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## MODERN CONFLICTS DATABASE:

### ALTERNATIVE ESTIMATES FOR DEATH TOLLS

*Estimates* include civilian and military casualties, and indirect deaths from conflict-related famine, disease, and disruptions as well as violent deaths. We have relied mainly on the following sources:

Monty G. Marshall, *Major Episodes of Political Violence*. A Center for Systemic Peace project.  
<http://members.aol.com/CSPmgm/warlist.htm>

Correlates of War (COW) Project. A project based at Pennsylvania State University.  
<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>

*Uppsala Conflict Database*, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.  
<http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php>

Matthew White, *Twentieth Century Atlas: Death Tolls*.  
<http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstats.htm>

Project Ploughshares, *Armed Conflicts Report*. An agency of the Canadian Council of Churches.  
<http://ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-TitlePageRev.htm#Preface>

Peace Pledge Union, *Wars and Armed Conflicts*. A UK-based independent organization.  
<http://www.ppu.org.uk/war/>

Alternative estimates for individual conflicts are summarized below (dates in parentheses refer to the years covered by the estimate). Conflicts are listed in alphabetical order.

#### Afghanistan

*Marshall* (1978-2002): 1,000,000 plus 25,000 since US-led ouster of Taliban in 2001

*White* (1979-2001): 1,800,000

*Uppsala* (1978-2002): 1,030,000

*COW* (1978-1992): 1,300,000

*Ploughshares* (1978-1992): 1,500,000

*Peace Pledge* (1978-1990): 1,500,000

*1,500,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

#### Algeria

*Marshall* (1991-2004): 60,000

*White* (1992-2002): 100,000

*Uppsala* (1991-2004): 100,000-150,000

*COW* (1992-present): 80,000

*Ploughshares* (1992-2005): 100,000-150,000

*Amnesty International 'Annual Report 2006,'* citing President Abdelaziz Bouteflika (1992-2005): 200,000

*150,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

#### Angola

*Marshall* (1975-2002): 1,000,000

*White* (1975-2002): 550,000

*COW* (1975-1994): 445,800

*Ploughshares* (1975-1996): 500,000

*Peace Pledge* (1975-2002): more than 600,000  
*800,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

#### Bosnia

*Marshall* (1992-1995): 200,000

*White* (1992-1995): 175,000. White also mentions "U.S. State Dept.: Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996" which estimates death total at 250,000.

*Uppsala* (1992-1995): 25,000-55,000

*COW* (1992-1995): 250,000 state participants

*Peace Pledge* (1992-1995): more than 200,000

Tabeau and Bijak *European J. Population* 2005 (1992-1995): 102,622. Based on collection of unique individual death records undertaken for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The authors note that this number is 'incomplete, since death records of those who moved out of Bosnia during the conflict are not included,' and that mortality among refugees (who numbered 1.8 million or 41% of the population at the end of 1992)

'might have been high, especially in the periods directly after they had left their homes, often in panic and chaos'

*125,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Burma (Myanmar)**

*Marshall* (1948-2006): 100,000

*White* (1948-): 130,000. Also mentions two other sources: Jacob Bercovitch and Richard Jackson, *International Conflict* (1997), gives an estimate of 140,000 for the period 1949-1995; and Rudolph J. Rummel gives a figure of 127,000 for the period 1948-1987.

*Uppsala* (1948-2003): 37,301 battle-related deaths

*COW* (1948-1995): 42,000 state participant deaths

*White's figure of 130,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Burundi**

*Marshall* (1993-2005): 100,000

*White* (1993-): 200,000

*Uppsala* (1994-2005): more than 7,125 battle-related deaths

*COW* (1993-): 200,000 state participant deaths

*Ploughshares* (1988-2005): 300,000. Figure includes casualties from conflicts prior to beginning of civil war in 1993. This figure is also supported by the estimate in a BBC country profile on Burundi:

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country\\_profiles/1068991.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1068991.stm).

*Peace Pledge* (1988-): more than 250,000.

Figure includes casualties from conflicts prior to beginning of civil war in 1993.

*300,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Chad**

*Marshall* (1965-1994): 75,000

*White*: Mentions a Centre for Defense Information (CDI) estimate of 50,000 to 100,000 over the period 1965 to 1997

*Uppsala* (1965-1990): 33,800

*Ploughshares* (1965-2005): more than 50,000

*COW* (1966-1988): 14,237

*Marshall's figure of 75,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Chechnya**

*Marshall* (1994-1996): more than 40,000 (1999-2006): 30,000

*Uppsala* (1994-2005): 20,000-41,000

*COW* (1994-1996): 90,000

*Ploughshares* (since 1999): 25,000-55,000

*Peace Pledge* (1994-1996): 80,000

*90,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Colombia**

*Marshall* (1984-2005): 50,000

*White* (1970-2000): 45,000

*Uppsala* (since 1964): more than 44,000

*Ploughshares* (1964-2005): 50,000-200,000

*Peace Pledge* (1992-2002): 35,000

*COW* (1984-2005): 31,000 state participant deaths

*Marshall's figure of 50,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Croatia**

*Marshall* (1991-1995): 40,000

*COW* (1991-192): 10,000 state participant deaths

*Uppsala* (1992-1995): Gives an extremely low figure around 1,000 for battle-related deaths. However, mentions high number of killings in ethnic clashes.

*Marshall's figure of 40,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Democratic Republic of Congo**

*Marshall* (1996-2005): 1,500,000

*White* (1998-2003): 3,800,000

*Uppsala* (1996-2001): more than 7,850 battle-related deaths. Total death due to violence may be as high as 3.8 million (since 1998) according to a 2004 survey by the International Rescue Committee.

*Ploughshares* (1998-2004): 3,800,000

*Peace Pledge* (1998-2003): 2,500,000

*3,800,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## East Timor

*Marshall* (1976-1992): 180,000  
*White* (1975-1999): 200,000  
*Uppsala* (1975-1998): more than 4,428 battle-related deaths  
*Ploughshares* (1975-1994): more than 200,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1975-1999): 200,000  
*200,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## El Salvador

*Marshall* (1979-1992): 75,000  
*White* (1979-1992): 75,000  
*Uppsala* (1979-1991): 77,000-82,000  
*COW* (1979-1992): 69,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1979-1990): 75,000  
*75,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Ethiopia

*Marshall* (1974-1991): 750,000  
*White*: mentions a 27 January 2000 *Washington Post* article which estimates as many as 1 million deaths under Mengistu government (1974-91).  
*Uppsala* (1969-1991): more than 100,000  
*COW* (1974-1991): 150,000  
*750,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Ethiopia-Eritrea

*Marshall* (1998-2000): 100,000  
*Uppsala* (1998-2003): Maybe over 100,000. more than 30,000 dead in 1999.  
*Ploughshares* (1998-2000): 70,000-120,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1998-2002): more than 100,000  
*100,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Guatemala

*Marshall* (1966-1996): 150,000  
*White* (1960-1996): 200,000  
*Uppsala* (1949-1995): 46,300 battle-related deaths  
*COW* (1966-1984): 213,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1966-1990): 200,000  
*200,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## India (Kashmir)

*Marshall* (1990-2005): 35,000  
*Uppsala* (1989-2005): more than 28,000 battle-related deaths  
*COW* gives combined figures for the Sikh problem and the Kashmir conflict. 30,000 state participants dead in the two conflicts since 1985.  
*Ploughshares* (1989-): 38,000-100,000  
*White*: Human Rights Activists and Opposition Parties claim 60,000-80,000 killed, reported by the Associated Press 3 July 2001.  
*35,000 taken as the best estimate.*

## India (Northeast)

*Marshall* (1952-2006): 25,000  
*Ploughshares* (1979 -2005): 11,000  
*Uppsala* (since early 1990s): 2,000-3,000 battle-related deaths  
*25,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## India (Sikhs)

*Marshall* (1983-1993): 25,000  
*Uppsala* (1989-1994): 15,000-25,000 battle-related deaths  
*COW*: combines figures for the Sikh problem and the Kashmir conflict. 30,000 state participants dead in the two conflicts since 1985.  
*Peace Pledge* (1982-1994): 25,000 Hindus and Muslims in Punjab  
*Marshall's figure of 25,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Iraq (Kurds)

*Marshall* (1961-1993): 150,000  
*White* mentions a *Washington Post* article on 6 June 1993 that estimates deaths for the period 1987-89 at 70,000 to 120,000.  
*COW* (1961-1996): 19,500. Sum of series of conflicts, mostly state participants.  
*Ploughshares* (1961-1996): more than 100,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1961-1991): more than 180,000. The end date for Peace Pledge period is uncertain.  
*150,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Iraq (Shias)**

*Marshall* (1979-1998): 25,000

*White* (1991-1992): 40,000

*COW* (1985–1993): Figure for Iraq vs. Shiites & Kurds for state participants only is 10,000.

*Ploughshares* (1991-2002): thousands to hundreds of thousands

*25,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Iraq-Kuwait**

*Marshall* (1990-1991): 100,000

*White* (1990-1991): 75,000

*Uppsala* (1990-1991): more than 5,000 battle-related deaths

*COW* (1990-1991): 26,343

*Peace Pledge* (1990-1991): 180,000-350,000

*150,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Iraq-US**

*Marshall* (2003-2006): 100,000

*White* (2003-2005): 43,000-58,000

*Uppsala* (2003): 8,000-15,000

*The Lancet*, 12 Oct 2006 (2003-July 2006):

654,965 civilian deaths, based on cluster sample surveying. The 95% confidence interval (statistical estimate with 95% certainty of the range within which the actual death toll falls) is 392,979 to 942,636.

*Iraqi Health minister estimate* (2003-November 2006): 150,000 civilian deaths; cited by H. Fisher, 'Iraqi Civilian Deaths Estimates,' US Congressional Research Service *Report for Congress*, 22 Nov 2006 (<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22537.pdf>).

*United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq*: 34,452 civilian violent deaths in 2006, based on counts from hospitals and the Medical Legal Institute in Baghdad (<http://www.uniraq.org/FileLib/misc/HR%20Report%20Nov%20Dec%202006%20EN.pdf>).

*400,000 is taken as an estimate of combined civilian and combatant casualties.*

**Lebanon**

*Marshall* (1975-1991): 100,000

*White* (1975-1990): 150,000

*COW* (1975-1990): 167,000

*Peace Pledge* (1975-1991): 150,000

*150,000 is taken to be the best estimate.*

**Liberia**

*Marshall* (1990-1997): 40,000; (2000-2003): 1,000

*Uppsala* (1989-1995): 150,000 battle-related deaths and a few thousand since then.

*COW*, Liberia vs. Anti-Doe forces (1989-1990): 10,000 state participant deaths Liberia vs.

NPFL and ULIMO (1992-1995): 150,000 state participant deaths. Liberia vs. National

Patriotic Forces (1996): 3,000 state participant deaths

*Ploughshares* (2000-2005): 1,500-2,500.

Mentions a Reuters report which estimates 200,000 dead in the 1990s.

*Peace Pledge* (since 1990): 200,000

*150,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Mozambique**

*Marshall* (1981-1992): 500,000

*White* (1975–1992): 1,000,000

*COW* (1979-2002): 1,200,550

*Peace Pledge* (1981-1992): 1,000,000. This figure is also supported by a BBC Mozambique Country profile:

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country\\_profiles/1063120.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1063120.stm)

*1,000,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Peru**

*Marshall* (1982-1997): 30,000

*White* (1980-2000): 50,000

*Uppsala* (1980-1999): more than 28,000

*COW* (1982-1995): 30,000 state participant deaths

*Ploughshares* (1980-1999): 30,000

*Peace Pledge*: 30,000

*Peru's Truth & Reconciliation Committee* (1980 - 2000): 69,280

([www.cverdad.org.pe/pagina01.php](http://www.cverdad.org.pe/pagina01.php))

*30,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

**Philippines (Moros)**

*Marshall* (1972-2006): 50,000

*Uppsala* (1972-2004): more than 50,000.

Mentions a figure of 125,000 that includes victims of attacks against civilians.

*COW* (1972-1980): 60,000

*Ploughshares* (1971-2005): 100,000

*Peace Pledge* (1971-present): 60,000-110,000

*75,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Philippines (New Peoples Army)

*Marshall* (1972-1997): 40,000  
*Uppsala* (1969-2005): 21,000-25,000  
*COW* (1972-1992): 40,000 state participant deaths  
*Ploughshares* (since 1969): 25,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1972-1994): 40,000  
*35,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Rwanda

*Marshall* (1994): 500,000  
*White* (1994): 937,000  
*Uppsala* (1994): 500,000-800,000 non-battle-related deaths  
*COW* (1994): 500,000 state participant deaths  
*Ploughshares* (1994): 500,000-1,000,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1994-1995): 1,000,000  
*850,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Sierra Leone

*Marshall* (1991-2001): 25,000  
*White* (1991-2002): 75,000  
*Uppsala* (1991-2001): more than 10,000  
*COW* (1991-1996): 20,000 state participant deaths  
*Ploughshares* (1991-2002): 20,000-50,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1991-1996): 30,000  
*30,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Somalia

*Marshall* (1988-2006): 100,000  
*White* (1991-2005): 400,000  
*Uppsala* (1982-2002): more than 64,000  
*COW* (1982-1997): 95,018 state participant deaths  
*Ploughshares* (1988-2005): 400,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1988-2005): 355,000  
*300,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Sri Lanka

*Marshall* (1983-present): 75,000  
*White* (1977-present): 64,500  
*Uppsala* (1983-2003): 64,000  
*Ploughshares* (1983-2002): 60,000-100,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1983-2002): 65,000  
*COW* (1983-present): 50,000  
*Marshall's figure of 75,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Sudan (Darfur)

*Marshall* (2003-2005): 120,000  
*White* (2002-2005): mentions UN report (2004) of 70,000 deaths and UN report (2005) of 180,000 deaths.  
*Uppsala* (2002-2005): 5,500 battle-related deaths. Estimated 180,000 to 300,000 dead in the humanitarian crisis following the eruption of the civil conflict in Darfur.  
*Ploughshares* (2002-2005): 5,000. Additional 70,000 died from malnutrition and disease.  
*Marshall's figure of 120,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Sudan (North-South)

*Marshall* (1983-2002): 1,000,000  
*White* (1983-2004): 1,900,000  
*Uppsala* (1983-2004): more than 53,500 battle-related deaths  
*COW* (1983-): 1,300,000 state participant deaths  
*Ploughshares* (1983-2004): 2,000,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1984-2002): 2,000,000  
*2,000,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Tajikistan

*Marshall* (1991-1998): 25,000  
*Uppsala* (1992-1998): 20,900-50,000, might include deaths other than battle-related ones.  
*COW* (1992-1997): 50,000  
*Ploughshares*: 50,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1992-1997): 50,000  
*40,000 is taken as the best estimate.*

## Turkey

*Marshall* (1984-1999): 40,000  
*Uppsala* (1983-2005): more than 30,500 (includes death other than battle-related ones)  
*COW* (1991-2005): 40,000  
*Peace Pledge* (1984-1999): 35,000  
*Ploughshares* (1984-2002): 30,000-40,000  
*35,000 is taken as the best estimate.*