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**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL  
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**THESIS**

**WHO ARE THE SOLDIERS OF THE  
REVOLUTION?**

by

Gay M. Hanson

September, 1996

Thesis Advisor:

Roman A. Laba

**Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.**

# **WHO ARE THE SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION?**

**Gay M. Hanson**  
**Captain, United States Air Force**  
**B.S.I.E., Georgia Institute of Technology, 1987**

This thesis records the results of a data-based analysis of 207 intrastate wars from 1945 to 1995. The intent of developing this database was to statistically determine the involvement of indigenous peoples in violent rebellion since 1945. The hypothesis was that a definable group, indigenous peoples, had been active in civil strife out of all proportion to its numbers. This had not been seen as major theories categorized the insurgents of social revolutions and civil strife as peasants or ethnonations. The analysis starts with a descriptive assessment of who and where indigenous peoples are by establishing a working definition. Next, it identifies the statistically supportable regional and international trends of their participation in intrastate conflict. The ultimate goal of the thesis was to determine the percentage of intrastate wars in which indigenous peoples participated, their role in the war, and who they supported. Another goal accomplished was to establish a database on modern intrastate conflict, which had not been done before. The conclusion was that indigenous peoples had indeed played a significant role in a large proportion of the world's intrastate conflicts since 1945.

Masters of Arts in National Security Affairs  
September 1996

Advisor: Roman A. Laba, Department of National Security Affairs

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Captain, United States Air Force  
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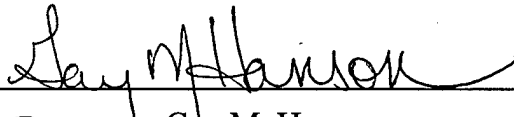
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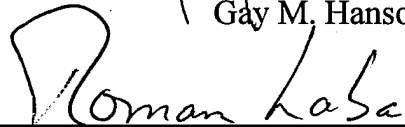
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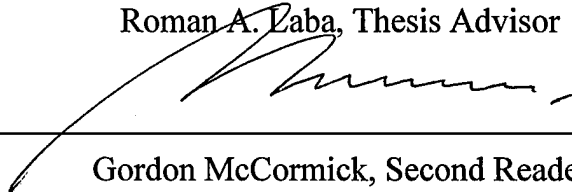
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis records the results of a data-based analysis of 207 intrastate wars from 1945 to 1995. The intent of developing this database was to statistically determine the involvement of indigenous peoples in violent rebellion since 1945. The hypothesis was that a definable group, indigenous peoples, had been active in civil strife out of all proportion to its numbers. This had not been seen as major theories categorized the insurgents of social revolutions and civil strife as peasants or ethnonations. The analysis starts with a descriptive assessment of who and where indigenous peoples are by establishing a working definition. Next, it identifies the statistically supportable regional and international trends of their participation in intrastate conflict. The ultimate goal of the thesis was to determine the percentage of intrastate wars in which indigenous peoples participated, their role in the war, and who they supported. Another goal accomplished was to establish a database on modern intrastate conflict, which had not been done before. The conclusion was that indigenous peoples had indeed played a significant role in a large proportion of the world's intrastate conflicts since 1945.



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis presents a data-based assessment of all revolutions from 1945 to 1995 - a 50 year span. This assessment was carried out using the Intrastate Conflict Database (ICD), an original database developed by the author. Its purpose is to determine the percentage of violent civil conflicts in which indigenous peoples participated, their role, and who they supported. The database is simplistic in method, with only 36 datafields. The database contains 207 intrastate conflicts that have occurred, some of which are still ongoing.

This study begins with an overview of explanations for twentieth century revolution. Rather than asking why revolution occurs, this study asks who made revolution. The general answer of most Marxists and non-Marxists has been that peasants make revolution. This analysis tries to determine whether indigenous peoples were lost in the category of peasants and if they played a significant role. First, the study establishes a working definition of the category indigenous peoples. Then, a world database for intrastate conflict since 1945 is constructed.

The involvement of indigenous peoples both worldwide and regionally in revolution is determined next. It was found that indigenous peoples participated in 40.6 percent of the 207 conflicts between 1945-1995. The goal and type of conflict were not dependent on the involvement of indigenous peoples, but the outcome was. When they participated, the state won only 33 percent of the time and the chances of the insurgents winning increased over five times. Thus, when indigenous peoples are involved either as primary or secondary players against the state, the insurgents are more difficult to defeat.

Of the seven regions analyzed, only four contained enough data to allow for comparison. Furthermore, indigenous peoples participated in primarily three regions: Asia, Central and South

America, and Africa. As in the global analysis, there was no regional correlation between the goal of conflict and the participation of indigenous peoples. One region, the Middle East, did show a correlation with the type of conflict, where indigenous peoples only participated in either a guerrilla or insurrection conflict. Once again, the outcome was affected by the involvement of indigenous peoples in Africa, Central and South America, and Asia.

The results presented in this study represent a first level assessment to exploring the involvement of indigenous peoples, which it turns out is out of all proportion to their numbers and power. The database demonstrates that the prevailing theories of revolution focusing on peasants and ethno-nations overlooked a critical player. It discovered that indigenous peoples are also soldiers of the revolution.

## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. TWENTIETH CENTURY CONFLICT

#### 1. Focus on Peasants

The twentieth century has been a century of revolution. The great body of analysis and explanation developed by Marxists and non-Marxists has focused on peasants as the primary soldiers of modern revolutions. The influential works of Eric Wolf's *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, James C. Scott's *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in South East Asia*, Samuel Popkin's *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*, Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolution*, Ted Robert Gurr's *Why Men Rebel*, and Chalmers Johnson's *Revolutionary Change* all point to peasant revolutions in the twentieth century. The Marxist victories, led by Mao Tse-tung Ho Chi Minh, has reinforced this view as much as the academic scholars mentioned above or the analysts of insurgency and counterinsurgency. The major competing theory of ethnonationalism has claimed that ethnonations, rather than the peasant class, have been the primary actors.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Walker Connor, The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University press, 1984), p. 5. Ted Robert Gurr in Minorities at Risk showed that the number of ethnic rebellions increased nearly fourfold between the period 1950-1955 and the years 1985-1989.

## 2. Purpose of Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is not to examine why revolution occurs, but to make a contribution to its study by examining the role of a specific group in intrastate conflict -- indigenous peoples. By constructing a database, I will examine the proposition that indigenous peoples have been the soldiers of revolution to a greater extent than their small numbers might lead one to believe. It is estimated that there are at least 250 million indigenous peoples worldwide, representing only 4.4 percent of the world's population.<sup>2</sup> But they often occupy large, remote, and marginal areas. In fact one estimate is that indigenous peoples control 25 to 30 percent of the world's land surface. Yet at decisive moments, indigenous peoples have played crucial roles in some of the world's major revolutions. For instance, the Miskitos in Nicaragua number only 10 percent of the population but occupy most of the Atlantic Coast, the eastern region, within Nicaragua.<sup>3</sup> Their recruitment into the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) was critical to the success of the Contra's during the

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<sup>2</sup> This figure does not include the distinct indigenous peoples of Africa because it is very difficult to determine which tribes are indigenous. However, this thesis attempts to include in the Intrastate Conflict Database those nations which are considered indigenous by experts. Another estimate is given by Ted Robert Gurr who states indigenous peoples are 10 percent of the world's population. Not knowing how he arrived at this figure, I cannot substantiate it. My figure of 4.4 percent is 250 million divided by the 1994 World Urbanization Prospects figures from the United Nations.

<sup>3</sup> Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, The Miskito Indians of Nicaragua, (London: Minority Rights Group, 1988), p. 1.

Nicaraguan Revolution.<sup>4</sup> In China, although the indigenous peoples number only a little over one percent of the population, they were mobilized along the long march and were a critical element to the success of the Chinese revolution. The Montagnard peoples of Vietnam and Laos were crucial to the efforts of both the revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries.

This thesis will first discuss who and where are indigenous peoples, then it proceeds to ask what the actual participation of this apparently marginal, powerless part of the world's population has been in violent protest and rebellion. The core of this thesis is a database which analyzed all intrastate conflict since 1945 to determine the percentage of wars in which indigenous peoples participated, their role, and who they supported. The Intrastate Conflict Database (ICD) was developed by the author. The databases' first purpose is descriptive. But this will result in its second purpose, which is to discover a new world which has been untouched and overlooked by prevailing theories and lost in the two terms peasants and ethno-nations. This thesis will show that indigenous peoples have been in violent protest and rebellion out of all proportion to their numbers or power. In that sense, this is a contribution to the question: who makes revolution?

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<sup>4</sup> More than 3,000 Miskitos were recruited into the FDN, the northern Contra group, and approximately 1,500 Indians and Creoles formed another armed resistance group, operating from bases in Costa Rica. These figures come from *Nicaragua: A Country Study* by James D. Rudolph, 1989.

## **B. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

### **1. General Description**

Indigenous peoples are descendants of groups which were in the territory of the country at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived there. They are usually isolated from other segments of the country's population and preserved the customs and traditions of their ancestors. All of them were colonized and marginalized and, in the processes accompanying colonization and decolonization, lost their rights as peoples to control their own cultural, economic, political and social development. All indigenous groups are ethno-nations, some may be peasants in the strict sense of the definition as participants in family based, small scale agriculture.<sup>5</sup>

### **2. Definition**

It has thus far proved impossible to arrive at a commonly accepted definition of "indigenouness."<sup>6</sup> But in fact all important terms in politics are contested. Our task is to arrive at a working definition. One of the most widespread definitions is that of ILO Convention 169. This Convention states that a "people" are considered indigenous either because they are the descendants of those who lived in the area before colonization or because they have maintained their own social, economic, cultural, and political

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<sup>5</sup> Teodor Shanin in The Awkward Class: Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia 1910-1925 defines "the peasantry as consisting of small agricultural producers who, with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfillment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power."

<sup>6</sup> Hannum, Hurst, Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), p. 88.

institutions since colonization and the establishment of new states. This definition is so broad that Malays of Malaysia would be considered indigenous because they occupied the land before being colonized by the British. Another definition that is used by Ted Robert Gurr in Minorities at Risk and Ethnic Conflict in World Politics defines indigenous peoples as "conquered descendants of original inhabitants of a region who usually live in peripheral regions, practice subsistence agriculture or herding, and have cultures that are clearly distinct from those of dominant groups." Gurr's definition does better than the first one because he acknowledges them as "peoples", but it does not address their sacred relationship to a homeland. Put simply indigenous peoples lived in their homeland before the arrival of more recent migrants.<sup>7</sup> This is different from peasants who settle on the land and sustain a subsistence level of living in support of the state. To most indigenous peoples, the state means little. Additionally, indigenous peoples are unlike ethnic groups because they usually will not "make a tacit accommodation with the state system, trading away political autonomy for the ability to retain and practice other cultural beliefs."<sup>8</sup>

A more comprehensive definition of indigenous peoples, which encompasses both their unique relationship to their territory and the one-time exercise of political control

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<sup>7</sup> Cultural Survival, State of the Peoples: A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 67.

over their future, was formulated by the United Nations 1983 Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations:

**Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.<sup>9</sup>**

Nonetheless, the Working Group did not want to limit the definition, so they opted for a "flexible" approach which would not require formal adoption of a definition in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, discussed later in section 3(d) of this chapter. For the purposes of this thesis, I have applied the UN definition above to the Intrastate Conflict Database in determining if the participants in internal conflict were considered indigenous.

Using this definition takes in a wide range of peoples from the Tuareg of Mali and Niger, the Nagas of India, the Chittahong Hills People of Thailand, the Karen and Shan of Myanmar, the Sioux of North America, the Aborigines of Australia, and the Quechua and Aymara of Peru. However, it does not include, for example, the Bengali of Bangladesh because they did not migrate to their current land until the 17th century. The Bengali are

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<sup>9</sup> U.N. Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights, Preliminary Report on the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations. U.N. Document E/CN.4/sub.2/L.566, Chapter 11.

years ago.<sup>10</sup> They have experienced discrimination as a minority in Europe during and after the Cold War. But they are not the original inhabitants, although they have tried to maintain their distinct culture. The Basques and Catalans of Spain are a further example of ethnonations rather than indigenous peoples.<sup>11</sup> Appendix A gives a preliminary view of the indigenous peoples of the world.

### **3. Where are the Indigenous Peoples of the World?**

It is estimated that there are at least 250 million indigenous peoples worldwide, not including Africa, where tribes live in areas including most of the 60 states (Appendix A). They represent only 4.4 percent of the world's population. Figure 1 regional concentrations of indigenous peoples.

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<sup>10</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1993), p. 18. Gurr defines an ethnonationalists as a large, regionally concentrated peoples with a history of organized political autonomy who have pursued separatist objectives at some time during the last half-century.



Figure 1. "From Ref. The Gaia Atlas of



First Peoples: A Future for the Indigenous World”



## II. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

### A. CONCEPT/SCOPE/PURPOSE/LIMITATIONS

In order to determine where indigenous peoples were involved, it was necessary to create a database for civil strife around the world. The **Intrastate Conflict Database (ICD)** was designed exclusively to analyze the percentage of conflicts in which indigenous peoples participated. Data was gathered on all known conflicts worldwide and covers the period from 1945 to 1995 - a 50 year span. It does not include just the intrastate conflicts where indigenous peoples are present. This database was created without the assistance of previous databases because most existing databases focus on interstate conflict or on the variables of why revolution occurs; they do not specifically ask who participated in the conflict. In its present form, the database is comprised of 38 data fields. Some fields contain only explanatory data that gives additional information on the conflict. Currently, the ICD contains 207 intrastate conflicts that have occurred, some of which are still ongoing.

Although much research occurred before formulating the database concept, it was necessary to modify the data collection instrument on several occasions to capture additional information pertinent to this thesis. The changes were made and incorporated into the final ICD. Appendix B is a reproduction of the data collection instrument which was used as the hard-copy record of individual conflicts that were consolidated in the ICD.

The data instrument was designed to capture information which could be collected universally on every war (such as geographic region, state, dates and purpose of conflict, participants and their role, and outcome) as well as data which required judgments by the author (type of war and indigenous peoples present in state). For the most part, it was easy to classify nations living in North and South America as indigenous peoples. On the contrary, it was more difficult to determine if nations were indigenous in Africa and Asia. For instance, the Tibetans were a separate nation until 1950 when they were invaded by China. Since then, they have been marginalized by the Chinese government and consider themselves a nation who have maintained a distinct culture. Most consider the Tibetans an ethnic group, but by the definition presented in this thesis, they can be further categorized as an indigenous peoples. Additionally, some of the data is still unknown in a few fields, such as, determining if indigenous peoples participated in the conflict. Overall, coding decisions were constantly required to allow for a consistent coding process.<sup>12</sup>

The source(s) used for coding each intrastate conflict came primarily from the *Country Studies Series* published by the American University and Library of Congress, Washington; *The World Directory of Minorities* and individual reports on peoples by the Minority Rights Group; *The Regional Reference Yearbooks* by Europa Publications, Ltd., London; *The Fighting Never Stopped* by Patrick Brogan; *Minorities at Risk* by Ted

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<sup>12</sup> A 3-page (plus two appendices) Coding Instructions booklet was produced to ensure that future researchers continue with a consistent coding process (Appendix D).

Robert Gurr; and *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figure, 1618-1991* by Michael Clodfelter. Once all the data was collected, the data instrument was coded numerically to facilitate inputting the data and the analysis process. The states were numbered as represented in Appendix C.

Although the database is simplistic in method, it is powerful in the analysis which can be accomplished. There are many possible combinations of single and multi-variable analysis which can be performed using the ICD. Although a small percentage of the fields are unknown at this time, the analysis is comprehensive and conclusive. If at a later date this information can be found, it will only strengthen the hypothesis presented in this thesis. Analysis was accomplished on all datasets as a whole and also by geographic region. This allowed for comparison of like data between the seven geographic regions.

## **B. DEFINITIONS**

As discussed in Chapter I, the definition of indigenous peoples is contested. Although still debated today, it is important to understand the importance and dynamics of coming up with a definition. From 20 November - 1 December 1995, a Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights, whose sole purpose was to consider the draft contained in the annex to resolution 1994/45 of 26 August 1994 of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, entitled draft "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," was held at the United Nation in Geneva, Switzerland. Even at this recent working group meeting, the discussion

first focused on the absence of a universally applicable definition of "indigenous people." Many governments and indigenous organizations stated that the historical and ethnic complexity involved when defining "indigenous people" would make it impossible to cover all existing situations under such a definition. All participating indigenous organizations maintained that a definition of indigenous people was unnecessary and that to deny indigenous peoples the right to define themselves was to delimit their right of self-determination.<sup>13</sup> It is certain that some governments, such as India and China, maintain that they do not have any indigenous people within their state boundaries. However, both governments have been faced with armed conflict since the 1950s by the Nagas and Tibetans respectively. Both of these peoples are recognized as indigenous by other indigenous peoples and it seems clear that they should be included in a common-sense understanding of the term. After much research and consultation with experts, the definition of indigenous peoples used by the UN was used for the purposes of this thesis. It is restated here to remind readers of its content:

**Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the**

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<sup>13</sup> Draft report of the Working Group established in accordance with Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1995/32 of 3 March 1995. Author attended the second week of the working group and was able to interview many of the participants, including representatives from participating governments and indigenous nations and organizations.

**basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.<sup>14</sup>**

The types of intrastate conflicts were limited to armed conflict which included civil, colonial, or guerrilla war and insurrection. Once again, demonstrations, riots, and *coup d'etat* were omitted because they are thought to represent a different facet of political events. The four typologies used for the ICD are defined below.<sup>15</sup>

1. Civil War - involves an all-out war between two or more organized major segments of the population. The armed conflict takes place on a large scale. It is continuous and usually involves pitched battles.
2. Colonial War - Any successful or unsuccessful attempt by a group to overthrow the alien government through the use of force.
3. Guerrilla War - Armed activity by mobile and scattered forces aimed at the ultimate overthrow of the government. Guerrilla warfare usually takes the form of attacks on villages and outposts and is characterized by the irregular tactics employed. This form of activity usually represents a threat to the existing government.

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<sup>14</sup> Other definitions include (1) ILO Convention 169 - people are considered indigenous either because they are the descendants of those who lived in the area before colonization or because they have maintained their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions since colonization and the establishment of new states. (2) Ted Robert Gurr: conquered descendants of original inhabitants of a region who usually live in peripheral regions, practice subsistence agriculture or herding, and have cultures that are clearly distinct from those of dominant groups.

<sup>15</sup> These definitions were adopted from the Political Events Project 1948-1965 by Ivo & Rosalind Feierabend and Rose Kelly and Civil Strife Conflict Magnitudes by Ted Robert Gurr and Vaughn Bishop.

4. Insurrection - Armed attempt on the part of a group, government or otherwise, to take control of the state. The gravity of the event is less than that of civil war, involving less of the population and a smaller geographical area. It is unlike a *coup d'etat* in that more than opposing elites are involved. An insurrection involves less mobile and more formally organized forces using primarily conventional tactics.

The goal of the group resorting to violent means was also considered beneficial to the analysis. There were three types of goals. An offensive conflict seeks to overthrow the existing government. Whereas a defensive conflict seeks secession from the state. Another type of objective was to seek more autonomy within the state structure.

Another defining term for the conflict was whether another state intervened on behalf of either the state or the opponent. The conflict was coded partisan if an external state or organization, such as the UN, intervened on behalf of either side. Otherwise, the conflict was coded indigenous when no intervention occurred.

Other pertinent definitions related to the coding of the research data are included in the Coding Instructions, Appendix D.

### **C. DATABASE PARTICULARS**

As previously stated, this type of database and the information needed to analyze intrastate conflicts was not readily available in any consolidated format. Several data collection and design questions were decided from the beginning. First, the intrastate

conflicts had to be an armed struggle. Demonstrations, riots, and individual violent acts were not considered. For example, the Maori in New Zealand have had several violent incidents over land seizures, but nothing which constitutes an insurrection. Additionally, *coup d'etat* were not considered, even though they are illegal or forceful attempts to change the top governmental office holders. This decision was made because it is usually characterized by the limited number of persons, usually elites, involved and therefore would detract from the scope of this thesis. Third, data was collected using the state as the unit of analysis and not the conflict. Therefore, some states may have more than one dataset. Myanmar, formerly Burma, for instance, has fourteen datasets. Next, the war was not limited to a specific length of time. If the armed conflict lasted only nine days or if it lasted 40 years, it was considered a dataset. Moreover, the ICD is only capable of providing a list of where indigenous peoples are present where conflict occurred. Finally, the decision was made to have the ICD available in both an IBM and Macintosh format, Microsoft Excel and Statview respectively. Analysis was completed using the statistical program Statview.

#### **D. ASSESSMENT PARAMETERS**

##### **1. Worldwide Assessment**

The overview of intrastate conflicts focuses on the percentage of conflicts that indigenous peoples participated. Although raw data is available for reference, the analytical results will be presented on the basis of a percentage of the total number of cases. The section on worldwide assessment will begin with an overview of the analysis

that was completed on all cases. This will enable the reader to become familiar with the scope before being presented the results.

## **2. Regional Assessment**

Although overall percentages of the conflicts that indigenous peoples participated will be given, regional analysis will concentrate on the wars where indigenous peoples are present. Furthermore, specific cases will be discussed to give the reader an appreciation for the wars which face the international community today. Comparisons will be done as best as can be accomplished depending on the number of cases per region. For instance, region 7 (Australia & Oceania) has only 2 datasets which will make comparison difficult. It is important to understand that these regions are completely distinct and have experienced their own historical process. However, the commonality is that indigenous peoples are present in all regions. Hence, the link between revolution and those who made them can be analyzed.

## II. ASSESSMENTS

### A. WORLDWIDE

#### 1. Overview

The 207 conflicts that occurred since 1945 were analyzed to determine the percentage of conflicts involving indigenous peoples, their role, and who they supported. The ICD (Appendix E) also provides results on the type of wars, the goal of the group, the outcome of the wars, and the length of the war.

Of the 207 conflicts since 1945, indigenous peoples fought in **40.6 percent**, with only a small percentage (7.7%) of the conflicts being unknown (Figure 2). This is remarkable considering their small proportion of the world's population. It is more interesting to note that if indigenous peoples were located in the states where the conflicts occurred (135 of 207 conflicts), then they participated **62.2 percent** of the time (Figure 3). The length of the 207 conflicts lasted from a minimum of one day in South Africa to 48 years in Burma, with the mean length being 8.93 years. Figure 4 clearly depicts that most wars are not protracted. However, comparing this to those conflicts where indigenous peoples participate shows that the majority of conflicts are longer in duration, with the mean being 13.83 years (Figure 5).

#### 2. Role of Indigenous Peoples

Their role in these 84 conflicts, depicted in Figure 6, was 54.7 percent as the primary player, 39.3 percent as secondary player, and 6.0 percent as the exclusive player. The difference between primary and secondary is 15.4 percent. Furthermore, if the

conflicts are divided into those before (16 conflicts) and after (63 conflicts) 1970, then two trends are apparent (Figure 7). First, indigenous peoples were not as apt to fight the state for their rights before 1970. Secondly, their role as primary actors increased by 38.1 percent after 1970. In fact, the year 1970 was the beginning of the internationalization of the indigenous peoples movement.

### **3. What Side did the Indigenous Peoples Fight On**

Indigenous peoples participated in 81% of the wars on primarily the side of the insurgents (68 conflicts). Those nations that did participate were principally concentrated in a geographic region. In a few cases (8), indigenous peoples were recruited or forced by the government to help defeat the guerrilla's. One such example is the Efe Pygmy, numbering only 3000.

#### **a. Zaire**

They were imported from the Ituri rain forest in northeastern Zaire to help President Mobutu's army. It was the Pygmy, with their bows and arrows, who gave the military their confidence back to go on the offensive in 1977 against the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo (FNLC). The government defeated the Katangans and Luga tribesmen with only small weapons.

### **4. Goal of Indigenous Peoples**

When indigenous peoples are present, there is no direct correlation between the goal of the war and if indigenous peoples participate (Figure 8). In other words, indigenous peoples participate in conflict for a variety of reasons, with the most prevalent

objective being to overthrow the government rather than to secede. This is also true in those conflicts where indigenous peoples are not present with an offensive goal in 73 percent of the conflicts and a defensive goal in 22 percent of the conflicts. As stated in Chapter I, the goal of most indigenous peoples is not political independence, but the right to develop their societies according to their own needs. This also holds true for armed conflict.

*a. Ethiopia*

Another objective, autonomy, accounted for 6.0 percent of the conflicts where indigenous peoples participated. A good representation of this are the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF). In June 1991, the Ethiopian government - the "Dergue," dominated by the Amhara although constituting only 15 percent of the population, fell. The previously mentioned groups, who started their armed rebellion in the mid-1970s, were finally triumphant.

The Oromo make up half of Ethiopia's population, but have almost no say in national affairs. They lost their best lands, and their religion and language was outlawed. The government had moved more than 6 million Oromo into army-controlled villages since the launching of the OLF in the mid-1970s. The OLF did not pursue only a military front. They also tried to introduce literacy in the Oromo language and maintain their *gada* system of political organization. After the fall of the Dergue, many Oromo came together for political action.

Another indigenous peoples in Ethiopia, the Eritrea, also fought the Ethiopian government, but for independence. Their history tells us that Eritrea became an Italian colony in 1889, but after World War II, the United Nations General Assembly decreed in 1950 that it should be "federated" with Ethiopia as an autonomous unit.<sup>16</sup> However, the UN granted Italy's other African colonies, Libya and Somalia, independence. In 1962, the Ethiopian government abolished the "federation" and began to rule Eritrea directly. Soon after, protest led to armed resistance by establishing the Eritrea Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF). Eritrea fought for independence for 30 years sacrificing at least 50,000 lives in combat, not to mention the many more civilian deaths. It was through the combined forces of the EPLF, OLF, and TPLF that the government apparatus fell.

The meeting in June 1991 was a prelude to forming an ethnically balanced government and to decentralize the state. The new Ethiopian constitution, just passed in 1995, established nine member states based on ethnicity: Tigrai, Afar, Amara, Oromia, Somali, Benshangul/Gumaz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, Gambela Peoples, and Harari People. These "nations, nationalities and peoples have the right to establish, at any time, their own states."<sup>17</sup> Additionally, "every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to

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<sup>16</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 46-53.

<sup>17</sup> Ethiopia. Draft copy of The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. December 8, 1994, p. 23.

express and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history."<sup>18</sup> Ultimately the states have equal powers and rights. Ethiopia is an outstanding example of a government that was forced to meet the needs of its many nations.

## **5. Type of Conflict**

Like the goal of the war, there is no direct correlation between the type of war and if indigenous peoples participate (Figure 9). In other words, the percentages on the type of conflict do not change dramatically if indigenous peoples are or are not involved. Insurrection rated number one with 54.2 and 58.3 percent respectively.

### ***a. Intervention***

The interveners on both the side of the state and the guerrilla were China, Cuba, the United States, and the Soviet Union (Figure 10). The only direct correlation ( $p < .0001$ ) is between the primary state intervener and the type of conflict. France intervened in nine colonial wars, of course, since they were the colonizer. China intervened in insurrections (12) only, while the US and USSR intervened nearly the same for civil (4), guerrilla (6), and insurrections (5 and 4 respectively).

## **6. Outcome of Conflict**

Unlike goal and type of war, there is a direct correlation ( $p < .001$ ) between the outcome of the war and if indigenous peoples participate (Figure 11). If indigenous peoples do not participate, the state wins 66 percent of the time. Whereas if they do

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 18.

participate, this decreases to only 33 percent - a 50 percent decrease. Furthermore, if indigenous peoples do participate, then the likelihood of the guerrilla winning is increased five times (5.55% to 27.71%). So if indigenous peoples do participate, there is almost a 50/50 chance of winning.

The other interesting analysis performed on the outcome variable was the length of the conflict. There is a correlation ( $p < .0146$ ) between the wars outcome and the duration (Figure 12). The length of the war is two and half times longer when indigenous peoples participate and either the guerrilla's or the state wins. It takes almost twice as long to reach a peace agreement or settlement. And the length of the conflict is twice as long for the wars currently ongoing.

## **B. REGIONAL ASSESSMENT**

### **1. Overview**

Wars in the seven regions varied from a high of 67 conflicts in Asia to a low in North America and Oceania of two conflicts each (Figure 13). Indigenous peoples participated primarily in three regions: Asia, Central and South America, and Africa (Figure 14). In Asia, governments do not wish to recognize that they have indigenous peoples living in isolated areas enjoying considerable independence. Therefore, indigenous peoples' land has been invaded and their resources exploited. This also holds true in Central and South America even though the governments recognize the over 15 million indigenous peoples. Although it proved difficult to define indigenous peoples in Africa, numerous peoples were affected by the colonial and civil wars that occurred. In

Europe, indigenous peoples did not participate in any of the conflicts. Additionally, since North America, excluding Mexico, and Oceania had only two conflicts each, these three regions are excluded from the regional analysis because there is not enough data to accomplish a comprehensive comparison.

## **2. Role of Indigenous Peoples**

In both Africa and Asia, indigenous peoples were the primary players (Figure 15). This is in contrast to Central and South America where they were secondary players 77 percent of the time. The only region that had exclusive participants was the Middle East.

## **3. What Side did the Indigenous Peoples Fight On**

In the four regions analyzed, indigenous peoples participated on the side of the insurgents from 75 to 100 percent of the time (Figure 16). This is not surprising since in most instances the states have infringed on their land and rights as human beings. One such example is where the communist government of the People's Republic of China invaded Tibet over 40 years ago, in 1950.

### ***a. Tibetans***

This invasion was declared illegal by the U.S. Congress, and the United Nations has disputed China's claim to sovereignty over Tibet.<sup>19</sup> Their land and spiritual well being have been destroyed. Almost half of Tibet's original territory has been incorporated into four neighboring provinces of China. Also, the government has

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<sup>19</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 125.

systematically destroyed all physical evidence of Tibetan culture, including 6000 monasteries and holy shrines and more than half the libraries. The Chinese Red Army has destroyed land through mismanagement by forcing farmers to grow wheat instead of the better adapted hill barley.<sup>20</sup> Crop failures are the result of forced overgrazing through collectivization of herders and their animals. Additionally, Tibet supplies China up to 40 percent of its mineral wealth and most of its timber, which is then used in China proper.

China has also encouraged the Chinese to settle in Tibet by offering land to immigrants, pushing Tibetans into the hills. The population of Lhasa, Tibet's capital, is already more than half Chinese. Tibet's military strategic importance is another factor since it is a key part of China's defenses. China keeps one-quarter of its nuclear force in the area and the military presence has increased to one soldier for every ten Tibetans. Those Tibetans who do try to demonstrate against the atrocities are either imprisoned or tortured. Buddhist monks and nuns have been a special target of Chinese forces.

#### **4. Goal of Conflict**

Just like in the global analysis, there is no regional correlation between the goal of the war and if indigenous peoples participated. All of the regions, except Asia, had the goal of overthrowing the government the majority of the time ( Figure 17). In 62 percent of the wars in Asia, the objective was to secede. Fourteen of the conflicts occurred in Burma alone, where violence has plagued this state since its independence.

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<sup>20</sup> Burger, p. 111.

*a. Karen Nation*

The Karens are a small nation with a small population, less than half a million, wedged between Thailand and Burma. The Karen people have a history of sovereignty in their territory. Even when India and Burma lost their independence to the British at the end of the nineteenth century, Karen remained free.<sup>21</sup> Following Burma's independence in 1948, the Burmese Government sent in troops to occupy Karen. Since that time the Karen have taken up arms to defend their land and resist the invasion. After the military took over Burma in 1962, more troops are sent each year to quell the resistance. The Karen, a determined people, have refused to surrender despite heavy odds against them. The war has been raging for 48 years.

**5. Type of Conflict**

Only one region, the Middle East, showed a correlation ( $p < .0117$ ) between the type of war and if indigenous peoples participated (Figure 18). Indigenous peoples only participated in either a guerrilla or insurrection conflict, with the majority of them being insurrections (88.8%).

*a. Kurds*

The Kurds, spanning the states of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Armenia, Azerberijan, and Syria, have never had their own nation. However, they have never stopped trying to form a Kurdistan. Most of the insurrections involving the Kurds took

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<sup>21</sup> Gyule Robert Cey-Bert, International Ambassador of Karen State, during a statement to the General Assembly of UNPO on 19 January 1995.

place in Iran and Iraq. The later state is where the Kurds have experienced the most brutal repression, especially during the 1980s. The Iraqi government, through an official campaign code-named Anfal, "aimed to eradicate the rural support base for the Kurdish resistance movements by destroying whole villages and removing their people to government-controlled compounds."<sup>22</sup> The campaign included bombing Kurdish villages with chemical weapons during 1988. Four thousand Kurds died in one attack on Halabja.

## **6. Outcome of Conflict**

Three regions, Africa, Central and South America, and Asia, showed a correlation between the outcome of the war and if indigenous peoples participated. Figure 19 shows that if indigenous people are involved, then the guerrilla's win three times (52.6%) as much in Africa. Whereas, in Central & South America the authorities win 90 percent of the time if indigenous peoples do not participate, with the government settling on the other 10 percent (Figure 20). In other words, the guerrillas never win. If indigenous peoples do fight, then there is a 50/50 chance of winning between the guerrilla's and authority. Asia is similar to Central and South America in that the guerrilla's never win if indigenous peoples do not partake (Figure 21). Here, however, the government is much more likely to settle with the guerrillas if indigenous peoples are not involved. Whether the state wins or not does not change by the participation of indigenous peoples.

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<sup>22</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 186.

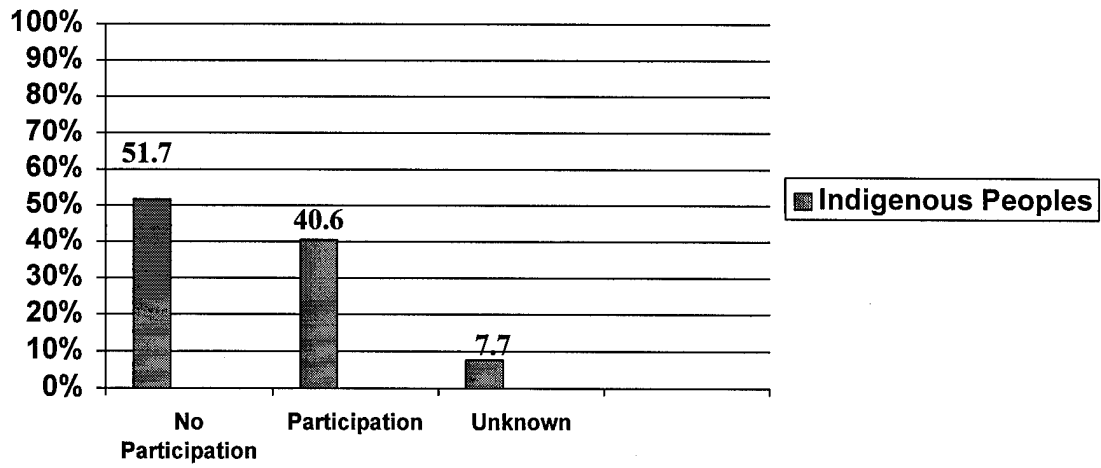


Figure 2. Indigenous Peoples Participation

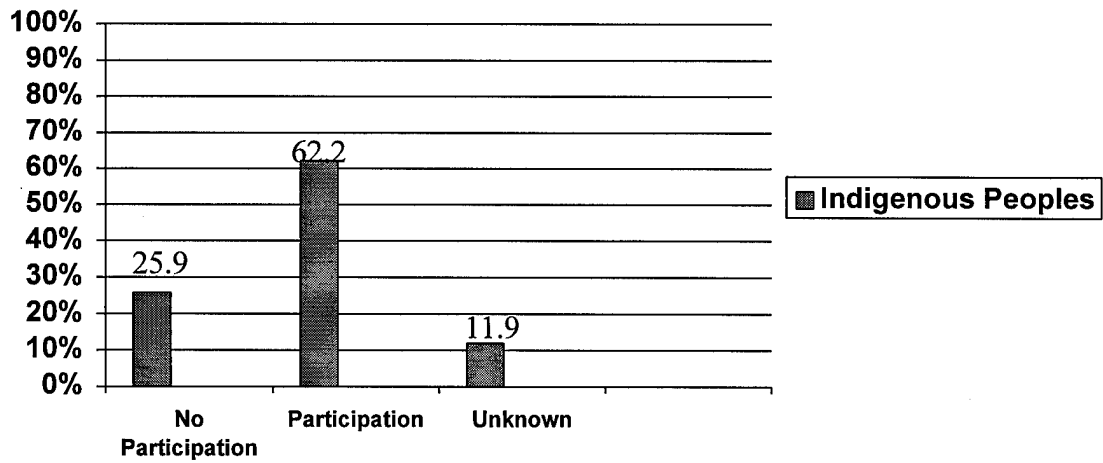
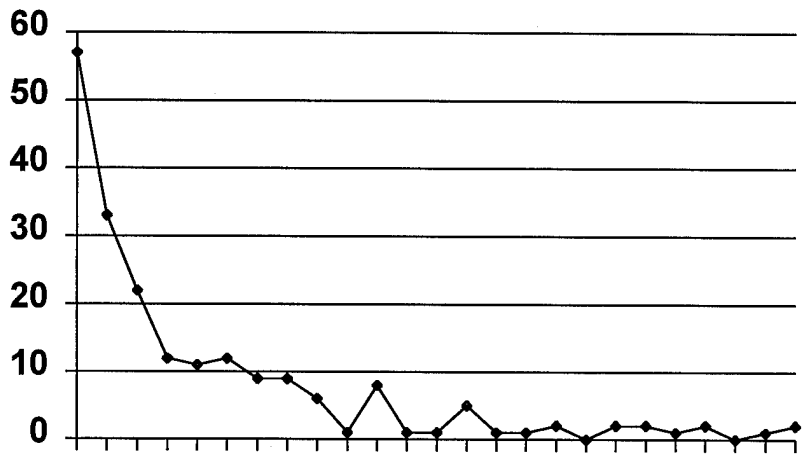


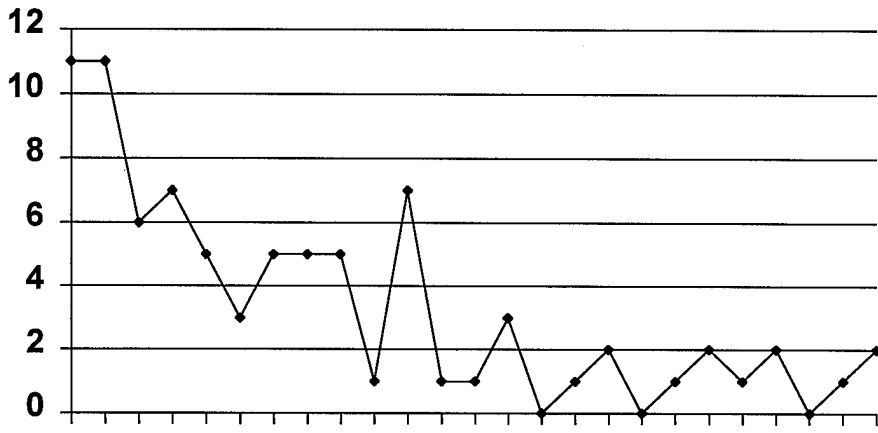
Figure 3. Indigenous Peoples Participation When Present in State Where Conflict Occurred



Min = 1 day  
 Max = 48 yrs  
 Avg = 8.93 yrs

**Distribution for Duration (every 2 years)**

Figure 4 . Length of Conflict



Min = 30 days  
 Max = 48 yrs  
 Avg = 13.96 yrs

**Distribution for Duration (every 2 yrs)**

Figure 5. Indigenous Peoples Participation/Length of Conflict

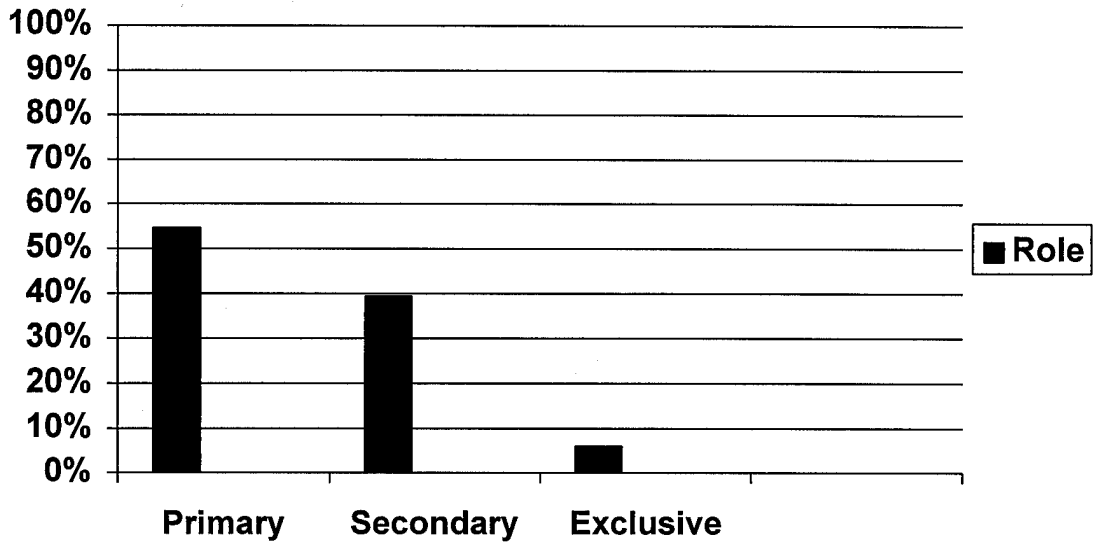


Figure 6. Role of Indigenous Peoples

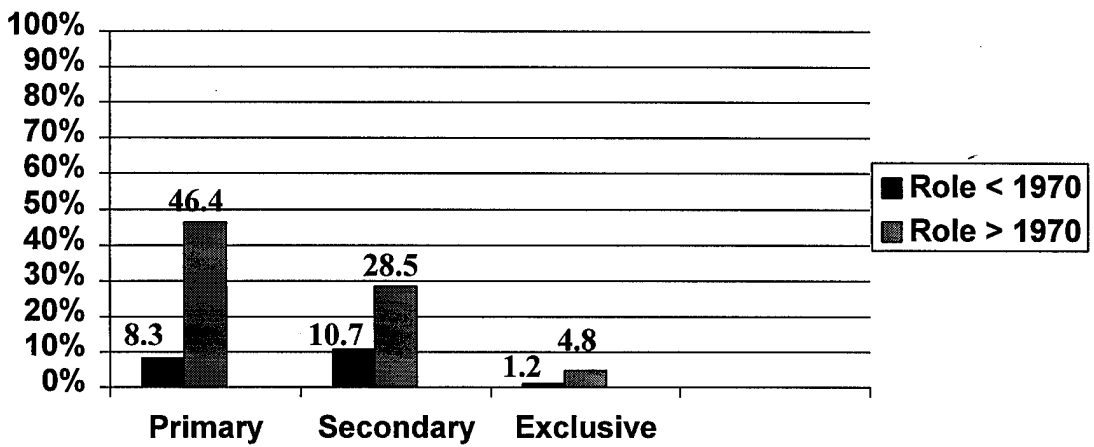


Figure 7. Shift in Role of Indigenous Peoples

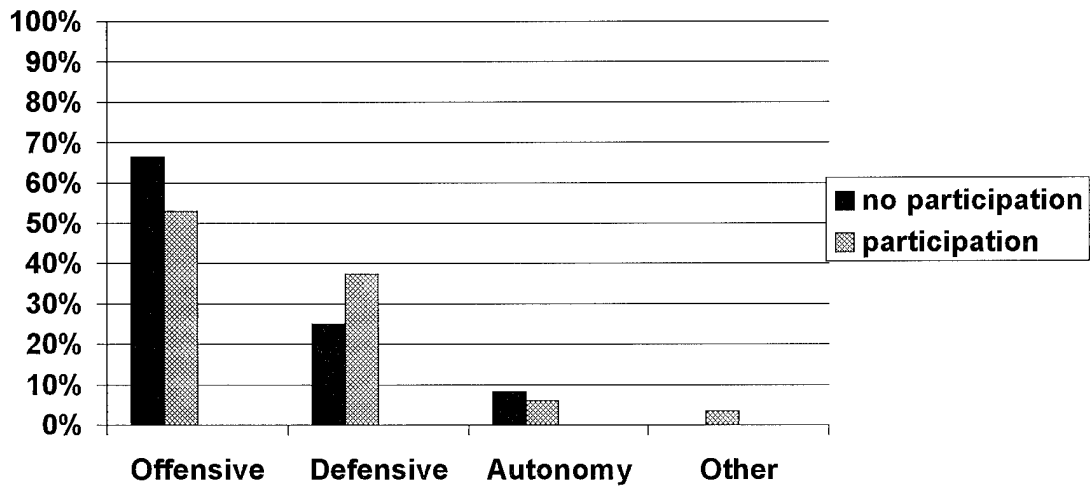


Figure 8. Goal of Conflict

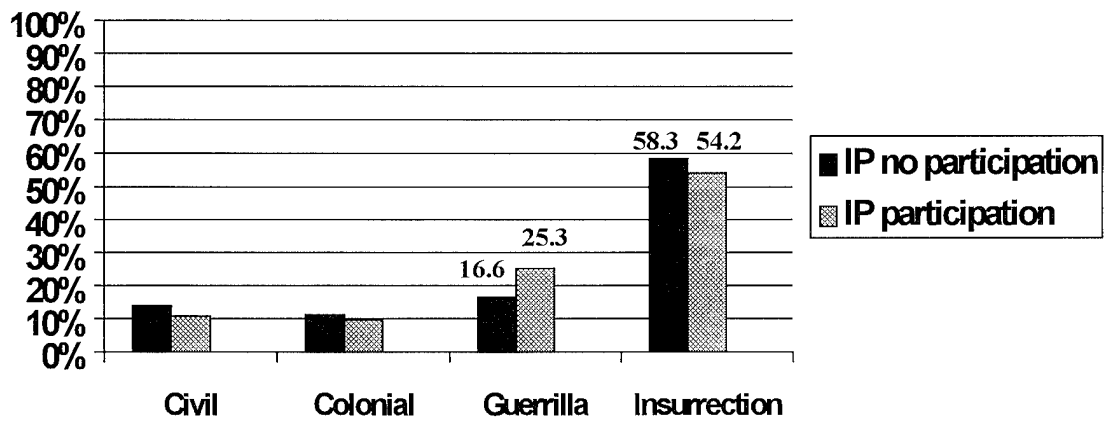


Figure 9. Type of Conflict

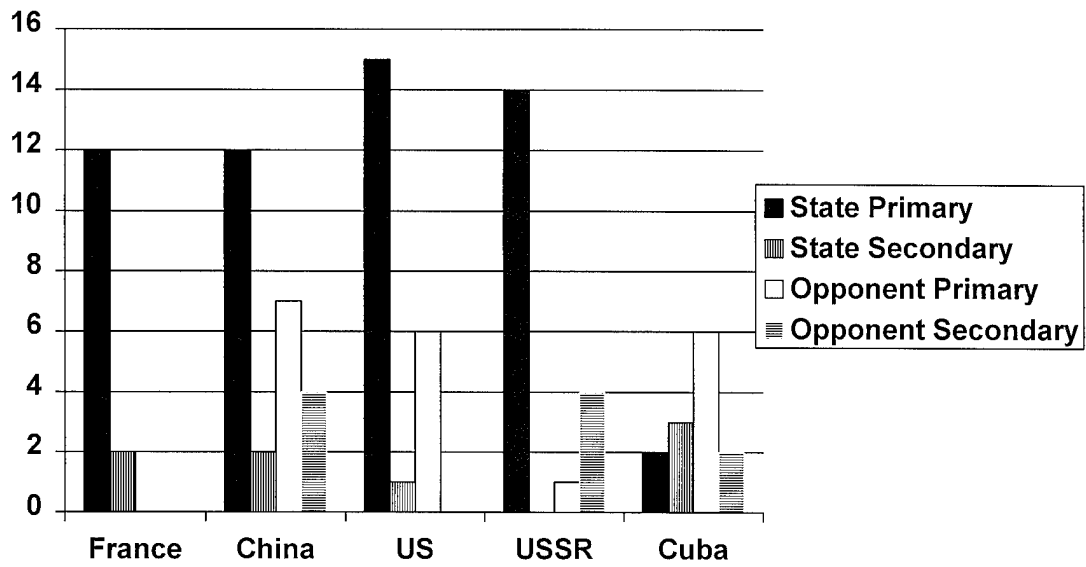


Figure 10. Intervention, Number of Conflicts

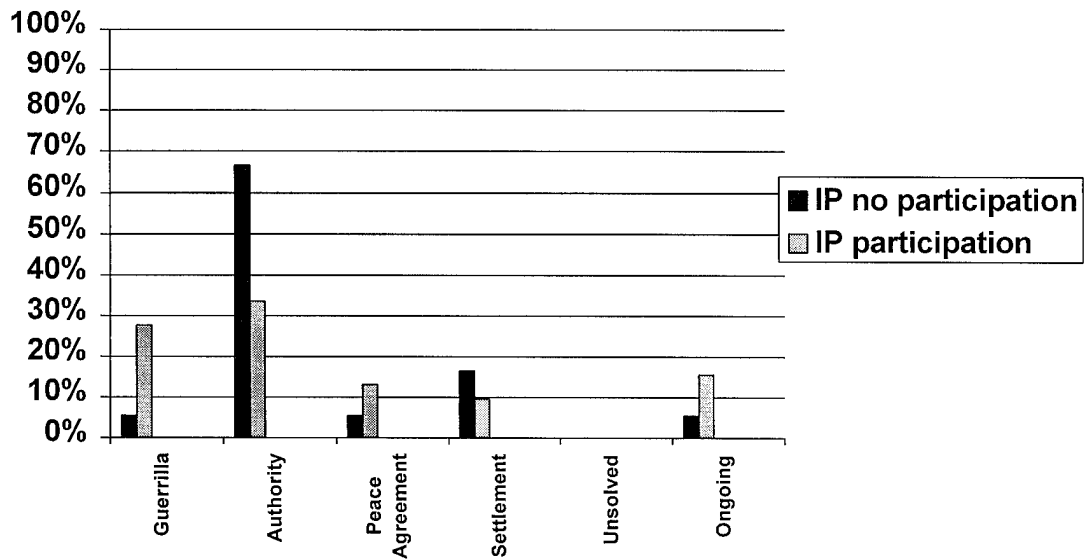


Figure 11. Outcome Comparison

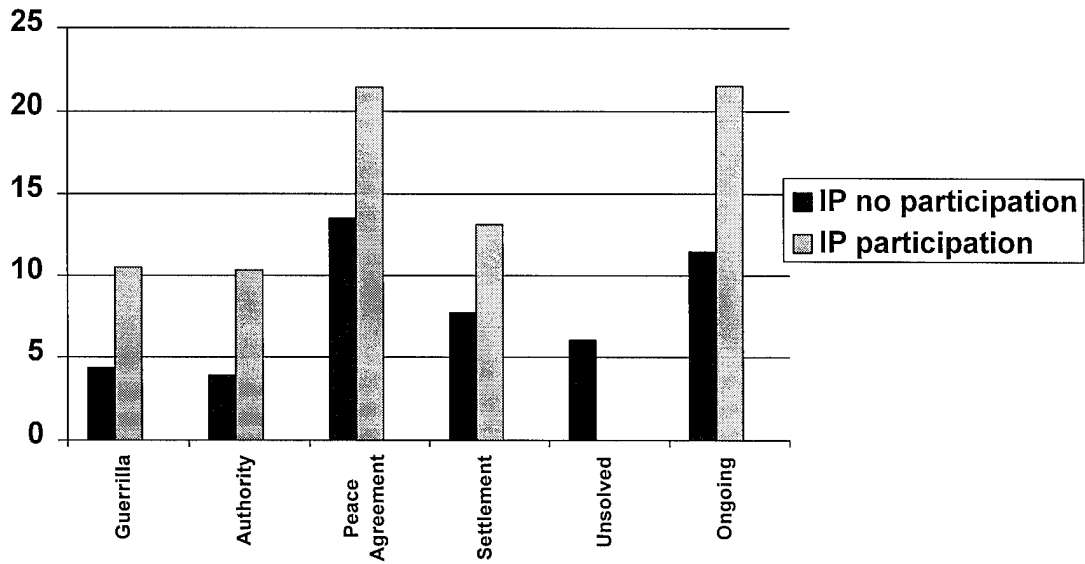


Figure 12. Length (yrs) of Conflict to Reach Outcome

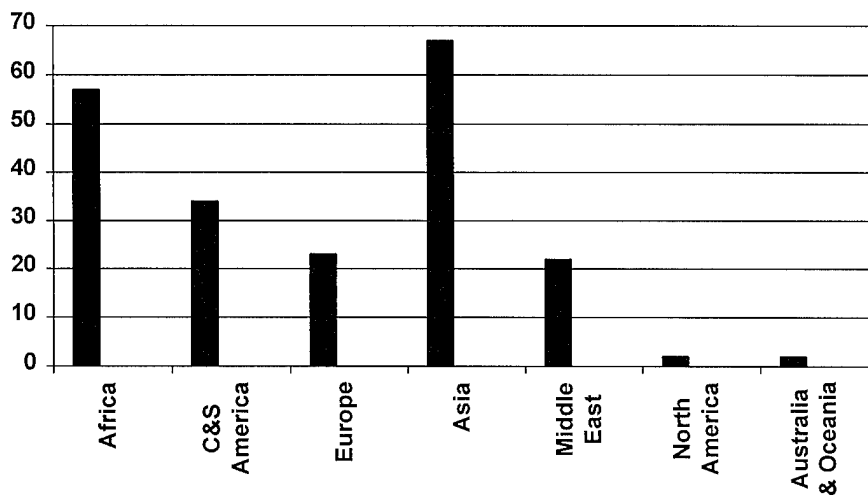


Figure 13. Number of Regional Conflicts

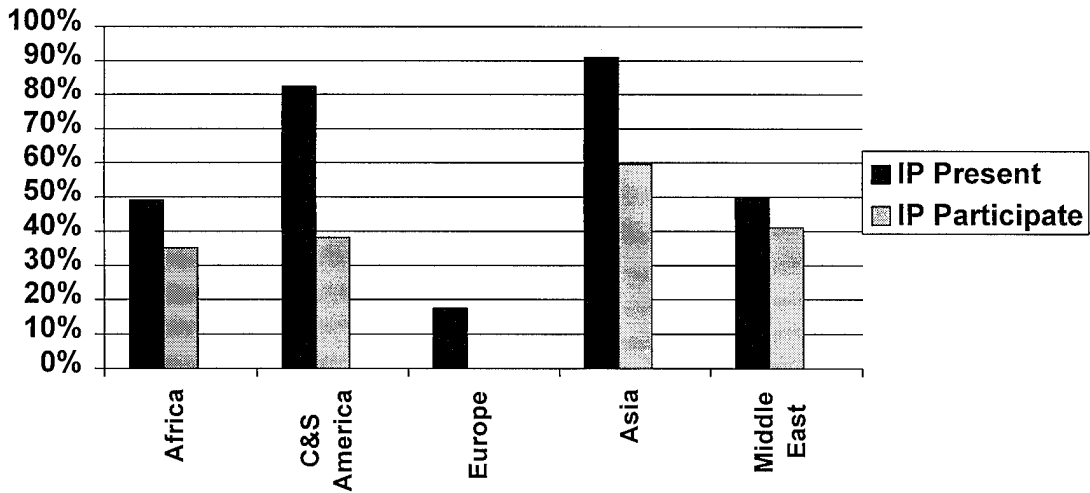


Figure 14. Regional Comparison

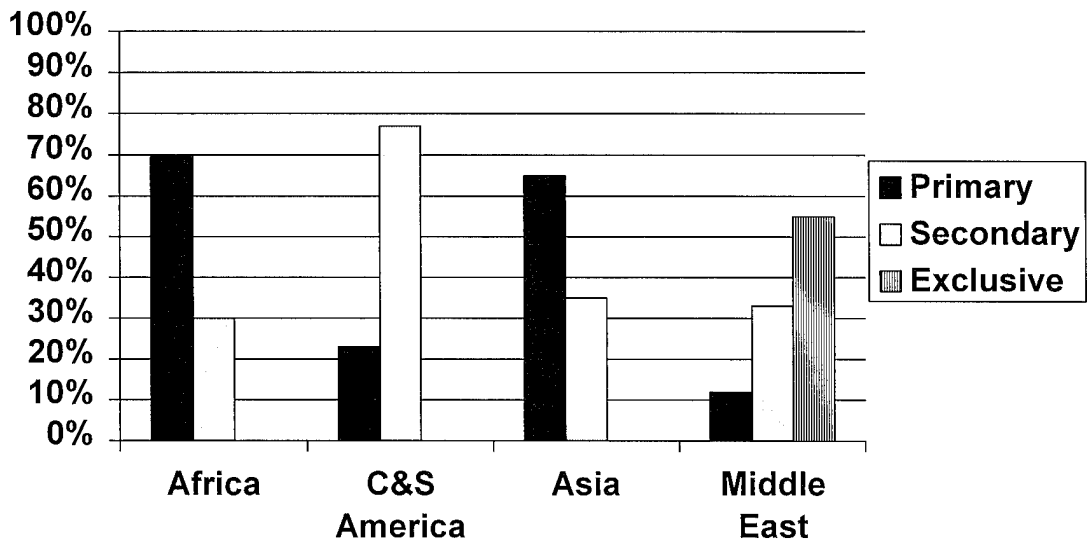


Figure 15. Regional Role Comparison

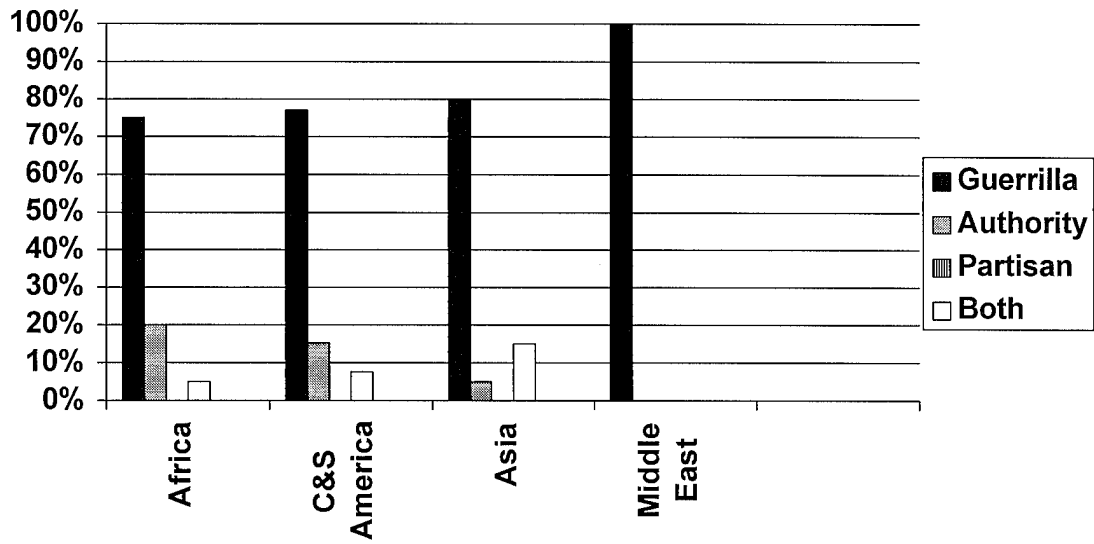


Figure 16. Regional Side Comparison

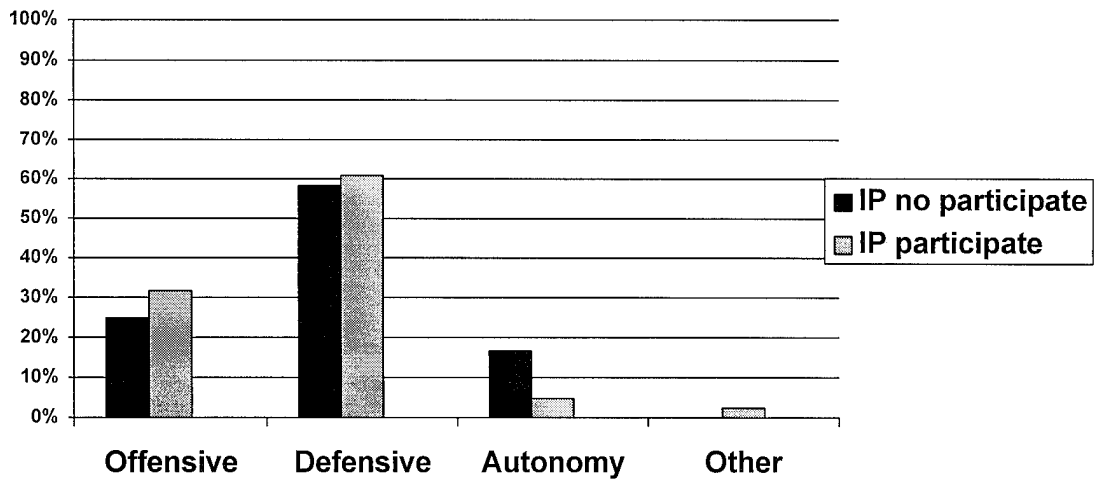


Figure 17. Asia, Goal of Conflict

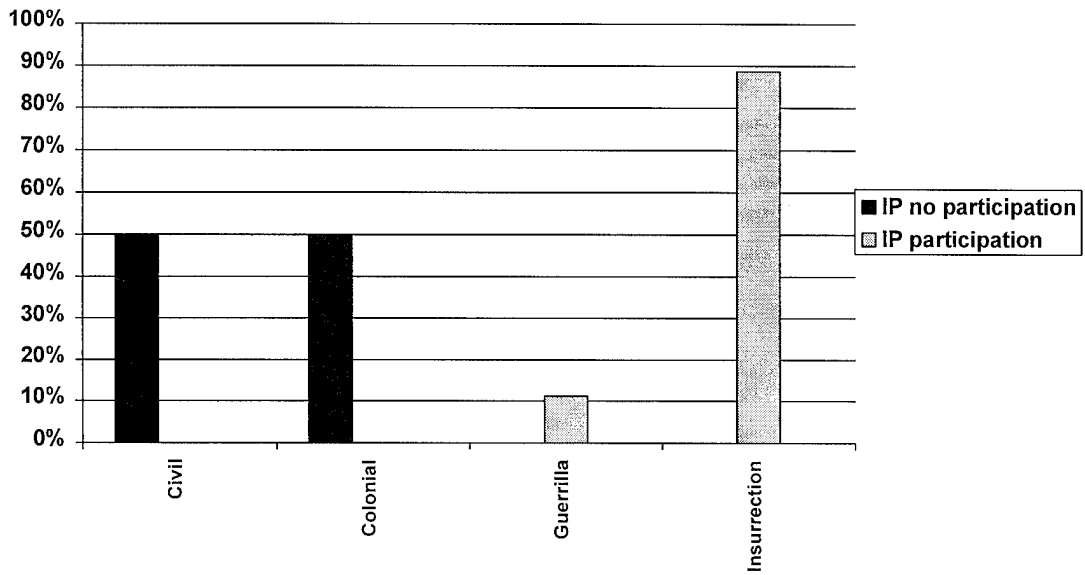


Figure 18. Middle East, Type of Conflict

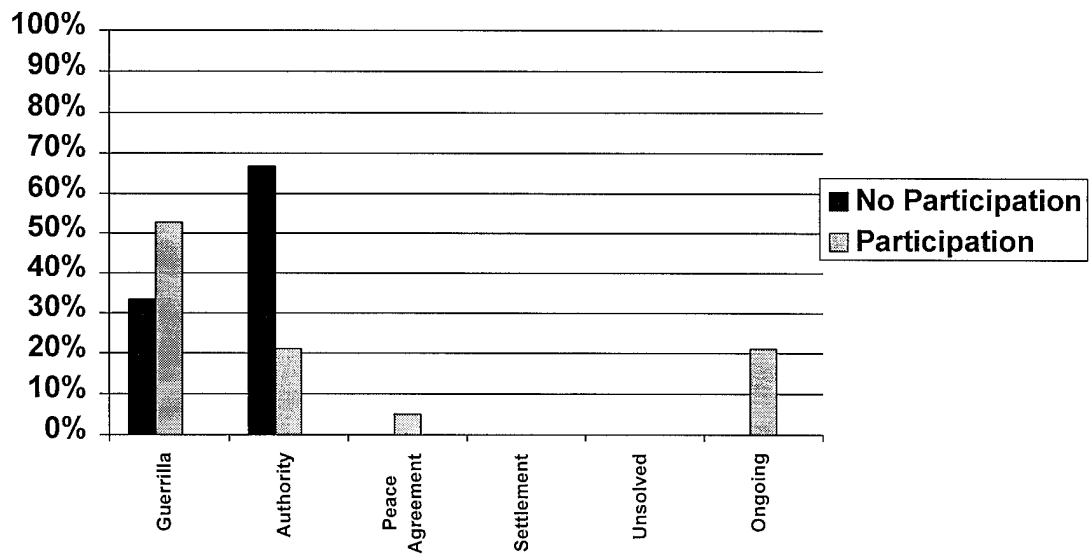


Figure 19. Africa, Outcome Comparison

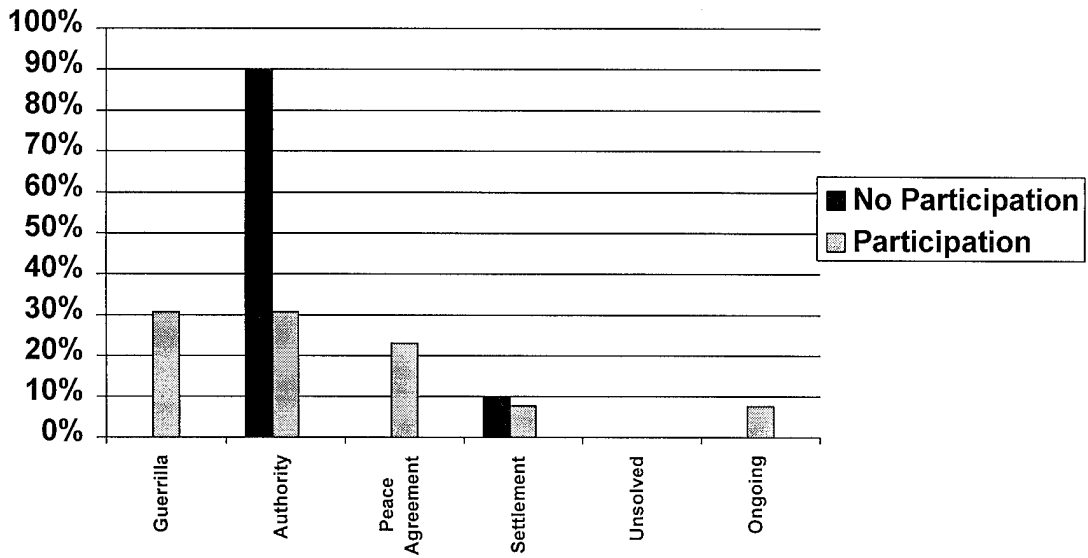


Figure 20. Central & South America, Outcome Comparison

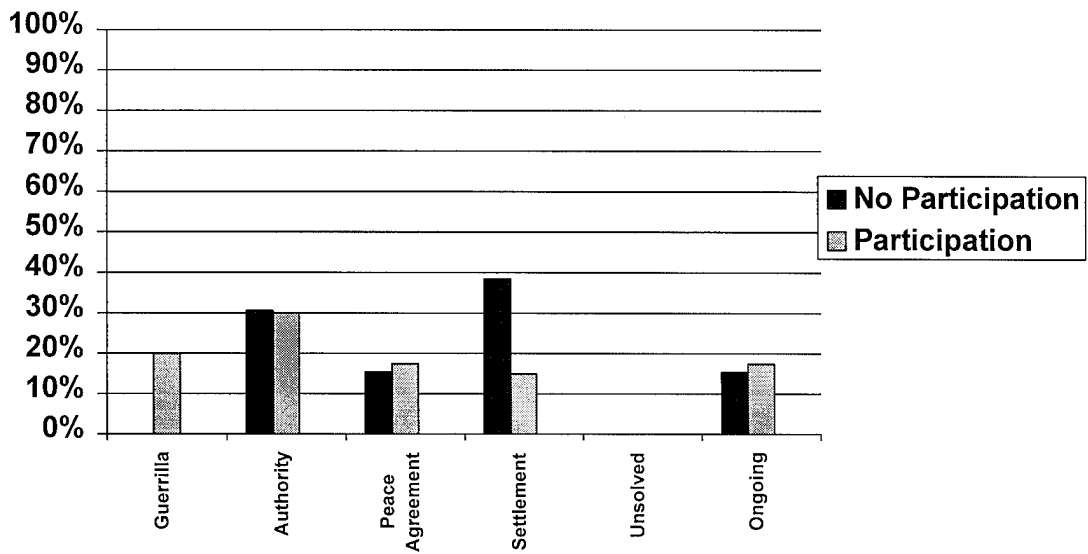


Figure 21. Asia, Outcome Comparison

	<b>Africa</b>	<b>C&amp; S America</b>	<b>Asia</b>	<b>Middle East</b>
# conflicts IP participated	20	13	40	9
primary	70%	23%	65%	12%
secondary	30%	77%	35%	33%
exclusive	0	0	0	55%
guerrilla	75%	77%	80%	100%
authority	20%	15.3%	5%	0
both	5%	7.7%	15%	0

Figure 22. Region Statistics

#### **IV. WHY ARE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES MOBILIZED FOR REVOLUTION?**

The results of the analysis show that indigenous peoples mobilized for revolution. Although their resistance is as old as war and conquest themselves, they fight for their survival as a peoples. In the post war period, an internationalization of their plight has created a political opening or opportunity for action even as the pressures on them have continued if not increased.

##### **A. HISTORY**

The historical record of indigenous peoples is familiar. They were subjected to the brutalities of war and conquest, where an alien system was imposed and controlled their daily lives. First contact with colonizers was lethal to their survival, as it brought not only murder and enslavement but disease and cultural disintegration. For example in Central and South America, numbers of indigenous peoples fell from 30 to 5 million in 50 years.<sup>23</sup> Indigenous peoples tried to resist colonialism through negotiation, political protest, civil disobedience, or force of arms, however, through it all they have and some continue to be discriminated against and oppressed. States use violence and non-violent methods, such as banning their languages or prohibiting its teaching in public schools, to accomplish this. For instance, killings still take place in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, East Timor and Guatemala.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Burger, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> IWGIA, The Indigenous World 1993-4, (Copenhagen: Nordisk Bogproduktion, 1994), p. 7-8.

## **B. POLITICAL MODERNIZATION**

During conquest, international law reinforced the sovereignty of the state in world politics. The use of force was justified to gain control over peoples, territory, and resources. Arbitrary lines were drawn to divide territory into states, not taking into account the peoples that occupied the land. Today, however, global discourse has eroded state sovereignty. When the UN was formed, there were about 50 states which made up the world political system. Under the mandate of decolonization and according to the principle of self-determination, 80 newly independent states were added between 1945 and 1976. Now there are over 200 states.

Most indigenous peoples are excluded from the right to self-determination because most states fear they will lose control of their people. However, most indigenous peoples do not desire political independence such as the West Papuan peoples. In fact, the majority of indigenous peoples do not want to establish new ethnically homogeneous states, but to establish a cultural and political niche within the existing framework. They do not want to be excluded from decisions that concern their own future.

But as states have tried to modernize, in other words bringing control to all parts of the state, they have continued to exert pressure on the marginal groups in outlying geographic areas. This can be political military control or economic development. Both are mortal threats to marginal peoples. In the case of indigenous peoples, once the state tries to put political pressure on them, then two cultures clash and conflict results. One

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such example is Nicaragua, where under the leadership of Somoza, the Miskitos had a great deal of autonomy. It was not until the Sandinistas exerted their political pressure that conflict started.

### **C. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

As states try to modernize, they try to control not only the people politically within its boundaries, but also the natural resources. Indigenous peoples are subjected to development because they occupy over some 25 to 30 percent of the earth's land area and resources.<sup>25</sup> In the search for needed, and sometimes scarce natural resources such as timber, minerals, oil, water for hydropower and most importantly land, invasion of remote areas takes place threatening the survival of indigenous peoples.

Even if the state is not interested in economic development, multinational corporations are and the state will more than likely sell those rights. For example, the livelihoods of the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine in Montana are threatened by a proposed expansion of the Zortman-Landusky gold mine, which could release more than a billion gallons of cyanide solution into the local watershed. Water samples taken on the reservation just below the mine already show elevated levels of lead, arsenic, cadmium, selenium, manganese, and nitrates.<sup>26</sup> Another example is in Nigeria where the Ogoni can no longer fish, farm, or hunt because the rivers are polluted and the farmlands have been rendered unproductive after 30 years of oil exploitation by Shell and Chevron. These

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<sup>25</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 78.

companies extracted over \$30 billion in oil from Ogoni land, yet their communities lack hospitals, electricity, roads, pipe-borne water, and well-equipped schools.<sup>27</sup>

#### **D. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES MOVEMENT**

In spite of economic and political pressure, indigenous peoples strive to survive as peoples. This is nothing new. But there is a new stage as they organize, as human rights organizations are brought to the forefront and as international relations change. It turns out we are in a new stage since World War II, different from the previous stages of conquest and exploitation.

The growth of an international human rights law after World War II has contributed to the indigenous peoples movement. Before this and still to a large extent today, internal affairs of states fall under a so-called domestic jurisdiction. However, with the passage of the Universal Declaration of 1948 and the two Covenants of 1966, human rights concepts have proceeded at an impressive pace.<sup>28</sup>

To facilitate this growth, many intergovernmental and non-government organizations emerged. The first, of course, is the United Nations. Secondly, the Council

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<sup>27</sup> Cultural Survival, p. 79.

<sup>28</sup> The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was enacted on 10 December 1948 and is an influential document, though merely recommendatory. Its emphasis is on individual rights, but Article 28 states right to 'social and economic order' in which basic human rights can be achieved. The first covenant, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, focuses on economic, social and cultural rights, but emphasizes individual rights except for some articles which touch on issues of 'group' rights. The second covenant, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, also emphasizes generally on individual rights with some articles addressing group rights such as self-determination, right of peoples to freely dispose of their natural resources and the right of members of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

of Europe emerged in 1948 at the Hague Congress. The Council is an international institution aimed at uniting and strengthening the democracies of Western Europe in the political, ideological and cultural field, and at promoting respect for human rights. A more recent intergovernmental organization was set up in May 1963 - the Organization of African Unity (OAU). But not until October 1986 did the OAU unanimously adopt the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. There are too many NGOs to mention them all, however following is a representation. The first non-governmental organization, the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, was founded in 1823. Their aim is to eradicate slavery and forced labor in all their forms, to promote the well-being of indigenous peoples and to protect human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Amnesty International is another NGO who concerns itself above all with respect for civil and political rights. In 1952 the International Commission of Jurists was set up to deal with all human rights, specifically dealing with international treaties and documents or declarations, carrying out visits and missions to various countries, and participating in meetings of international organizations to denounce human rights violations. The Minority Rights Group has been active since the early 1970s and aims to secure justice for minority and majority groups suffering discrimination, and to help prevent the escalation of group conflict which often arises out of such discrimination.

The indigenous movement has always existed at some level, but it is only within the last three decades that it has dramatically accelerated. By the 1970s, through

individual leadership and contacts made between indigenous groups and nonindigenous international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) over the last five decades, regional and international indigenous organizations were founded. Today, there are over 1000 indigenous organizations worldwide (see Appendix F for a partial listing).

It is the persistence of indigenous peoples themselves who are largely responsible for the mobilization of the international human rights program in their favor.<sup>29</sup> They linked their concerns with general human rights principles and nondiscrimination in international laws. States will always be held accountable for their compliance with human rights, even though state sovereignty is becoming more porous. The international community, specifically the United Nations, is becoming a key player in responding to these concerns.

The United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council took the lead by authorizing a study on the conditions of indigenous populations in 1971. The report, written by José R. Martínez Cobo and entitled "The Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations," was completed eleven years later in 1981. The report contains 301 concluding paragraphs "showing that the social conditions in which the majority of indigenous populations lived were favorable to the specific types of discrimination, oppression and exploitation."<sup>30</sup> In his 332 conclusions and

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<sup>29</sup> S. James Anya, "International Law and Indigenous Peoples," *A Wave of Change: The United Nations and Indigenous Peoples*, Cultural Survival Quarterly, Spring 1994, p. 42-3.

recommendations, Martínez Cobo suggests that this report should be regarded as an appeal to the international community to take heed of the painful discrimination practiced against indigenous peoples - one of the most disadvantaged and discriminated-against group in every society.

The next year, 1981, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights created a Working Group on Indigenous Peoples. The Working Group convened for the first time in 1982 to fulfill two mandates: (1) to review developments regarding the human rights of indigenous populations and (2) to develop standards concerning indigenous rights.<sup>31</sup> They have met yearly since to work on a draft set of principles to be incorporated into a proposed international convention. The Working Group has engaged states, indigenous peoples, and others in a multilateral dialogue to determine the standards that should govern behavior towards indigenous peoples. At its 1993 meeting, the Working Group completed the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

### **1. Declaration of Rights**

The draft Declaration is a long and detailed document with twenty-seven different principles under consideration. Land rights are dealt with specifically in five principles; eight principles address cultural rights. Other issues addressed are self-

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<sup>30</sup> José R. Martínez Cobo, Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations: Vol. 5. Conclusions, proposals and recommendations, Report to the United Nations, New York, 1987 (Document no. E/CN.4Sub.2/1986/Add.4.New York: United Nations), p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Wilmer, p. 19.

determination, threats to indigenous peoples' survival today, self-government, and treaties between states and indigenous peoples.

The draft Declaration is a powerful elaboration of human, cultural and social values, basic rights and fundamental legal and political principles. The major theme throughout the draft is the equality of indigenous peoples; they have collective rights, which tie them to the group and which are different from individual human rights. However, it is important to remember that a declaration of rights is not a binding legal instrument or agreement even if it is adopted by the General Assembly of the UN. A declaration sets the standard and fundamental values that should be respected by states in the international system. Its full meaning will not become apparent until the debate begins within the UN and then if adopted, at the state level.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

### A. REVIEW

The research required to comprise the Intrastate Conflict Database was comprehensive. Although the results presented in this study represent a beginning effort to explore the role of indigenous peoples in conflict, the full potential of the ICD has yet to be tested. This is an initial effort to construct a world database of revolution and violent civil strife. Surprisingly there are primarily databases of war between states, such as The Wages of War 1816 to 1965: A Statistical Handbook by David Singer and Mervin Small and Correlates of War by David Singer. A study which did focus on intrastate conflict was Ted Robert Gurr's Minorities at Risk. It is a comparative study of the status, demands, and conflicts of communal groups since the end of World War II, with special attention to the 1980s. However, once again his statistical information focuses on the question of why groups rebel. The database I created is a both an expansion and a refinement because while researching all intrastate conflicts since 1945 I focused on the role of indigenous peoples, not all minorities.

### B. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the role of indigenous peoples in internal war. Developing the ICD allowed an examination of the hypothesis that they have been active out of all proportion to their numbers. However marginalized, they have a staying power and determination to fight for their territories and rights. As evidenced

from the analysis, indigenous peoples participated in 40.6 percent of the 207 conflicts between 1945 and 1995. They were the primary players in over 50 percent of the wars, with an increase of 38 percent after the internationalization of the indigenous peoples movement in 1970. Although the goal and type of intrastate conflict were not dependent on the involvement of indigenous peoples, the outcome was. When they participated, the state won only 33 percent of the time and the chances of the insurgents winning increased over five times. Furthermore, the conflicts in which indigenous peoples participated were two and half times longer. Thus, when indigenous peoples are involved either as primary or secondary players against the state, they are more difficult to defeat.

This analysis leads to the conclusion that indigenous peoples have played a significant role in violent conflict out of all proportion to their numbers or power. The Intrastate Conflict Database demonstrates that the prevailing theories of revolution focusing on peasants and ethno-nationalists overlooked a critical player. It discovered that indigenous peoples are also soldiers of the revolution.

## APPENDIX A. LOCATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

<i>Location</i>	<i>Indigenous Population</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Population</i>
<b>Central America</b>		
Belize	15,000	10.00
Costa Rica	20,000	1.00
El Salvador	960,000	21.00
Guatemala	5.4 million	60.00
Honduras	250,000	7.00
Mexico	10.5 million	12.50
Nicaragua	135,000	5.00
Panama	194,000	8.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>16.2 million</b>	
<b>South America</b>		
Argentina	477,000	1.50
Bolivia	4.9 million	71.00
Brazil	325,000	0.20
Chile	1 million	9.00
Colombia	708,000	1.00
Ecuador	3.75 million	37.00
French Guinea	4,000	4.00
Guyana	30,000	4.00
Paraguay	100,000	3.00
Peru	8.1 million	39.00
Surinam	11,000	2.90
Venezuela	290,000	1.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>19.7 million</b>	
<b>First World</b>		
Australia	250,000	
Canada		
Indian	783,980	
Metis	212,650	6.00
Inuit	49,255	
USA	1.9 million	0.80
New Zealand	300,000	10.00
Pacific Colonies	500,000	
Japan (Ainu)	50,000	
<i>Inuit peoples</i> <sup>a</sup>		
Alaska	30,000	
Canada	49,255	
Greenland	42,000	
USSR	1,500	
<i>Saami peoples</i>		
USSR	2,000	
Finland	4,000	
Norway	35,000	
Sweden	17,000	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.9 million</b>	
<sup>a</sup> not included in previous figure for USA and the USSR		
<b>Asia</b>		
Afghanistan	6.7 million Pathan 300,000 Baluchis 3 million Koochis	
Bangladesh	600,000-1.5 million	1.00
Burma	11 million	30.00
India	51 million	7.00

Sources: Burger (1987), Canada Year Book (1992), and Mitchell (1993). This appendix came from Wilmer (1993).

## APPENDIX A. LOCATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Indonesia	1.5 million	1.00
Laos	800,000	23.00
Malaysia		
East Malaysia	500,000	50.00
peninsula	71,000	4.00
Pakistan	7.7 million	8.00
Philippines	6.5 million	16.00
Sri Lanka	2,000	
Taiwan	310,000	2.00
Thailand	500,000	1.00
Vietnam	800,000	2.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>85 million</b>	
<b>AFRICA</b>		
<i>Nomadic herders</i>		
Maasai		
Tuareg		
Bororo		
Afar		
Somali Herders	14 million	
<i>San (bushmen)</i>		
Botswana	25,000	
Namibia	29,000	
Angola	8,000	
<i>uti and forest peop</i>	200,000	
<b>Total</b>	<b>19.6 million</b>	
China	67 million	7.00
USSR <sup>b</sup>	1 million northern peoples	
	6 million Kazakhs	
	22 million Turkic	10.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>96 million</b>	
<sup>b</sup> not included in previous figure for USA and the USSR		

Sources: Burger (1987), Canada Year Book (1992), and Mitchell (1993). This appendix came from Wilmer (1993).

**APPENDIX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT**

**Data Set Number** \_\_\_\_\_ **Geographic Region** \_\_\_\_\_

**State** \_\_\_\_\_ **Population of State (urban/rural)** \_\_\_\_\_  
 (1) (2) (3) (4)

**Internal War:** Civil / Colonial / Guerrilla / Insurrection

**Timestart** \_\_\_\_\_ **Timeend** \_\_\_\_\_  
 (1) (2) (3) (4)

**Type of Conflict:** Offensive(Overthrow)/Defensive(secede)/Autonomy/Other

(1) (2)  
**Type of Conflict:** Partisan(support from external)/Indigenous

If PARTISAN,

**Primary Intervener for State (PIS)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Secondary Intervener for State (SIS)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Additional Intervener for State (AIS)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary Intervener for Opponent (PIO)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Secondary Intervener for Opponent (SIO)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Additional Intervener for State (AIO)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Government Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Opponent Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

(1) (0)  
**Indigenous Peoples Present in State: Yes or No**

<b>IP1:</b> _____	<b>Population:</b> _____
<b>IP2:</b> _____	<b>Population:</b> _____
<b>IP3:</b> _____	<b>Population:</b> _____

(1) (2)  
**Nation: concentrated or dispersed**

(1) (0) (2)  
**Indigenous Peoples participate in conflict? Yes or No or Unknown**

(1) (2) (3)  
**If so, what role? primary/secondary/exclusive**

(1) (2) (3) (4)  
**If so, what side? guerrilla/authority/partisan/both**

(1) (2) (3)  
**What was the outcome of the conflict? guerrilla/authority/peace agreement**  
 (4) (5) (6)  
 settlement/unsolved/ongoing

(99) used if information unknown

Other information pertinent to search?



## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### AFRICA

Algeria (1)	Libya - NC (31)
Angola (2)	Madagascar (32)
Bassas da India (3)	Malawi (33)
Benin - NC (4)	Mali (34)
Botswana - NC (5)	Mauritania - NC (35)
Bouvet Island (uninhabited) - NC (6)	Mauritius - NC (36)
Burkina Fasa (7)	Mayotte (FR) - NC (37)
Burundi (8)	Moroco (38)
Cameroon (9)	Mozambique (39)
Cape Verde (10)	Namibia (40)
Central Africa Republic- NC (11)	Niger (41)
Chad (12)	Nigeria (42)
Comoros - NC (13)	Rwanda (43)
Cote d'Ivoire (14)	Saint Helena (UK) - NC (44)
Djibouti (former French Somaliland) (15)	Senegal (45)
Egypt (16)	Seychelles - NC (46)
Equatorial Guinea- NC (17)	Sierra Leone (47)
Eritrea (18)	Somalia (48)
Ethiopia (19)	South Africa (49)
French Southern and Antarctic Lands (FR) - NC (20)	Sudan (50)
Gabon - NC (21)	Swaziland - NC (51)
The Gambia - NC (22)	Tanzania - NC (52)
Ghana (23)	Togo - NC (53)
Glorioso Islands (FR) - NC (24)	Tromelin island (FR)- NC (54)
Guinea - NC (25)	Tunisia - NC (55)
Guinea-Bissau (26)	Uganda (56)
Juan de Nova Island (uninhabited) - NC (27)	Western Sahara (57)
Kenya (28)	Zaire (Congo) (58)
Lesotho (29)	Zambia - NC (59)
Liberia (30)	Zimbabwe (60)

\*\*NC = no conflict

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina (61)	Guyana (73)
Belize - NC (62)	Honduras (74)
Bolivia (63)	Mexico (75)
Brazil - NC (64)	Nicaragua (76)
Chile (65)	Panama (77)
Colombia (66)	Paraguay (78)
Costa Rica (67)	Peru (79)
Ecuador (68)	South Georgia & the South Sandwich Islands (UK) - NC (80)
El Salvador (69)	Suriname (81)
Falkand Islands (UK) - NC (70)	Uruguay (82)
French Guiana (FR) - NC (71)	Venezuela (83)
Guatemala (72)	

### CARIBBEAN

Anguilla - NC (British depedent territory) (84)	Turks & Caicos Islands (UK) - NC (107)
Antigua & Barbuda - NC (British depedent territory) (85)	Virgin Islands (UK) - NC (108)
Aruba - NC (86)	
Bahamas - NC (87)	**NC = no conflict
Barbados - NC (88)	
British Virgin Islands - NC (89)	
Cayman Islands - NC (90)	
Cuba (91)	
Dominica - NC (92)	
Dominican Republic (93)	
Grenada - NC (94)	
Guadeloupe (95)	
Haiti (96)	
Jamaica - NC (97)	
Martinique - NC (98)	
Montserrat (UK) - NC (99)	
Navassa island (US - uninhabited) - NC (100)	
Netherlands Antilles - NC (101)	
Puerto Rico (US) - NC (102)	
Saint Kitts & Nevis - NC (103)	
Saint Lucia - NC (104)	
Saint Vincent & the Grenadines - NC (105)	
Trinidad & Tobago (106)	

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### EUROPE

Albania - (109)  
Andorra - NC (110)  
Austria - NC (111)  
Belarus - NC (112)  
Belgium - NC (113)  
Bosnia & Herzegovina (114)  
British Indian Ocean Territory - uninhabited  
- NC (115)  
Bulgaria - NC (116)  
Clipperton Island - uninhabited - NC (117)  
Croatia (118)  
Czech Republic (119)  
Denmark - NC (120)  
Europa Island (FR - uninhabited) - NC (121)  
Estonia (122)  
Fajoe Islands (Danish) - NC (123)  
Finland - NC (124)  
France (125)  
Germany (126)  
Gibraltar (UK) - NC (127)  
Greece (128)  
Guernsey (British) - NC (129)  
Hungary (130)  
Iceland - NC (131)  
Italy (132)  
Jan Mayer (no permanent inhabitants) - NC  
(133)  
Jersey (UK) - NC (134)  
Latvia (135)  
Lichtenstein - NC (136)  
Lithuania (137)  
Luxembourg - NC (138)  
Macedonia (139)  
Malta - NC (140)  
Man, Isle of (British) - NC (141)  
Moldova (142)  
Monaco - NC (143)  
Netherlands - NC (144)  
Norway - NC (145)  
Poland (146)  
Portugal - NC (147)  
Romania (148)  
San Marino - NC (149)  
Serbia & Montenegro (150)  
Slovakia (151)  
Slovenia (152)  
Spain (153)  
Svalband (Norway) - NC (154)  
Sweden - NC (155)  
Switzerland - NC (156)  
Ukraine (157)  
UK (158)

\*\*NC = no conflict

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### ASIA

Afghanistan (159)	Malaysia (179)
Armenia (160)	Maldives - NC (180)
Azerbaijan (161)	Mongolia - NC (181)
Bangladesh (162)	Nepal (182)
Bhutan - NC (163)	Pakistan (183)
Brunei - NC (164)	Papua New Guinea (184)
Myanmar (formerly Burma) (165)	Paracel Islands - no inhabitants - NC (185)
Cambodia/Kampuchea (166)	Phillipines (186)
China (167)	Russia (187)
Georgia (168)	Singapore - NC (188)
Hong Kong (UK) - NC (169)	Spratley Islands - NC (189)
India (170)	Sri Lanka (190)
Indonesia (171)	Taiwan (Formosa) - NC (191)
Japan - NC (172)	Tajikistan - (192)
Kazakhstan - NC (173)	Thailand (193)
Korea, North - NC (174)	Turkey (194)
Korea, South (175)	Turkmenistan - NC (195)
Kyrgyzstan - NC (176)	Uzbekistan (196)
Laos (177)	Vietnam (197)
Macau - NC (178)	

\*\* NC= no conflict

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### MIDDLE EAST

Bahrain - NC (198)  
Cyprus (199)  
Gaza Strip - Israel Occupied Territory - NC (200)  
Iran (201)  
Iraq (202)  
Israel - NC (203)  
Jordan (204)  
Kuwait - NC (205)  
Lebanon (206)  
Oman (207)  
Qatar - NC (208)  
Saudi Arabia (209)  
Syria (210)  
United Arab Emirates - NC (211)  
West Bank - Israel Occupied Territory - NC (212)  
Yemen, North (213)  
Yemen, South (214)

\*\*NC = no conflict

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### NORTH AMERICA

American Samoa - NC (215)  
Baker Island (uninhabited) - NC (216)  
Bermuda (UK) - NC (217)  
Canada - NC (218)  
Greenland - NC (219)  
Saint Pierre & Miquelon (FR) - NC (220)  
United States (221)

### AUSTRALIA - NC (260)

Ashmore & Carties Islands - NC (222)  
Christmas Island - NC (223)  
Cocos Islands - NC (224)  
Coral Sea Islands - NC (225)  
Heard Island & McDonald Islands - uninhabited - NC (226)  
Norfolk Islands - NC (227)

### OTHER

USSR (228)  
United Nations - NC (229)  
East Germany (230)  
Non-Government Organization's (NGO's) - NC (231)

\*\* NC = no conflict

## APPENDIX C. LIST OF STATES

### OCEANIA

Cook Islands (New Zealand) - NC (232)  
Fiji - NC (233)  
French Polynesia - NC (234)  
Guam - NC (235)  
Howland Island (US - uninhabited) - NC (236)  
Jarvis Island (US - uninhabited) - NC (237)  
Johnston Atoll (US) - NC (238)  
Kingman Reef (US) - NC (239)  
Kiribali (FR) - NC (240)  
Marshall Islands - NC (241)  
Micronesia - NC (242)  
Midway Islands (US) - NC (243)  
Nauru - NC (244)  
New Caledonia (245)  
New Zealand - NC (246)  
Niue (New Zealand) - NC (247)  
Northern Mariana Islands (US) - NC (248)  
Palau (UN-US) - NC (249)  
Palmyra Atoll (US - uninhabited) - NC (250)  
Pitcairn Islands (UK) - NC (251)  
Solomon Islands - NC (252)  
Tokelau (New Zealand) - NC (253)  
Tonga - NC (254)  
Tuvalu - NC (255)  
Vanuatu (256)  
Wake Island (US) - NC (257)  
Wallis & Futuna (FR) - NC (258)  
Western Samoa - NC (259)

\*\* NC= no conflict



## APPENDIX D. CODING DIRECTIONS

### Geographic Region

- (1) Africa
- (2) Central & South America, Caribbean
- (3) Europe
- (4) Asia
- (5) Middle East
- (6) North America
- (7) Oceania & Australia

State: Indicate state name and the corresponding number (appendix A)

Population of State: Using the World Urbanization Prospects 1994, indicate both the urban and rural population of the state. If unknown, then use (99) code.

Timestart: When the conflict started

Timeend: When the conflict ended

If less than one (1) year, then indicate number of days

If unknown, then use (99) code

### Goal of Conflict:

- (1) Offensive - overthrow the existing government
- (2) Defensive - seek secession from the state
- (3) Autonomy - seek more autonomy within the state structure
- (4) Other

Type of Conflict: List state(s) and corresponding number; (up to five)

- (1) Partisan - support from an external state or organization (UN)
- (2) Indigenous - no intervention by a state(s)

Group name in power: \_\_\_\_\_

Opponent name: \_\_\_\_\_

Indigenous Peoples Present in State:

- (1) Yes
- (0) No

Step 1: First, use Table A in Minorities at Risk by Ted Robert Gurr (appendix B) to determine if he classified the group in Type1 as indigenous. If so, then answer is Yes.

Step 2: If Gurr classified the group in Type2 as indigenous, then check the groups characteristics to see if they meet the qualifications of the definition of indigenous peoples. If so, then answer is Yes.

Step 3: If Gurr did not classify the group as indigenous, but through research the group fits the definition of indigenous peoples, then answer is Yes.

Nation:

- (1) concentrated - the indigenous peoples are geographically concentrated in one area
- (2) dispersed - the indigenous peoples are geographically dispersed in the stated
- (0) not applicable

Indigenous Peoples Name/Percentage of Population (3 columns)

Step 1: If indigenous peoples participated in the conflict, then indicate in the first column the name of the indigenous peoples and the percentage of the population they represent, if unknown then code (99) applies

Step 2: If more than one group of indigenous peoples are present in the state, then indicate the names and population in the following two columns.

Step 3: If no indigenous peoples are present in the state, then (0) applies

Indigenous peoples participate in conflict:

- (1) Yes
- (0) No
- (2) Unknown

If they did participate, what role?

- (1) Primary - indigenous peoples were the primary participants, but not the only group involved in the conflict against the state
- (2) Secondary - indigenous peoples were mobilized as participants, but not the primary participants
- (3) Exclusive - only indigenous peoples participated in the conflict

What side did the indigenous peoples participate?

- (1) Guerrilla - indigenous peoples participated on the side of the guerrilla
- (2) Authority - indigenous peoples participated on the side of the government
- (3) Partisan - indigenous peoples participated on the side of an intervening government
- (4) Both - indigenous peoples participated on both the side of the guerrilla and the government

What was the outcome of the conflict?

- (1) Guerrilla - the opponent to the state won
- (2) Authority - the government won
- (3) Peace Agreement - an accord was signed between the opponent and government
- (4) Settlement - an agreement was reached to stop the conflict between the opponent and government
- (5) Unsolved - no agreement was reached; basically a stalemate
- (6) Ongoing - the internal war is still in progress

Other information pertinent to search? - comments for edification.



APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
2	dataset	georegion	state	typeiw	start	end	duration fracyr
3	192	Africa	Algeria	colonial	45	45	unk
4	22	Africa	Algeria	colonial	54	62	8
5	21	Africa	Algeria	insurrection	63	64	1
6	23	Africa	Angola	colonial	61	75	14
7	24	Africa	Angola	civil	75	91	16
8	28	Africa	Burundi	civil	93	96	3
9	27	Africa	Burundi	civil	88	88	0.247
10	26	Africa	Burundi	civil	72	72	0.252
11	29	Africa	Cameroon	colonial	55	62	7
12	30	Africa	Cape Verde	colonial	63	75	12
13	34	Africa	Chad	civil	85	87	2
14	31	Africa	Chad	civil	66	78	12
15	33	Africa	Chad	civil	82	84	2
16	32	Africa	Chad	civil	79	81	2
17	35	Africa	Cote d'Ivoire	civil	59	60	1
18	36	Africa	Cote d'Ivoire	civil	69	69	0.082
19	38	Africa	Djibouti	civil	91	94	3
20	37	Africa	Djibouti	colonial	70	76	6
21	39	Africa	Egypt	colonial	52	56	4
22	40	Africa	Ethiopia	guerrilla	74	94	20
23	41	Africa	Ethiopia	guerrilla	74	94	20
24	42	Africa	Ethiopia	guerrilla	61	94	33
25	43	Africa	Ghana	insurrection	94	94	0.411
26	44	Africa	Guinea-Bissau	colonial	63	73	10
27	45	Africa	Kenya	colonial	52	56	4
28	46	Africa	Lesotho	insurrection	81	85	4
29	196	Africa	Liberia	civil	89	96	7
30	47	Africa	Madagascar	colonial	47	48	1
31	48	Africa	Malawi	insurrection	65	65	0.082
32	49	Africa	Mali	insurrection	62	64	2
33	50	Africa	Mali	insurrection	90	96	6
34	51	Africa	Moroco	colonial	54	56	2
35	52	Africa	Mozambique	colonial	64	75	11
36	53	Africa	Mozambique	civil	76	96	20
37	54	Africa	Namibia	colonial	65	90	25
38	55	Africa	Niger	insurrection	63	65	2
39	56	Africa	Nigeria	civil	67	70	3
40	58	Africa	Rwanda	civil	63	64	1
41	57	Africa	Rwanda	civil	59	59	0.493
42	59	Africa	Rwanda	civil	90	94	4
43	60	Africa	Senegal	civil	90	93	3
44	61	Africa	Sierra Leone	guerrilla	92	96	4
45	62	Africa	Somalia	civil	88	91	3
46	63	Africa	Somalia	civil	91	96	5
47	64	Africa	South Africa	civil	76	76	0.493
48	194	Africa	South Africa	civil	61	64	3
49	195	Africa	South Africa	insurrection	60	60	0.003
50	195	Africa	South Africa	civil	84	94	10
51	66	Africa	Sudan	civil	55	72	17
52	67	Africa	Sudan	civil	83	96	13
53	69	Africa	Uganda	civil	81	86	5
53	70	Africa	Western Sahara	insurrection	75	91	16

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	H	I	J	K
1	congoal	consupp	grpname	opponent
2	offensive	Partisan	france	setif uprising
3	offensive	Partisan	france	fin/aln
4	offensive	Indigenous	fin	national committee for the defense of the revolution/cndr
5	offensive	Partisan	portugal	fnla
6	offensive	Partisan	mpla	fnla/unita
7	offensive	Indigenous	tutsi	hutu
8	offensive	Indigenous	tutsi	hutu
9	offensive	Indigenous	tutsi	hutu
10	offensive	Partisan	france	upc (bassa/bamileke)
11	defensive	Partisan	portugal	paigc
12	offensive	Partisan	habre	goukouni
13	offensive	Partisan	tombalbaye	goukouni & habre
14	offensive	Partisan	goukouni	habre - fant
15	offensive	Partisan	malloum	habre - fan
16	defensive	Indigenous	houphouet-boigny	sanwi
17	defensive	Indigenous	govt	sanwi/agni
18	offensive	Partisan	gouled	frud
19	offensive	Partisan	france	lpai
20	offensive	Partisan	uk	rcc
21	autonomy	Partisan	ethiopia	oromo liberation front - olf
22	autonomy	Partisan	ethiopia	tplf - tigray peoples liberation front
23	autonomy	Partisan	ethiopia	epif - etitrea peoples liberation front
24	offensive	Indigenous	konkomba - gurma	nanumba - gur
25	offensive	Partisan	portugal	paigc
26	offensive	Partisan	kenya - british	mau mau
27	offensive	Partisan	government	lesotho liberation army - bcp
28	offensive	Partisan	doe	vs krahn tribe vs gio tribe
29	offensive	Partisan	france	madagascar
30	offensive	Indigenous	bauda - mcp	chipembre
31	defensive	Partisan	govt	tuareg
32	offensive	Partisan	konare govt	turareg's
33	offensive	Indigenous	france - colonial power	morocan army of liberation
34	offensive	Partisan	portugal	front for the liberation of mozambique - frelimo
35	offensive	Partisan	frelimo	renamo - mozambique national resistance org
36	offensive	Partisan	south africa	swapo/plan
37	offensive	Indigenous	niger govt	sawaba
38	defensive	Partisan	federal mil govt	biafrans
39	offensive	Partisan	hutu	tutsi
40	offensive	Indigenous	tutsi	hutu
41	offensive	Partisan	hutu	tutsi - rwanda patriotic front (rpf)
42	defensive	Indigenous	senegal govt	mfdc/dioula
43	offensive	Partisan	mil govt	ruf - mende war
44	offensive	Indigenous	barre	ssdf/snm/hawiye
45	offensive	Partisan	aidid	mohamed
46	offensive	Indigenous	govt	soweto riots
47	offensive	Indigenous	govt	anc/pac
48	other	Indigenous	govt	sharpeville massacre
49	offensive	Indigenous	govt	anc
50	offensive	Partisan	govt	anya nya
51	offensive	Partisan	govt	spla
52	offensive	Indigenous	milton obote	national resistance army/musaueni
53	defensive	Partisan	moroccan govt	polisario/snla

APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

1	L	M	N	O	P	Q
2	ipresent	ip1-participate	ip1-pop	nation1	ipname2	ip2-pop
3	yes	berbers	21.00000	1	0	0.00000
4	yes	berbers	21.00000	1	0	0.00000
5	yes	berbers	21.00000	1	0	0.00000
6	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
7	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
8	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
9	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
10	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
11	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
12	no	0	0.00000	0	kirdi	22.00000
13	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
14	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
15	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
16	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
17	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
18	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
19	yes	afars	25.00000	1	0	0.00000
20	yes	afars	25.00000	1	0	0.00000
21	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
22	yes	oromo	.	1	nilo-saharans	1.60000
23	yes	tigray	.	1	nilo-saharans	1.60000
24	yes	etitrea	.	1	nilo-saharans	1.60000
25	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
26	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
27	yes	0	0.00000	0	turkana/pokot	3.00000
28	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
29	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
30	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
31	no	0	0.00000	0	mikea	0.00007
32	yes	tuareg	4.70000	1	0	0.00000
33	yes	tuareg	4.70000	1	0	0.00000
34	yes	berbers	99.10000	2	0	0.00000
35	yes	makonde	2.00000	1	makua-lomua	37.00000
36	yes	makonde	2.00000	1	0	0.00000
37	yes	san	3.00000	1	0	0.00000
38	yes	tuareg	10.80000	2	0	0.00000
39	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
40	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
41	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
42	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
43	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
44	yes	mende	31.00000	1	temme	30.00000
45	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
46	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
47	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
48	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
49	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
50	yes	nuer	0.03700	1	dinka	0.01800
51	yes	dinka	0.01800	1	nuer	0.03700
52	yes	0	0.00000	0	karamojong	2.00000
53	yes	saharawis	100.00000	2	0	0.00000

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
1	nation2	ipname3	ip3-pop	nation3	ipparticipate	role	side	outcome
2	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
3	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	both	guerrilla
4	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
5	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
6	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
7	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
8	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
9	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
10	1	pygmy	.	1	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
11	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
12	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
13	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	unsolved
14	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
15	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
16	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
17	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
18	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
19	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	guerrilla
20	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
21	1	afars	4.500	1	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
22	1	afars	4.500	1	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
23	1	afars	4.500	1	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
24	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
25	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
26	1	jrendille/borana	1.000	1	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
27	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
28	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
29	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
30	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
31	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
32	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
33	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
34	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
35	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
36	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	guerrilla
37	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
38	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
39	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
40	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
41	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
42	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
43	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
44	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
45	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
46	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
47	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	authority
48	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
49	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
50	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
51	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
52	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
53	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement

## APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
54	dataset	georegion	state	typeiw	start	end	duration fracyr
55	71	Africa	Zaire	civil	63	65	2
56	193	Africa	Zaire	civil	61	63	2
57	73	Africa	Zaire	insurrection	77	77	0.219
58	72	Africa	Zaire	insurrection	78	78	0.052
59	74	Africa	Zimbabwe	guerrilla	72	79	7
60	210	Asia	Afghanistan	civil	78	92	14
61	77	Asia	Afghanistan	insurrection	94	96	2
62	78	Asia	Azerbaijan	insurrection	88	96	8
63	79	Asia	Bangladesh	guerrilla	76	96	20
64	119	Asia	Bangladesh	civil	71	71	0.822
65	97	Asia	Cambodia	guerrilla	70	75	5
66	95	Asia	Cambodia	guerrilla	45	54	9
67	94	Asia	Cambodia	guerrilla	59	70	11
68	96	Asia	Cambodia	insurrection	67	67	0.164
69	99	Asia	China	insurrection	50	88	38
70	98	Asia	China	guerrilla	45	49	4
71	100	Asia	China	civil	47	74	27
72	101	Asia	Georgia	insurrection	90	92	2
73	102	Asia	Georgia	insurrection	92	94	2
74	105	Asia	India	insurrection	81	90	9
75	104	Asia	India	insurrection	79	88	9
76	106	Asia	India	insurrection	66	86	20
77	103	Asia	India	guerrilla	67	96	29
78	107	Asia	India	insurrection	99	99	0
79	109	Asia	India	insurrection	46	47	1
80	108	Asia	India	insurrection	53	96	43
81	112	Asia	Indonesia	insurrection	65	66	1
82	110	Asia	Indonesia	colonial	45	49	4
83	205	Asia	Indonesia	civil	58	61	3
84	113	Asia	Indonesia	insurrection	50	50	0.493
85	111	Asia	Indonesia	insurrection	75	88	13
86	127	Asia	Korea, South	insurrection	48	48	0.019
87	114	Asia	Laos	insurrection	59	73	14
88	115	Asia	Malaysia	colonial	48	60	12
89	116	Asia	Malaysia	insurrection	63	66	3
90	86	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	61	91	30
91	85	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	64	96	32
92	87	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	73	84	11
93	89	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	48	91	43
94	88	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	76	91	15
95	81	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	58	96	38
96	80	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	49	96	47
97	84	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	64	90	26
98	83	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	69	89	20
99	91	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	69	89	20
100	93	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	48	96	48
101	82	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	48	96	48
102	90	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	48	89	41
103	92	Asia	Myanmar	insurrection	61	64	3
104	117	Asia	Nepal	insurrection	87	91	4
105	118	Asia	Nepal	insurrection	84	84	0.247
106	120	Asia	Pakistan	civil	73	77	4

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	H	I	J	K
54	congoal	consupp	grpname	opponent
55	offensive	Partisan	govt	muleist/mbun-pende tribes
56	defensive	Partisan	lumumba	katanga
57	offensive	Partisan	mobutu	fnlc
58	offensive	Partisan	mobutu	fnlc
59	defensive	Partisan	rhodesia	zanu/zapu
60	offensive	Partisan	khalq govt (afghan)	mujahideen
61	offensive	Partisan	afghan govt	taliban
62	defensive	Partisan	govt	karabakh committee
63	defensive	Indigenous	govt	jss-chittagong hill tracts peoples solidarity association
64	defensive	Partisan	ppp/bhutto	mukti bahini
65	offensive	Partisan	govt	khmer rouge
66	offensive	Partisan	govt	khmer issarak
67	offensive	Partisan	govt	khmer serei
68	defensive	Indigenous	govt	khmer loeu
69	defensive	Partisan	govt	tibet peoples council
70	offensive	Partisan	nationalist	mao
71	defensive	Partisan	govt	taiwan
72	defensive	Partisan	govt	south ossetians autonomous region
73	defensive	Partisan	govt	abkhaz
74	defensive	Partisan	govt	sikh
75	defensive	Indigenous	govt	gurkha national liberation front
76	defensive	Indigenous	govt	mizo national front/mnf
77	offensive	Indigenous	govt	naxalites/communist
78	defensive	Partisan	govt	manipur peoples liberation army
79	offensive	Partisan	british	
80	defensive	Partisan	govt	naga national council/nnc
81	offensive	Indigenous	govt/pki	sep 30 mvt
82	offensive	Partisan	netherlands	sukarno & hatta nationalist party
83	autonomy	Indigenous	sukarno	
84	autonomy	Partisan	govt	republic of south malukus/rms
85	defensive	Indigenous	govt	east timor/fretlin
86	offensive	Indigenous	govt	communist lead army revolt
87	offensive	Partisan	govt	pathet lao
88	offensive	Partisan	britain	communist malaysia
89	offensive	Partisan	govt	communist
90	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	kachin independence org/kio
91	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	karenni national progressive party
92	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	lahu state army
93	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	pa-o national org/army - pno/pna
94	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	palaung state liberation org
95	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	new mon state party/mnla
96	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	karen national union - kndo
97	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	kayah new land revolution council
98	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	wa national army
99	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	shan united revolutionary army/sura
100	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	shan state army/ssa
101	offensive	Partisan	mil regime	mon national defense org/mndo
102	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	communist party of burma/cpb
103	defensive	Partisan	mil regime	shan national army
104	defensive	Indigenous	govt	gurkha national liberation front
105	unk	unk	govt	democratic front
106	autonomy	Partisan	govt	baluchistan

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	L	M	N	O	P	Q
54	ipresent	ip1-participate	ip1-pop	nation1	ipname2	ip2-pop
55	yes	0	0.00000	0	efe pygmy	0.00007
56	yes	efe pygmy	0.00007	1	0	0.00000
57	yes	efe pygmy	0.00007	1	0	0.00000
58	yes	efe pygmy	0.00007	1	0	0.00000
59	yes	tyua (1000)	0.00000	1	0	0.00000
60	yes	baluchis	1.00000	1	koochis	15.00000
61	yes	0	0.00000	0	baluchis	1.00000
62	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
63	yes	chittagong hills people	1.00000	1	0	0.00000
64	yes	chittagong hills people	0.49000	1	0	0.00000
65	yes	cham	2.50000	1	khmer loeu	0.01000
66	yes	0	0.00000	0	khmer loeu	0.01000
67	yes	0	0.00000	0	khmer loeu	0.01000
68	yes	khmer loeu	0.01000	2	cham	2.50000
69	yes	tibetians	0.50000	1	0	0.00000
70	yes	uygurs	0.60000	1	kazaks	9.00000
71	yes	mt peoples	1.50000	1	0	0.00000
72	yes	ossetians	3.20000	1	0	0.00000
73	yes	abkhaz	0.17000	1	0	0.00000
74	yes	0	0.00000	0	total	7.00000
75	yes	mizos	0.07000	2	0	0.00000
76	yes	mizos	0.07000	2	0	0.00000
77	yes	nagas	0.10000	1	scheduled tribes	6.10000
78	yes	0	0.00000	0	total	7.00000
79	yes	0	0.00000	0	total	7.00000
80	yes	nagas	0.10000	1	0	0.00000
81	yes	papuans	0.63000	1	0	0.00000
82	yes	papuans	0.63000	1	0	0.00000
83	yes	papuans	0.63000	1	0	0.00000
84	yes	papuans	0.63000	1	0	0.00000
85	yes	0	0.00000	0	papuans	0.63000
86	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
87	yes	hmong	0.10000	2	0	0.00000
88	yes	orang asli	0.55000	1	iban	0.02200
89	yes	orang asli	0.55000	1	iban	0.02200
90	yes	kachins	1.10000	1	0	0.00000
91	yes	karen	10.20000	1	0	0.00000
92	yes	shan	7.70000	1	0	0.00000
93	yes	pao-subgrp of karen	10.20000	1	0	0.00000
94	yes	palauung	0.00500	1	0	0.00000
95	yes	mon	2.50000	1	0	0.00000
96	yes	karen	10.20000	1	0	0.00000
97	yes	karen	10.20000	1	0	0.00000
98	yes	wa	1.00000	1	0	0.00000
99	yes	shan	7.70000	1	0	0.00000
100	yes	shan	7.70000	1	0	0.00000
101	yes	mon	2.50000	1	0	0.00000
102	yes	wa	1.00000	1	0	0.00000
103	yes	shan	7.70000	1	0	0.00000
104	yes	tharus	0.02300	1	dhimals of the tarai	unk
105	yes	tharus	0.02300	1	dhimals of the tarai	unk
106	yes	baluch	4.20000	1	pashtuns	13.00000

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
54	nation2	ipname3	ip3-pop	nation3	ipparticipate	role	side	outcome
55	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
56	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
57	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	authority
58	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
59	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
60	2	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
61	1	koochis	15.000	2	yes	secondary	partisan	ongoing
62	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
63	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
64	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
65	2	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	both	guerrilla
66	2	cham	2.500	1	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
67	2	cham	2.500	1	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
68	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
69	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
70	1	tibetians	0.500	1	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
71	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
72	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
73	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
74	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
75	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
76	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
77	2	santals	0.600	1	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
78	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
79	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
80	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
81	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
82	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
83	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
84	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
85	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
86	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
87	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	both	settlement
88	1	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	both	authority
89	1	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	both	authority
90	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
91	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
92	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
93	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
94	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
95	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
96	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
97	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
98	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
99	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
100	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
101	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
102	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	peace agreement
103	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	authority
104	1	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
105	1	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
106	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
107	dataset	georegion	state	typeiw	start	end	duration fracyr
108	121	Asia	Pakistan	insurrection	86	86	0.082
109	122	Asia	Papua New Guinea	insurrection	88	94	6
110	124	Asia	Phillipines	insurrection	72	86	14
111	126	Asia	Phillipines	insurrection	46	54	8
112	125	Asia	Phillipines	guerrilla	69	96	27
113	209	Asia	Russia	guerrilla	94	96	2
114	129	Asia	Sri Lanka	insurrection	83	96	13
115	204	Asia	Sri Lanka	insurrection	87	89	2
116	128	Asia	Sri Lanka	insurrection	71	71	0.164
117	130	Asia	Tajikistan	civil	91	93	2
118	131	Asia	Thailand	insurrection	65	87	22
119	132	Asia	Thailand	insurrection	72	87	15
120	133	Asia	Turkey	insurrection	84	91	7
121	201	Asia	Turkey	insurrection	77	80	3
122	134	Asia	Uzbekistan	civil	92	93	1
123	135	Asia	Uzbekistan	insurrection	89	90	1
124	137	Asia	Vietnam	civil	60	75	15
125	136	Asia	Vietnam	colonial	46	54	8
126	138	Asia	Vietnam	insurrection	75	87	12
127	139	Asia	Vietnam	insurrection	76	85	9
128	75	Australia & Oceania	New Caledonia	colonial	84	89	5
129	76	Australia & Oceania	Vanuatu	insurrection	80	80	0.082
130	145	C&S America/Caribbean	Argentina	guerrilla	69	83	14
131	147	C&S America/Caribbean	Argentina	insurrection	63	64	1
132	146	C&S America/Caribbean	Argentina	insurrection	59	59	0.247
133	148	C&S America/Caribbean	Argentina	insurrection	64	64	0.271
134	150	C&S America/Caribbean	Bolivia	guerrilla	66	67	1
135	149	C&S America/Caribbean	Bolivia	guerrilla	45	52	7
136	151	C&S America/Caribbean	Chile	insurrection	83	93	10
137	152	C&S America/Caribbean	Chile	guerrilla	73	79	6
138	153	C&S America/Caribbean	Colombia	guerrilla	75	91	16
139	154	C&S America/Caribbean	Colombia	guerrilla	65	70	5
140	155	C&S America/Caribbean	Colombia	civil	48	58	10
141	156	C&S America/Caribbean	Costa Rica	civil	48	48	0.082
142	140	C&S America/Caribbean	Cuba	guerrilla	56	59	3
143	141	C&S America/Caribbean	Dominican Republic	civil	65	65	0.411
144	157	C&S America/Caribbean	Ecuador	insurrection	83	87	4
145	158	C&S America/Caribbean	El Salvador	guerrilla	77	81	4
146	159	C&S America/Caribbean	El Salvador	guerrilla	81	92	11
147	142	C&S America/Caribbean	Guadeloupe	colonial	83	85	2
148	160	C&S America/Caribbean	Guatemala	guerrilla	57	94	37
149	161	C&S America/Caribbean	Guyana	insurrection	69	69	0.271
150	143	C&S America/Caribbean	Haiti	insurrection	85	86	1
151	162	C&S America/Caribbean	Honduras	guerrilla	81	90	9
152	190	C&S America/Caribbean	Mexico	guerrilla	94	96	2
153	191	C&S America/Caribbean	Mexico	guerrilla	70	75	5
154	164	C&S America/Caribbean	Nicaragua	guerrilla	81	90	9
155	163	C&S America/Caribbean	Nicaragua	guerrilla	61	79	18
156	165	C&S America/Caribbean	Panama	civil	87	89	2
157	166	C&S America/Caribbean	Paraguay	civil	47	47	0.493
158	168	C&S America/Caribbean	Peru	guerrilla	80	92	12
159	167	C&S America/Caribbean	Peru	guerrilla	62	66	4

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	H	I	J	K
107	congoal	consupp	grpname	opponent
108	other	Indigenous	govt	pashtuns
109	defensive	Indigenous	govt	bougainville revolutionary army
110	defensive	Partisan	govt	moro's/mnlf
111	offensive	Partisan	govt	huk's people's liberation army
112	offensive	Partisan	govt	cpp-ml/communist
113	defensive	Indigenous	russia/yeltsin	chechnya
114	defensive	Partisan	govt	liberation tigers of tamil
115	offensive	Partisan	govt	janatha vimukthi peramuna (jvp)
116	offensive	Indigenous	govt	janatha vimukthi peramuna (jvp)
117	offensive	Partisan	govt/naviyev	islamic democratic coalition
118	autonomy	Partisan	govt	cpt-communists
119	defensive	Partisan	govt	pattani united liberation org/pulo
120	defensive	Partisan	govt	kurds/pkk
121	other	Indigenous	govt	sunni vs alawite
122	offensive	Indigenous	govt	birlik opposition mvts
123	offensive	Indigenous	uzbeks	merkhetian turk
124	offensive	Partisan	govt	viet cong/national front for the liberation of south vietnam
125	offensive	Partisan	france	ho chi minh
126	defensive	Partisan	govt	fulro
127	autonomy	Indigenous	govt	hao hao cao dai
128	offensive	Partisan	france	france
129	defensive	Partisan	govt	nagriamel
130	offensive	Indigenous	govt	people of argentina
131	offensive	Indigenous	govt	peoples guerrilla army/egg
132	offensive	Indigenous	govt	uturuncos
133	offensive	Indigenous	govt	fap
134	offensive	Partisan	govt	che guevara
135	offensive	Indigenous	govt	mnr
136	offensive	Partisan	pinochet	fpmr/mir/mapu-l
137	offensive	Indigenous	pinochet	mir
138	offensive	Partisan	govt	m-19/farc/elc/epl
139	offensive	Partisan	govt	farc/pcc/epl/elc
140	offensive	Indigenous	conservatives	liberals
141	offensive	Partisan	govt	national liberation army/figueres
142	offensive	Indigenous	batista	castro
143	offensive	Partisan	loyalist/prd	constituionalists
144	offensive	Indigenous	govt	avc
145	offensive	Partisan	govt	fmln
146	offensive	Partisan	govt	fmln
147	offensive	Partisan	france	arc/gla
148	offensive	Indigenous	govt	egg/far/orpa = urng
149	offensive	Partisan	govt	rupununi
150	offensive	Partisan	govt	
151	offensive	Partisan	govt	morazan front for liberation of honduras
152	offensive	Indigenous	pri	zapitista's
153	offensive	Indigenous	pri	cabanas insurgency
154	offensive	Partisan	sandinista	contra's/fdn
155	offensive	Partisan	somoza	sandinista's/fsln
156	offensive	Partisan	noreiga	ccn
157	offensive	Indigenous	morinigo	federalists/liberals & communists
158	offensive	Indigenous	govt	sendero luminoso
159	offensive	Indigenous	govt	mir/elc

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	L	M	N	O	P	Q
107	ippresent	ip1-participate	ip1-pop	nation1	ipname2	ip2-pop
108	yes	pashtuns	13.00000	1	baluch	4.20000
109	yes	bougainvilleans	4.60000	1	yonggom	0.00081
110	yes	0	0.00000	0	cordilleras/igorot	1.40000
111	yes	cordilleras/igorot	1.40000	1	0	0.00000
112	yes	cordilleras/igorot	1.40000	1	0	0.00000
113	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
114	yes	0	0.00000	0	vedda	0.00006
115	yes	0	0.00000	0	vedda	0.00006
116	yes	0	0.00000	0	vedda	0.00006
117	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
118	yes	northern hill tribes (karen,hmong, lisu)	1.50000	1	0	0.00000
119	yes	northern hill tribes (karen, hmong, lisu)	1.50000	1	0	0.00000
120	yes	kurds	19.00000	1	0	0.00000
121	yes	kurds	19.00000	1	0	0.00000
122	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
123	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
124	yes	montagnards	1.75000	1	0	0.00000
125	yes	montagnards	1.75000	1	0	0.00000
126	yes	montagnards	1.75000	1	0	0.00000
127	yes	0	0.00000	0	montagnards	1.75000
128	yes	kanaks	43.00000	1	0	0.00000
129	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
130	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
131	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
132	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
133	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
134	yes	quechua	0.41500	1	aymara	0.14000
135	yes	0	0.00000	0	lowlands (30 nations)	2.00000
136	yes	mapuche	0.07100	1	aymara	0.00107
137	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
138	yes	60 nations/total	1.00000	2	0	0.00000
139	yes	0	0.00000	0	60 nations/total	1.00000
140	yes	60 nations/total	1.00000	2	0	0.00000
141	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
142	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
143	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
144	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
145	yes	0	0.00000	0	pipile	10.00000
146	yes	0	0.00000	0	pipile	10.00000
147	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
148	yes	mayan	38.00000	2	0	0.00000
149	yes	akawaio	4.00000	1	0	0.00000
150	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
151	yes	miskitos	7.00000	2	0	0.00000
152	yes	tzutzil	unk	1	mayan	unk
153	yes	total	12.50000	2	0	0.00000
154	yes	miskito	3.00000	2	0	0.00000
155	yes	miskito	3.00000	2	rama	0.00014
156	yes	guaymi	0.03100	1	choco & embera	0.00390
157	yes	guarani	0.02100	2	paiu	unk
158	yes	quechua & aymara	20.00000	1	0	0.00000
159	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
107	nation2	ipname3	ip3-pop	nation3	ipparticipate	role	side	outcome
108	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	guerrilla
109	1	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
110	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
111	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	both	authority
112	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
113	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
114	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
115	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
116	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
117	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
118	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
119	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
120	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
121	0	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
122	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
123	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
124	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	both	guerrilla
125	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	guerrilla
126	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	peace agreement
127	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
128	0	0	0.000	0	yes	primary	authority	settlement
129	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
130	0	16 nations/total	1.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
131	0	16 nations/total	1.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
132	0	16 nations/total	1.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
133	0	16 nations/total	1.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
134	1	total	63.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	authority
135	2	highland	61.000	2	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
136	1	0	0.000	0	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
137	0	total	9.000	2	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority
138	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	peace agreement
139	2	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
140	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	peace agreement
141	0	60 nations/total	1.000	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
142	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
143	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
144	0	total	27.000	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
145	1	lenca	11.000	1	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
146	1	lenca	11.000	1	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
147	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
148	0	total	50.000	2	yes	secondary	both	peace agreement
149	0	total	4.000	1	yes	primary	authority	authority
150	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
151	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
152		total	12.500	2	yes	primary	authority	ongoing
153	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
154	0	total	3.000	2	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
155	1	suma	0.001	2	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
156	1	cuna	0.020	1	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	unsolved
157	1	17 nations/total	2.500	2	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
158	0	60 nations/total	41.000	2	yes	primary	authority	authority
159	0	60 nations/total	41.000	2	unknown	no participation	guerrilla	authority

## APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
160	dataset	georegion	state	typeiw	start	end	duration fracyr
161	169	C&S America/Caribbean	Suriname	guerrilla	86	92	6
162	144	C&S America/Caribbean	Trinidad & Tobago	insurrection	90	90	0.164
163	170	C&S America/Caribbean	Uruguay	guerrilla	62	63	1
164	171	C&S America/Caribbean	Venezuela	guerrilla	58	63	5
165	172	Europe	Bosnia & Herzegovina	civil	90	96	6
166	173	Europe	Croatia	civil	91	96	5
167	199	Europe	Czech Republic	insurrection	68	68	0.658
168	197	Europe	East Germany	insurrection	53	53	0.005
169	175	Europe	Estonia	insurrection	92	.	.
170	200	Europe	France	insurrection	75	86	11
171	176	Europe	Greece	civil	46	49	3
172	177	Europe	Hungary	guerrilla	56	56	0.033
173	178	Europe	Italy	insurrection	56	92	36
174	179	Europe	Latvia	insurrection	91	91	0.019
175	180	Europe	Lithuania	insurrection	91	91	0.082
176	183	Europe	Moldova	insurrection	91	92	1
177	198	Europe	Poland	insurrection	56	56	0.008
178	184	Europe	Romania	insurrection	89	89	0.041
179	185	Europe	Slovenia	civil	91	91	0.082
180	186	Europe	Spain	insurrection	87	99	12
181	187	Europe	Spain	insurrection	80	91	11
182	188	Europe	Spain	guerrilla	69	96	27
183	189	Europe	UK	civil	69	95	26
184	208	Europe	USSR	insurrection	45	52	7
185	182	Europe	USSR	insurrection	45	55	10
186	174	Europe	USSR	insurrection	55	99	44
187	181	Europe	USSR	insurrection	65	99	34
188	2	Middle East	Cyprus	insurrection	63	64	1
189	3	Middle East	Cyprus	civil	74	74	0.085
190	1	Middle East	Cyprus	colonial	55	59	4
191	7	Middle East	Iran	guerrilla	77	79	2
192	6	Middle East	Iran	insurrection	79	80	1
193	8	Middle East	Iran	insurrection	70	87	17
194	4	Middle East	Iran	insurrection	71	87	16
195	5	Middle East	Iran	insurrection	79	82	3
196	9	Middle East	Iraq	insurrection	91	96	5
197	12	Middle East	Iraq	insurrection	45	46	1
198	10	Middle East	Iraq	insurrection	75	88	13
199	11	Middle East	Iraq	insurrection	61	75	14
200	13	Middle East	Jordan	guerrilla	70	70	0.74
201	14	Middle East	Lebanon	civil	58	58	0.247
202	15	Middle East	Lebanon	civil	75	96	21
203	17	Middle East	Oman	insurrection	66	76	10
204	203	Middle East	Oman	insurrection	57	59	2
205	18	Middle East	Saudi Arabia	insurrection	79	79	0.038
206	20	Middle East	Syria	civil	79	82	3
207	202	Middle East	Syria	colonial	45	45	0.008
208	16	Middle East	Yemen, North	civil	62	70	8
209	19	Middle East	Yemen, South	civil	86	86	0.027
210	207	North America	United States	insurrection	50	50	0.082
211	206	North America	United States	insurrection	73	73	0.195

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	H	I	J	K
160	congoal	consupp	grpname	opponent
161	offensive	Partisan	govt	boschnegen/sla-
162	offensive	Indigenous	govt	jamaat al-muslimeen islamic sect
163	offensive	Indigenous	govt	tupamaros/mln-t
164	offensive	Partisan	govt	fain/mir
165	offensive	Partisan	bosnian govt	serbs
166	offensive	Partisan	croatia govt	serbs
167	offensive	Partisan	czech communist	alexander dubcek - communism w/a humman face
168	offensive	Partisan	govt	east germans
169	other	Indigenous	estonian govt	forest brethen metsavennad
170	defensive	Indigenous	france govt	corsican national liberation front
171	offensive	Partisan	greece govt	national popular liberation army/elas
172	offensive	Partisan	communist	hungarian freedom fighters/nagy
173	autonomy	Partisan	italian govt	germans in trentino-alto adige
174	defensive	Indigenous	communist/ussr	latvia
175	defensive	Indigenous	communist/ussr	lithuania
176	defensive	Partisan	moldovan govt	transdnestrias
177	offensive	Partisan	poland	polish workers
178	offensive	Partisan	ceausescu	timisoara
179	offensive	Indigenous	slovenia	serbs
180	defensive	Indigenous	spanish govt	free galician guerrilla people's army
181	defensive	Indigenous	spanish govt	catalan separatist org
182	defensive	Partisan	spanish govt	basques/eta
183	offensive	Partisan	british govt	ira
184	offensive	Indigenous	ussr	ukraine
185	offensive	Indigenous	ussr	latvian partisans
186	offensive	Indigenous	estonia/ussr	forest brethen metsavennad
187	offensive	Indigenous	ussr	dissident mvt
188	offensive	Partisan	makarios	eoka
189	offensive	Partisan	makarios	eoka
190	defensive	Partisan	britain	eoka
191	offensive	Indigenous	shah	khomeni
192	defensive	Indigenous	khomeni	turkomen & baluch
193	offensive	unk	khomeni	fadayan
194	offensive	Indigenous	khomeni	mojahedin - ncr
195	other	Indigenous	khomeni	kdpi-kurds
196	defensive	Partisan	saddam	kurds
197	offensive	Indigenous	baghdad	kurds
198	defensive	Partisan	govt	puk-kurds
199	autonomy	Partisan	kassem	kdp-kurds
200	offensive	Partisan	hussein	pflp
201	offensive	Partisan	shamun	muslims & druzes
202	offensive	Partisan	palestians	christain phalange party
203	offensive	Partisan	sultan saidibn taimur	dhofar liberation front
204	offensive	Partisan	said	ghalib & talib
205	offensive	Indigenous	govt	muslim revolutionary mvt
206	offensive	Indigenous	govt	muslim brotherhood
207	defensive	Partisan	france	
208	offensive	Partisan	govt	royalist
209	offensive	Indigenous	hassani	
210	defensive	Indigenous	u.s. govt	puerto rico
211	other	Indigenous	u.s. govt	wounded knee - sioux

**APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE**

	L	M	N	O	P	Q
160	ippresent	ip1-participate	ip1-pop	nation1	ipname2	ip2-pop
161	yes	tucayana	2.90000	1	0	0.00000
162	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
163	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
164	yes	0	0.00000	0	12 nations	1.00000
165	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
166	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
167	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
168	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
169	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
170	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
171	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
172	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
173	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
174	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
175	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
176	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
177	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
178	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
179	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
180	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
181	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
182	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
183	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
184	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
185	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
186	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
187	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
188	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
189	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
190	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
191	yes	kurds	10.00000	1	turkomans	1.40000
192	yes	turkomans	1.40000	1	baluch	2.00000
193	yes	kurds	10.00000	1	turkomans	1.40000
194	yes	kurds	10.00000	1	bakthiaris	1.60000
195	yes	kurds	10.00000	1	0	0.00000
196	yes	kurds	23.00000	1	0	0.00000
197	yes	kurds	23.00000	1	0	0.00000
198	yes	kurds	23.00000	1	0	0.00000
199	yes	kurds	23.00000	1	0	0.00000
200	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
201	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
202	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
203	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
204	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
205	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
206	yes	0	0.00000	0	kurds	8.00000
207	yes	0	0.00000	0	kurds	8.00000
208	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
209	no	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
210	yes	0	0.00000	0	0	0.00000
211	yes	sioux	unk	1	0	0.00000

APPENDIX E. INTRASTATE CONFLICT DATABASE

	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
160	nation2	ipname3	ip3-pop	nation3	ipparticipate	role	side	outcome
161	0	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	partisan	settlement
162	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
163	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
164	2	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
165	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
166	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
167	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
168	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
169	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
170	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
171	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
172	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
173	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
174	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
175	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
176	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
177	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
178	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
179	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
180	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
181	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
182	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
183	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	peace agreement
184	0	total	0.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
185	0	total	0.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
186	0	total	0.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
187	0	total	0.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
188	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
189	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	unsolved
190	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	settlement
191	1	baluch	2.000	1	yes	secondary	authority	guerrilla
192	1	0	0.000	1	yes	exclusive	authority	authority
193	1	baluch	2.000	1	yes	secondary	authority	authority
194	1	0	0.000	0	yes	secondary	authority	authority
195	0	0	0.000	1	yes	primary	authority	authority
196	0	0	0.000	0	yes	exclusive	authority	ongoing
197	0	0	0.000	0	yes	exclusive	authority	authority
198	0	0	0.000	0	yes	exclusive	authority	authority
199	0	0	0.000	0	yes	exclusive	authority	authority
200	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
201	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
202	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	ongoing
203	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
204	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
205	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
206	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
207	1	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
208	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
209	0	0	0.000	0	no	no participation	guerrilla	guerrilla
210	0	total	0.500	2	no	no participation	guerrilla	authority
211	0	total	0.500	2	yes	primary	authority	authority

## APPENDIX F. INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS

1. Inuit circumpolar Conference
2. Nordic Saami Council
3. Dene Nation
4. Assembly of First Nations
5. Metis National Council
6. Coalition of First Nations
7. Grand Councils of Treaty Areas; Grand Council of the Crees
8. Union of New Brunswick Indians
9. Four Directions Council
10. Indigenous Women's Network
11. Western Shoshone National Council
12. American Indian Movement
13. National Indian Youth Council
14. Indian Law Resource Center
15. International Indian Treaty Council
16. The Six Nation Confederacy
17. Alianza de Profesionales Indigenas Bilinguas
18. FIPI UCIZONI
19. Congreso de Organizaciones Indios de Centroamerica, Mexico y Panama
20. Organizacion Indigena Nahuatl
21. Asociacion Nacional Indigena Salvadorena
22. Comite de Unidades Campesinas
23. Toledo maya Cultural Council
24. YATAMA
25. Consejo de Organizaciones Indigenas de Central America
26. Asociacion de Empleados Kuna
27. Congreso Guaymi
28. Movimiento de la Juventud Kuna
29. Organizacion de las Naciones Indigenas de Colombia
30. Consejo Regional Indigena de Cauca
31. Confederacion de las Naciones Indigenas de la amazonia Ecuatoriana
32. Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas de Ecuador
33. Federation of Native Communities of the Madre de Dios
34. Asociacion Interetnica para el Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana
35. Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Peru
36. Organizacion Gemil
37. Asociacion Civil Indigena de Pueblos Yukpa
38. Tukayana Amazonas
39. Moshiro
40. Association des Amerindiens de Guyane francaise
41. Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indigenas de la Cuenca Amazonica
42. Uniao dos Nacoes Indigenas
43. AD MAPU

44. Organizacion Regional Huilliche
45. Asociacion Inidgena de la Republica Argentina
46. Frente polisario
47. Loti Mbaya
48. Eritrean People's Liberation Front
49. Tigray People's Liberation Front
50. Oromo Liberation Front
51. Western Somali Liberation Front
52. Somali Abo Liberation Front
53. Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples
54. Shanti Bahini, Bangladesh
55. National Democratic Front
56. Bakun Residents' Action Committee
57. Ka Lahui Hawai'i
58. Hokkaido Utari Association
59. Ainu Association of hokkaido
60. Taipei Mountain Service Center
61. Cordillera Peoples' Alliance
62. National Federation of Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines
63. Lamad Mindanao
64. Bangasa Moro
65. Homeland Mission for the South Moluccas
66. Free West Peoples Movement
67. National Federation of Land Councils
68. National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services
69. National Coalition of Aboriginal Organizations
70. Front National pour la Liberation Kanak Socialiste
71. Waitangi Action Committee
72. Maori Unity Movement
73. Maori Peoples Liberation Movement of Aotearoa

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