India

¹³ Heimerdinger, Philipp and Chonzom, Tshering. *Conflict in Northeast India: Issues, Causes and Concern – Briefing Paper*. <http://www.in.boell.org/web/52-259.html>

¹⁴ South Asia Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org

There is one soldier for every 10 Kashmiris in the Valley and daily life is a nightmare for the ordinary Kashmiri.¹⁵ While India claims Kashmir as its integral part, Pakistan considers it as a disputed territory and many Kashmiris do not believe that the 1947 accession is final. India and Pakistan have so far fought four wars and skirmish at the border is a regular phenomenon. The situation continues to worsen as military solutions are pushed to resolve a political problem.

'Armed struggle' and 'red terrorism' are declared military strategies of many left-wing ideologues. The government of India is planning to finish the rebels and the Maoists in military action. This military model is now being practiced all around in South Asia at huge costs to civilian lives. This has happened in the recently concluded war in Sri Lanka. The operation in Lalgarh seems to be a case of testing the waters. The Maoists for their part are also increasingly resorting to major strikes, in which large numbers of police personnel have died. The police and security view of Naxalism (as the Maoism is popularly branded in India, following the legacy of the peasant uprising in some villages in Naxalbari in 1967) as purely a law and order problem, which needs more security forces, more police stations and better weaponry ignores the context which gave rise to Naxalism in the first place, including corruption and harassment by the police, especially when it comes to dalits and adivasis. The militaristic approach of the government is an outcome of its own systematic and criminal neglect over the years of adivasi areas.¹⁶

In India alone, a total of 8,498 persons were killed during 2003-12 in connection with 'leftwing extremism'. Among the victims are 4,951 innocent civilians, 1,707 Naxalites and 1,840 security force personnel. Indian state of Chattishgarh has the highest number of casualties, followed by Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar (Figure 7).

¹⁵ *The mass graves of Kashmir*. <http://www.kashmirlibrary.org/>

¹⁶ *Stop! Militarisation of Democratic Processes and Space in India*, by South Asia Citizens Web, 2 August 2009, <http://www.sacw.net/>

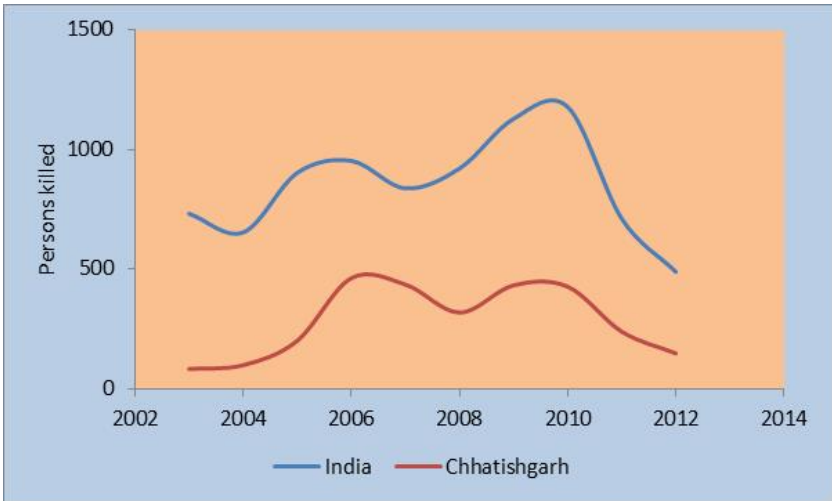


Figure 7: Casualties of left extremism in India

Nuclear duel

India and Pakistan are in a nuclear race, each has attained the capability to produce arsenal and indeed possesses it. Even limited nuclear exchange would devastate food production around the world. According to International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, a Nobel Peace Prize-winning civic body, a nuclear war between the two would set off a global famine that could kill two billion people and effectively end human civilisation. Even if limited in scope, a conflict with nuclear weapons would wreak havoc in the atmosphere and devastate crop yields, with the effects multiplied as global food markets went into turmoil. It together with the Physicians for Social Responsibility released an initial peer-reviewed study in April 2012 that predicted a nuclear famine could kill more than a billion people. The groups said they widely underestimated the impact in China and calculated that the world's most populous country would face severe food insecurity. "A billion people dead in the developing world is obviously a catastrophe unparalleled in human history. But then if you add to that the possibility of another 1.3 billion people in China being at risk, we are

entering something that is clearly the end of civilisation,” said Ira Helfand, the report’s author.¹⁷ Nuclear programs in both India and Pakistan are perceived as symbol of national pride, as well as necessity, by large number of policymakers and people.

Conclusion

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), an inter-governmental platform, was established in 1983 and its first summit meeting was held in Dhaka in December 1985. Since then it endeavoured various means to foster regional cooperation, but failed to address the crucial issue of inter-state trust and confidence-building. Summit meetings are hosted by member states on a rotational basis in a very ritualistic manner and meetings are sometimes postponed due to political stalemate between member countries. There has been some progress in evolving regional cooperation in the fields of agriculture, meteorology and sports, but peace still remains a dream.

There are citizens’ groups who are working for trans-border peace and harmony. People’s Plan for 21st Century (PP21), People’s SAARC, and South Asia Alliance for Poverty Eradication (SAAPE) are few initiatives worth mentioning. Such attempts are often lost amidst jingoism of dominant groups. On the other hand, states pursue policies in such manners that people are not able to come together. While regional integration from above by the governments is absent, integration from below by the people has to follow a long and painstaking path. This necessitates that the people and their institutions must speak and thrive for peace and shun jingoism and nationalism of all forms that obstruct people’s convergence.

¹⁷ *India-Pakistan nuclear war could 'end human civilisation', The Daily Telegraph, Wednesday 11 December 2013*

Table 2: Human fatalities in armed conflicts in South Asia

Year	Civilian	SF	Militant	Total
2005	2,063	920	3,311	6,294
2006	2,803	1,725	4,504	9,032
2007	3,128	1,504	6,145	10,777
2008	3,653	2,342	14,632	20,627
2009	14,197	2,738	12,703	29,638
2010	2,571	844	6,016	9,431
2011	3,173	962	3,284	7,419
2012	3,270	871	2,902	7,043
2013	3,313	833	2,094	6,240
Total	38,171	12,739	55,591	106,501

Table 3: Human fatalities in armed conflicts in Pakistan and India

Year	Casualty		
	Pakistan	India	Total South Asia
2005	648	3,259	6,294
2006	1,471	2,770	9,032
2007	3,598	2,615	10,777
2008	6,715	2,619	20,627
2009	11,704	2,232	29,638
2010	7,435	1,902	9,431
2011	6,303	1,073	7,419
2012	6,211	803	7,043
2013	5,139	808	6,240
Total	49,224	18,081	106,501

Table 4: Persons killed in connection with leftwing extremism in India

Year	Persons killed				
	Civilian	SF	Naxalite	Total	Chhatishgarh
2003	410	105	216	731	82
2004	466	100	87	653	98
2005	524	153	225	902	200
2006	521	157	274	952	462
2007	460	236	141	837	435
2008	490	231	199	920	318
2009	591	317	220	1,128	432
2010	720	285	172	1,177	426
2011	469	142	99	710	238
2012	300	114	74	488	147
Total	4,951	1,840	1,707	8,498	2,838

Table 5: Human fatalities in armed conflicts in Kashmir

Year	Civilian	SF	Militant	Total
1988	29	1	1	31
1989	79	13	-	92
1990	862	132	183	1,177
1991	594	185	614	1,393
1992	859	177	873	1,909
1993	1,023	216	1,328	2,567
1994	1,012	236	1,651	2,899
1995	1,161	297	1,338	2,796
1996	1,333	376	1,194	2,903
1997	840	355	1,117	2,312
1998	877	339	1,045	2,261
1999	799	555	1,184	2,538
2000	842	638	1,808	3,288
2001	1,067	590	2,850	4,507
2002	839	469	1,714	3,022
2003	658	338	1,546	2,542
2004	534	325	951	1,810
2005	521	218	1,000	1,739
2006	349	168	599	1,116
2007	164	121	492	777
2008	69	90	382	541
2009	55	78	242	375
2010	36	69	270	375
2011	34	30	119	183
2012	16	17	84	117
2013	19	59	94	172
Total	14,671	6,092	22,679	43,442

Source (Table 2, 3, 4 & 5): Institute for Conflict Management, South Asia
Terrorism Portal, www.satp.org